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STUDIES IN ANCIENT GREEK SOCIETY

STUDIES IN ANCIENT GREEK SOCIETY

THE PREHISTORIC ÆGEAN

GEORGE THOMSON

LAWRENCE & WISHART
LONDON
1949

First published 1949

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The Camelot Press Ltd., London and Southampton (T.U.)

To the memory of
HUGH FRASER STEWART

Ποῦ εἶν' ἡ Ἀλήθεια; μὴν πλανᾶν ἐσὲ
βαθιονόητα λόγια τάχα·
τὴν πηγή της δὲν τὴ βρίσκεις
μέσα σου, Ἄνθρωπε, μονάχα.
Θὰ τὴ βρῇς παντοῦ στὸ ταίριασμα
—ὦ ἀρραβώνας λυτρωτής—
τῆς καρδιᾶς σου καὶ τοῦ νοῦ σου
μὲ τὰ πάντα τῆς ζωῆς.

—PALAMAS

PREFACE

THIS volume is planned as the first of several with the aim of consolidating the ground covered in *Æschylus and Athens*. It is in effect an expansion of the first five chapters of that work, reinforcing the argument and treating at length some fundamental problems that were only touched on there, especially matriarchy, land-tenure, Ægean prehistory, and epic. Its range coincides approximately with the Bronze Age, except that the evolution of epic is followed down to its culmination in the sixth century B.C. In the second volume I hope to deal with the growth of slavery and the origins of science.

The task I have set myself is to reinterpret the legacy of Greece in the light of Marxism. Some of my critics seem to think that treated in this way Greek studies lose their value. I believe that only in this way can they recover it. Everybody knows that for many years past their popularity has been declining, and the reason is that they have lost touch with the forces of human progress. Instead of being a message of hope for the future, as they were in the great days of humanism, they have become a pastime for a leisured minority striving ineffectually to find a refuge from it. Our Hellenic heritage must be rescued from the Mandarins, or else it will perish, destroyed by its devotees.

It need hardly be said that my treatment of the subject is severely restricted by the limitations inherent in any single-handed attempt to cover so vast a field. Recent developments in archæology and linguistics have made it clearer than ever that Greek history must be studied as an episode in the general history of the Near East, and this can only be done effectively by collective research based on an agreed scientific method. If my work draws attention to this need, its very shortcomings will have served a useful purpose.

If I can do more than that—if I can convince at least my younger colleagues that in the age in which we live the new humanism, inherited from the old but enriched by the four

most eventful centuries in history, is Marxism, then it will be for them to renew the vitality of Hellenism so that it may exercise an influence on the future of British culture worthy of More, Bacon and Milton.

I have been mindful, too—indeed it has been impossible to forget—that, while I have been writing this book, the Greeks have been fighting for liberty with a heroism unequalled even in their history. That is why I have inscribed those lines from Palamas. They express one of the profound truths of Marxism in the words of a poet who more than any other spoke for the people of modern Greece, voicing their determination to be free from all forms of oppression, free too from the domination of the past, while proving their fidelity to it by their creative energy in building a new Hellas.

I wish to thank the following for permission to reproduce illustrations of which they hold the copyright: Messrs. Macmillan and Co. (figs. 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 30, 42, 54, 57, 60, 68, 70, 71, 73); the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press (figs. 3, 5, 8, 9, 33, 36, 39, 40, 43); and the Editors of *The Classical Review* (fig. 44). For the remainder of the illustrations I am indebted to Mrs. H. F. Stewart.

I must also express my gratitude to Dr. N. Bachtin for the unfailing stimulus of innumerable discussions ranging over the whole subject-matter of the book long before it assumed book form; and for assistance and advice on various problems to Dr. F. J. Tritsch, Mr. Rodney Hilton, Mr. Alick West, Mr. John Irwin, Mr. R. F. Willetts, and Mr. O. M. Thomson.

June 1948. GEORGE THOMSON.

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AID TO THE READER

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ADDENDUM

Page 321, note 86. Add Th. 3.88.2, Paus. 10.11.4. These passages show that the main island was the only one inhabited permanently throughout the year.

INTRODUCTION

THE development of a neolithic economy was rendered possible by the series of climatic changes that followed the close of the last Ice Age. It began somewhere in the Middle East. As the ice retreated in the north, the climate of this region, previously temperate, became subtropical. The open grassland, which had stretched almost without a break from Morocco to Iran, was split up into semi-desert tracts intersected by strings of green oases and river beds overgrown with jungle. The roaming bands of hunters and food-gatherers lost their freedom of movement. They were forced to concentrate in the more fertile areas, together with the animals and plants on which they lived. Thus restricted, they found that the supply of game and fruits was limited. The old technique of hunting and food-gathering was no longer adequate. Some means had to be found of preserving the animals and plants by bringing their propagation under human control. Among the species indigenous to this region were the sheep, goat and pig, all easily domesticated, and the wild ancestors of our wheat and barley. The animals were herded and penned, the plants sown artificially; and both were tended by human labour. Hunting and food-gathering were superseded by stock-breeding and tillage. Besides ensuring a regular supply of milk, meat and grain, the new economy gave rise to a number of secondary techniques, such as weaving and pottery, which resulted in further improvement of living standards. The people multiplied. The makeshift, straggling tribal camp was transformed into a thriving village, compact and self-sufficient, though it was continually planting out its surplus population in new villages founded on the same model. In this way the neolithic economy was propagated over the whole region and beyond, wherever cultivable soil was to be found. As the limits of expansion were approached, the growing pressure of population promoted more intensive methods of cultivation, and meanwhile village self-sufficiency was undermined by the development of exchange.

The river swamps of the Nile, Euphrates and Tigris, teeming with wild life of all kinds, had always attracted hunters and fishers, but to the early cultivators they presented formidable obstacles. The soil could only be adapted to tillage by large-scale irrigation, which required organised mass labour working according to a plan. Such conditions could not be satisfied until the neolithic economy was well advanced in the adjacent areas. On the other hand, the potential fertility of these alluvial soils was immense. Once the obstacles had been overcome, the way was open for an increase in population and a rise in living standards far beyond the possibilities of the old neolithic economy. The village was superseded by the town. The town was not merely larger, more populous, more luxurious. It differed in its economic basis. Its surplus of grain and livestock was so ample that it could be bartered regularly and extensively for timber, stone and metals from the surrounding hill tribes, whose own village economy was modified accordingly, becoming dependent on the town. Economic self-sufficiency, except in outlying areas, was a thing of the past. As trade expanded, with craftsmen, merchants, middlemen of all sorts, pushing their way up and down the valleys and across the intervening deserts, the scattered villages were drawn into the vortex of exchange, and a rudimentary division of labour was established between the village and the town. Among the raw materials which flowed to the towns were metals. Some of these, such as gold and silver, were used for luxury articles, but others, especially copper, and above all copper alloyed with tin, replaced wood and stone in tool-making, and so revolutionised the handicrafts. The new urban economy was based on bronze.

In Egypt there is only a single river, which floods the whole valley regularly every year. This annual flood is the sole agent for fertilising the soil. It was therefore a matter of vital concern to every farmer that he should receive from the flood just enough water and no more—enough to fill his dikes but not so much as to burst them; and of course he needed to be warned in advance when the flood was due. It was therefore necessary that the flood should be regulated throughout its course from the head of the valley to the sea—a tremendous

feat of organisation, demanding a highly-skilled service of astronomers and agronomists such as could only be provided by a central government. Hence the rapid consolidation of the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt, which were united shortly after 3000 B.C. under a single monarch. The Egyptian Pharaoh owed his position to an economic need. He was the head of a centralised state apparatus controlled by the priesthood.

Mesopotamia was not unified in this way, because the agricultural conditions were different. There were two rivers, served by several tributaries and interconnected by a network of canals. The result was that the cultivated areas were less interdependent. Here therefore the towns grew into autonomous city-states, each with its own priesthood and its own priest-king. The competition between them was intense, and about 1700 B.C. the country was unified by force of arms under the hegemony of Babylon.

Notwithstanding these differences, the class structure of Egyptian and Mesopotamian society was fundamentally the same. In both countries large-scale agriculture had developed on the basis of what began as a new division of labour—a division between the producers and the organisers of production. The organisers were the priests. They provided the intellectual workers—the astronomers, mathematicians, engineers, architects, scribes—who were just as indispensable as the manual workers. In time these custodians of the means of production became owners. They used the authority derived from the nature of their task to concentrate the surplus in their own hands. This too was economically necessary for the development of new techniques. Bronze-working, in particular, was a complicated and costly process, impossible without capital. And so the growth of the new economy had the effect of consolidating the state in the form of an absolute theocracy. In Egypt, the whole country belonged to the god incarnate in the king, and all the productive functions of society—husbandry, handicrafts, exchange—were strictly controlled. In Mesopotamia, each city constituted a divine household, owned by the patron deity resident in its midst and administered for him by his tenant, the priest-king. The strong collectivism of

these early city-states was a heritage from the neolithic village community, just as the king and priests derived their authority ultimately from the magical fraternities which had grown up round the chieftaincy in the higher stages of tribal society; but it was now fostered by the ruling class systematically as a means of safeguarding their privileges. The rigid stratification of society is seen in the city's lay-out. In the centre, towering over everything, stood the temple, large, luxurious, exquisitely furnished, surrounded by offices, treasuries, granaries, warehouses, and workshops for the accommodation of officials, craftsmen and manual workers of all kinds. Some of these were slaves taken in war; others were free in name but economically dependent on the priests, their masters, the largest employers in the city. Outside lay the arable land. A portion was let out to tenant farmers or worked directly for the temple under some form of labour service. The rest was divided into family holdings which were free of rent or other formal obligations but subject to the moral exactions with which a powerful priesthood always exploits the faith of the masses. Only the pastures remained common.

It is important to remember, as Gordon Childe has pointed out, that even the lowest-paid workers in Mesopotamia were better off than the free and equal members of any neolithic village. The urban revolution had brought about an absolute rise in the standard of living. On the other hand, if we take into account the enormous rise in the productivity of labour, it is clear that relatively they were worse off. The gains won from the revolution were unequally distributed. It was this factor that eventually brought the expansion of the new economy to a stop. While the ruling class devoted an increasing portion of the surplus to luxuries, the masses of the people, whose purchasing power was arbitrarily restricted, went short of many things that had come to be regarded as necessities. Meanwhile the city-states were entering into competition with one another for raw materials and markets, with the result that the ruling class was only able to maintain its standards by intensifying its exploitation of the primary producers. From this contradiction there was no escape. Commercial rivalries precipitated wars, waged with bronze weapons

and ambitious aims, until the whole country was forcibly brought together under a series of empires, in which the class struggle, sharper than ever, was fought out in new forms and on a vaster scale.

In Egypt, shut in by deserts and short of shipbuilding timber, there was less foreign trade, and so the exploitation of the primary producers was more intensive and direct. The peasants were conscripted *en masse* to build for their rulers sumptuous tombs, which, since they were places of worship requiring priests for their maintenance, were a source of revenue for the living as well as a memorial to the dead. Forced labour and extortionate tribute reduced the mass of the population to a condition little better than slavery. At the same time the monarchy was faced with opposition from the more powerful nobles, who tried to shake off the burden of royal taxation and set themselves up as independent rulers on their own estates. About 2200 B.C. the Old Kingdom collapsed in civil war, but the paramount need for a central government reasserted itself, and the monarchy was restored. The Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom pursued a policy of cautious expansion, trading and raiding as far north as Syria, and so prepared the way for the full-blown imperialism of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The stage was thus set for a conflict of empires. The Babylonian Empire fell and was succeeded by the Assyrian, the Assyrian by the Persian, the Persian by the Macedonian. The Assyrians, Persians and Macedonians all conquered Egypt, to be followed in their turn by the Romans and the Arabs. For over five thousand years, during which they have seen many changes of masters, the peasants of the Nile have continued in poverty and sickness to till the richest fields on earth.

It is characteristic of the urban revolution that the great alluvial valleys, which could alone provide the surplus requisite for extensive metal-working, are naturally deficient in mineral wealth. The metals had to be imported: copper from Iran, Armenia, Syria and Sinai; tin from Iran and Syria; gold from Armenia and Nubia; silver and lead from Cappadocia. Thus trade was the life-blood of the new economy, and, as it expanded, it drew an ever wider circle of neolithic villages and mountain tribes into the orbit of civilisation.

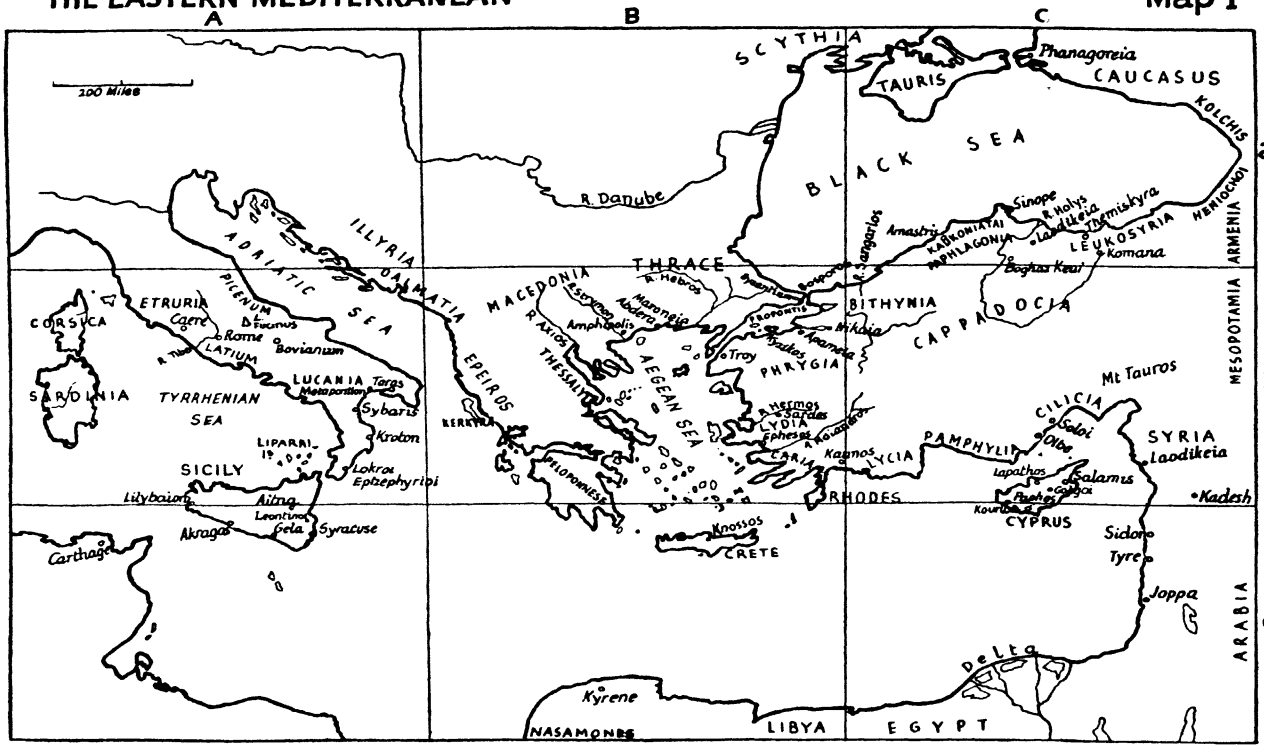
By about 3000 B.C. the use of copper had been diffused over the whole of the Middle East, but it was far from universal. Even in Mesopotamia the cost of bronze remained high, and in Egypt throughout the Bronze Age the peasantry continued to work with tools of wood and stone. In the more backward areas only chiefs could afford the new metal, and they used it for swords, not ploughshares. Even where it was plentiful, the people seem to have found it more profitable to export it unwrought than to develop a local industry. And so the earliest urban communities to spring up outside Mesopotamia and Egypt were primarily trading settlements. In Cappadocia, for example, Kanes was founded by Mesopotamian merchants engaged in trade with the local tribes, including the Hittites, who controlled the mines of Mount Tauros. Similarly, in the north of Palestine, where there was plenty of excellent timber as well as rich deposits of copper and tin, a cluster of towns, including Byblos and Ugarit, built up a prosperous trade with Egypt and later expanded into first-class city-states, handling a vast amount of traffic between Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia.

The Mediterranean was now thrown open to the urban revolution, with all the advantages of maritime transport. The first merchants to sail from Ugarit were doubtless bound for the Delta or Cyprus, the island of copper. The urban development of that island was, it appears, retarded by its wealth of copper. Being so close to the more advanced communities on the Syrian coast, the islanders devoted their energies to exporting the metal in ingots instead of developing an industry of their own. In any case, lying against the rugged south coast of Anatolia, Cyprus was not well placed for trade.

It was otherwise with Crete. Equidistant from Syria and Egypt, it lies across the entrance to the Ægean basin, that extraordinary amphitheatre of islands and mountains, which leads through landlocked bays and winding valleys into the Balkan highlands and so on to the Danube and Central Europe. In the course of the fourth millennium neolithic immigrants found their way tentatively into Thessaly and the Peloponnese. The earliest known settlers in Crete were also neolithic, coming partly from Anatolia and partly from the Delta. They settled in the east and south. Meanwhile the use of

THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Map I



Part One

KINSHIP

Many proofs might be given to show that the early Greeks had a manner of life similar to that of barbarians to-day.

THUCYDIDES

I

TOTEMISM

1. *The Comparative Study of Ethnology and Archæology*

THE tribal peoples that survive to-day have been assigned to the following categories according to their mode of food-production: Lower Hunters (food-gathering and hunting); Higher Hunters (hunting and fishing); Pastoral (two grades); Agricultural (three grades).[1] The Higher Hunters are distinguished from the Lower by the use of the bow in addition to the spear, the arts of pottery and weaving, and the domestication of animals. In the Second Pastoral grade cattle-raising is supplemented by agriculture; in the Third Agricultural, garden tillage, done with the hoe, is superseded by field tillage, done with the plough, and agriculture is combined with cattle-raising. In these two grades we find further progress in the handicrafts, permanent settlements, intertribal barter, and metallurgy. At this level the tribal structure of society, inherited from the lower grades, is beginning to break up.

This classification is of course an abstraction. Since it deals with an organic process, it cannot be anything else. The categories are not mutually exclusive. Hunting and even food-gathering are maintained in the higher grades, but with diminishing importance. Nor do they constitute a fixed chronological sequence. Food-gathering and hunting have come first everywhere, but the higher grades depend on the local fauna and flora and other environmental factors. In many regions, where the natural conditions are favourable, tillage and cattle-raising have been combined from the beginning in the form of pastoral husbandry or mixed farming.[2]

[1] Hobhouse 16–29. For the sake of simplicity I have omitted the grade of Dependent Hunters. Current views of totemism are surveyed by Van Gennep EAPT. My own has been anticipated by A. C. Haddon: see Howitt NTSEA (1904) 154, Russell 1. 96.

[2] Childe MMH 85, Heichelheim 1. 48.

Turning to prehistoric archæology, we find that the hunting grades correspond approximately to the upper palæolithic epoch, and the remainder to the mesolithic and neolithic. The successive phases of a neolithic economy may be illustrated by a particular instance. The prehistoric culture of the Danube basin is divided by archæologists into three phases.[3] In Phase I hunting is already subsidiary. There are small herds of swine, sheep, and oxen, but the principal mode of subsistence is the cultivation of barley, beans, peas, and lentils in garden plots tilled with the hoe. There is a rude technique of hand-made pottery and some knowledge of textiles. In Phases II and III the handicrafts improve and there is an extension of cattle-raising due to increasing pressure on the cultivable soil.

These two fields of research, ethnology and archæology, tell us all we know about the prehistory of human society, but they have not yet been effectively co-ordinated. That ethnological data can be of great assistance to the archæologist no one would deny. An example lies to hand in the Danubian culture. The excavations show that, though these settlements were distributed densely and uniformly over the whole area, none of them was occupied for more than a brief space of time. The explanation is supplied by conditions that still prevail in parts of Africa. A settlement is made on arable land, and the soil is cultivated until it becomes exhausted. The settlement is then abandoned and the cultivators move on. This is migratory agriculture.

Archæology deals with the material remains of extinct communities. It tells us nothing directly about social organisation, and some authorities deny that this gap can be filled from our knowledge of modern tribes subsisting at the same material level. Are we to assume, Gordon Childe asks, that, 'because the economic and material culture of these tribes has been arrested at a stage of development Europeans passed through some ten thousand years ago, their mental development stopped dead at the same point?'[4] To this question he returns, quite rightly, an emphatic negative. But the problem cannot be left there. If the two sets of data are comparable at all, as admittedly they are, it is incumbent on us to work out the

[3] Childe DEC 96–108. [4] Childe MMH 51; see below n. 61.

appropriate comparative method. This is a task as difficult as it is important. All that can be done here is to lay down some guiding principles.

Modern capitalist civilisation has grown out of the prehistoric cultures of Europe and the Near East, which developed with exceptional rapidity. In contrast to these, the primitive cultures still surviving in other parts of the world are products of retarded or arrested development. These are the two extremes, and before arguing from one to the other we must find some means of analysing this complication. It is a problem of uneven development.

As Gordon Childe remarks, the social institutions of these modern tribes have not remained stationary. They have continued to develop, but only in directions determined by the prevailing mode of production. This is the key to the problem. If, for example, we examine the Australian forms of totemism, exogamy, and initiation, and compare them with similar institutions elsewhere, we find that they are extraordinarily elaborate, pointing to a long period of development. But these are all institutions characteristic of a simple hunting economy. In other words, just as the economic development of these tribes is stunted, so their culture is ingrown. And consequently, while we cannot expect to find such institutions in palæolithic Europe in the same form, we are likely to find them there in some form.

Again, just because of their backwardness, these tribes have been exposed over a prolonged period to the influence of other more thriving cultures with which they have come in contact. Cultural diffusion has of course operated in all ages, but its effects are cumulative, and in these modern tribes they have been exceptionally protracted and intense. Here again the Australians are an extreme case. While retaining their palæolithic economy, they have been subjected in recent times to the impact of European capitalism, which is rapidly exterminating them. It must never be forgotten that the primitive peoples surviving to-day are known to us only to the extent that they have been penetrated by our own traders, missionaries, government officials, and ethnologists. In some cases they have been converted outright into proletarians, like the Bantus in

the South African goldfields; in others their native institutions have been arbitrarily stabilised as an instrument of indirect rule by the British Colonial Office. Such cultures must of necessity present special features due to the abrupt nature of their contacts—features which can only be explained after a methodical analysis of the effects of capitalist exploitation. And that is a task which no bourgeois ethnologist is prepared to undertake.

With these reservations the comparative method is an instrument of which we can and must avail ourselves if we are intent on the advancement of our subject. 'It has been proved', as De Pradenne courageously declares, 'that with a more limited scope prehistory cannot make progress: it comes to a dead end, it marks time, it sinks into quicksands. To attack all the problems along the whole line is the only way to reach a solution.'[5] Nor can we wait till we have perfected our tools. We can only improve them by using them. It is necessary to face the risk of error in order to discover truth.

2. *The Origin of Totemism*

Totemism is the magico-religious system characteristic of tribal society. Each clan of which the tribe is composed is associated with some natural object, usually a plant or animal, which is called its totem. The clansmen regard themselves as akin to their totem species and descended from it. They are forbidden to eat it,[6] and perform an annual ceremony to increase its numbers. Members of the same totem may not intermarry.

Totemism survives most completely among the lower hunting tribes of Australia. It is also found in forms more or less disintegrated in America, Africa, India, and other parts of Asia;[7] and the European, Semitic, and Chinese civilisations contain numerous traditions which have been recognised either

[5] De Pradenne 14.

[6] The taboo is directed primarily against eating the species, not against killing it: Spencer NTCA (1904) 149. Conversely, a man may not eat the species of another clan without permission: *ib.* 159, 296, NTNT 324.

[7] The question of Indo-European totemism is only touched on by Frazer (TE 4. 12–4) and ignored by Lowie (131). On Semitic, Chinese, and Indian totemism see Robertson Smith RS, Granet 180, Ehrenfels MRI.

as actual survivals of totemism or as relics of the ideology, tenacious because so deeply rooted, which totemic practices have generated.

The importance of Australian totemism is that it represents the most primitive stratum of which we have direct knowledge. If from an analysis of Australian totemism in its present form we can deduce its original form, and relate both to a coherent evolutionary process, the result may be accepted as an approximation to the history of totemism in general.

The great majority of Australian totems are edible species of plants and animals.[8] The remainder are mostly natural objects, like stones and stars, or natural processes, like rain and wind. These inorganic totems are secondary, formed by analogy on the pre-existing pattern. In seeking the origin of the system we must concentrate on the plants and animals, and the fact that most of these are edible is a pretty broad hint that its origin is connected with the food-supply.

The ceremonies for the propagation of the totem species are performed at the opening of the breeding season at a prescribed spot, called the totem centre, on the hunting ground of the clan to which the totem belongs. The totem centre is usually an actual breeding place of the species in question.[9] If we ask what brought the ancestors of, say, the witchetty-grub clan to the spot where ceremonies for the propagation of witchetty-grubs are now performed, the answer can only be that they came there to eat witchetty-grubs.

At the present day the clansmen are forbidden to eat, though not necessarily to kill, their totem species, but to this rule there are significant exceptions. In Central Australia, at the performance of the increase ceremony, the headman of the clan is not only permitted but obliged to eat a little of the species. As he explains, he must 'get the totem inside him' in order to work his magic.[10] This ritual infraction of the taboo

[8] Out of 200 totem species enumerated by Spencer and Gillen over 150 are edible: NTCA (1904) 768–73.

[9] Spencer NTCA (1904) 147, 288, Frazer T 59, 62, 69, 70, 99, 185, 189. The ceremony is held annually at the opening of the breeding season: Frazer T 72, 78, 195.

[10] Spencer NTCA (1904) 323, NTNT 198, A 82.

is derived from the general practice of earlier times. That is proved by the tribal traditions, in which the clan ancestors are represented as feeding habitually or even exclusively on their totem species.[11] This shows that totemism goes back to a time when the technique of hunting had been so rudimentary as to impose severe restrictions on the quest for food, resulting in a specialised diet.[12] The totemic clan originated in a small nomadic band or 'horde' attracted to the breeding ground of a particular species of animal or plant, on which it fed. It remains to be seen how this state of affairs was transformed into its opposite.

The increase ceremony is designed to represent dramatically the growth of the totem, if it is a plant, or, if it is an animal, its distinctive habits, movements, and cries, and in some cases the act of catching it and killing it. Usually it includes a dance in which the performers, appropriately disguised, mimick the species to perfection, and sometimes they make a drawing or painting of it on the rocks or in the sand. The original object of such performances was probably actual practice in the behaviour of the species, whose habits had to be studied before it could be caught. Later, with the improvement of technique, this function was superseded by that of a magical rehearsal. By mimicking in anticipation the successful operation of the quest for food the clansmen evoked in themselves the concerted energy requisite for the real task. This is the essence of magic. Magic rests on the principle that by creating the illusion that you control reality you can actually control it. It is an illusory technique complementary to the deficiencies of the real technique. Owing to the low level of production the human consciousness is as yet imperfectly aware of the objectivity of the external world, which accordingly it treats as though it were changeable at will, and so the preliminary rite is regarded as the cause of success in the real task; but at the same time, as a guide to action, the ideology of magic

[11] NTCA (1904) 321, 324, 394, 405, A 331–2, 334, 339, 341–2; see my AA 419 n. 6.

[12] I do not mean that the totemic species became the *sole* diet, which continued to depend mainly on food-gathering, but that it was the species on which the hunters concentrated.

embodies the valuable truth that the external world can in fact be changed by man's subjective attitude towards it. The huntsmen whose energies have been stimulated and organised by the mimetic dance are actually better huntsmen than they were before.

The members of the clan have a strong sense of affinity, even identity, with their totem species.[13] The men who live on witchetty-grubs, thriving when they thrive, starving when they starve, and dramatically impersonating them in order to control them, are literally flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood—a relationship which they express by saying that they *are* witchetty-grubs. Hence, when the authority exercised by the clan elders gives rise to ancestor worship,[14] the ancestors are not worshipped in human shape but in that of the totemic animal or plant.

It appears, then, that the first stage in the evolution of totemism was the segmentation of the primitive horde, which divided in order to gain access to different sources of food-supply. So long as the new groups thus created lost touch with one another, the change was merely quantitative—two groups instead of one; but at some stage it became qualitative. Instead of continuing to get their food independently by simple appropriation, they became integrated as a pair of interdependent clans. The food produced by each was distributed between them, and this system of co-operation was maintained by means of a taboo on the direct appropriation of the totem species—that is to say, it could not be eaten when and where it was found, but had to be brought home to be distributed. Each group became a totemic clan, sharing its products with the other clan. How this interchange was effected will be discussed later.

As the mode of production improved, this system lost its economic basis. The quest of witchetty-grubs being no longer a specialised technique, the function of the witchetty-grub clan became purely magical—to make the species increase and multiply for the benefit of the community;[15] and the taboo on

[13] An Arunta man, pointing to a photograph of himself, said, 'That one is just the same as me—so is a kangaroo' (his totem): Spencer A 80.

[14] Landtman 125.

[15] Spencer NTCS (1904) 327.

the totem species, being now cut off from its economic origin, became absolute.

Meanwhile the ceremonies themselves were modified. Instead of representing the activities of the totem species as such they became celebrations of events in the life of the totem ancestors. This too can be studied in Central Australia.[16] The ceremony is still regarded as necessary for the fertilisation of the species, but that is now done through the agency of the ancestors, whom the dance calls into action; and in this form the ceremony serves the further purpose of transmitting the clan traditions to the rising generation.[17] In this way a procedure which began as an inseparable part of the mode of production is converted into a purely magico-religious system providing a sanction for the social structure which has grown out of it.

In Australia the ideology of totemism has been expanded into a comprehensive theory of the natural world. Just as the social organism consists of so many clans and groups of clans, each with its own totem species, so the world of nature—the sea, streams, hills, heavenly bodies, and all that dwell therein—are classified on the totemic model. The various kinds of trees are grouped with the kinds of bird that nest in them; water is assigned to the same group as waterfowl and fish.[18] The world of nature is reduced to order by projecting on to it the organisation imposed by nature on society. The world order is a reflection of the social order—a reflection which, owing to man's weakness in the face of nature, is still simple and direct.

In other parts of the world, where economic progress was not arrested at this early stage, the whole system has collapsed, leaving only a sense of kinship inspired by common descent, a distinctive ancestral cult, the practice of exogamy, a purely formal taboo on a particular plant or animal, and a proliferation of totemic myths.

[16] Spencer NTCA (1904) 297.

[17] *Ib.* 328–92, Landtman 21, 31, Webster 27, 32, 60, 140.

[18] Howitt NTSEA (1904) 454, 471, Radcliffe-Brown SOAT 63, R. B. Smyth 1. 91, Durkheim FPC, Radin 141.

3. *The Origin of Exogamy*

Membership of the clan is determined by descent. In the last century, following Bachofen, ethnologists were agreed that descent was reckoned originally through the mother. To-day this view is rejected by nearly all authorities outside the Soviet Union, but without any agreed alternative. It has recently been reaffirmed by Briffault, who, arguing from a vast amount of material, in collecting which he has shown far more energy than his opponents, has, in my opinion, proved that the old view is correct.

Many instances are recorded from modern tribes of the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent, none of the reverse process.[19] In Australia, where the two modes are found in almost equal proportions and often intermixed, the incidence of patrilineal descent rises in proportion to the elaboration of the system of exogamy—a system which has grown in some areas within living memory; and there is other evidence of recent changes in the status of women.[20] Elsewhere the transition is known to have been promoted by contact with European culture. A Chocta Indian once told a missionary that he wanted to become a United States citizen, because then his heir would be his own son and not his sister's son.[21] In Nigeria, where the transition is quite recent, it is attributed by the natives themselves to the influence of British magistrates, who persistently place their own bourgeois value on the relation between father and son.[22]

Reviewing the evidence as a whole, we find that matrilineal descent preponderates slightly in the hunting-grades, but then declines, rapidly in the pastoral grades, much more slowly in the agricultural.[23] This shows that the mode of descent is correlated with the mode of production.

In the pre-hunting stage there was no production, only

[19] Cf. Smith and Dale 1. 292. A good example of an Indian matriarchate transformed quite recently by the introduction of money is given by Ehrenfels 62.

[20] Spencer A 150, 167, 328, 340, 346.

[21] Morgan AS 166.

[22] Meek 49, 61.

[23] Hobhouse 150–4.

simple appropriation of seeds, fruits, and small animals, and consequently there was no division of labour. With the invention of the spear, however, hunting became the men's task, while the women continued the work of food-gathering. This sexual division of labour is universal in hunting tribes,[24] being due to the relative immobility of women during pregnancy and lactation.[25]

Hunting led to the domestication of animals. Instead of being killed the game was brought home alive and kept. Accordingly cattle-raising is almost everywhere men's work.[26] On the other hand, food-gathering led to the cultivation of seeds in plots adjacent to the settlement, and so garden tillage is women's work.[27] Then, after the introduction of the cattle-drawn plough, agriculture was transferred to the men.[28] In parts of Africa, where the plough is only a recent acquisition, the change-over can be seen taking place at the present day.[29]

These shifting tensions in the relations of the sexes to the mode of production explain the rise of patrilineal descent. The process began with hunting, and was intensified by cattle-raising, but in the initial phase of agriculture it was reversed.

How, it has been asked, if descent was originally matrilineal, has it come about that some of the most backward peoples reckon through the father, while others, more advanced, retain the older form? The answer is that the sexual division of labour characteristic of a hunting economy is such as to impart to that economy an inherent tendency to patrilineal descent. The reason why so high a proportion of modern hunting

[24] Malinowski FAA 275–83, Bancroft 1. 66, 131, 186, 196, 218, 242, 261–5, 340, Heichelheim 1. 14. The need for the men to travel unencumbered save for their weapons explains why the women carry the baggage: Basedow 112, Roscoe B (1911) 23, Landtman 15.

[25] Zuckermann 10.

[26] Landtman 15, Westermarck ODMI 1. 634, 2. 273.

[27] Hobhouse 22, Heichelheim 1. 14, cf. Held. Pont. *RP.* 23, Eus. *PE.* 9.

[28] Lowie 71, 174, 184, Childe MMH 138.

[29] Krige 190: 'Nowadays this rule [that the soil is tilled by women] has been relaxed considerably owing to the influence of European civilisation; with the introduction of the plough, for which oxen are used, men have come to do all ploughing, because women may not work with cattle'.

tribes are patrilineal is that their economic life has been arrested at that level. Conversely, when we find, as we shall find, that in the prehistory of civilised peoples matrilineal descent persisted to a much higher stage than the ethnological data might lead us to expect, the explanation is that these peoples passed rapidly through hunting to agriculture.

Where the nineteenth-century authorities failed was in their attempts to account for the *origin* of matrilineal descent. Morgan argued that in the conditions of collective marriage, which he postulated for the early stages of society, the children were necessarily assigned to their mothers' clan because their paternity was unknown. But in these conditions no significance was attached to individual parenthood at all.[30] It was the progressive definition of individual parenthood, determined by the growth of individual rights of property, that destroyed collective marriage. Morgan's theory is therefore in need of modification at this point.

In two widely separated Australian tribes, of which we happen to be exceptionally well informed, we find an elaborate code of regulations requiring the married men to hand over the whole or the best part of their catch to their wives' parents.[31] Similar rules are common in other parts of the world.[32] They point to a state of society in which the men went to live with the clan to which their wives belonged—a matrilineal clan centred in the women.

Another Australian tribe, the Yukumbil, has a tradition to the effect that in old times, when the men went hunting, they used to take their wives and children with them, but later they found it more convenient to leave the children behind in the care of an old woman.[33] This is a remarkable folk-memory of the division of labour that followed from the development of hunting. When the first camp was formed, the women took charge of it. The clan was centred in the women, and the children belonged to the clan in which they were born.

[30] A native of New Britain once boasted of having three mothers, and these likewise asserted, 'All three of us bore him': Frazer TE 1. 305.

[31] Spencer A 491, Howitt NTSEA (1904) 756–66.

[32] Haddon RCAE 5. 149–50, Briffault 1. 268–430.

[33] Radcliffe-Brown TEA 403.

The primitive horde was of course necessarily endogamous. This too is remembered in Australian tradition. The tribal ancestors are represented as mating invariably with women of their own totem.[34] I have argued that the transition from the primitive horde to the tribe—the complex of exogamous clans —was dictated by the advance from appropriation to production, and that the economic interdependence of the clans took the form of a taboo on the totem species, which obliged each clan to share with the others the food it obtained on its own hunting ground. But why did not these clans continue to inbreed like the parent horde? We have seen reason to believe that each clan subsisted originally on a specialised diet, that the men went to live with the clan into which they married, and that they surrendered the products of their labour to the members of that clan. In these conditions the practice of getting husbands from other clans enabled each to extend its diet by obtaining access to foods which it did not produce itself. The initial function of exogamy was to circulate the food-supply.

The tribe is a multicellular organism which was evolved from the primitive horde on the basis of a division of labour determined by the low level of production, effected through the rule of exogamy, supplemented by mimetic magic, and projected ideologically in the form of zoomorphic ancestor-worship.

Among the Lower Hunting tribes these totemic institutions, though they have developed right away from their original economic function, still form a coherent system, as stable and definite as the tribes themselves. But when, under a pastoral or agricultural economy, the tribal structure decays, totemic magic, with its dramatic and pictorial representations of the sacred plant or animal, with its implicit theory of the kinship of all forms of life, and its practical function of bringing the external world under control, breaks up into a multiplicity of collateral activities, which, nurtured in turn by new divisions of labour following from further development of the productive forces, emerge as the arts and sciences, myths, religions, and philosophies. Springing as it does from

[34] Spencer NTCA (1899) 419.

the very moment—the advance from appropriation to production—at which man parted company with the animals, it is the matrix of human culture.

4. *The Totemic Cycle of Birth and Death*

Totemism has also left its mark on the life-history of the individual.

In the beginning all labour was collective. The individual was incapable of survival except as a member of a group. The reproduction of the group was inseparable from production of the means of subsistence.

In hunting tribes, besides the sexual division of labour discussed above, the clanspeople are graded as children, adults, and elders. The children help the women in their food-gathering; the men hunt; the elders direct and supervise.[35] The basis of these age-grades is physiological. The young and old are dependent on the adults for their food. In their simplest form, therefore, they are anterior to hunting. Originally those who were past work were left to die, but later the aged, whose long experience made them the natural repositories of traditional knowledge, acquired an economic value and so were able to assert a prescriptive claim to the surplus product of the group.

Child-getting, on the other hand, was always as vital as food-getting. The whole training of the young was concentrated on these two techniques; and, since the female part in reproduction is at once more apparent and more difficult than the male, the magic invented to assist it bore from the outset a feminine stamp.

The transition from one grade to the next is effected by rites of initiation. The most important of these is the one performed at puberty, when the adolescent became a full member of the group, trained for production and reproduction. The significance of this crucial change—physical, mental, social, economic—is expressed in primitive thought by the idea that at initiation the individual dies and is born again.[36]

[35] The best study of this subject is still Webster PSS. There is no monograph on the initiation of women.

[36] Cf. Cureau 167: 'The natives hold that every serious event in physical life is equivalent to death followed by a resurrection'.

This is one of the basic concepts underlying the whole history of religion, and so it is important to understand what it means.

The new-born child is greeted as one of the clan ancestors come to life again—as a reincarnation of the clan totem.[37] That is why all over the world it is or has been the custom to name the child after one of its progenitors[38]—a custom often associated with the rule that the person whose name is chosen must be deceased.[39] The name is a totemic symbol, and therefore magical. The reluctance of savages to reveal their names to strangers is well known. They are totemic secrets.[40] These ideas are so radical that even in our own family of languages a common base underlies the original words for name, mark, kinship, knowledge (Latin *nomen, nota, gens, gnosco*). The name and the mark are the same thing, expressing, the one in oral

[37] Karsten 416: 'When a child is born, the life thus brought into being is not a new life. . . . It is simply one of the forefathers that reappears in the new-born. And on the other hand, when an Indian dies, he does not cease to exist. Death does not imply the extinction of life, only a transition from one form of life to another.'

[38] Frazer TE 2. 302, 453, 3. 298, Karsten 417, Krige 74, Hollis MLF 305. So in Greece: Daremberg-Saglio *s.v.* Nomen. Cf. Frazer GB-TPS 320–7. Smith and Dale 2. 59: 'To get a new name is to be reborn, remade'. Grönbech 1. 258: 'Name and fate interpenetrate; the name was a mighty charm, because it carried the history not only of the bearer but of his ancestors and of the whole clan'. *Ib.* 287: 'When a new man came into the family, the Norsemen said expressly, Our kinsman is born again—so-and-so has come back: and they confirmed their saying by giving the old name to the young one'. In Chinese *ming* 'destiny' is the same word as *ming* 'name' (Granet 249). In Greece names were bestowed by the Moirai (Nonn. *D.* 46. 73, cf. A.*A.* 686–90, Pi. *O.* 10. 49–55, and see below p. 338). Hence the new name assumed at initiation (Webster 40, Van Gennep RP 120); at marriage, which was originally inseparable from initiation (Smith and Dale 1. 369, Meek 384, Hollis MLF 303, cf. below n. 51); at coronation, which is a specialised rite of initiation (Hocart 77–98, Meek 133, cf. below p. 158); in time of sickness, to make the patient 'a new man' (Frazer TE 2. 534, Roscoe B, 1911, 64); and at purification for homicide (Apld. 2. 4. 12), purification being a form of regeneration. A new name is assumed at the profession of vows in the Christian Church, and the significance of the christian name is explained in the baptism service: 'Give thy Holy Spirit to this infant, that he may be born again'.

[39] Morgan AS 78, Hutton 237, Playfair 100.

[40] Frazer TE 1. 196–7, 489.

and the other in visual form, the totem incarnate in the bearer. The kinsman is known by the name he bears and the sign he wears—by his totem.

Just as the ancestor is born again as an infant, so at puberty the child dies as a child and is born again as a man or woman. And the occasion is marked by giving him a new name. The adult is transformed by the same means into an elder. This second stage has been less persistent than the first, but it survives extensively in the ritual of admission to the status of medicine-man or magician, and again the novice receives a new name.[41] Finally, at death the elder is numbered among the totemic ancestors, the highest grade of all, from which in due course he re-emerges to pass through the whole cycle again. Birth is death and death is birth. They are complementary aspects of an eternal process of change.

The re-birth of the initiate is represented dramatically. The ceremony is often highly realistic—a close mimicry of the act of dying and being born from the womb; or the novice pretends to be devoured and disgorged by a god or spirit.[42] In the higher cultures it assumes a more attenuated form, such as the magic sleep or dream, in which the novice is laid to rest as a child and wakes as an adult,[43] or the custom of dressing the boy as a girl or the girl as a boy,[44] on the principle that before acquiring the new identity he must escape from the old. When the candidates for initiation are taken away from the village, their mothers mourn for them as dead, and when they return they behave like infants as though unable to walk or speak or recognise their kinsfolk.

Another widespread feature of the ritual is a surgical operation or amputation of some part of the body—penetration of the hymeneal membrane, circumcision or subincision of the prepuce, knocking out a tooth, amputating a finger, cutting

[41] Howitt NTSEA (1904) 738, Van Gennep RP 89, Webster 174–5.

[42] Webster 38. Hastings 7. 318: 'In the profession of vows in use among the Benedictines the novice is laid out on the ground between four candles and covered with a winding-sheet, the service of the dead is performed over his body, and the whole congregation chants the *Miserere* for him.' On Greek initiation see my AA 97-129.

[43] Frazer TE 3. 370-456, Webster 154.

[44] Halliday H.

the hair.[45] None of these has any utilitarian value except the first, and it has been suggested that circumcision was modelled in the first instance on the rite of perforating the hymen.[46] In all cases the amputated part is as a rule carefully preserved,[47] and so these procedures present a parallel to the ritual of the dead, whose bodies are preserved, in whole or in part, so that they may be born again. The same principle underlies the worldwide practice of interring the corpse in the so-called contracted attitude—arms and legs doubled up against the chest—which reproduces the posture of the unborn child.[48]

The remaining ceremonies consist of purifications and ordeals. The novices are washed in water or blood, they bathe in a running stream or the sea, or are scorched in front of a fire; they run races, sometimes with painful handicaps, or engage in sham fights, often with fatal results; they are scourged till they swoon, their ears or noses are bored, their flesh gashed and tattooed. The physical pain incidental to most of these ordeals is everywhere explained as a trial of strength, in which failure means disqualification and disgrace.[49] In many cases their severity has been deliberately accentuated by the elders in charge of the ceremony, who seek to terrify the novices into a habit of unquestioning obedience;[50] but behind them all lies the motive of mortification or purification, fertilisation or regeneration. Just as pollution is disease and disease is death, so purification is renewal of life.

Finally, the novices receive instruction in sexual and social behaviour. This is done by homilies, catechisms, dramatic

[45] Webster 32-8.

[46] Briffault 3. 325-33.

[47] Webster 36.

[48] In modern tribes: Karsten 34–5, Krige 161, Junod SAT 1. 135 (cf. 166), Earthy 78, 156, Smith and Dale 2. 104, Roscoe BB (1923) 292, BTUP 144, 154, 179, 198. In pre-dynastic Egypt: CAH 1. 240. Sumer: CAH 1. 377. Neolithic Europe: Burkitt P. 163, Childe DEC Index *s.v.* Burials. Neolithic Greece: Payne AG 150, Xanthoudides 134, Mylonas 424, Frödin 433. Earthy 78 says expressly that 'the idea is to place the child under similar conditions and in the same position as those in which it is born.'

[49] Webster 34–5.

[50] *Ib.* 59–66.

dances, and the revelation of sacred objects, especially symbols of the sexual act.[51] The whole ceremony is secret. It is performed at a distance from the settlement, usually on a prepared ceremonial ground, from which all save the elders and their initiated assistants are warned away, often on pain of death. The actual initiation is frequently preceded by a probationary period of seclusion, and when released the initiates are strictly forbidden to divulge to the uninitiated anything they have done or heard or seen.

5. *From Totemism to Religion*

Totemism differs from mature religion in that no prayers are used, only commands. The worshippers impose their will on the totem by the compelling force of magic,[52] and this principle of collective compulsion corresponds to a state of society in which the community is supreme over each and all of its members. So long as the united efforts of the whole community are absorbed in maintaining it at the bare level of subsistence, there can be no economic or social inequality beyond the prestige earned by individual merit.[53] This is still the case in Australia. The status of the Australian headman depends on general consent. There are no chiefs in the Australian tribes and no gods.

The more advanced forms of worship, characteristic of what we call religion, presuppose surplus production, which makes it possible for a few to live on the labour of the many. The headmanship ceases to be elective and becomes a hereditary

[51] *Ib.* 49–58; see below pp. 241–2. Among most hunting tribes initiation is followed immediately by marriage, which accordingly is not marked by a distinctive ritual. The initiatory ordeals of young men are often treated as a prerequisite for marriage, and sometimes inflicted by men of the bride's clan. Hence the worldwide institution of the pre-nuptial contest: Briffault 2. 199–208, cf. *Od.* 21, E. *Hip.* 545 sch., *FHG* 2. 238, Parth. 6, Hdt. 6. 126–30, Pi. *O.* 1. 69–89, Paus. 3. 12. 1.

[52] Frazer T 257.

[53] The status of elders in the Lower Hunting tribes is well illustrated by Hose 2. 182. Spencer A 9: 'Old age does not by itself confer any distinction, but only when combined with special ability; there is no such thing as a chief of the tribe.'

chieftaincy. The totem is attended with prayer and propitiation, assumes human shape, and becomes a god.[54] The god is to the community at large what the chief is to his subjects. He is endowed with all the qualities attributed to the ideal chief and worshipped with ceremonies modelled on the service of the real chief.[55] As a Greek proverb says, gifts move kings and gifts move gods.[56] The idea of godhead is a projection of the reality of kingship. In the human consciousness, however, this relationship is inverted. The king is believed to derive his power from God and his will is accepted as the will of God.

The further expansion of class privilege fosters an increasing complexity in the divine powers from which it draws its sanction. As the ruling clan extends its authority, it annexes the totem gods of other clans and absorbs them into its own. The royal totem becomes the god of the tribe or league of tribes, and eventually of the state. Some gods are conquered by others; wars between kings and nations are waged again in heaven. The array of totemic emblems that made up the regalia of the Egyptian Pharaohs symbolises the fusion of tribes which led to the unification of the kingdom, and the ceaseless rivalries between the cities of the Tigris and Euphrates are mirrored in the composite and unstable Babylonian pantheon.[57]

Yet these gods never shook off entirely the marks of their

[54] NTCA (1904) 490–1, Howitt NTSEA (1904) 488–508. The first stage in the evolution of an anthropomorphic deity may be studied in Howitt's account of the spirit Biamban, who was simply a projection of the natives' ideal of a headman (506–7). A good example of the transition from ancestral spirit to nature god is given by Junod 2. 324–5. On various attempts to show that the Australians believed in God before contact with missionaries see Spencer A 589–96, Briffault 2. 698–9.

[55] Meek 217: 'The workaday religion of the Jukun is the cult of ancestors; on the national side this assumes the form of the cult of dead kings, who become gods.' Cf. 159: 'The shrine of the god Adang is a replica in miniature of the private enclosure of the chief . . . Rites which are the counterpart of those carried out thrice daily for the living chief are performed by the priest of Adang.'

[56] Pl. *R.* 390e.

[57] Frazer TE 1. 81, 2. 139, 151, 166, cf. 18, Moret 143–5, Robertson Smith RS 73, Engels LF 65–9.

origin. They can still incarnate themselves in their animal form; they still have their sacred animals, which appear as their attendants or emblems;[58] they are begotten by animals in miraculous births. Religious symbolism is still permeated with reminiscences of the animal origin of the godhead.

As the totem became a god, the totemic rite became a sacrifice. In most pastoral communities the cattle are used for milk, not meat, and so the flesh, especially of females, is tabooed.[59] The totemic taboo was thus adapted to a new function. And meanwhile the increase ceremony had become the common meal at which the clansmen reunited from time to time under the presidency of their chief to partake sacramentally of the flesh of their sacred herds. The meal began with a sacrifice—that is, the first helping was offered to the clan god, who ate with them because he was their kinsman and enjoyed precedence over their chief because he was their chief of chiefs. Similarly in agricultural communities the offering of the firstfruits to the chief or priest, representing the god, is a survival from the time when the chief had been presented with the first portion at the distribution of the crop.[60] Later still the same pattern can be discerned in the ritual of mystical brotherhoods. Under the direction of their priest men whom the class struggle had humbled and oppressed ate the flesh and drank the blood of their god, feeding on the illusion of a lost equality. The belief that the god must die in order that his people might live was already implicit in the totemic rite, in which the sacred animal was killed year by year to make it multiply. Just as the sacrament is descended from the ritual infraction of the totemic taboo, so the rite of communion is a sublimated image of the communal consumption of the wealth produced by the communal labour of the clan.

[58] The associated object is regarded in the first instance as a repository of the divine energy: Karsten 207.

[59] Robertson Smith RS 223, Roscoe BB (1923) 6, Krige 55. This rule is not universal: Hutton 69, Gurdon 51. Later still the slaughter of plough-oxen is tabooed: Ael. *VH* 5. 14 (see below p. 122 n. 90).

[60] Robertson Smith RS 244–54, cf. Junod SAT 1. 395, 2. 10.

6. *Totemism in Palæolithic Europe*

Most contemporary archæologists reject the comparative method.

> We shall frequently invoke the ideas and practices of contemporary savages to illustrate how ancient peoples, known only to archæology, may have done things or interpreted them. But save in so far as such modern practice and belief are used as a mere gloss or commentary on actually observed ancient objects, constructions, or operations, the usage is illegitimate. The thoughts and beliefs of prehistoric men have perished irrevocably save in so far as they were expressed in actions the results of which were durable and can be recovered by the archæologist's spade.[61]

This grants both too much and too little. On the one hand, we are not entitled to use ethnological data even as a gloss or commentary until we have analysed and classified their social context. We cannot assume, for example, that Bantu ideas of the after-life are relevant to the interpretation of Aurignacian interments, because Bantu society belongs to a more advanced stage than Aurignacian. On the other hand, it is almost meaningless to say that the thoughts and beliefs of prehistoric man have perished save in so far as they are recoverable by excavation. The whole question is *how* far. And there is only one way of answering it—by considering the nature of primitive thought in general, that is, by applying the comparative method. If the problem is approached from this angle—if the ground is properly prepared—we shall find that the archæologist's spade goes deeper than is usually supposed.

Among the palæolithic remains thrown up by this spade are the bones of dogs. These animals must have reacted to their environment in the same way as Pavlov's, because they belong to the same species. Animal behaviour is determined by the operation of physical impulses in response to external stimuli. In man, however, these impulses have been modified by social tradition, and to an increasing degree in proportion as he has become civilised. Further, the development of man's social tradition is determined by his use of tools—by

[61] Childe *MMH* 53. Childe has revised his attitude, cf. *AA* 243: 'Archæology and anthropology . . . are two complementary developments of the science of man . . . as mutually indispensable as palæontology and zoology in the science of life.'

production. The rich individuality of civilised thought, the complexity of our social relations, the multiple divisions of labour, the elaborate technique of modern industry—all these are manifestations at different levels of the high development of the productive forces, in virtue of which the human consciousness has continuously extended its control of its environment. As we descend the scale, the technique of production declines, divisions of labour disappear, social organisation becomes simpler, the human consciousness more uniform, more immediately determined by the mere struggle for existence, until we reach the level of the animals. To quote again from De Pradenne, 'the more primitive the stage of man's development, the more closely is his life conditioned by his environment'.[62] This is just as true of palæolithic man as it is of the modern Australians. And in these two cases the mode of production, dependent on food-gathering and hunting, is the same. The comparability of the two cultures is thus proved by their common economic basis.

It must of course be granted that all attempts to reconstruct prehistoric culture are limited by what the spade reveals. But what *does* the spade reveal?

The Australians are in the habit of decorating rocks and caves with figures of men and animals, drawn or painted.[63] These 'picture caves', as they are called, have been found as far apart as Western Australia, the Northern Territory, and Queensland. At North Kimberley, where they are specially abundant, there appears to be one on the hunting ground of each local group. The human figures are of both sexes, the females with exaggerated sex marks. The animals and plants, so far as they have been identified, are all edible species—kangaroos, lizards, nalgo fruits.[64] There are also composite designs, such as a man carrying a kangaroo, and a group of female kangaroos with cubs in their pouches. Another common figure is the impress or stencil of a human hand, produced by smearing the inside of the hand with wet paint or powdering the back of it after it has been laid on the rock.[65]

For the interpretation of these designs we can appeal to the

[62] De Pradenne 12.
[63] Grey 1. 201–6, Elkin 257–79.
[64] Elkin 277.
[65] Grey 204, Elkin 261.

natives themselves, who still use them for ceremonial purposes. At the opening of the breeding season the pictures are repainted or touched up in order to bring rain or to propagate the species represented. Abundance of kangaroos and nalgo fruits is thus ensured, and women are made prolific.[66] This is only another form of the increase ceremony. The art of painting is emerging into independence, but it is still tied to magic.

The technique is crude and probably decadent. Many of the paintings are very difficult to get at. There is a cave at North Kimberley with decorations on the roof, which can only be seen by crawling a long distance on all fours and then turning over on your back.[67] This suggests that in former times, before the native culture was broken up, the ritual was more elaborate.

Cave painting is not confined to Australia. The African Bushmen, another totemic hunting people, have dwindled to a few thousand stragglers, all in South Africa, but at one time they must have roamed the whole continent, because their pictures have also been found in the Sahara, In-Guezzam, and the region of Lake Tanganyika.[68] The art is now dead, but it was still living in the Transvaal fifty years ago, and the natives are still able to explain it. It is superior in technique to the Australian, and bolder in conception. One of the finest examples portrays a herd of ostriches, one of which carries a bow and arrows and walks on human legs.[69] This must be a huntsman who has disguised himself to get within bowshot: was he a member of an ostrich clan? In another we see half a dozen men dancing. They are surrounded by onlookers of both sexes, who are clapping, and they are wearing antelopes' heads.[70] This can only be the mimetic dance of an antelope clan.

With this Bushman art we may compare the cave paintings of upper palæolithic France and especially eastern Spain.[71] The

[66] Elkin 261–3.

[67] Elkin 258.

[68] Leakey 137–60, Burkitt SAP 110–59, Adam 85–92.

[69] Adam 88.

[70] Adam 4, cf. Schapera 203.

[71] Burkitt P 192–221, Macalister 1. 455–505, Adam 69–77.

resemblance is so close that some authorities regard them as the work of the same people. The palæolithic subjects include simple frets, spirals, and crude animal figures; these are succeeded by astonishingly lifelike stags, bison, and other animals, hunting scenes, fighting scenes, and men wearing stags' heads. Another common design is the stencilled outline of a human hand.[72] The caves show no sign of regular habitation, and some of the paintings are even more inaccessible than those at North Kimberley. The cave at Niaux, for example, is a mile long. It has plenty of suitable surfaces near the entrance but no traces of decoration for more than 500 yards. All archæologists are now agreed that the primary intention of these paintings was magical.

There is of course an inherent difficulty in distinguishing a man disguised as an animal from the animal itself, but some of the instances are unmistakable. One of the Pyrenean caves contains a figure of a man wearing stag's horns and a short tail.[73] In the rock shelter at Mège a stag's horn was found decorated with three human figures dressed in chamois skins, masked with chamois heads, and poised as though dancing.[74] This is another totemic dance.



FIG *Chamois dance: palæolithic stag's horn*

These palæolithic communities were totemic. That being so, we must presume that they were acquainted with the totemic cycle of birth and death. And here again the spade comes to our assistance. Burial in the contracted position—the 'uterine' posture—is not found in Australia, but among more advanced tribes it is common in all continents. Similarly, it does not

[72] Macalister 1. 456. The hand-outline also occurs in Libyan caves: Peel 399.

[73] Burkitt P 311, Baldwin Brown 123–4.

[74] Burkitt P 308: fig. 1. Macalister's objections to the totemic interpretation of these paintings (1. 505) are due to misapprehensions of totemism.

occur in palæolithic interments but is almost universal in the neolithic.[75]

The characteristic Australian forms of initiatory mutilation are subincision and tooth-evulsion. Whether the former was practised in palæolithic Europe is a question the archæologist's spade can never answer, but among the remains of the North African Capsian culture are a number of skulls with the upper middle incisors missing. There is no doubt that they were removed artificially.[76] Here we have a palæolithic rite of initiation.

The sign of the outspread hand is still common as an apotropaic symbol in the Mediterranean and the Near East, where it may be seen imprinted on doors and walls and tattooed on women's faces.[77] In several of the palæolithic examples one or more fingers are partly or wholly missing.[78] This is another initiatory mutilation, and among the peoples practising it are the Australians and the Bushmen.[79] A custom so remarkable in itself cannot have arisen for more than one reason.

Lastly, if these prehistoric cultures were totemic, they must also have been exogamous, because exogamy is inherent in the structure of the totemic clan. The parallel is complete. Archæology and ethnology concur in confirming the thesis laid down by Morgan seventy years ago, that the tribal system has been universally the initial stage in the social evolution of mankind.

The archæological data, which were unknown to Morgan, are not in dispute; yet, despite his lead, they have been left uninterpreted. The spadework has been done, and with consummate skill. Why then, with the material in their hands, have his successors been so slow to put two and two together? The reason is that they have lost his grasp of the unity and continuity of human progress. It has become a point of

[75] Burkitt P 163; see above p. 48 n. 48.

[76] De Pradenne 161.

[77] Macalister 1. 509, cf. Seyrig 189–92.

[78] Macalister 1. 458, 511.

[79] Howitt NTSEA (1904) 746–7, Krige 4; see further Frazer FOT 3. 198–241, Luquet MD.

honour with bourgeois specialists in the social sciences not to trespass on one another's preserves. For archæologists to avail themselves of ethnological data, except casually and unmethodically, is 'illegitimate'. It is equally illegitimate for ethnologists and social anthropologists to note the bearing of their results on archæology except as an incidental 'curiosity'. One of them writes:

> What the anthropologist deals with is not the past but the present. . . . That some of the beliefs and customs thus revealed and described are curiously like those of very early man buried in the remote past and perhaps like those of our own forgotten ancestors, is another story.[80]

So the ethnologists treat prehistoric totemism as the archæologists treat totemism in general. In both cases it is 'another story', which nobody is left to tell. To tell the whole story from beginning to end would not only reveal the present as a continuation of the past—it would lift the veil on the future. There's the rub.

[80] Goldenweiser 47.

II

THE NOMENCLATURE OF KINSHIP

1. *Structure of the Tribe*

THE primitive horde evolved by self-division. First, it split in two; then each half split again into two or more units. This gave a tribe of two moieties, each containing so many clans. Then these clans divide, giving a tribe of two moieties in each of which there are so many phratries or groups of clans. The basic unit is the clan. The phratry is a group of clans evolved from a single clan. The moiety is a group of phratries derived from the initial bisection.[1] The tribe is the whole complex, preserving the unity of the original nucleus.

In reality, of course, the tribal system did not develop with such perfect precision. There were complications and deviations. That was inevitable in an organic process operating in different environments. Nor was it maintained simply and solely by economic forces. A structure so delicate must often have been mutilated by war and famine, and in particular cases we know that it was reconstituted artificially by incorporating new clans from outside or by transferring old clans from one phratry to another. But such arbitrary readjustments are a testimony in themselves to the vitality of the system and the strength of its hold on the human mind.

We are now in a position to formulate more precisely the rule of exogamy. The rule applies to all sexual intercourse, not merely to marriage.[2] In Africa and America the prohibition is generally confined to marriage within the clan, but there is evidence from North America that the exogamous unit was

[1] The moiety survives as a functional unit chiefly in Australia, but it can be traced all over the world: Spencer A 41–3, Rivers HMS 2. 500–6, KSO 205–6, Layard 53–73, Morgan AS 90–3, 166–7, 178, Dorsey 230–2, Radin 121, 141–2, 163, 265, Eggan 268, 287, Hutton 125, Haeckel TZ, Frazer TE 1. 256–71, 314–514, 2. 274, 3. 33, 90, 119, 121, 125, 130, 266, 280.

[2] Hollis NLF 6, Roscoe BTUP 33, Hutton 133, Gurdon 194.

formerly the phratry,[3] and in the more backward Australian tribes it is still the moiety.[4] The exogamy of the phratry dates from the time when that unit had been a single clan, and the exogamy of the moiety takes us back to the origin of the rule in the initial bisection of the horde.

The moieties mark the decisive step in the construction of the system—decisive because it was the first. The continuous intermarriage characteristic of a tribe divided into exogamous moieties produces automatically an intricate network of relationships in which each individual is bound to all the others by a double tie of blood and marriage. These interrelationships are reflected in the nomenclature of kinship, which is designed to express them. And the nomenclature tends to persist after the actual relationships on which it rests have been modified. Hence the study of primitive terminologies of kinship provides a clue to the prehistory of marriage.

It is a fundamental postulate of historical linguistics, to which this study belongs, that words change more slowly than the meanings attached to them. An examination of these terminologies shows in almost every case discrepancies between the relationships actually existing and those implied by the nomenclature of kinship, and discrepancies of this kind are evidence that the nomenclature has been inherited from an anterior stage in which it corresponded to the reality. This principle was enunciated by Morgan at a time when both sciences, linguistics and ethnology, were in their infancy, and the whole study of evolution, physical and social, has proved that it is correct. Just as biology, the study of the structure of extant living organisms, is reinforced by palæontology, the study of fossils, so by applying the linguistic method to primitive peoples, whose history may be otherwise unknown, we can penetrate their past.

Starting from these premisses, let us review the three main types of kinship terminology distinguished by Morgan. His results were based on an analysis of 150 languages from all continents except Australia. I have collected and analysed

[3] Morgan AS 90, Frazer TE 3. 79, cf. Buradkar COG

[4] Frazer TE 1. 339–95.

about 130 more, including those now available from Australia.[5] My work on this subject has convinced me that his general conclusions are sound, but I have amplified them at some points, particularly in regard to certain deviations from type, which he did not know of or did not explain.

2. *The Classificatory System: Type I*

The first type is found in a number of Polynesian languages and in one Australian, the second in Australia, Polynesia, India, North America, and parts of Africa. These are the two forms of what Morgan called the classificatory system. The third, called the descriptive system, occurs sporadically in Asia and America, notably among the Eskimos, but with these exceptions it is confined to the Indo-European and Semitic languages.

Type I is very simple. There are only one or two terms for each generation. All members of my own generation are my 'brothers' or 'sisters'—that is to say, the terms applied to the actual brother or sister are also applied to all cousins to an infinitely remote degree. Similarly, in the first ascending generation all are 'fathers' or 'mothers'; in the first descending generation all are 'sons' or 'daughters' or in some languages just 'children' without distinction of sex. For the second ascending and descending generations there is only a single term of common gender comprising both grandparents and grandchildren together with all their collaterals.

[5] My chief sources, apart from Morgan, are as follows. Australia: Spencer NTCA (1899) 66, 77, 79, NTCA (1904) 77–8, 80–8, NTNT 65–81, A 41–61, Howitt NTSEA (1904) 160, 169, NTSEA (JAI) 287, Radcliffe-Brown SOAT, Cameron 354. Oceania: Hose 80, Seligman MBNG 66, 481, 707, Rivers HMS 1. 28–32, 177–92, 214–93, 299, 341, 376, 392–8, 2. 506, Codrington 35, Ivens IBP 76, C. E. Fox 20, Firth 248, Layard 127–32, Fortune 37, G. Bateson 280, Williamson 2. 148, 198; 201–12. Africa: Seligman PTNS 52, 117, 152, 218, 258, 315, 379, 434, 507, Roscoe B (1911) 130, BB (1923) 18, NB 273, 292, Torday 285, Rattray TTA 1. 1–41. America: Eggan SANAT, Rojas KN, Hoebel CS, Strauss SU. Asia: Czaplicka 30, 35, 41, 59, Man 421, Radcliffe-Brown AI 54–6, Seligman V 64, Perera 143, Rivers T 483, Hutton 139, Mills AN 128, 163, RN 128, I. H. N. Evans 303, Lin Yueh-Hwa KSL, Sturtevant HG. Europe: Kretschmer GBB, Durham 151–2.

Morgan argued that this type points to a time when there was no restriction on sexual intercourse within each generation. My father may be my mother's brother, my mother may be my father's sister; my brothers and sisters are identical with my brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and their children are indistinguishable from my own children. This is the endogamy of the primitive horde.

The use of a single common term for the two outlying generations reflects the division of the group into the three age-grades—immature, adult, and senile. Each child, as it learns to speak, finds itself in the lowest grade of a community divided into 'grandparents', 'fathers' or 'mothers', and 'brothers' or 'sisters'. At puberty the child enters the second grade, and thereupon a new grade emerges of 'sons' or daughters', but meanwhile the 'grandparents' have disappeared.[6]

There are two terms for 'brother' and 'sister', one of them applied by a man to his brothers and by a woman to her sisters, the other applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. Thus, in Tikopia *taina* means 'brother' when the speaker is a man, 'sister' when the speaker is a woman; *kave* means 'brother' when the speaker is a woman, 'sister' when the speaker is a man. These terms are called 'self-reciprocal'. If A is *taina* to B, B is *taina* to A. The common term for 'grandparents' and 'grandchildren' is also self-reciprocal. Thus, in Dobu my grandparents are *tubuna* to me, and I am *tubuna* to them. This principle is a radical feature of the classificatory system. In some Polynesian languages it can even be traced in the terms for parents and children. For example, *tama*, the proto-Polynesian word for 'father', means in some languages 'son' or 'daughter'. In Tikopia we have *tama*, 'son' or 'daughter', by the side of *tamana*, 'father'.

It seems probable that the whole system was originally self-reciprocal. This would give us an original set of three terms,

[6] It is a general rule—in Australia almost universal—that the elder brother and sister, together with their classificatory collaterals, are distinguished from the younger by separate terms. This is the only age distinction characteristic of the system, and I agree with Krichevsky 257–328 that it is not original, being probably based on seniority in respect of initiation (Rivers KSO 187–9).

Actual Relationship	I	II	III	*Dobu*	*Tikopia*
Father's father					
Mother's father				tubuna	tupuna
Father's mother					
Mother's mother					
Father					
Father's brother				tamana	tamana
Mother's sister's husband					
Father's sister's husband					
Mother's brother					tuatina
Father-in-law				bwosiana	tamana fongovai
Mother					
Mother's sister				sinana	tinana
Father's brother's wife					
Mother's brother's wife					
Father's sister					masikitanga
Mother-in-law				lawana	tinana fongovai
Brother					
Father's brother's son					
Mother's sister's son				(tasina / nuuna)	(taina / kave)
Mother's brother's son					
Father's sister's son					
Brother-in-law					ma, taina
Sister					
Father's brother's daughter					
Mother's sister's daughter				(nuuna / tasina)	(kave / taina)
Mother's brother's daughter					
Father's sister's daughter					
Sister-in-law					taina, ma
Son					
Brother's son (m.s.)				natuna	tama
Sister's son (w.s.)					
Brother's son (w.s.)				kedeana	iramutu
Sister's son (m.s.)				wana	
Son-in-law				?	fongona
Daughter					
Brother's daughter (m.s.)				natuna	tamafine
Sister's daughter (w.s.)					
Brother's daughter (w.s.)				kedeana	iramutu
Sister's daughter (m.s.)				wana	
Daughter-in-law				?	fongona
Son's son					
Daughter's son				tubuna	makopuna
Son's daughter					
Daughter's daughter					

Urabunna	*Telugu*	*English*	*Actual Relationship*
kadnini	tata	grandfather	Father's father
thunthi			Mother's father
nowillie	avva	grandmother	Father's mother
kadnini			Mother's mother
nia	tandri	father	Father
		uncle	Father's brother
			Mother's sister's husband
	mama		Father's sister's husband
kawkuka	mena-mama		Mother's brother
	mama	father-in-law	Father-in-law
luka	talli	mother	Mother
		aunt	Mother's sister
			Father's brother's wife
			Mother's brother's wife
nowillie	atta		Father's sister
	men-atta		
	atta	mother-in-law	Mother-in-law
(nuthie kupuka)	(anna tammudu)	brother	Brother
		cousin	Father's brother's son
			Mother's sister's son
wittewa	bava		Mother's brother's son
			Father's sister's son
		brother-in-law	Brother-in-law
(kakua kupuka)	(akka chellelu)	sister	Sister
		cousin	Father's brother's daughter
			Mother's sister's daughter
nupa	vadine		Mother's brother's daughter
			Father's sister's daughter
		sister-in-law	Sister-in-law
biaka	koduku	son	Son
		nephew	Brother's son (m.s.)
			Sister's son (w.s.)
thidnurra	men-alludu alludu		Brother's son (w.s.)
			Sister's son (m.s.)
		son-in-law	Son-in-law
biaka	kuthuru	daughter	Daughter
		niece	Brother's daughter (m.s.)
			Sister's daughter (w.s.)
thidnurra	mena-kodalu kodalu		Brother's daughter (w.s.)
			Sister's daughter (m.s.)
		daughter-in-law	Daughter-in-law
kadnini	manamadu	grandson	Son's son
thunthi			Daughter's son
kadnini	manamaralu	granddaughter	Son's daughter
thunthi			Daughter's daughter

Explanation of Table I

The first column gives a list of relationships extending as far as the first collateral line of descent. Abbreviations: m.s. man speaking, w.s. woman speaking.

Columns I–III show how these relationships are classified in Types I and II of the classificatory system and (III) in the descriptive system. The categories are delimited by horizontal lines.

The remaining columns give the actual terminology of five languages. Some details have been omitted. Dobu (Polynesia) conforms to Type I except in having separate terms for the parents-in-law, brother's children (w.s.) and sister's children (m.s.), which are all developments in the direction of Type II. Tikopia (Polynesia) is intermediate between Types I and II. The duplicate terms for brother and sister in these two languages are used according to the sex of the speaker. Urabunna (S. Australia) and Telugu (S. India) belong to Type II. The duplicate terms for brother and sister in these two languages are used to distinguish the elder and younger in relation to the speaker. As applied to the ortho-cousins, they distinguish the father's elder brothers' children from the father's younger brothers' children, and the mother's elder sisters' children from the mother's younger sisters' children. The descriptive system is exemplified by English.

Sources: Fortune 37, Firth 248 and Rivers HMS 1. 299, 341, Spencer and Gillen NTCA (1899) 66, Morgan SCA 523 no. 2.

one of which was used between alternate generations, the second between adjacent generations, and the third within the same generation. And the three terms would correspond to the different modes of behaviour characteristic of the three age-grades.

Morgan's interpretation of Type I was challenged by Rivers on the ground that the most primitive type of the classificatory system is not likely to have been preserved by the Polynesians to the exclusion of other more backward peoples. His own view was that the Polynesian terminologies of this type are degenerate. The distinctions lacking in these languages, as compared with Type II, have been lost. This is not borne out by the internal evidence, so far as it has been collated. The Polynesian words for 'mother's brother' or 'father's sister', where they exist, are either isolated forms, confined to one language or locality and therefore not referable to the proto-Polynesian system, or else they are compounds based on the primary words for 'father', 'mother', 'brother', 'sister', which are distributed with remarkable uniformity over the

whole region:[7] Fotuna *tua-tina* 'mother's brother', from *tua* 'brother' and *tina* 'mother', Nokanoka *nganei-tama* 'father's sister', from *ngane* 'sister' and *tama* 'father'.[8] The Tonga word for the mother's brother's son or daughter is compounded in the same way from the primary terms for these three relationships (*tama-a-tuasina*), while the corresponding word in Fiji (*tavale*) means literally *concumbens*,[9] and is therefore properly an epithet of the primary terms for brother and sister. If these compounds are secondary, as they clearly must be, so are the distinctions they serve to mark.

It is true that Polynesian society is in many respects advanced, but it had no metallurgy. This should be considered in conjunction with another circumstance. The Polynesian area, which consists of a multitude of small islands scattered over a vast expanse of the Pacific, is the most uniform linguistic domain in the world. The Polynesians colonised it between the tenth and fourteenth centuries A.D.—a navigational feat which shows that their culture was then more advanced than it is now. In other words, after reaching the zenith marked by the period of migrations, their culture stagnated. That explains why their languages have suffered so little change during the

[7] The wide range of the primary Polynesian terms can be seen from the following examples: *tama* 'father' occurs in this form in Motu, Trobriand, Tube-tube, New Ireland, Bugotu, Florida, Eddystone, Guadalcanar, Pentecost, Fiji, Samoa, and cf. *tamana* (Tikopia, Aniwa, Fotuna, Dobu), *taman* (Kayan), *tamau* (Kingsmill), *tamai* (Mota, Tonga), *sama* (Duff, cf. *sina* 'mother'), *etma* (Anaiteum, cf. *etpo* 'grandparent'), *timin* (Weasisi), *rimini* (Kwamera, cf. *rini* 'mother'), *ta* (Tavua, cf. Navatusila *ngwani-ta* 'father's sister'), *ama* (Nokanoka, cf. *ina* 'mother'), *amai* 'father's brother' (Kayan), *ma* (Nggao, Loh, Narambula), *maa* (Lau, Fiu), *mau* (Savo, cf. Arosi *mau* 'mother's brother'), *wama* (Rafurafu, cf. *waforo*), *mama* (Koita, Vella Lavella, Hiw, cf. Rafurafu *mamau* 'mother's brother'), *imam* (Vanua Lava, Rowa), *ma-kua* (Hawaii) etc.; *tina* 'mother' occurs in this form in the Solomons and Fiji, and cf. *tinana* (Tikopia, Fotuna), *tinan* (Kayan), *sina* (Motu, Tube-tube, Duff), *sinana* (Dobu), *tinau* (Kingsmill), *rini* (Kwamera), *etna* (New Ireland, cf. Anaiteum *etma* 'father'), *ina* (Nokanoka), etc.

[8] The form *ngane* appears to be derived by procope from **tua-kane* (Samoa *tua-ngane*, Duff *to-kane*, etc.), the second element denoting the sex either of the relative or of the speaker: hence Tavua *ngwandi* (**ngwane-tina*) 'mother's brother.' Cf. also Mota *ra-veve* 'father's sister' from *veve* 'mother' with honorific prefix *ra*.

[9] B. H. Thomson 371.

period of their separate existence. If it should turn out that the migrations were preceded by a very rapid advance from primitive beginnings, the anomalous survival of a primitive type of kinship system would fall into place as part of a process marked by exceptionally sharp dialectical contradictions.

3. *Ritual Promiscuity*

The primitive horde has disappeared from the face of the earth, and so those of Morgan's opponents whose sense of human dignity has been affronted may take comfort from the thought that direct evidence for sexual promiscuity is necessarily lacking. But, as we have learnt from totemism, social institutions rendered obsolete by economic progress find a sanctuary in religion, which is of interest to the historian of humanity just because it is a stratified repository of discarded practices and discredited beliefs. Long after men have ceased in normal life to do as their forefathers did, they cling to the belief that their prosperity depends in some way on the goodwill of their ancestors, and consequently, at critical moments in the life of the individual or in times of public calamity, ancestral customs tend to be revived.

In the Arunta tribe of Central Australia every woman is required before marriage to have intercourse in a prescribed order with several men who stand to her in certain prescribed relationships, all of which except the last fall within the prohibited degrees.[10] The act of marriage is preceded by a formal acknowledgment of the wider ancient rights.

In the same tribe, and in many others, every married woman is required once in her life to attend a ceremony in which she is treated for the time being as the common property of all the men present without regard to the rules of exogamy except that her father, brothers, and sons are excluded. The natives say that the licentious character of these occasions conforms to the practice of their ancestors.[11]

In the Fiji Islands, when a chief falls ill, his son presents himself to a priest with a request to be initiated in order that his father may recover. The novice dies so that the sick man

[10] Spencer A 472–6. [11] Spencer A 472–6, NTCA (1904) 73.

may live. After the initiation a public festival takes place at which all rules of exogamy and rights of property are suspended. 'While it lasts,' a native blandly remarked, 'we are just like the pigs.' Brothers and sisters, who in ordinary life are forbidden even to touch one another, behave as man and wife. The double significance of this ceremonial reversion to communism, sexual and economic, is aptly expressed in the native saying that on these occasions 'there are no owners of pigs or women'. The details were recorded by Fison, a devout but honest Christian missionary, who said:

> We cannot for a moment believe that it is a mere licentious outbreak without an underlying meaning and purpose. It is part of a religious rite, and is supposed to be acceptable to the ancestors. But why should it be acceptable to them unless it were in accord with their own practice in the far-away past?[12]

4. *The Classificatory System: Type II*

In Type II of the classificatory system each category of Type I is bisected. There is a separate term for the mother's brother as distinct from the father and father's brother, and this term includes the father-in-law. There is a separate term for the father's sister as distinct from the mother and mother's sister, and this term includes the mother-in-law. There are separate terms for the children of the mother's brother and father's sister as distinct from the brother and sister, who are still equated with the children of the father's brother and mother's sister, and these terms include the brother-in-law and sister-in-law. The terms for the son and daughter are applied by a man to his own children and his brother's children, by a woman to her own children and her sister's children, but there are separate terms for a man's sister's children and a woman's brother's children, and these include the son-in-law and daughter-in-law. The father's parents are distinguished from the mother's, and the son's children from the daughter's.

As in Type I, each term is used in the classificatory sense, that is, it covers an infinite series of collaterals. For example, the term for the father includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, the father's father's father's

[12] Fison 30.

brother's son's son, and so on; the term for the mother includes the mother's sister, the mother's mother's sister's daughter, the mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, and so on. The term for the father's sister includes the father's father's brother's daughter, and the term for the mother's brother includes the mother's mother's sister's son. Similarly the terms for the brother and sister include the children of all those called 'father' or 'mother'; the terms for the son and daughter are extended by a man to the children of all those whom he calls 'brother' and by a woman to the children of all those whom she calls 'sister'.

We see that the speaker's generation falls into two categories. The first includes the brother and sister, the father's brother's children, and the mother's sister's children. These are the 'ortho-cousins'. The second includes the mother's brother's children and the father's sister's children. These are the 'cross-cousins'. It is important to grasp this distinction.

The cross-cousins include the brother-in-law, if the speaker is a man, or the sister-in-law, if the speaker is a woman. Now, if a man's male cross-cousin is his brother-in-law, his female cross-cousin must be his wife; and if a woman's female cross-cousin is her sister-in-law, her male cross-cousin must be her husband.

In most languages the husband and wife are denoted by special terms, which will be considered presently, but in Australia the term for cross-cousin includes the wife, if the speaker is a man, and the husband, if the speaker is a woman. In other words, the children of the mother's brother and father's sister stand to a man in the relation of brother-in-law and wife, to a woman in the relation of husband and sister-in-law. Similarly, in the preceding generation the father-in-law is the mother's brother, the mother-in-law is the father's sister; in the succeeding generation a man's son-in-law is his sister's son and a woman's son-in-law is her brother's son. The whole system turns on the continuous intermarriage of cross-cousins.

Cross-cousin marriage is the form of marital relations that results from the intermarriage in each generation of two exogamous groups. All relatives are classified according as they

belong to the speaker's own group or to the other. Consequently, just as Type I expresses the relationships characteristic of the endogamous horde, so Type II corresponds to a community of two exogamous moieties. The difference between them, which is simply that Type II bisects each category of Type I, follows from the bisection of the horde.

5. *Group-marriage*

On this interpretation, and on no other, the logic of the system is apparent. The linguistic evidence is so conclusive that it would have to be accepted even if it were unsupported. In fact, however, cross-cousin marriage is still the rule throughout Australia, in parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, among a number of Dravidian tribes in India, and in various parts of North, Central, and South America and Africa.[13]

Cross-cousin marriage may be individual or collective. Outside Australia it is to-day everywhere individual, save in so far as a man who marries an eldest sister has a claim on the younger ones too as they come of age. In these conditions the terminology, which rests on the principle of collective relationships, is contradicted by the actual practice. But in parts of Australia cross-cousin marriage is, or was till recently, collective. A group of brothers are mated to a group of sisters.[14] Here the nomenclature corresponds to the reality. There can be no doubt that this was once the case everywhere with Type II. Just as the bisection of each category of Type I limited the endogamy of the horde by the rule of exogamy, so the absence of further distinctions within the new categories argues that sexual relations were not subject to any closer restriction. Marriage was collective. Indeed, at this stage it is scarcely correct to speak of marriage at all, because, as will appear later, formal marriage marks the definition of those individual relationships which eventually superseded the collective.[15] In each generation the men of the one moiety were the mates, actual or potential, of the women of the other.

[13] Briffault 1. 563–84.
[14] Howitt NTSEA (1904) 173–87, Spencer NTCA (1904) 73, 95.
[15] Briffault 2. 1–96.

Morgan's theory of group-marriage has been strenuously and obstinately contested. It was published seventy years ago, yet it is still being denounced as vociferously as ever. It is a wonder the old man had so much blood in him. Again and again we have been assured that fresh evidence has rendered his conclusions out of date. This attitude would be more impressive if it were backed by a reassemblage of the data, but apparently the evidence that damns Morgan is so vast that it cannot be collected. His corpus of 150 languages could be doubled or trebled at the present day, but it has not been. The additional materials lie scattered about in hundreds of monographs and periodicals, and the standard collection is still his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity* (1871). In regard to actual marriage customs, as distinct from the terminologies, only one methodical attempt has been made to bring his work up to date—by Briffault;[16] and Briffault is one of his strongest supporters, trenchantly exposing the unscientific reasoning of his opponents and marshalling on his side a mass of concrete data far more copious and complete than has ever been adduced against him. In saying this I have not forgotten Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*. The reader who has any confidence in that work should consult Briffault.[17]

Lowie, one of Morgan's latter-day antagonists, observes that his belief in social progress 'was a natural accompaniment of the belief in historical laws, especially when tinged with the evolutionary optimism of the seventies'.[18] So Lowie does not believe in historical laws. He admits that his own view of history is unscientific. Why then does he ask us to believe it? What he says here is of course quite true in the sense that Morgan's work, which has justly been compared with Darwin's,[19] was an intellectual masterpiece of capitalism in its prime. It is also true that Lowie's disbelief in social progress, expressed in caustic aphorisms about 'that planless hodge-podge, that thing of shreds and patches, called civilisation',[20] is an equally characteristic product of capitalism in decay.

[16] *Ib.* 1. 614–781. [17] *Ib.* 1. 764–5, 2. 16–64, etc. [18] Lowie 427.
[19] Engels UFPS 15. [20] Lowie 428.

6. *Decay of the Classificatory System*

Since the starting-point of group-marriage was the bisection of the horde, the collective character of the relationship must at first have been complete, all the males of the one clan being mated with all their female coevals of the other; but when the two original clans had segmented into groups of clans, or moieties, the range of sexual relations, though still nominally coextensive with the moiety, was in practice restricted to one or other of its constituent clans. Instead of one collective union there were several. The same process was repeated when the clan became a phratry, until eventually the rule of exogamy was concentrated in the individual clan. This is the culminating point in the evolution of the tribal system, which, starting from the undifferentiated horde, has now become a complex of moieties, phratries, and clans.

After this point is passed, the gathering forces of economic and social differentiation, which determined the growth of the system, become disruptive. As the mode of production becomes individualised, it is brought into conflict with the collective organisation of the producers. Each producer becomes more possessive as he becomes more self-sufficient. And so collective marriage breaks down. Instead of a group of brothers uniting with a group of sisters on equal terms, each brother marries one or more sisters on his own, with the reservation that they shall be accessible to the others when he is away from home. Later still, having established a prior claim on the inheritance as senior member of the clan, the eldest brother acquires a corresponding right to the whole group of sisters, leaving only the reversion of them to his juniors after his decease.

The marriage of a group of sisters to one man is the sororate; the right to an elder brother's widow or widows is the levirate.[21] These worldwide customs mark a unilateral development of individual marriage in favour of the sex which is now playing the dominant role in production. The converse of the sororate, known as fraternal polyandry—a group of brothers married to one woman—is much less common, because the social dominance

[21] On the sororate and levirate see Briffault 1. 614–29, 766–81.

of the female sex tends to go with the survival of common ownership and hence of group-marriage in its unmodified form.[22]

Returning to Type II, we observe that, from the moment when the moiety ceases to be the basic exogamous unit, the system contains a contradiction. Within each category there has emerged in practice a distinction lacking in the nomenclature—between a man's actual brothers and sisters, born of the same collective union as himself, and his classificatory 'brothers' and 'sisters', born of other such unions; between his immediate 'fathers' and 'mothers', including his actual parents, and his more distant 'fathers' and 'mothers', with whom he is only remotely connected.

This discrepancy was met by the use of descriptive epithets —'near brothers' and 'far-away brothers', 'true brothers', and so on. Epithets of this kind, designed to limit the primary terms, are a widespread feature of the system.[23] They introduce a new principle, because these new categories of 'near brothers' and 'near fathers' are restricted to a definite number of individuals. And even so they are only a makeshift.

With the assertion of individual marriage rights it became expedient to distinguish the actual husband and wife from the other cross-cousins, the actual parents from the other 'fathers' and 'mothers', the actual parents-in-law from the other 'mother's brothers' and 'father's sisters'. The strain set up by this innovation was naturally most acute at the point immediately affected, and accordingly most languages, outside Australia and parts of Melanesia, have evolved separate terms for the husband and wife. The secondary origin of these terms is betrayed in many cases by their still recognisable meaning—'man', 'woman', 'partner', 'couple', 'two-joined', etc.[24] But, once admitted, this descriptive principle asserted itself at all the critical points until the new unit—the individual family—

[22] *Ib.* 1. 628.

[23] Morgan SCA 523 nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 17, Spencer NTCA (1899) 79, NTCA (1904) 78, 85, 88, A 47–55, Rivers HMS 1. 192, 237, 248, 266, 275, 376, T 483, Seligman V 64, PTNS 507, Hutton 139, C. E. Fox 20, Roscoe B (1911) 130, Meek 114.

[24] Morgan SCA 369.

had been finally delimited. The collapse of the classificatory system of relationship was thus brought about by the collapse of the tribal system of society.

Before pursuing the details of this process let us see what happened to the kinship terminologies of peoples whose development was arrested at the tribal stage.

There are two main deviations from Type II. The first is peculiar to Australia, where the tribal system remained intact. In that continent we find in many languages a type of terminology which is baffling in its complexity until we realise that it has been formed from Type II in exactly the same way as Type II was formed from Type I. Just as Type II bisected each category of Type I, so Type IIa, as it may be called, bisects each category of Type II. Just as Type II restricted promiscuity by the rule of cross-cousin marriage, so Type IIa restricts cross-cousin marriage by segregating certain cross-cousins as unmarriageable.[25]

In all these tribes marriage is prohibited between cross-cousins of the first degree, and the whole terminology has been reconstructed accordingly. Instead of one category of cross-cousins there are two, unmarriageable and marriageable. The first includes the children of the mother's brother and father's sister together with all whom these call 'brother' or 'sister', namely, the children of the mother's mother's sister's son and of the father's father's sister's daughter, and so on. The second includes the husband and wife, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, the children of the mother's mother's brother's daughter and of the father's father's sister's son, and so on. Instead of one term for the mother's brother, the father-in-law, and all whom these call 'brothers', there are two, one for the mother's brother and his classificatory 'brothers', another for the father-in-law and his classificatory 'brothers'. The same subdivision appears in the tribal organisation itself. Instead of the normal structure of moieties and phratries we find that each moiety contains two phratries and each phratry two subphratries.[26] This is only another expression of the marriage

[25] G. Thomson AA 395. Systems analogous to Type IIa, and even more elaborate, have been traced in parts of Melanesia: Layard 143–53.

[26] This is what is known as the 'eight-class' system: Spencer NTCA (1899) 77–9, NTCA (1904) 78–85, NTNT 73–5, A 41–6.

rule embodied in the kinship system. I must take a wife from one particular subphratry in the opposite moiety to my own. The members of that subphratry are, in my generation, the marriageable cross-cousins as defined above.

The Arunta have introduced a further complication. Not only am I forbidden to take a wife from the non-marriageable category of cross-cousins—I may not even marry a woman of the marriageable category if she belongs to the same local group as myself. This restriction too is expressed in the terms of kinship.

The reader may well ask whether in these circumstances it is not difficult for an Arunta man to find a spouse at all. It is, so difficult that the extinction of the tribe is being hastened by its own marriage rules. This feature of Australian society is pathological.

It may also be asked how these rude aborigines retain their grasp of a nomenclature so elaborate that it gives us a headache even to study it in a diagram. Here there is no difficulty. Having no corn to measure or cattle to keep, these blackfellows cannot count beyond five,[27] but they carry the facts of kinship in their heads with a facility that makes the white man seem stupid. Our terminology, on the other hand, is just as perplexing to them as theirs to us. The reason why they have encumbered their classificatory system with so many complications is precisely that they have been incapable of the intellectual revolution of thinking it out afresh in terms of individual relationships.

Type IIa is everywhere associated with patrilineal descent, and it is reported to be still spreading at the present day.[28] These signs of recent growth enable us to explain it.

Backward though they are, these tribes have been in continuous contact for a century or more with European gold-diggers, sheep-farmers, missionaries, policemen, and other champions of our own culture. They have imbibed respect for private property along with belief in God. By banning marriage between cross-cousins of the first degree, and between those belonging to the same local group, they have reduced to a minimum the blood-bond between husband and wife, and

[27] Spencer A 21. [28] Frazer T 5, 52, 256.

thereby strengthened the husband's authority. As Spencer and Gillen perceived, the special features of their kinship system mark 'the initial stage in the segregation of individuals to form definite families in the sense of this term as used by us'.[29] They are an attempt to formulate a rule of individual marriage within a system which being moribund is too rigid to be radically reconstructed.

Similar factors have been at work among the North American Indians, who present the most characteristic examples of our second deviation, Type IIb. In the western and central States the general rule is that a man must find a wife, not only outside his clan, but outside the first three degrees of collateral descent—that is, a woman who stands beyond any effective claim of consanguinity.[30] This too is probably a recent development, because some of the tribes still retain the simple form of cross-cousin marriage.[31]

Most of these Amerindians belong to the Higher Hunting or First Agricultural grades. Their tribal institutions are more advanced and consequently less stable than the Australian. In them, therefore, the effect of individual marriage has not been to elaborate the classificatory system but to dislocate it.

The weakest point in the system, after cross-cousin marriage has been abandoned, is naturally the cross-cousin relationship. Some means has to be found of distinguishing from the cross-cousins the husband and wife and the brother-in-law and sister-in-law. Most of these languages have separate terms for the husband and wife, though several of them still include the brother-in-law (woman speaking) with the husband and the sister-in-law (man speaking) with the wife.[32] Among the Tinneh and the Rocky Mountain tribes the children of the mother's brother and father's sister, being no longer marriageable, have been transferred to the category of brother and sister.[33]

[29] Spencer A 49.

[30] Morgan SCA 164, AS 467.

[31] Eggan 95, Briffault 1. 572.

[32] Morgan SCA 291 nos. 26–7, 34–6, 53, Eggan 105.

[33] Morgan SCA 291 nos. 56, 59, 63–4, 66. Possibly some of these systems go back directly to Type I.

In Dakota they are designated by the terms for brother-in-law (*tahan, shechay*) and sister-in-law (*hanka, echapan*) with the addition of a suffix (*tahanshe, shechayshe, hankashe, echapanshe*).[34] Where one or other of these expedients has been adopted, the terminology has remained stable. In a great many languages, however, the cross-cousins have been transferred to categories outside their own generation. In this way a fresh contradiction has been introduced into the system, leading in some cases to extraordinary confusion. Thus, in Minnitaree, the mother's brother's children are equated with the son and daughter. Accordingly, their reciprocals, the father's sister's children, are equated with the father and mother, the father's sister with the grandmother, and so on. In Osage the reverse procedure has been adopted. The father's sister's children are equated with the son and daughter, the mother's brother's children with the mother's brother and the mother. The further repercussions can be studied in Table II.[35] All the dislocated Amerindian systems approximate to one or other of these two types.

The reason why the terms for son and daughter have been extended to the mother's brother's children in some languages, and to the father's sister's children in others, is probably connected with the sporadic practice of marriage with the mother's brother's wife or the father's sister's husband.[36] In the first case the mother's brother's children, in the second the father's sister's, will be step-children, who in these languages are commonly equated with the true children. Such marriages are by their nature exceptional or occasional, and therefore cannot have caused the dislocation, but they may have determined its direction.

This principle of consecutive dislocation is not confined to

[34] *Ib.* 291 nos. 9–16.

[35] Minnitaree type: Morgan SCA 291 nos. 26–32, 34–5, Eggan 289. Osage type: Morgan SCA 291 nos. 18–24, 46, 48, 52, 55, Eggan 252. The two types are correlated with the mode of descent. In 8 out of 10 instances of the former descent is matrilineal; in the other 2 the mode of descent is not recorded. In 8 out of 12 instances of the latter it is patrilineal; in 2 it is matrilineal. See below n. 37.

[36] Eggan 274, Rivers HMS 1. 47–9, Junod LSAT 1. 266, 290, Earthy 14, Frazer TE 2. 387, 510.

Table II

DISLOCATIONS IN THE AMERINDIAN KINSHIP SYSTEMS

MINNITAREE

Actual Relationship	*Equated with*
Mother's brother's son	Son
daughter	Daughter
son's wife	Daughter-in-law
daughter's husband	Son-in-law
Father's sister's son	Father
daughter	Mother
son's wife	Mother
daughter's husband	Father
Father's sister	Grandmother
Father's sister's husband	Grandfather
Mother's brother's son's son	Grandson
son's daughter	Granddaughter
daughter's son	Grandson
daughter's daughter	Granddaughter

OSAGE

Actual Relationship	*Equated with*
Father's sister's son	Son
daughter	Daughter
son's wife	Daughter-in-law
daughter's husband	Son-in-law
Mother's brother's son	Mother's brother
daughter	Mother
son's wife	Mother's bro's wife
daughter's husband	Father
Father's sister's son's son	Grandson
son's daughter	Granddaughter
daughter's son	Grandson
daughter's daughter	Granddaughter

America. It is also found in Melanesia and in Africa.[37] The confusion to which it leads, especially in the relationship between parents and children, shows that the classificatory system has lost touch with reality. The new reproductive unit is the individual family, comprising one man, one or more sisters, and their offspring. The classificatory system, designed

[37] Minnitaree type: Rivers HMS 1. 28, 30–1, 192 (all matrilineal). Osage type: Roscoe BB (1923) 18, NB 292, Seligman PTNS 117, 258, G. Bateson 280 (all patrilineal).

for an entirely different unit, is falling to pieces. The next step, at which these tribes have stumbled, is to replace it with a new system corresponding to the new reality.

7. *The Descriptive System*

The Indo-European family of languages is descended from the speech of a people which occupied some part of the great plain stretching eastwards from the Ukraine. Some time in the third millennium B.C. this people broke up, migrating in all directions, and their speech split into a number of derivative languages, from which are descended the Indo-European languages still living or preserved in written records.

Some archæologists would identify the undivided Indo-Europeans with the neolithic Kurgan culture of South Russia. The tumuli or 'kurgans' from which this culture gets its name have yielded pottery, horse-bits, and fragments of wheeled waggons. This implies a nomadic pastoral economy with access to forests.[38] The linguistic evidence indicates that when they dispersed the Indo-Europeans were predominantly pastoral with some knowledge of tillage and metallurgy; that they were organised in clan settlements under some form of chieftaincy or kingship; that descent was reckoned in the male line; and that the women went to live with the clan or household into which they married.[39] They may accordingly be assigned to the Second Pastoral grade.

Their primitive nomenclature of kinship has been reconstructed by linguists, who had no knowledge of the classificatory system, from a comparative analysis of the surviving languages. It contains some apparent anomalies which they have been unable to explain.[40] On the one hand, it appears to have recognised no less than five different relationships by marriage; on the other, no primitive terms have been traced for the mother's brother, cousins, nephews and nieces, uncles and aunts. At all these points it stands in striking contrast to the later Indo-European terminologies and to the various

[38] J. L. Myres in CAH 1. 83–5.
[39] Childe A 78–93, Meillet IECLI 391.
[40] Meillet IECLI 389–92; see further my AA 402–17.

forms of the classificatory system just reviewed in all parts of the world.

Of the surviving Indo-European terminologies the most archaic is the Latin. Let us see what it contains.

In classical Latin there are no specific terms for the children of the father's sister or mother's brother, but the children of my father's brother are my *patrueles* and the children of my mother's sister are my *consobrini*.[41] These are the ortho-cousins, whom Type II of the classificatory system equates with the brother and sister. So in Latin: these words are properly epithets of *frater* and *soror*, which indeed are frequently expressed, e.g. *frater patruelis* and *frater consobrinus* as opposed to *frater germanus* 'true brother'.[42] Further, the epithets can be dispensed with. *Frater* and *soror* often stand alone for the children of the father's brother or mother's sister:[43] that is to say, they are used in the classificatory sense.

In Type II of the classificatory system my father's brother is my 'father' and my mother's sister is my 'mother', but my father's sister and mother's brother are denoted by different terms. So in Latin, my father's brother is my *patruus*, which is merely an extension of *pater*, and my mother's sister is my *matertera*, an extension of *mater*, while my father's sister is my *amita* and my mother's brother is my *auonculus*.

Auonculus is a diminutive of *auos*, the Latin for grandfather. In the classificatory system the father's father is included under the same term as the mother's mother's brother. This is because, with cross-cousin marriage, he *is* the mother's mother's brother. If my mother's mother's brother was my *auos*, my own mother's brother might naturally be called my *auonculus*.

Latin has lost the primitive IE terms for son and daughter.

[41] The term *consobrinus* was sometimes applied generally to any first cousin (hence our 'cousin') but its original usage is fixed by its etymology (**consuesrinus*). *Matruelis* for the mother's brother's son and *amitinus* for the father's sister's son are both late, being formed by analogy during the codification of imperial Roman law.

[42] Cic. *Planc.* 11. 27. *Fin.* 5. 1. 1., Plaut. *Aul.* 2. 1. 3; cf. Irish *dearbhbhráthair* 'brother,' literally 'true brother,' as opposed to *bráthair* 'brother in religion'(Old Irish *brathir* 'brother' or 'father's brother's son').

[43] Cic. *Clu.* 24. 60, *Att.* 1. 5. 1, Catull. 66. 22, Ov. *Met.* 1. 351.

So has Celtic. As Vendryes has observed, this feature of the Italo-Celtic group must have originated in some social change that took place before the separation of Celtic from Italic.[44] The Latin *filius* and *filia* are properly adjectives, referred conjecturally to *felo* 'suck'.[45] They are therefore analogous to *patruelis* and *consobrinus*, which we have just recognised as descriptive epithets of the classificatory terms.

As soon as we recognise the classificatory origin of the Indo-European terminology, its anomalous features resolve themselves.

As a classificatory term, IE **aṷos* had included the father's father and the mother's mother's brother. In Latin, Armenian, and Old Norse it came to mean simply 'grandfather'; in the Latin *auonculus*, Old Irish *amnair*, Old High German *oheim*, and Lithuanian *avynas*, it was modified by an element *-en* affixed to the stem and transferred to the mother's brother.[46] In French, Modern German, and Welsh the modified form has been generalised as 'uncle'.

The transference of **aṷos* to the mother's brother implies the loss of an older term for that relationship. The lost term was IE **sṷékuros*, which had comprised the mother's brother, father-in-law, and father's sister's husband. This was appropriated by the father-in-law (Latin *socer*). IE **sṷékrūs*, standing for the father's sister, mother-in-law, and mother's brother's wife, was appropriated in the same way by the mother-in-law (Latin *socrus*). Thus the term for the father's sister also disappeared. It was supplied in Latin by *amita*, which is related to Old High German *ana* and Old Prussian *ane*, both meaning 'grandmother'. From this it appears that the Latin *amita*, 'father's sister', was formed by extension of the stem from IE **ana* denoting the mother's mother and the father's father's sister, just as the Latin *auonculus*, 'mother's brother', was formed from the IE term for the father's father and the mother's mother's brother.

The father's brother and mother's sister were distinguished from the father and mother by extension of the stem. Forms analogous to the Latin *patruus* and *matertera* exist in

[44] Vendryes 26. [45] Walde-Pokorny 1. 830.
[46] Ernout-Meillet *s.v.* Avonculus.

Table III

THE INDO-EUROPEAN NOMENCLATURE OF KINSHIP

Actual Relationship	*IE*	*Latin*
Father's father	*aṷos	auos
Mother's father		
Father's mother	*aṷia	auia
Mother's mother	*ana	
Father	*patḗr	pater
Father's brother		patruus
Mother's sister's husband		
Father's sister's husband	*sṷékuros	
Mother's brother		auonculus
Father-in-law		socer
Mother	*mā́tēr	mater
Mother's sister		matertera
Father's brother's wife		
Mother's brother's wife	*sṷékrūs	
Father's sister		amita
Mother-in-law		socrus
Brother	*bhrā́tēr	frater
Father's brother's son		
Mother's sister's son		
Mother's brother's son	*daſuḗr	
Father's sister's son		
Brother-in-law		leuir
Sister	*sṷésōr	soror
Father's brother's daughter		
Mother's sister's daughter		
Mother's brother's daughter	*g(e)lōu-	
Father's sister's daughter		
Sister-in-law		glos
Son	*sunus	filius
Brother's son (man speaking)		nepos
Sister's son (woman speaking)		
Brother's son (w.s.)	*geme-	
Sister's son (m.s.)		
Son-in-law		gener
Daughter	*dhughtḗr	filia
Brother's daughter (m.s.)		nepos
Sister's daughter (w.s.)		
Brother's daughter (w.s.)	*snusós	
Sister's daughter (m.s.)		
Daughter-in-law		nurus
Son's son	*anépōtios	nepos
Daughter's son		
Son's daughter	*anepōtia	

Greek, Sanskrit, Old High German, Anglo-Saxon, and Welsh.[47]

IE **bhrā́tēr* and **sụ́sōr* continued in Latin to include the ortho-cousins. In Slavonic they were extended to the cross-cousins. In the other languages—excepting Greek, which will be discussed separately—they were restricted to the actual brother and sister. The terms for the ortho-cousins were thus lost.

IE **daiụ̆ēr*, comprising the brother-in-law and male cross-cousins, was appropriated by the brother-in-law (Latin *leuir*). The feminine **g(e)lōu-* was appropriated in the same way by the sister-in-law (Latin *glos*). This removed the terms for cross-cousins.

IE **sunus* and **dhughtḗr* were restricted to the actual son and daughter, except in Italo-Celtic, where they disappeared. This removed the designations for a man's brother's children and a woman's sister's children. IE **geme-*, which had comprised the daughter's husband, a man's sister's son, and a woman's brother's son, and its feminine **snusós*, were restricted to the daughter's husband and son's wife respectively (Latin *gener* and *nurus*). The terms for nephews and nieces were thus eliminated.

We have seen that, with cross-cousin marriage, my father's father is my mother's mother's brother. So, speaking as a man, my son's son is my sister's daughter's son. These are reciprocal relationships. Accordingly, just as IE **aụ̆os* was divided between the grandfather and the mother's brother, the latter being eventually generalised as 'uncle', so its reciprocal **anépōtios* was divided between the grandson and the sister's son, the latter being generalised as 'nephew'. But, whereas the second use of **aụ̆os* was marked by modifying the stem, the corresponding use of **anépōtios* was not, and consequently the division was less definite. In Sanskrit it was restricted to the grandson, in Old Irish to the sister's son; in Greek, Old Norse, Old High German, and Old Slavonic it was generalised as 'nephew'; in Latin, Old Lithuanian, and Anglo-Saxon it fluctuated between the nephew and the grandson.

[47] The Gk. μήτρως, which is without parallel in the other languages, was formed on the analogy of πάτρως.

There remains IE **ienatēr*, denoting the husband's brother's wife.[48] This term is alien to the classificatory system, in which the husband's brother's wife is identified with the sister.[49] It belongs therefore to the last phase of the parent language, in which, as we have seen, the social unit was the group of brothers living with their wives, who came from other groups.

The Indo-European nomenclature thus falls into place as a normal specimen of the classificatory system, Type II. It was reconstructed by restricting each term to one of its several applications, the nearer relationships being preferred to the more remote and relationships through the husband to relationships through the wife. New terms were found for the deprived categories by modifications of the stem, descriptive epithets, and in some cases by transference to other generations. These are the same expedients that we have seen at work in primitive languages all over the world. The Indo-European system begins where the others leave off. If we put all the evidence together, we cannot fail to recognise in it a single, continuous historical process. In particular, the tendency we have noted in the Indo-European system to distort terms by extending them beyond their proper generation confirms our analysis of the more extensive dislocations characteristic of the North American languages. And the reason why this tendency was carried further in those languages than in Indo-European is that the Amerindians have failed to advance beyond tribalism, whereas the Indo-European-speaking peoples progressed so rapidly that after only a brief period of instability their whole system was reorganised on a new foundation.

This new foundation was the individual family. In the descriptive system, the father is distinguished from his brothers, the mother from her sisters, the brothers and sisters from the ortho-cousins, the sons and daughters from the nephews and nieces; the father-in-law and mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law, son-in-law and daughter-in-law, are

[48] Lat. *ianitrices*, Gk. εἰνάτερες, Sk. *yātar*, O. Sl. *jetry*. Descriptive terms for this relationship are not uncommon in classificatory systems: Morgan SCA 291 nos. 3, 59, 63, 523 nos. 1–2, 4, 10, Seligman PTNS 218, 379, Roscoe B (1911) 130 etc.

[49] Morgan SCA 291 no. 64, Eggan 105 etc.

also denoted by distinctive terms. The family is defined. On the other hand, in contrast to Type II of the classificatory system, the father's brother and sister are merged with the mother's, the ortho-cousins with the cross-cousins, the brother's children with the sister's, the paternal grandparents with the maternal, the son's children with the daughter's. These distinctions, dictated by cross-cousin marriage, have become superfluous.

When Morgan was working on these problems, the materials for reconstructing the Indo-European nomenclature were not available; yet it was he who first drew attention to the importance of the classificatory system for Indo-European linguistics.[50] He saw that the descriptive system characteristic of our languages could not be original. If subsequent workers had followed his lead, the Indo-European nomenclature would have been explained long ago.

Morgan's theory of the classificatory system was accepted by the classical Australian field-anthropologists—Fison, Howitt, Spencer and Gillen—who brought to light after his death new data confirming his conclusions. Fison's only hesitation was prompted, as he candidly admitted in a letter to Morgan, by the scandal caused among his religious colleagues.[51] Morgan himself had trouble with the Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, his local minister, to whom he submitted the proofs of his *Ancient Society* with the object of deleting anything that might be judged incompatible with the Old Testament. When the book was published, his spiritual adviser, blinded it seems by affection for his friend, wrote to him: 'I think it a great work, and decidedly the strongest argument against the Darwinians

[50] Morgan AS 491, cf. W. H. R. Rivers in Hastings 7. 703.

[51] Fison wrote: 'In my own mind I accept it [the Undivided Commune, i.e. the endogamous horde] as sufficiently proved, but I do not positively assert it for these two reasons: (1) I expect violent opposition and therefore resolved to narrow as far as possible the ground of controversy; (2) the Undivided Commune means nothing more or less than "promiscuity" and this would be terribly shocking to many of my best friends among our ministers. . . . In short, I do not doubt the former existence of the Undivided Commune, but I do not consider it necessary for my purpose to assert it, and moreover (owing to my surroundings) it were better for me not to assert it so long as assertion is unnecessary' (Stern 162). Life is thorny, and whispering tongues can poison truth.

and in favour of the permanent species that has ever been given to the world'.[52]

Others were not so easily taken in. Marx immediately acclaimed it, as he had acclaimed the *Origin of Species* at a time when it was being indignantly denounced by the academic world, and Engels declared that it 'has the same importance for anthropology as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology and Marx's theory of surplus value has for political economy'.[53] That of course is why, like them, it has been condemned. The opposition to Darwin eventually collapsed, because his theory was indispensable for industrial development, but, outside the Soviet Union and the new democracies, Morgan and Marx are still taboo.

There is more in it than religious prejudice. The family, as well as God, goes hand in hand with private property. Accepting private property as something that 'was in the beginning', bourgeois thinkers have realised instinctively that Morgan must be resisted all along the line. But, though unanimous in opposing him, their front is not united, because they have been totally incapable of finding an agreed alternative.

Radcliffe-Brown has argued that, 'as against Morgan and those who follow him, it can be shown that there is a very thorough functional relation between the kinship terminology of any tribe and the social organisation as it exists at present', and hence 'there is no reason whatever to suppose that the kinship terminology is a survival from some very different form of social organisation in a purely hypothetical past'.[54] The explanation of the classificatory system which he has constructed on these premisses is, as I have argued in detail elsewhere, untenable.[55]

[52] Stern 27.

[53] Engels UFPS 15.

[54] Radcliffe-Brown SOAT 427.

[55] See my AA 396–401. Before challenging Howitt, Radcliffe-Brown, who investigated the Karera at a time when they had dwindled to a few dozen English-speaking stragglers hanging round the sheep-stations (TTWA 144), might have heeded his warning (NTSEA, JAI, 278): 'Unless an enquirer takes note of the altered conditions in which the remnants of tribes are living . . . his statements will conflict with those of earlier investigators who based their views on the rules which obtained when the tribespeople lived a savage life.'

Meanwhile another eminent anthropologist, Kroeber, has been trying to prove the opposite. He denies that kinship terminologies can be explained in the light of social organisation at all:

> If it had been more clearly realised that terms of relationship are determined primarily by linguistic factors, and are only occasionally, and then indirectly, related to social circumstances, it would probably long ago have been generally realised that the difference between descriptive and classificatory systems is subjective and superficial.[56]

The reader who has been cudgelling his brains to master the Arunta system will be comforted to learn that objectively it is the same as his own.

After this only one step was needed to remove the whole problem from the realm of reality. This has been taken by Malinowski, who has discovered that 'the plain fact is that classificatory systems do not exist and never have existed'.[57] Lowie has done the same with totemism. He is 'not convinced that all the acumen and erudition lavished on the subject has established the reality of the totemic phenomenon'.[58] The problem is solved by denying its existence. This is the last word in bourgeois scepticism, which, as usual, ends in flippancy.

Our relief at Malinowski's discovery is a little dashed when we find him confessing to the complete failure of the contemporary Anglo-American school of social anthropology to perform their basic task:

> As a member of the 'inner ring', I may say that, whenever I meet Mrs Seligman or Dr Lowie, or discuss matters with Radcliffe-Brown or Kroeber, I become at once aware that my partner does not understand anything in the matter, and I end usually with the feeling that this also applies to myself. This refers to all our writings on kinship and is fully reciprocal.[59]

So far are the doctors from agreement! After striving all these years to refute Morgan they have only succeeded in refuting one another. In the meantime Morgan's work, as amplified by Engels, is being carried on along a broad front by the ethnologists and archæologists of the Soviet Union.

[56] Kroeber 82.
[57] Malinowski K 22.
[58] Lowie 137.
[59] Malinowski K 21.

III

FROM TRIBE TO STATE

1. *The League of the Iroquois*

MORGAN'S study of the Iroquois is a pioneer work of field anthropology and a masterpiece of its kind. It was during his visits to these Indians that he found the clue to the tribal organisation of ancient Greece and Rome.

In his general remarks on Amerindian society he says:

> The plan of government of the American aborigines commenced with the gens [clan] and ended with the confederacy, the latter being the highest point to which their governmental institutions attained. It gave for the organic series, first, the gens, a body of consanguinei having a common gentile name; secondly, the phratry, an assemblage of related gentes united in a higher association for certain common objects; third, the tribe, an assemblage of gentes, usually organised in phratries, all the members of which spoke the same dialect; and fourth, a confederacy of tribes, the members of which respectively spoke dialects of the same stock language. It resulted in a gentile society (*societas*) as distinguished from a political society or state (*civitas*). The difference between the two is wide and fundamental. There was neither a political society, nor a citizen, nor a state, nor any civilisation, in America when it was discovered. One entire ethnical period intervened between the highest American Indian tribes and the beginning of civilisation as that term is commonly understood.[1]

There were six Iroquois tribes, speaking six dialects. Four of them were each divided into two phratries and eight clans. The other two had no phratries and only three clans.[2] Their common origin is shown by the clan names, three of which occur in all six tribes, while only two are confined to a single tribe.

All the clans, with one exception, are named after animals. These are the clan totems. It is told, for example, that one hot summer day, after the pool in which it lived had been

[1] Morgan AS 65. The Iroquois have been reinvestigated by Quain, who holds that their highly developed military organisation was promoted by contact with European colonists (245–7).

[2] Morgan AS 69.

dried up by the sun, a turtle threw off its shell and grew into a man, the ancestor of the clan that bore the turtle's name and emblem.[3]

Table IV

THE LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS

Tribe	*Phratry*	*Clans*				
Seneca	I	Bear	Wolf	Beaver	Turtle	
	II	Deer	Snipe	Heron	Hawk	
Cayuga	I	Bear	Wolf	Turtle	Snipe	Eel
	II	Deer	Hawk	Beaver		
Onondaga	I	Wolf	Beaver	Turtle	Snipe	Ball
	II	Deer	Bear	Eel		
Tuscarora	I	Bear	Beaver	Great Turtle	Eel	
	II	Grey Wolf	Yellow Wolf	Little Turtle	Snipe	
Mohawk		Bear	Wolf	Turtle		
Oneida		Bear	Wolf	Turtle		

In Morgan's time the exogamous unit was the clan, but tradition said it had once been the phratry, and this is confirmed by the Iroquois word for 'phratry', which means a 'brotherhood'. Clans of the same phratry were 'brother' clans; clans of different phratries were 'cousin' clans.[4] The Senecas asserted that in the beginning their tribe had only two clans, Bear and Deer, which later divided, the original units surviving as the senior clans in their respective phratries.

The clan had a common residence, the 'long house', surrounded by gardens, and over the entrance was carved a device representing the clan totem.[5] The house and gardens were managed by the women, while the men occupied themselves with hunting and fighting. Tillage was done with the hoe, and the staple crop was maize. After an interval ranging from ten to twenty years the soil became exhausted, and the tribe moved to a new settlement.[6]

[3] E. A. Smith 77.

[4] Morgan AS 90.

[5] Morgan LI 318, where, writing before his discovery of the gens, he calls it a 'tribal device.'

[6] Hale 50, Frazer TE 3. 3–4.

Descent and succession were matrilineal. Each clan had its own set of personal names, any of which might be bestowed on a child provided it was not borne by a living member of the clan.[7] A man's personal effects were distributed among his maternal uncles, brothers, and sisters' sons. They could not be inherited by his own children. A woman's heirs were her own children, her sisters, and her sisters' children. By this means the property of the clan was retained within the clan. The dead were mourned by their own clanspeople, but the preparation of the grave and the actual interment were carried out by other clans. A person of note might be mourned by his whole phratry, and in that case the funeral would be performed by the other phratry. In Morgan's day the dead were buried indiscriminately, but from various indications he inferred that each clan had once possessed its own cemetery.[8]

The Iroquois observed six annual festivals, which were superintended by a prescribed number of officiants, male and female, elected from each clan. They had no distinctive clan cults, their place being taken by the ritual of secret societies formed on the clan model. This is a general characteristic of the Amerindian tribes, though in some the totemic increase ceremony can be recognised in a modified form. The buffalo dance of the Mandans, for instance, performed seasonally for the propagation of that animal, differs from type only in not being the perquisite of a particular clan.[9]

The clan had the right to adopt strangers, who were thereby admitted to full membership as 'brothers' or 'sisters' of the persons responsible for their adoption, and received a clan name. Captives were either adopted or put to death. Slavery was unknown.[10]

The clan was responsible for the conduct of its members and for protecting their interests. In the event of one of its number being killed by a member of another clan, it lodged against that clan a formal complaint and a demand for satisfaction. If acceptable compensation were offered—usually a payment in kind—the affair was at an end. If not, an avenging party was appointed to pursue the manslayer and kill him. If

[7] Morgan AS 77–80. [8] *Ib.* 74–5, 83–4, 96, cf. Frazer TE 1. 75.
[9] Frazer TE 3. 137, 472. [10] Morgan AS 80–1.

the two parties belonged to different phratries, the suit would be taken up by the phratry on behalf of the clan concerned.[11]

There was no recognised procedure for homicide within the clan, and offences of this kind were extremely rare. In the absence of private property the main incentive to such crimes was wanting, and a positive deterrent was provided by the spirit of intense solidarity that animated the clan.

The clan had its own chief (*sachem*) elected by the free vote of the adults of both sexes. He was appointed for life, but might always be deposed if he failed to satisfy the electors.[12] The office tended to be hereditary, passing at the holder's death to one of his brothers or a sister's son, and among the Iroquois it was confined to men, but it is doubtful whether this restriction was very ancient. The Winnebagoes of Wisconsin observed the rule that, failing a brother or a sister's son, the succession passed to the nearest female relative on the mother's side.[13]

Each tribe had its own territory and its own tribal council, which met in public to decide questions of war and peace and to ratify the election of clan chiefs, on which it had a veto. Its decisions had to be unanimous. It was composed of the clan chiefs, together with a number of war chiefs elected for personal bravery, and also a special category of chiefs, whose office was hereditary in particular clans and whose function was to represent the tribe on the council of the confederacy.[14]

This last body, the supreme organ of the Iroquois, was composed of the special chiefs just mentioned. It too met in public and was subject to the rule of unanimity. The consent of all six tribes was required before it could act.[15] The actual conduct of military operations was entrusted to two supreme war chiefs, elected from the Wolf and Turtle clans of the Senecas.[16]

Morgan has some instructive remarks on the manner in which these tribes had separated from the parent stock and subsequently reunited:

> New tribes and new gentes were constantly forming by natural growth; and the process was sensibly accelerated by the great expanse of the American

[11] *Ib.* 77, 95. [12] *Ib.* 70–3. [13] *Ib.* 161–2. [14] *Ib.* 113–20. [15] *Ib.* 135. [16] *Ib.* 150–1.

continent. The method was simple. In the first place there would occur a gradual outflow of people from some over-stocked geographical centre, which possessed superior advantages in the means of subsistence. Continued from year to year, a considerable population would thus be developed at a distance from the original seat of the tribe. . . . A new tribe was thus created. . . .

When increased numbers pressed on the means of subsistence, the surplus removed to a new seat, where they established themselves with facility, because the government was perfect in every gens and in any number of gentes united in a band. . . .

The conditions under which confederacies spring into being and the principles on which they are formed are remarkably simple. They grew naturally with time out of pre-existing elements. Where one tribe had divided into several and these subdivisions occupied independent but contiguous territories, the confederacy reintegrated them in a higher organisation on the basis of the common gentes they possessed and of the affiliated dialects they spoke. The sentiment of kin embodied in the gens, the common lineage of the gentes, and their dialects still mutually intelligible, yielded the material elements for a confederation. The confederacy, therefore, had the gentes for its basis and centre and the stock language for its circumference.[17]

We see how perfectly the tribal system was adapted to a society constantly on the move. The multiplication of tribes was simply a continuance of the process of self-division that had created the tribe itself. But in the confederacy this movement is reversed, and it is at this point that we observe, in the office of the supreme war chiefs, the first departure from the principle of equality. In the Iroquois League the tribes are about to merge in the higher but class-divided unit of the state.

The League was designed for war. It was formed in New York State after the expulsion of the Algonkins.[18] The Iroquois had then reached the limit of free expansion at the existing level of production. But, being still at the stage of migratory agriculture, they only fought for land. If, before the formation of the League, their agriculture had been more advanced, they would have become sedentary, like the Village Indians of Central America; or alternatively, if they had been able to develop their agriculture under the League, they would doubtless have used that instrument for subjecting other tribes to some form of exploitation, as was done by the Aztec

[17] *Ib.* 105, 125. [18] *Ib.* 169, SCA 150–1.

League in the more confined area of Mexico. As it was, their progress was cut short at this point by the followers of Columbus.

2. *The Roman Tribal System*

Every Roman, at least every noble Roman, had three names—a *nomen* or 'name', a *prænomen* or 'forename', and a *cognomen* or 'surname'. The *prænomen* was personal; the *nomen* denoted his *gens* or clan, the *cognomen* his *familia* or family. Gaius Iulius Cæsar belonged to the Cæsar family of the Gens Iulia.

The *familia* was a subdivision of the *gens*. It comprised the *paterfamilias*, his wife, his sons and unmarried daughters, his sons' sons and unmarried daughters, his slaves, and other household property.[19] The *gens* was a group of *familiæ* descended in the male line from a common ancestor. The word *familia* denoted originally property in slaves (*famuli*)—that is, acquired goods as distinct from the collective property of the *gens*.

The property of an intestate passed in the first instance to his wife and children; in default of children, to his direct descendants in the male line; then to his agnatic kindred, consisting of his brothers and unmarried sisters and his father's brothers and unmarried sisters; and finally, failing all these, to his *gens*. If we reverse these rules of priority, we have them in their historical order, marking successive encroachments on the common ownership of the *gens*. The married sisters and daughters were excluded because the wife became by marriage a member of her husband's *gens*.

The early history of Roman marriage is obscure, and any reconstruction is only tentative. Under the early Republic there had been three forms of matrimony—*usus*, *confarreatio*, and *coemptio*.[20] The first was mere cohabitation. It required no ceremony, was dissoluble at will, and made no provision for the transmission of property. It resembled the loose matriarchal unions of the early Etruscans, to be described presently,[21] and belongs probably to the time when plebeian marriages and

[19] Morgan AS 293–5, Jolowicz 122.

[20] Westrup RFA; Jolowicz 113–6, 243–4.

[21] See below p. 142. On the antiquity of *usus* see Westrup 34–79.

plebeian property rights had not been recognised by the patricians. The patrician form was *confarreatio*, a deed of transfer placing the bride under her husband's authority. *Coemptio* was the corresponding plebeian form—a deed of purchase giving the husband a contractual right to the possession of his wife. Later, when the distinction between patricians and plebs had disappeared, these forms were superseded by a union as loose as the ancient *usus*, but by this time the interests of private property were secured by the right of testamentary disposition.

The intention behind these patriarchal patrician unions is quite clear:

> If, says Cato, thou dost take thy wife in adultery, thou mayest kill her without trial and with impunity; but, if thou dost commit adultery thyself, she shall not and dare not so much as lay a finger upon thee.[22]

Confarreatio circumscribed the woman's liberty in order to safeguard the succession from father to son, and *coemptio* extended the same principle to the lower orders. They show how formal matrimony was brought into being by the growth of property as a juridical limitation of the old tribal rights:

> The first class opposition that appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male.[23]

Since the *familia* was a subdivision of the *gens*, the family name was called the *cognomen*, a 'surname' or additional name. The *nomen*, without qualification, denoted the *gens*. Again, while *familia* is a late word, connoting acquired property, *gens* and *nomen*, 'kin' and 'know', derive, as we have seen, from the primitive clan, in which the kinsman had been known by his clan name and clan emblem (p. 46). And when we look into these *nomina*, their origin leaps to the eye. The Gens Aquilia is the Eagle clan, Asinia is the Ass, Aurelia the Gold, Cæcilia the Lizard, Caninia the Dog, Capraria the Goat, Cornelia the Cornel-tree, Fabia the Bean, Ovidia the Sheep, Porcia the Pig, Valeria the Black Eagle, Vitellia the Calf etc.

[22] Gell. 10. 23. [23] Engels UFPS 69.

There was more than idle fancy in the legend that Romulus and Remus had been fed by a woodpecker and suckled by a wolf. These animals are known from the evidence of tribal and territorial names to have been sacred.

Here and there we meet totemic survivals in a more concrete form. The Gens Quintia had a taboo on wearing gold ornaments; the Serrani family of the Gens Acilia forbade their women to wear linen.[24] The Torquati of the Gens Manlia wore a distinctive necklace, the Cincinnati of the Gens Quintilia a distinctive coiffure.[25] Similar customs abound among primitive peoples in circumstances that place their totemic origin beyond dispute.

Each *gens* had its own chief (*princeps*),[26] its own shrine (*sacellum*), its own cemetery,[27] and in early times its own land.[28] When the Gens Claudia migrated to Rome from the Sabine country they were allotted a burial ground near the Capitol and an estate on the banks of the Anio.[29] The gentile cult was addressed to the *genius*, the ancestral spirit as such, or to one of the public deities distinguished by the gentile eponym—Silvanus Nævianus of the Nævii, Diana of the Calpurnii, Veiovis of the Iulii, etc.[30] The conversion of ancestral spirit into eponymous deity marks the transformation of totem into god.

There is no record of a personal name associated exclusively with a particular *gens*, but the story of Marcus Manlius, who brought such disgrace on the Manlii that they banned the name Marcus, shows that the *gens* had a say in the naming of its members.[31] Its consent was also required for the adoption of a son, who thereby assumed his adoptive father's *nomen* and *cognomen*. The ceremony of adoption is described as an imitation

[24] Plin. *NH.* 33. 21, 19. 8, cf. Frazer TE 2. 270, 295, 4. 24.

[25] Suet. *Cal.* 35.

[26] Cic. *Fam.* 9. 21. 2, Fest. 61, D.H. *AR.* 6. 69. 1.

[27] Cic. *Leg.* 2. 22. 55, *Off.* 1. 17. 55, *TD.* 1. 7, *Arch.* g. 22, Val. Max. 9. 2. 1. Suet. *Ner.* 50, Plu. *Popl.* 23, D.C. 44. 51, Vell. 2. 119. 5, *CIL.* 1. 65–72, 375.

[28] T. Mommsen 1. 39, 74.

[29] Suet. *Tib.* 1.

[30] *CIL.* 6. 645, Cic. *de har.* 32, *CIL.* 1. 807. The *gens* observed its own feast-days: Macr. *Sat* 1. 16. 7, D.H. *AR.* 2. 21, 9. 19, Fest. 315.

[31] Liv. 6. 20. 14; Daremberg-Saglio 2. 2. 1510.

of childbirth.[32] This idea is virtually universal. Adoption is simply a special rite of initiation.[33] The stranger dies as a stranger and is born again as a member of the clan.

The solidarity of the *gens* appears in a story of the Fabii, who, over 300 strong, fought a war against Veii all on their own.[34] When Appius Claudius was thrown into jail, all the Claudii went into mourning, including one who was his personal enemy.[35] The *gens* was also expected to assist any of its number who fell into poverty or distress.[36] The connection between *gentilis* and *generosus*, 'kinship' and 'kindness', is common to many languages and of all clan ties is the most persistent. I have heard of Irishmen stranded abroad appealing to complete strangers on the strength of a common surname, just as Hardy's Tess visited the D'Urbervilles to 'claim kin'.

That the *gens* was exogamous is nowhere expressly stated, but we know that the Romans disapproved of the marriage of near kin;[37] and if the rule had been observed from time immemorial, that in itself explains why, as a customary law, it was never written down.

We are told that in early days there had been 300 *gentes* divided equally into thirty *curiæ*.[38] The *curia*, which Greek writers always rendered as *phratría*,[39] is the phratry or group of related *gentes*. Each *curia* had its own shrine under a priest called the *curio*. The thirty *curiones* constituted a sacred college under the *curio maximus*, elected by the *comitia curiata*.[40] This was the assembly of all the men capable of bearing arms—a

[32] *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* 4. 304. 44, Plin. *Pan.* 8. 1, cf. Cassiod. *Var. Ep.* 4. 2.

[33] E. S. Hartland in Hastings 1. 106, Grönbech 1. 305, Kovalevsky 125, Russell 2. 237, cf. *John* 3. 4–5, *Rom.* 8. 12–7. The Christian baptism is at once a regeneration (p. 46 n. 38) and an adoption: 'It hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant and to receive him for thine own child by adoption.' See further Eisler OF 63–5, Frazer FOT 2. 27-38.

[34] Liv. 2. 48–50.

[35] Liv. 6. 20. 2–3.

[36] Liv. 5. 32. 8–9, D.H. *AR.* 2. 10. 2.

[37] Plu. *M.* 265d, 289d. On the problem of *enuptio gentis*, which does not really bear on the present question, see Engels UFPS 138-41, Kagarov FEPRR 637–40.

[38] Liv. 1. 13. 6, Plu. *Rom.* 20.

[39] D.H. *AR.* 2. 7. 3, 6. 89. 1, Plu. *Rom.* 20, *Popl.* 7, D.C. 1–34. 5–9.

[40] Liv. 27. 8. 1.

real 'gathering of the clans'. It was so called because the voting was by *curiæ*, each *curia* having one vote, decided by a majority of its *gentes*.[41] It determined all questions affecting the enfranchisement of strangers and the transfer of citizens by adoption from one family to another.[42]

Just as ten *gentes* formed a *curia*, so ten *curiæ* formed a *tribus*. There were three tribes—the Ramnes, mainly of Latin stock; the Taties, mainly Sabine; and the Luceres, which included an Etruscan element.[43] Each had its own tribal chief and together they constituted the tribal league known as the Populus Romanus.[44]

The supreme organ of the league was the *senatus* or council of elders. The number of senators had been raised in very early times, and Niebuhr conjectured that originally they were the clan chiefs (*principes gentium*).[45] The executive power was vested in a *rex* or king, appointed jointly by the senate and *comitia curiata*.[46] The *rex* was commander-in-chief, high priest, and supreme judge. After the fall of the monarchy his political functions were transferred to the newly created consuls, but the royal priesthood survived in the office of *rex sacrorum*.[47]

To all this modern historians adopt an attitude of unreasoned scepticism. Thus, according to Jolowicz, 'it is more than doubtful' whether the *comitia curiata* carried proposals laid before it by the king, 'nor do modern authorities believe that the Roman historians were right in thinking that the king was elected by the *comitia*', while 'the idea of representation is so alien to what we know of the composition of the senate in historical times that it cannot be believed to have operated even in the earliest period'.[48] The Roman historians must have been at least equally conscious of the contradiction, yet they accepted the tradition, presumably because it was then too strong to be denied. The word *rex* exists in a cognate form and with the same meaning in the Celtic languages, and the Celtic kingship was elective.[49] So too in all probability were

[41] D.H. *AR.* 2. 14. 3, 4. 20. 2. [42] Gai. 1. 99; Jolowicz 86, 119, 125.
[43] Liv. 1. 13. 8. [44] D.H. *AR.* 2. 47. [45] Niebuhr 1. 338–9.
[46] Liv. 1. 17, 32. 1, 35. 6, Cic. *Rp.* 2. 12. 3. [47] Liv. 2. 2. 1, 6. 41. 9.
[48] Jolowicz 16–7. [49] Hubert 220, Skene 3. 141.

the Gaulish councils, which the Romans themselves likened to their own senate, while some Gaulish tribes, which had in addition to the council a distinct war chief, are analogous to the Iroquois.[50] The trouble with this school of historians is that they are trying to explain the tribal institutions of early Rome without raising the question of what tribal society is.

3. *Matrilineal Succession of the Roman Monarchy*

The first king of the Populus Romanus was Romulus himself, the founder of the city. The main body of the Sabines were then independent under their own king, Titus Tatius. Romulus was succeeded by a Sabine, Numa Pompilius, who was a son-in-law of Titus Tatius. The next king was a Latin, Tullus Hostilius, and he was succeeded by another Sabine, Ancus Martius, a son of Numa's daughter. Then came the Etruscan conquest. Tarquinius Priscus, the next king, was an Etruscan. His successor was Servius Tullius, a slave, either Etruscan or Latin, who had married his daughter. From him the succession passed to his son-in-law, Lucius Tarquinius, a son of Priscus, and with him the monarchy ended.

In this tradition the royal office passes regularly in the female line.[51] Ancus Martius is a son of his predecessor's daughter, Pompilia, implying that he succeeded through his mother. Similarly Numa, the father of Pompilia, had married his predecessor's daughter; Servius Tullius married the daughter of Priscus, and Lucius the daughter of Servius Tullius. Romans of a later age are not likely to have invented a tradition so repugnant to their prejudices.

Succession from father-in-law to son-in-law is a recognised mode of matrilineal inheritance. The office is held by males but transmitted through females. The Iroquois rule, from mother's brother to sister's son, rests on the same principle, the difference being simply that the Roman presupposes a more advanced development of matrimony. Now, if the kingship passes from father-in-law to son-in-law, the queenship passes

[50] Hubert 221–2.

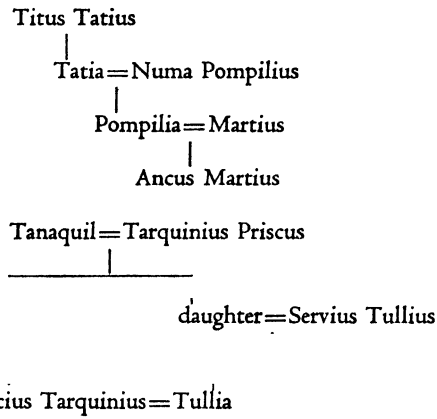
[51] Frazer GB–MA 2. 270–2. The alternate succession of Latins and Sabines may be compared with the Gaelic rule of tanistry: Skene 3. 150.

from mother to daughter. Does this mean that the king reigns in some sense on his wife's behalf? We shall see in the next chapter that it does.

The Etruscans are known to have been matriarchal. In some of their epitaphs the name of the deceased is followed by his

Table V

THE SABINE AND ETRUSCAN KINGS OF ROME



father's. This is patrilineal. In others both parents are given. This is ambiguous. In others only the mother's name is added.[52] *Genus huic materna superbum nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat.*[53] These epitaphs mark the decline of mother-right.

Greek historians tell us that the Etruscans had 'wives in common' and 'their children did not know their own fathers'.[54] They say exactly the same of the prehistoric Athenians.[55] It is simply a conventional description of the matriarchate, in which the woman is free to marry the man of her choice and as many as she pleases. There is no question of adultery—that was the man's invention—and she retains control of her

[52] R. S. Conway in CAH 4. 405. So in Lycian inscriptions: *CIG.* 4266b, 4316a, 4278, 4215, 4300. The Latin *parens* 'parent' meant originally 'mother': Odgers LP.

[53] Verg *A.* 11. 340–1.

[54] Theop. 222, cf. Liv. 4. 2. 6.

[55] See below p. 142.

children without regard to their paternity. So among the Lycians of Anatolia, another matriarchal people, the child of a freeman by a female slave was servile, but the child of a male slave by a freewoman was free.[56] This explains how it was that by marrying an Etruscan princess a slave became king of the Eternal City, and how he was succeeded by her brother, who had consolidated his position by marrying her daughter.

Among the Sabines memories of mother-right survived in the stories of Drances, who became chief of the Rutuli through his mother, and of Camilla, the warrior queen of the Volsci.[57] Sabini, Rutuli, and Volsci all belonged to the same stock. The rape of the Sabine women is usually explained as a case of marriage by capture; and so it was, though it is recognised that this mode of getting wives is less common than was at one time supposed. But, if the Sabines were matriarchal, it is possible that what the Romans were really after was not so much the ladies themselves as their estates.

In the Latin kings the matrilineal rule does not appear. Does this mean that the Latins were patriarchal? If so, they were already one step ahead of the other Italic tribes—the first on the road to world conquest.

One more question: how is the Sabine matriarchate to be reconciled with the evidence that the Indo-European stock was patriarchal at the time of its dispersal? The answer lies in Italian prehistory, which has yet to be uncovered by the spade. We must remember that, being determined by economic forces, rules of inheritance are liable to change. Some authorities would connect the Italic peoples with the *terramara* culture,[58] which, being based on tillage, was probably matriarchal. And in any case these peoples developed under Etruscan influence, which must have affected their native institutions. This is a process we shall meet again in Greek prehistory.

4. *The Populus Romanus*

The *gens*, *curia*, *tribus*, and *populus* are the Iroquois clan, phratry, tribe, and league. The Populus Romanus and the

[56] Hdt. 1. 173. 5. The same rule obtained in ancient China: Wittfogel 400.
[57] Verg. *A.* 11. [58] T. E. Peet in CAH 2. 568–74.

League of the Iroquois are structures of the same type. There is only one important difference.

The Iroquois tribes evolved by natural expansion and federated by simple aggregation without violence to their internal structure. The Roman confederacy was created artificially out of heterogeneous elements by an arbitrary act. Its artificial origin cannot be argued from the symmetrical grouping of *gentes* and *curiæ*, which may be due simply to the partiality of oral tradition for round numbers, but it is proved by the word *tribus*, which, since it means a 'third', presupposes the federation of the three tribes. The confederacy was formed for the express purpose of organising the new settlement at Rome. It illustrates what would have been the next step in the history of the Iroquois, had they survived to adopt a sedentary life. Indeed, as Morgan showed, it closely resembles the constitution adopted by the Aztec League when they founded the city of Mexico.[59] The Populus Romanus marks the point at which the clansman is about to become a citizen and the tribal system converted into a state.

Conversely, the Iroquois tribes illustrate what the Roman had ceased to be. In still earlier times the various offshoots of the Sabellian stock had been expanding through the Italian peninsula in the same way as the Amerindians covered North America. Year by year, according to tradition, the Sabellian tribes had sent out a band of newly initiated young men and women to seek a new home.

> One swarm of these emigrants, who took the ox of their god Mars as their badge and omen, struck southwards into the glens round Bovianum, the 'ox-town', where they became known later as the Samnites; a second, devoted to the wolf (*hirpus*) pushed further in the same direction, and appear as the Hirpini; a third, led by the woodpecker (*picus*), pressed north-eastwards towards that part of the Adriatic coast, south of Umbria, which became known after them as Picenum; while a fourth, dedicated more expressly to their own god Mars, formed the warlike tribe of the Marsi, near the Fucine Lake, in the heart of the Sabellian highlands.[60]

The Populus Romanus was constituted deliberately for the purpose of organising the new settlement on the Tiber. Those who like to think of this act, fraught with such

[59] Morgan AS 191–220, cf. Bancroft 2. 226–7. [60] Myres HR 19.

consequences for the future, as the work of one man, may not be altogether mistaken. The invitation issued by Romulus to all and sundry to come and join him in the asylum on the Capitoline has a parallel in Greek history. Some time in the sixth century B.C. the Greeks of Kyrene appealed to the home country for settlers to join them in a repartition of the soil. This was effected by a reconstruction of their tribal system, the newcomers being incorporated along with the old colonists in a confederacy of three tribes with common lands assigned to each, and the whole procedure was carried out under the supervision of a specially appointed arbitrator.[61] From this we see that in Greece and Rome alike, at the times in question, the tribal structure was becoming a merely formal entity—an empty husk—with only a nominal basis in actual consanguinity. In Rome, under the Republic, it disappeared, but the Greek city-states never shook it off. As long as they lasted, they continued to organise their citizens in tribes—an unconscious testimony to the dependence of the present on the past.

[61] Hdt. 4. 159, 161.

IV

GREEK TRIBAL INSTITUTIONS

1. *Æolians, Dorians, and Ionians*

THE Greeks recognised three branches of their race, associated with their three main dialects. The Æolians inhabited Thessaly and Bœotia together with Aiolis on the opposite coast of Anatolia. The Dorians covered the east and south of the Peloponnese and extended overseas to the southern Cyclades, Crete, Rhodes, and the Carian coast. The Ionians occupied Attica, the central and northern Ægean, and part of the Anatolian littoral, which was known after them as Ionia.

The Dorians were the latest comers, and their tribal traditions are the fullest. They entered southern Greece at the end of the second millennium B.C. At that time they were a league of three tribes: the Hylleis, descended from Hyllos, a son of Herakles; the Dymanes, whose god was Apollo; and the Pamphyloi, 'men-of-all-tribes', who worshipped Demeter.[1] They came from the highlands of Doris in Central Greece.[2] Doris lay between the mountain masses of Parnassos and Oita at the head of the Kephisos, which flows down into the rich Bœotian plain. To the south of Parnassos lies Delphi, the great seat of Apollo, whose cult was brought there in prehistoric times from Crete and S.W. Anatolia.[3] Oita was the scene of the death of Herakles,[4] the hero of Bœotian Thebes. There were prehistoric cult centres of Demeter at Lebadeia in the Kephisos valley and at Pyrasos in southern Thessaly, which the Dorians are said to have occupied before moving south.[5] The name of the third tribe and the three tribal cults suggest that the Dorian League was an artificial construct, like the

[1] Paton 341, Meillet AHLG 96.
[2] Str. 475–6, cf. 383, Hdt. 1. 56, Paus. 5. 1. 2.
[3] See below pp. 293–4.
[4] Apld. 2. 7. 7.
[5] Paus. 9. 39. 1–5, *Il.* 2. 695–6, Hdt. 1. 56.

Table VI

PREHISTORIC GREEK CHRONOLOGY

Date	*Main land*	*Cyclades*	*Crete*	*Egypt*
3300	Neolithic		Neolithic	
3200				Dynasties I–III
3100				
3000				
2900		Early Cycladic	Sub-neolithic	
2800			Early Minoan I	IV
2700				
2600			Early Minoan II	V–VI
2500				
2400	Early Helladic			
2300			Early Minoan III	VII–X
2200				
2100		Middle Cycladic	Middle Minoan I	XI
2000				
1900	Middle Helladic		Middle Minoan II	XII
1800				
1700			Middle Minoan III	XIII–XVII
1600				
1500	Late Helladic I	Late Cycladic	Late Minoan I	
1400	Late Helladic II		Late Minoan II	XVIII
1300	Late Helladic III		Late Minoan III	XIX
1200				
1100	Sub-Mycenean			XX

See Pendlebury 301. The Late Helladic periods are also known as the Mycenean.

Populus Romanus, formed in Central Greece under the influence of the prehistoric cultures of Delphi and Bœotia. When they settled in the Peloponnese and overseas in the southern Ægean, they took their tribal organisation with them.[6] This need not mean that all three tribes actually participated in each movement. It is more likely that the system

[6] The three tribes are recorded in most Dorian settlements, but it appears they were not established at Telos (*IG.* 12. 3. 38). We hear of one of them, the Dymanes, migrating by itself from Troizen to Halikarnassos (St.B. Ἁλικαρνασσός).

was thrown into confusion by the migrations and reconstituted in their new homes on the traditional pattern.

The Ionians had four tribes. The names—Aigikoreis, Hopletes, Argadeis, Geleontes—have not been explained. This is not surprising, because there are many instances in modern ethnology of tribal names being acquired quite fortuitously.[7] All we know of their cults is that the Geleontes worshipped Zeus Geleon, and that the patron of the League was Poseidon Helikonios, the god of Mount Helikon in western Bœotia.[8] The League was certainly older than the colonisation of Ionia, because the same four tribes are found in Attica. When and how it came into being is a problem to which we shall have to return later.[9]

2. *The Attic Tribal System*

The Greek words for tribe, phratry, and clan are, in Attic, *phylé*, *phratría*, and *génos*. The *phylé* is properly a 'growth' or 'stock'. The *phratría*, like the Iroquois term for the same unit (p. 88), is a 'brotherhood', implying a collateral relationship between its constituent clans. The *génos*, corresponding to the Latin *gens*, goes back to a root deeply imbedded in the Indo-European languages.

In Æolic and Doric *génos* is replaced by *pátra*, 'fatherhood', implying descent in the male line.[10] In Attic, besides *gennétes*, the regular word for 'clansman', we find *homogálaktes*, 'fed on the same milk', implying descent in the female line.[11] These are the sort of variations we should expect if there had been changes in the mode of succession.

As the tribal system decayed, these words came to be used loosely with wider applications. We find *phylé* (*phŷlon*) applied generally to any consanguineous stock, sometimes apparently

[7] Morgan AS 114.

[8] *IG.* 2². 1072, Hdt. 1. 148.

[9] See p. 392.

[10] Pi. *P.* 7. 5, 8. 38, *N.* 4. 77, 6. 36, 8. 46, 11. 20, *I.* 6. 63, Hdt. 2 143. 1, *SIG.* 438.

[11] Hsch. ὁμογάλακτες, Suid. ὀργεῶνας, Arist. *Pol.* 1252b. 6, Poll. 6. 156.

even to a clan.[12] *Génos* was still more unstable. It came to mean 'kinship', 'kind', 'birth', 'breed', 'race' without reference to its tribal origin.[13] The same thing of course has happened in modern languages. The old words for these units have been lost, and the new ones adopted by ethnologists, such as 'tribe' and 'clan', are often used very vaguely.[14] But the ancient Greeks stood much nearer to tribal society than we do, and though they sometimes used the words loosely they never confused the things themselves.

Aristotle says that the early Athenians were organised in four tribes, each tribe containing three phratries, each phratry thirty clans, and each clan thirty men. He adds that the four tribes corresponded to the seasons, the twelve phratries to the months, and the thirty clans in each phratry to the days of the month.[15] That there were three phratries in each tribe is perfectly credible, and the distribution of the clans is not more schematic than the Roman, but what is the meaning of the parallel with the calendar?

Under the democracy the number of tribes was raised to ten, and the civil year was divided into ten periods, during each of which a standing committee elected from one of the tribes was in session. If this principle of tribal rotation was a new one, we may suppose that in the tradition recorded by Aristotle it has been projected retrospectively into the past. But it may be doubted whether it was new. The democratic constitution was designed to reproduce the external features of the old system which it had superseded.[16] If the four old tribes had functioned separately for certain purposes in successive quarters of the year, such an arrangement would have been wholly in keeping with the ritual co-operation characteristic of tribal society everywhere. In that case the only unhistorical element is the

[12] *Od.* 14. 68, Hdt. 4. 149. 1.

[13] Hence Pl. *Phlb.* 30d sch.: 'γεννῆται are not individuals related by blood or birth but members of the γένη grouped in phratries'; Harp. γεννῆται: 'the term γεννῆται, members of the same γένος, was not applied to kinsmen in the simple sense, kinsmen by blood (delete οἱ before ἐξ αἵματος), but to those distributed in the so-called γένη', cf. Poll. 3. 9.

[14] Cf. Morgan AS 64.

[15] Arist. fr. 385.

[16] G. Thomson AA 207–8.

extension of the parallel from the phratries to the clans—a formal simplification to which oral traditions are always liable.

There remains the total of thirty men to a clan, which is not explained by the calendar. The figure is probably based on a conventional estimate of man-power calculated for conscription or taxation, like the Anglo-Saxon 'hundred', which represented nominally a hundred heads of households. This analogy was cited by Grote. Another, not available in his day, is furnished by inscriptions from Samos, where each tribe was divided into 'thousands' and each 'thousand' into 'hundreds'.[17]

Whatever interpretation may be placed on the symmetry of this system and the parallel with the calendar, the kernel of the tradition, concerning the organic relation between the three units, is unaffected. Here Aristotle is at one with Polybius, Dionysius, Plutarch, and Dio Cassius, all of whom treat *phylé*, *phratría*, and *génos* as equivalent to the Latin *tribus*, *curia*, and *gens*.[18] The tribe was a group of phratries, the phratry a group of clans. On this point the ancient authorities are unanimous, and, since the same result has been reached by modern research on the tribal system in all parts of the world, we may say that of all the facts relating to the social organisation of prehistoric Greece there is none more firmly established.

It is against this solid background that we must set the view of recent historians, who, ignoring the external evidence, have been at pains to refute the testimony of Aristotle. According to E. A. Gardner, writing in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the early Athenian tribes consisted of 'so many independent war bands'; the phratries, which in origin 'appear to have been voluntary associations, composed in the first instance of comrades-in-war', were admittedly subdivisions of the tribes; but the clans, described as 'sectional associations' constituting 'artificial aggregates of families rather than one interrelated group', were not subdivisions of the phratries.[19] The quality

[17] Grote 3. 54, Vinogradoff GM 144; *Supp. Epig. Gr.* 1. 350, 354–5, 362 etc. Cf. *Exod.* 18. 21–2, Thompson 49. Aristotle's 'thirty' is probably connected with the τριακάς, a sub-division of the δῆμος: *SIG.* 912. 19.

[18] See p. 95 n. 39.

[19] E. A. Gardner in CAH 3. 584–5, cf. F. E. Adcock in CAH 3. 688.

of the arguments invoked in support of these statements is worthy of attention.

In Athens, as in many other Greek states, probably in all, the tribes functioned as units of the army.[20] In the *Iliad* the Achæans are marshalled 'tribe by tribe and phratry by phratry'.[21] The military functions of the tribal system are of course as old as warfare, but the system is older still. The idea that it had its origin in warfare is a gratuitous invention.

Regarding the relation between the phratry and the clan, Gardner affirmed that 'a decisive argument against Aristotle is supplied by an extant fragment of an early Attic law, which prescribed that the phratries must admit not only members of the clans but other categories of citizens as members'.[22] This law belongs to the sixth century, when the old Attic system was breaking down. So far from proving that Aristotle was wrong in describing the phratry as a group of clans, it proves that he was right, because, if non-clansmen had not been previously excluded, there would have been no need to pass a law enforcing their admission. Laws are not made to compel people to do what they have always done of their own volition. It might make things easier for the historian if they were, but they are not.

'Again', the argument continues, 'it is certain that the clans were not subdivisions of the phratries. As a general rule, the members of each clan did not all belong to the same phratry but were distributed at random among these groups, and the case of the Eteoboutadai, a clan whose members were included *en bloc* in one and the same phratry,[23] must be regarded as exceptional. It follows that the clans stood in no definite relation to the phratries.' So far as it goes, this statement is perfectly correct, but, since it purports to describe the state of affairs *before* the democratic revolution, when the old system was still in being, the unsuspecting reader should have been warned that the evidence on which it rests is taken from the period *after* the revolution, when the old system had been abolished; and once this small but necessary adjustment has been made, the correct conclusion is seen to be the opposite of

[20] Is. 2. 42, Hdt. 6. 111. 1, Th. 6. 98. 4.
[21] *Il.* 2. 362–3.
[22] See below p. 112.
[23] Æschin. 2. 147.

that which is here described as certain. We have just observed that membership of the phratry, which carried civic rights, was thrown open in the sixth century to non-clansmen. That was the first blow to the phratry. The second came at the end of the century. Then, under the new democratic constitution, civic rights ceased to depend on the phratry at all. The result was that both phratry and clan, divorced from political life, fell into decay. And in these conditions the circumstance that commands attention is not the 'general rule'—the severance of the organic link between these units—but the exception to it, which is here dismissed as fortuitous. Of all the Athenian clans the Eteoboutadai, or Boutadai, were the most old-fashioned and exclusive. They boasted of having the blood of Erichthonios the earthborn running in their veins;[24] their hereditary privileges included, among other ancient priesthoods, the cult of Athena Polias, the patron goddess of the state;[25] in the sixth century they had rallied the other big landlords behind the banner of conservatism in opposing the reforms demanded by the merchant class;[26] and at the time of the democratic revolution they seem to have still retained some at least of their ancestral estates, because one branch was then still resident at Boutadai,[27] which, as its name shows, was their original seat. Accordingly when, a century later, we find the whole of this true-blue, die-hard clan enrolled in the same phratry, the proper inference is that it was proudly adhering to what had once been the general rule.

Lastly, we are assured that 'the artificial character of the clans is expressly attested by ancient writers; it is also indicated by the obviously mythical character of the ancestors from whom they drew their name, and by the longevity of several clans which maintained an unbroken existence to the days of the Roman Empire'. The only sense in which ancient writers bear witness to the artificiality of the clans is that admission could be obtained by adoption; but this is true of all clans the world over, no distinction being drawn in primitive thought

[24] Apld. 3. 14. 8, Plu. *M.* 843e.
[25] Apld. 3. 15. 1, Paus. 1. 26. 5, Aeschin. 2. 147.
[26] Hdt. 1. 59–60.
[27] Plu. *M.* 841b.

between birth and re-birth. Similarly, if the common descent of the Greek clan is disproved by the fact that the eponymous ancestor is usually mythical, the common descent claimed by totemic clans at the present day, and confirmed in many cases by extant genealogies, must also be a myth, because in these the ancestor is usually an animal or vegetable. As for Gardner's parting shot, that their artificiality is indicated by their longevity, one can only reply that in his 'home of lost causes' there are still gentlemen who 'came over with the Conqueror'.

This attitude to the problem was pardonable in Grote, who, writing before Morgan, had some reason for concluding that 'the gentile and phratric unions are matters into the beginning of which we cannot pretend to penetrate',[28] but Morgan's discoveries, not to mention other achievements of social anthropology, have been available for half a century; and consequently, when we find that the effect of dissolving Aristotle's clear delineation of the Attic tribal system into the independent war bands, voluntary associations, and artificial aggregates of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is to obscure what had been elucidated, we cannot help wondering why Grote's successors should so resolutely prefer darkness to daylight. Can it be that this dusty little cupboard, into which he could not, and they will not, pretend to penetrate, contains a skeleton—the origin of the family, private property, and the state?

3. *The Household*

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An Athenian citizen was known officially by his personal name followed by his father's and that of his deme (*dêmos*). The deme was the urban or rural district in which he had been registered at birth. In other states we find the clan name in place of the patronymic.[29] There was no *cognomen* to denote the family. The Greek equivalent of the *familia* was the *oîkos*, 'household', or *anchisteía*, denoting the 'next-of-kin' within the wider circle of the *génos*.[30] It consisted of the founder and his children, his sons' children, and the children of his sons' sons. When he died, his estate was inherited by his sons, who might either hold it jointly or divide it, but in either case they owned

[28] Grote 3. 58. [29] *CIG.* 3064. [30] H. E. Seebohm 54–64, 88–97.

it in common as co-heirs. If one of the sons had predeceased the founder, his share went to his own sons, or, if they were dead too, to his grandsons. In the fourth generation, however, the estate was finally divided among the founder's great-grandsons, each of whom founded a new household.[31] This limitation applied to the institution in all its aspects. The duty of maintaining the founder in his old age and tending his grave devolved on the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons.[32] The responsibility for prosecution in cases of homicide extended as far as the children of the victim's first cousins, who, as descendants of the same great-grandfather, were the most remote relatives comprehended in the household.[33] If a man died without issue, his heirs were, in the order stated, his father, his brothers and their children, his father's brothers' children, and the children of his father's brothers' sons. If none of these survived, the estate passed, not to the remoter descendants, but to his mother's household.[34]

The divergences between the *oîkos* and the *familia* arise from the immaturity of the Attic law of property as compared with the Roman. The limitation to the fourth generation is an archaic feature which the *familia* probably lost when the estate became alienable. The right of free testamentary disposition was not recognised in Attic law, and so the estate was at least nominally inalienable.[35] Again, the Roman wife was a member of her husband's *familia* and consequently a co-heir to his estate. The Athenian wife, on the other hand, remained in the guardianship of her own *oîkos*. Accordingly she had no share at all in her husband's inheritance, the only exception being that, if his *oîkos* was extinct, the estate went to her own.[36]

[31] *Ib.* 56–64.

[32] Is. 4. 19, 8. 32, Æschin. 1. 13.

[33] D. 43. 57, Pl. *Lg.* 871b, cf. 877c. The same limitation applied to the admission of kinswomen to the house of the dead: D. 43. 62, 57. 66, *SIG.* 1218. In both cases the motive was to prevent a clan vendetta: see p. 481.

[34] Is. 7. 22, 11. 1–2, D. 43, 51. In D. 43. 11–2 the plaintiff, a grandson of the deceased's first cousin, is adopted by his grandfather and so brought within the οἶκος.

[35] This right is unknown to primitive law: Diamond 248–50.

[36] H. E. Seebohm 27–8.

Most of our information about the *oîkos* comes from Athens, but similar rules of inheritance, with the same limitation, are found in the laws of Gortyna (Crete), the only other code that has survived,[37] and the principle of joint succession underlies the Homeric myth of the division of the world among the Sons of Kronos. Zeus received the sky, Poseidon the sea, Hades the darkness; the earth and Olympus remained common.[38] The three elements represent the personal estate, which is divided; the real estate—the land and the house—is held jointly.

The origin of the *oîkos* has been explained by H. E. Seebohm:

> It was extremely improbable that a man would see further than his great-grandchildren born to him before his death. And it might also occur in time of war or invasion that his sons and grandsons might go out and serve as soldiers, leaving the old man and his great-grandchildren at home. . . Thus, especially in cases where the property was held undivided after the father's death, we can easily see that second cousins (i.e. all who traced back to the common great-grandfather) might be looked upon as forming a natural limit to the immediate descendants of any one *oîkos* and as the furthest removed who could claim shares of the ancestral inheritance. After the death of the great-grandfather, the head of the house, his descendants would probably wish to divide up the estate and start new houses of their own. The eldest son was generally named after his father's father, and would carry on the name of the eldest branch, and would be responsible for maintaining the rites at the great-grandfather's tomb. . . . Thus seems naturally to spring up an inner group of blood relations closely drawn together by ties which only indirectly reached other and outside members of the *génos*.[39]

Similar types of household, with in some cases the same limitation, have been found among the Celts, Germans, Slavs, and Hindus;[40] and there is one indication of common origin. We saw that among the Indo-European terms of relationship there was one—the term for the husband's brother's wife—which is not referable to the classificatory system (p. 83). This may now be explained as an innovation of the patriarchal household, which included under the same roof in each generation subsequent to the founder a group of women related to one another only by their marriage to a group of brothers. It follows that even at this early date the Indo-European clan

[37] *Lex Gort.* 5. 10–21. [38] *Il.* 15. 187–93. [39] H. E. Seebohm 54–5.
[40] *Ib.* 49–54, F. Seebohm EVC 351, Kovalevsky 60–100.

contained the germ of the modern family—a sign that the dispersal of these peoples, as well as the collapse of their classificatory system, was due to the pressure of individual rights of property.

4. *Pre-Hellenic Clans in Attica*

One of Gardner's arguments against Aristotle was the early Attic law prescribing the admission of non-clansmen to the phratries (p. 107). The actual words are these: 'It shall be compulsory for the phratry to admit *orgeônes* and *homogálaktes*'.[41] Gardner did not attempt to identify these categories. He simply took it for granted that they were non-clansmen. This assumption cannot be accepted without further argument, because Philochoros, who quotes the law, adds that the *orgeônes* and *homogálaktes* 'are what we call clansmen (*gennêtai*)'.

The *orgeônes* were members of a religious guild which met in the deme to offer monthly sacrifices to the local god or hero.[42] These guilds were peculiar to Attica, and had an official status. When a citizen adopted a son, he presented him to the fellow members of his phratry (*phráteres*), the fellow members of his deme (*demótai*), and his fellow *orgeônes*.[43] The phratry was not a territorial unit, but the *demótai* and the *orgeônes* both belonged to the same locality. It may be conjectured that the *orgeônes* were the *demótai* acting in a religious capacity.

This evidence dates from after the democratic revolution, when the demes were reorganised as units of local government. They had of course existed before the revolution, but simply as villages, without official status. We may infer that the *orgeônes* were a body of persons appointed by and from the *demótai* to administer the village cult.

Nearly 200 Attic demes are known to us by name, and at least thirty of them are clan names.[44] The deme Philaidai, for example, was situated near Brauron, where Philaios, eponym of

[41] Philoch. 94, cf. Poll 3. 52.

[42] Phot. ὀργεῶνες, Poll. 8. 107, *AB.* 1. 191. 27, 227. 15, *SIG.* 1100. 24, 1101. 15.

[43] Is. 2. 14. The ὀργεῶνες are not always mentioned in this formula (Is. 7. 27), probably because they did not exist in all parts of Attica.

[44] Pauly-Wissowa *s.v.* δῆμοι.

the clan Philaidai, had landed in Attica.[45] In these instances at least the deme was certainly a clan settlement. In addition we find about twenty-five demes named after some species of tree or plant—for example, Aigilia (wild oats), Hagnous (willow), Marathon (fennel), Myrrhinous (myrtle), Rhamnous (buckthorn). These suggest local cults of herbal magic and tree-worship, such as are known to have been widespread in prehistoric Greece. The word *orgeón* is probably connected with *órgia*, secret rites, 'orgies', and with *orgás*, a piece of consecrated ground, tilled or untilled,[46] like the sacred grove of poplars that stood outside the town of Ithaca.[47] Such groves still exist in the Ionian Islands.[48] They are a regular feature of the village in many parts of Europe and Asia, and in India they still serve for the worship of the local earth goddess.[49]

The earliest remembered inhabitants of Attica were Pelasgoi, a non-Hellenic people to whom we shall be introduced later. I suggest that the *orgeônes* were originally the clansmen of the Pelasgoi. These clans were matrilineal—hence the name *homogálaktes*, 'fed on the same milk'. They lived in village settlements, each with its sacred grove (*orgás*) for the maintenance of the clan cult (*órgia*). The Greek-speaking invaders brought with them their own tribal system, from which these aborigines were excluded. Hence, save in so far as they were absorbed by the new clans, the old Pelasgian village cults sank into obscurity. But they did not die out. In the sixth century they formed a natural rallying point for vagrants, outcasts, squatters, and other detribalised elements uprooted by the appropriation of the land, and after the democratic revolution they came into their own again, taking their place in the new system of demes which superseded the old aristocratic clans.

[45] Plu. *Sol.* 10.

[46] Harp. ὀργεῶνας. Ὀργεών stands to *ὀργά as πατρεών to πάτρα (*IG.* 12. 1. 892).

[47] *Od.* 17. 204–11, cf. 6. 291–4.

[48] Ansted 191–5.

[49] Baden-Powell 23, Russell 1. 44, Gurdon 33, Ehrenfels 96, cf. Earthy 25, Rattray A 246.

5. *Totemic Survivals: Snake-worship*

The Athenian *génos* maintained an ancestral cult under the direction of its *árchon* or chief[50] at a special shrine, and had its own burial ground,[51] where the dead were worshipped as heroes. The tendance of the dead, and probably the clan cult as a whole, were based on monthly observances, like the village *órgia*.[52] Were these cults totemic?

The comparative study of totemism creates in favour of an affirmative answer to this question a presumption so strong as to place the burden of proof on the other side. Those who deny the presence of totemic elements in Greek religion have only been able to maintain their position by isolating the subject from its proper context in the general history of religion. And the result is that one of the most conspicuous features of Greek culture—the part played in myth and ritual by plants and animals—is left unexplained.

We have seen how, by treating the clan as an 'artificial aggregate of families', the *Cambridge Ancient History* envelopes the origin of the family in the obscurity of an impenetrable past. So in regard to the clan cult, avoiding the word totemism as though it were indelicate, these authorities assert that 'the proximity of Greek religion to this hypothetical pre-deistic stage of culture falls to the ground'.[53] Apollon Lykeios is admittedly a wolf-god,[54] but, if this wolf-god was ever a wolf, it was so long ago that there is no need for him to poke his nose into the picture. Even Nilsson, who has contributed so much to Greek archæology, insists that 'there is nothing in Greek religion which necessarily demands a totemistic explanation' and that 'it is unproved and doubtful whether totemism ever existed among the forefathers of the Greeks'.[55] It can be shown in detail that, when confronted with this problem, Nilsson's reasoning, usually so clear and cogent, breaks down.

[50] *IG.* 2. 605, 3. 5, 97, 680, 702. This usage of ἄρχων is not given in Liddell and Scott.

[51] Plu. *Them.* 1, Hdt. 5. 61. 2, Paus. 1. 2. 4–5 (cf. Poll. 8. 103), *IG.* 2. 596; D. 43. 79, 57. 28.

[52] S. *El.* 281, cf. Plu. *M.* 296f, *SIG.* 1218–9, A. Mommsen 3–5.

[53] W. R. Halliday in CAH 2. 613.

[54] *Ib.* 2. 632. [55] Nilsson HGR 77–8, cf. Deubner 171.

One of the cardinal characteristics of Greek religion, attested continuously from Mycenean to Christian times, is snake-worship. The subject of Greek totemism may be introduced by a survey of these cults, which will also throw some further light on totemism in general.

In Epeiros, always one of the most backward parts of the country, there survived down to the Christian era a sacred wood of Apollo. A number of snakes, believed to have sprung from the dragon of Delphi, were tended there by a priestess, who alone was permitted to enter the enclosure. She fed them with honey cakes. If they took the food readily, it was a sign of good luck for the year.[56] Here we have a pre-deistic snake cult drawn into the orbit of the Delphic Apollo.

On the Hill of Kronos overlooking the sacred grove at Olympia was a shrine of Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, which housed a snake called Sosipolis, 'saviour of the state'. It was fed on honey cakes by a priestess, who alone was permitted to enter, her head veiled.[57] The story was that, when the men of Elis were about to join battle with the Arcadians, an Elian woman set down between the opposing armies her new-born infant, which at once turned into a snake and so terrified the enemy that they took to their heels and fled. The snake then vanished into the ground at the spot where the shrine was afterwards erected.[58]

E. N. Gardiner, in his monograph on Olympia, in which he was careful to shield the classical Greek athlete from the indignities of comparative anthropology, dismissed this cult and the legend attached to it as 'typical of the superstitious credulity of the fourth century'.[59] He forgot that an almost identical cult flourished throughout the classical period in the full blaze of the glory that was Greece on the Athenian acropolis. In a famous passage of Herodotus we read that, when the Persians were closing in on Athens, the sacred snake

[56] Æl. *NA.* 11. 2. There was a similar cult at Lavinium: *ib.* 11. 16.

[57] Paus. 6. 20. 2. This shrine has been identified as the Idæan Cave of Pi. O. 5. 8 (C. Robert SO 41), suggesting a Minoan origin. The statue of Sosipolis at Elis held the horn of Amaltheia (Paus. 6. 25. 4), which was a Minoan symbol (p. 250 n. 10), and see further p. 292.

[58] Paus. 6. 20. 4–5. For other snake cults connected with childbirth see Pi. O. 6. 45, Apld. 3. 6. 4.

[59] Gardiner 125.

kept in the shrine of Erechtheus mysteriously vanished, and so reconciled the people to the evacuation of the city.[60] In this case too the reptile was tended with monthly offerings of honey cakes, and it was called the Housekeeper Snake, because it was believed to have in its keeping the safety of the state.[61] With it was associated the myth of Erichthonios, who was a son of the earth goddess, or, in one version, of Athena herself.[62] He is said to have been born as a snake or to have been tended at birth by a pair of snakes.[63] His spirit was embodied in the animal kept in the shrine, and from him was descended the Athenian king Erechtheus, whose daughter Kreousa, when she exposed her infant son, adorned it with a snake necklace in his memory.[64]

On this cult Nilsson remarks: 'It can be understood why Athena is associated with the guardian snake of the house if she originated in Mycenean times. The goddess worshipped in the Minoan domestic shrine was a snake-goddess.' What then was the origin of the snake-goddess? 'It has been thought', he says, 'that the snake represents the soul of the deceased. . . . However, the snake is not always the representative of the dead. Both ancient and modern folklore know it as the protector of the house, and in the Greece of our own day it is still called the Lord of the House and receives offerings. There is no need to look any farther for an explanation of the Minoan domestic snake-goddess.'[65] Athena, he argues, was associated with the snake in the historical period because she had been associated with the snake in the prehistoric period for the same reason as the snake is called Lord of the House and tended with offerings by the modern Greek peasantry. For what reason? This explanation, beyond which we are not allowed to look, explains nothing.

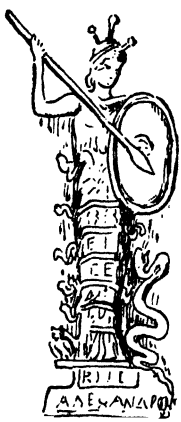


FIG. 2. *Athena and snake: relief from Melos*

[60] Hdt. 8. 41. 2–3. [61] Hsch. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν. [62] Apld. 3. 14. 6; see p. 262.
[63] Paus. 1. 24. 7, Hyg. *Ast.* 2. 13, E. *Io* 21–3, 1427–9.
[64] E. *Io* 18–26.
[65] Nilsson HGR 26–7, 13, cf. MMR 283–4, Evans PM 4. 153–8.

The value of modern Greek folklore for the study of ancient Greece is undeniable, but surely, before skipping two millennia, we might have been permitted a glimpse at those ancient sepulchral reliefs, discussed by Jane Harrison, in which we see the deceased at a meal with a snake rearing behind him or drinking from a cup in his hand. The snake is

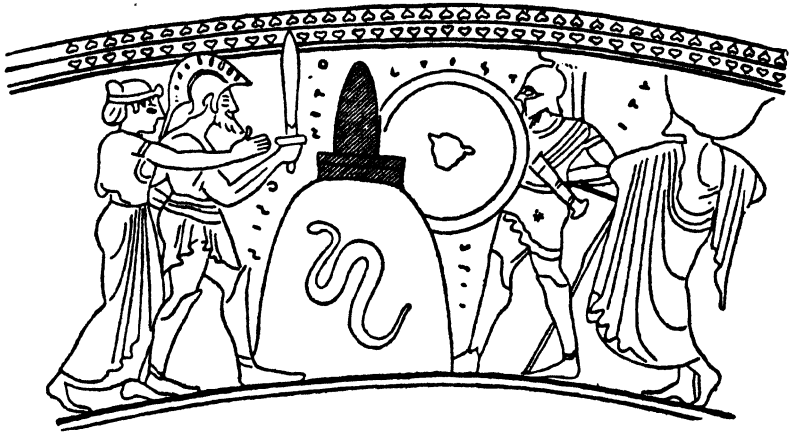


FIG. 3. *Burial mound and snake: Attic vase*

the dead man's double. Then there is that black-figured vase, also quoted by her, on which a snake rises from a tomb in pursuit of a man retreating into the background.[66] Just as Orestes was persecuted by his mother's Furies in the shape of snakes or snake-like women, so here the fugitive is evidently a murderer pursued by the spirit of his victim. These serpentine Erinyes were spirits of the dead. Again, thanks largely to Nilsson's own reasoning, it is agreed that the Greek hero cults originated in the worship of the dead;[67] and the heroes were in the habit of appearing as snakes. After relating the death of Kleomenes, who was saved from the vultures by a snake coiling itself round the corpse, Plutarch adds that 'the ancients believed that the snake was associated with the heroes more intimately than any other animal'.[68]

Another snake-hero, Kychreus, appeared in some of the

[66] Harrison PSGR 237, 325–31, T 267–71: figs. 3–4.
[67] Nilsson HGR 103–4. [68] Plu. *Cleom.* 39.



FIG. 4. *Feast of the dead: Laconian relief*

Greek galleys at the Battle of Salamis. We are told that, driven from Salamis, he had been received by Demeter at Eleusis, where he remained in his animal form as her attendant.[69] Demeter too was a Minoan snake-goddess. This testimony comes from the venerable Hesiod, who thus establishes the very point which Nilsson dismisses with an appeal to modern folklore.

The peasant customs of modern Europe are the mere detritus of outmoded ritual, and so they usually need that ritual to explain them. It would consequently count for very little against the ancient evidence if in modern Greek folklore the snake had completely lost its primitive significance. But it has not. Unbaptised infants are popularly known as *drákoi*,

[69] Paus. 1. 36. 1, Apld. 3. 12. 7, D.S. 4. 72, Plu. *Sol.* 9, *Thes.* 10, Hes. fr. 107=Str. 393.

'snakes', because it is believed they are liable to turn into snakes and vanish.[70] This is what happened to the Olympian baby.

The direct evidence is decisive, but comparisons may still be helpful, because it is always an advantage to view these problems in the widest possible perspective. If, however, we are going to venture beyond ancient Greece, why stop at the Greece of our day? In regard to snake worship the Greeks were at one with the ancient Egyptians and Semites and primitive peoples in all ages and all parts of the globe. The belief in snakes as incarnations of the dead belongs to the common heritage of mankind.[71] The snake casts its slough, thus renewing its vitality, and hence becomes a symbol of immortality, of the power to be born again. That accounts for its part in innumerable fables purporting to explain how death came into the world and all our woe. In the Melanesian languages the current phrase for 'everlasting life' means literally 'to cast the slough'.[72] In the Egyptian Book of the Dead the deceased prays to become like the serpent: 'I am the serpent Sata. . . . I die and am born again.'[73] The Phœnicians believed that the serpent has the faculty not only of putting off old age and renewing its youth but of increasing its strength and stature.[74] And if by casting its slough it throws off old age, we need look no farther for an explanation of the Greek word for 'slough', which was *géros*, 'old age' (Latin *senectus*).

The Zulus bury their dead in sacred woods, each of which contains a number of cemeteries corresponding to the villages of the district. The woods are taboo except to the priest, to whom the dead frequently appear, sometimes as mammals but usually as snakes.[75] Once, when the inhabitants of a kraal were out celebrating a wedding feast, some old women, who had remained behind in one of the huts, were horrified to see two snakes crawling along the wall. They sent for the village

[70] Harrison PSGR 331, Polites P 2. 58, Demetrakes *s.v.*

[71] Briffault 2. 641–51, 660–73.

[72] *Ib.* 2. 643.

[73] Budge GE 2. 377. The same idea underlies the Greek legend of Glaukos son of Minos (Apld. 3. 3. 1–2).

[74] Eus. *PE.* 1. 10.

[75] Junod LSAT 2. 376–7, 384–5.

headman, who was able to reassure them: 'Don't be afraid—they are only our ancestor gods come to share the feast'.[76] Among the Masai, when a notable person dies, his soul goes into a snake, which enters his kraal to look after his children.[77] A Greek would have said that he becomes a hero and guardian of the house. Every Masai family and clan has a particular species of snake, which is believed to embody its ancestors. Worsted in a fight, a man will summon his family snakes with the cry: 'Avengers of my mother's house, come out!'[78] Such an appeal would have needed no interpreting for the people brought up on stories of Clytemnestra and Sosipolis. When these Bantus have won their liberty, they will make good archæologists.

In snake-worship the clan totem has been replaced by a generalised symbol of reincarnation. It is totemism in a modified form.

6. *Totemic Survivals: Clan Emblems*

Returning to the Athenian acropolis, we have seen that in the family of Erechtheus the snake appears both as ancestor and as emblem. This comes near to saying that the Erechtheidai were a snake clan. But they are not known to have existed as a clan. The name was used as a poetical title for the Athenians, and in historical times the cult itself was administered by the Boutadai.[79] The evidence in this case is not

[76] *Ib.* 2. 384, cf. Hollis NLF 90. An old priest of the Bathonga described to Junod how, on his entering a sacred wood to sacrifice, a snake, the father of Makundju, came out, circled round him and his companions and said, 'Thank you! so you are still there, my children! you come to load me with presents'; and when Junod asked whether this was fact or fiction, the old man replied, 'Undoubted fact! These are great truths!' (LSAT 2. 384–5). The only important difference between the Greek and Bantu snake cults is that the former were administered by women.

[77] Hollis MLF 307–8, cf. Krige 53, 62, 65, 174, 285. The transition from clan cult to state cult can be seen at the Baganda snake oracle on Lake Victoria Nyanza: the oracle is public, but the office of interpreter is hereditary in a particular clan: Roscoe B (1911) 320–2.

[78] Hollis MLF 308.

[79] Harp. Ἐτεοβουτάδαι, Paus. 1. 26. 5, Apld. 3. 15. 1.

complete, and the most that can safely be said is that it presupposes a totemic ideology.

The Spartoi of Thebes were so called because they traced their lineage to the dragon's teeth sown by Kadmos at the foundation of the city.[80] Epameinondas, the Theban leader who fell at Leuktra in 362 B.C., was buried in a tomb which bore a shield emblazoned with a dragon in token of his membership of this clan.[81] If the clan ancestor was a dragon and the clan emblem was a dragon, the dragon must have been the totem of the clan.

There was a Phrygian clan, called the Ophiogeneis, 'snake-born'. It had a hereditary cure for snakebite and traced its ancestry to a child begotten on a woman by a snake in a sacred wood of Artemis.[82] Here a totemic myth of the normal type is associated with a cult like the one we have noted in Epeiros.

All the great Attic clans had their ancestral emblems, which, like the Spartoi, they displayed on their shields—the *triskelés* of the Alkmeonidai, the horse of the Peisistratidai, the horse's hindquarters of the Philaidai, the ox-head of the Boutadai, and others not identified.[83] The *triskelés* is the fylfoot or swastika, a symbol whose origin is obscure.[84] The Peisistratidai traced their pedigree through Peisistratos son of Nestor to Poseidon, one of whose animals was the horse.[85] The horse's hindquarters of the Philaidai were evidently what is known as a 'split totem', resulting from the division of a clan.[86] The other half was probably the Eurysakidai. Philaios and Eurysakes, the two sons of Ajax, migrated from Salamis to Attica, where they settled at Brauron and Athens respectively.[87] The ox-head has been identified by its appearance on the coinage at the time when the political influence of the Boutadai was at its height.



FIG. 5. *Ox-head on shield: Attic vase*

[80] Pi. *P.* 5. 101 sch., E. *Ph.* 942 sch., Paus. 8. 11. 8. [81] Paus. 8. 11. 8.
[82] Str. 588, Æl. *NA.* 12. 39. [83] Seltman 24, 30, 49, cf. Plu. *Alc.* 16.
[84] Haddon EA 282. [85] Hdt. 5. 65. 4.
[86] Frazer TE 1. 10, 58, 77, 2. 397, 520, 536, 3. 100, 4. 175.
[87] Plu. *Sol.* 10, St. B. Φιλαΐδαι, Harp, Εὐρυσάκειον, Paus. 1. 35. 3, Pher. 20.

It is probable, though not quite certain, that these 'sons of the oxherd' (*boútes*) had a hereditary part in the Athenian Bouphonia,[88] a festival which shows clear signs of being modelled on a communal clan feast.[89] It consisted of the sacrifice of an ox, followed by a rite of expiation such as is commonly employed for infringements of the totemic taboo.[90]

Another Attic clan, the Euneidai, who held the priesthood of Dionysos Melpomenos, were descended through Hypsipyle of Lemnos from Dionysus, the god of wine.[91] Once, when Hypsipyle was on the point of being put to death, she was saved by the unexpected intervention of her sons, who proved their identity by revealing the clan emblem, which was a golden vine.[92] And lastly, the Ioxidai of Lycia, sprung from Theseus, were forbidden to burn asparagus, which they worshipped in memory of their ancestress Perigoune, who had hidden herself in a bed of asparagus when pursued by Theseus.[93]

Whether these traditions 'necessarily demand a totemistic explanation' is a question the reader must judge for himself, remembering that those who reject this explanation have no other. The last instance, in particular, in which the totemic taboo has survived and the species is still worshipped in its totemic form, might seem to be incontrovertible. Frazer, who had at least studied totemism, admitted that 'this hereditary

[88] The question turns on *IG.* 2. 1656 ἱερέως Βούτου, which Toepffer AG 159 takes to stand for ἱερεὺς Βούτου, not ἱερεὺς Βούτης, but the priest in charge of the Bouphonia bore the title βούτης (Hsch. *s.v.*) and cf. *IG.* 3. 71, 294, where βουζύγης is at once the priest's title and the eponym of his clan (Toepffer AG 136).

[89] Robertson Smith RS 304–6.

[90] Frazer TE 1. 18–20, 2. 156–8, 160, 3. 67, 81. The manner of selecting the ox—it was induced to eat some corn laid for it on the altar (Paus. 1. 24. 4)—was designed to throw the responsibility on the animal: for similar expedients see Paus. 2. 35. 6, Porph. *Abs.* 1. 25, Paton 83, cf. A.*A.* 1296–7. Its hide was afterwards stuffed with straw and yoked to a plough (Porph. *Abs.* 2. 29–30), which suggests that the taboo that had been broken may have been the ancient ban on the slaughter of plough-oxen: Æl. *VH.* 5. 14, Arat. 132 sch, D.L. 8. 20, cf. Philost. *Im.* 2. 24.

[91] *IG.* 3. 274, 278, Paus. 1. 2. 5, 1. 31. 6, Hsch. Εὐνεῖδαι, cf. *Il.* 7. 468–9. They were professional lyre-players and dancers (Hsch., Harp., Phot. *s.v.*) and had charge of the πομπαί or state processions (Poll. 8. 103): see p. 196.

[92] *A.P.* 3. 10, E. fr. 765. [93] Plu. *Thes.* 8.

respect shown by all the members of a family or clan for a particular species of animal or plant is reminiscent of totemism', but added cautiously that 'it is not necessarily a proof of it'.[94] So nice a distinction suggests that, where totemism is concerned, the standard of proof is raised in proportion as the evidence accumulates. In justice to Frazer it should be mentioned that, twenty-five years before making the comment just quoted, he had expressed the opinion that 'totemism may be regarded as certain for the Egyptians and highly probable for the Semites, Greeks, and Latins'.[95] In those days bourgeois thinkers were less chary of general conclusions than they are now.

7. *Clan Cults and State Cults*

Since there is no member of the Olympian pantheon who is not associated in all sorts of ways with animals and plants, it is a legitimate presumption that Greek religion in general rests on a totemic foundation. A comprehensive study along these lines would yield valuable results. Here I shall only illustrate by a few concrete examples what I believe to have been the fundamental process in the evolution of Greek religion—the transformation of clan cults into state cults, due to the dissolution of tribalism and the rise of the city-state.

In the year 514 B.C. the Athenian tyrant Hipparchos was assassinated. His assailants were two young noblemen, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who belonged to the Gephyraioi. This clan was another offshoot from the stock of Kadmos. Its first home on Greek soil had been Eretria (Euboia). From there it migrated across the straits to Tanagra (Bœotia). Expelled from Tanagra after the Trojan War it settled in Athens, where it maintained a secret hereditary cult of Demeter Achaia. This we learn from Herodotus.[96] It is a clear case of a clan cult surviving as such down to the fifth century.

Kadmos, whom the Greeks described as a Phœnician, reached Thebes on his wanderings in search of his sister, Europa, whom Zeus had ravished on the coast of Syria and carried off to Crete.[97] Europa was the mother of Minos, the legendary

[94] Frazer A 2. 125.
[95] Frazer TE 1. 86.
[96] Hdt. 5. 57, 61.
[97] Apld. 3. 1. 1.

king of Knossos. She is a parallel figure to Demeter, both being emanations of the Minoan mother-goddess.[98] A cult of Demeter Europa, founded presumably by the Kadmeioi, was established near Thebes at Lebadeia,[99] and at Thebes itself the temple of Demeter Thesmophoros is said to have been the palace of Kadmos.[100] It may be inferred that the Kadmeioi were immigrants from Crete who brought with them a cult of the Minoan mother-goddess. Their Phœnician ancestry will be discussed in a later chapter.

At the end of his life Kadmos turned into a snake. The Bœotian ships that sailed to Troy had figure-heads of Kadmos carrying a snake.[101] It seems then that the Demeter of the Kadmeioi was a snake-goddess, like the Athena of the Erechtheidai, and she survived among the Gephyraioi in their cult of Demeter Achaia.

Demeter Achaia was also worshipped at Tanagra, Thespiai, and Marathon.[102] Between Tanagra and Marathon lay Aphidna, the birthplace of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.[103] Evidently it was only one branch of the clan that settled in Athens.

At Athens, according to Herodotus, the cult was strictly confined to the clan. We know, however, from inscriptions that in the fifth century a seat was reserved for the priestess of Demeter Achaia along with other religious and civic officials in the front row of the Theatre of Dionysus.[104] It may well be that this was a privilege conferred on the Gephyraioi in recognition of the part they had played in overthrowing the tyranny. Their clan cult has thus been followed down to the very point at which it is being taken over by the state.

Other instances reveal the actual transfer. When the Messenians threw off the Spartan yoke in the fourth century, they

[98] Nilsson MOGM 33, Farnell CGS 2. 479, Roscher LGRM 1. 1417, Persson 303–8, Picard PPD 336.

[99] Paus 9. 39. 5.

[100] Paus. 9 16. 5. The Theban Thesmophoria was celebrated in the Kadmeia: X. *Hell.* 5. 2. 29.

[101] Apld. 3. 5. 4, E. *IA.* 253–8.

[102] Farnell CGS 3. 323–4. Oropos, near Tanagra, was connected with Eretria by a common cult of Eretreus (Str. 404) and a common dialect (Buck GD 172).

[103] Plu. *M.* 628d. [104] *IG.* 3. 373.

reinaugurated the Mysteries of Demeter at Andania, their ancient capital. The clan to which the cult had belonged was still in existence, and we possess the text of a decree in which the clan chief, Mnasistratos, is appointed the first hierophant under the new regime and at the same time surrenders the administration of the Mysteries to the state.[105]

Another instance is furnished by an inscription from Chios, where there was a phratry of six clans, the Klytidai, with a cult of Zeus Patroios. At the time in question several citizens, who did not belong to any of the constituent clans, had obtained admission to the phratry. In Chios, as in Attica (p. 107), the phratry was ceasing to be exclusive. These citizens now claimed the right to participate in the cult. It was decreed that a temple should be erected to the god, and that the clansmen should bring the *sacra* from their private houses to the temple on certain feast days. This regulation was to come into force immediately, and after an agreed term of years the *sacra* were to be housed permanently in the temple.[106] The building of the temple, which was doubtless paid for out of public funds, marks the transfer from clan to state.

All over Greece we hear of priests holding office by right of birth.[107] When the state took over, the clan usually retained this ancient right. At Ithome and again at Aigion we hear of a priest entitled to keep the god's image in his private house except when it was brought out for the annual festival.[108] We infer that it had once belonged to his clan. At Halikarnassos we hear of a cult comprising, in addition to the annual public festival, a monthly service conducted privately at the new moon.[109] This is a transitional stage in which clan cult and state cult are combined. Other instances might be quoted of the same kind. They show what Aristotle meant when he said that it was characteristic of democracy to reduce the number

[105] *SIG.* 736 n. 3, 9. Andania had been the seat of the Messenian kings (Paus. 4. 3. 7); so this too may have begun as a palace cult, like the Theban, and see p. 193.

[106] *SIG.* 987.

[107] *IG.* 12. 3. 514–9, 522, 865, 869, *Supp. Epig. Gr.* 4. 282 etc., cf. Pl. *Leg.* 759a.

[108] Paus. 4. 33. 2, 7. 24. 4, cf. 9. 16. 5; Reinach TEG 141.

[109] *SIG.* 1015. 24, cf. Porph. *Abs.* 2. 16, Clem. *Str.* 3. 2.

of cults and at the same time throw them open to the people.[110] The old families were not expropriated, but they were forced to accept state control.

We must not of course suppose that these clan cults had all maintained an unbroken history from tribal times. There were constant struggles between rival clans for the political power that went with religious administration. A single clan might secure cults that did not belong to it or be forced to surrender a share of its own. In these struggles our friends the Boutadai had taken an active part. The oldest cults on the Athenian acropolis were those of Athena Polias and Poseidon Erechtheus. Both were administered by the Boutadai,[111] but they must have been originally independent. Athena and Poseidon had been rivals for the possession of the Acropolis.[112] The snake in the shrine of Erechtheus belonged to Athena,[113] and, since the hero embodied in it, Erichthonios, was Erechtheus' grandfather, the worship of both must have been included in the palace cult of the Erechtheidai. The Boutadai, it is true, claimed that their eponym, Boutes, was a brother of Erechtheus and therefore also descended from Erichthonios;[114] but the Boutadai were interested parties, and in Hesiod Boutes is a son of Poseidon.[115] This gives the clue. After appropriating the royal cult, which they combined with their own cult of Poseidon, they confirmed themselves in possession by affiliating their founder to the dynasty whose place they had usurped.

The same sort of thing happened elsewhere. At Syracuse the Mysteries of Demeter were hereditary in the clan of the tyrant Hieron, who was an immigrant from Gela. They had been brought to Gela by the clan ancestor, Telinos, from Telos, an island off the promontory of Knidos, where there was another cult of the goddess.[116] But the Syracusan Demeter was

110 Arist. *Pol.* 1319b. 19.

111 Apld. 3. 14. 8, Plu. *M.* 843b.

112 See pp. 262–3. 113 Hsch. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν. 114 Apld. 3. 14. 8.

115 Hes. fr. 101. There was yet another version making Boutes a grandson of Ion (Apld. 1. 9. 16, Hyg. *F.* 14). This was probably the latest of the three: see pp. 391–2.

116 Hdt. 7. 153–4, cf. Pi. *O.* 6. 92–5, 158 sch.; Farnell CGS 3. 322.

also known as Sito, 'Corn', and as Simalis, which is not a Greek word at all.[117] This suggests that the pre-Greek population of the city had worshipped a Sicilian corn-goddess, whom Hieron annexed to his own Demeter when he made himself master of the Syracusan state.

8. *The Clan Basis of the Eleusinian Mysteries*

If we wish to uncover the tangled undergrowth of clan cults in which the great panhellenic festivals had their roots, we cannot do better than study the early history of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

There were two clans in charge, the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, with a subsidiary role assigned to the Krokonidai.[118] The founder, Eumolpos, was the common ancestor of the Eumolpidai and Kerykes. It was natural that the clan most prominent in the administration should have won pride of place in the tradition, but in this tradition there are some significant flaws.

The god of the Eumolpidai was not Demeter, to whom the Mysteries were devoted, but Poseidon, and Eumolpos was a stranger from Thrace.[119] From that direction he might easily have brought a cult of Poseidon, who had many ties with the north, but scarcely of Demeter, who cannot be traced in early times further north than southern Thessaly.[120] The barbarous ancestry of Eumolpos was evidently a source of embarrassment to his descendants, because one authority assures us that the founder of the Mysteries was not the Thracian but another man of the same name.[121] That this revised version failed to establish itself is probably due to the presence in the Mysteries of recognisable Thracian elements, notably the

[117] Ath. 109a. 416b. The allusion is perhaps to the μυλλοί, cakes in the shape of *pudenda muliebria*, which the women baked for the Syracusan Thesmophoria: Ath. 647a.

[118] The Krokonidai (Toepffer AG 101–9, Deubner 75–7) were a crocus clan, associated with the threads of saffron (κρόκος) which the mystics wore on the right hand and foot (Phot. κροκοῦν).

[119] Apld. 3. 15. 4, Iso. 12. 193, Paus. 1. 38. 2.

[120] *Il.* 2. 695–6. [121] Ist. 21.

name Brimo applied to Demeter or Persephone.[122] Ritual is less plastic than myth.

The affiliation of the Kerykes to Eumolpos was not accepted by the Kerykes themselves. They said that Keryx was a son of Hermes by a daughter of Kekrops, the first king of Athens.[123] Kekrops takes us back four generations before the advent, as traditionally dated, of either Eumolpos or Demeter. Hermes too left his mark on the Mysteries. He was the consort of Daeira, identified by Æschylus with Persephone, in an ancient form of the sacred marriage.[124] It would appear that the mystical theogamy of Eleusis was older than the coming of Demeter. Who brought her there?

At Athens she had been worshipped from early times as Demeter Thesmophoros.[125] Herodotus says the ritual of the Thesmophoria was brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaos, who settled in Argolis and there transmitted it to the women of the indigenous Pelasgoi.[126] This is acceptable if we may modify the historian's well-known predilection for Egyptian origins to the extent of interposing Crete between Egypt and Greece.

There were traditions of her coming at several places in Argolis—Argos itself, Hermione, Troizen. The Argives maintained that Triptolemos, the Eleusinian king who acquired from her the art of tilling the soil and taught it to his people, was really a son of one of her Argive priests who settled at Eleusis.[127] Evidently they regarded the Eleusinian Demeter as an offshoot of their own. The Athenians disagreed. They acknowledged no debt to Argos. But the Arcadians did. Their Demeter Mysia at Pellene was so named, they said, after one

[122] Clem. *Pr.* 2. 13, Tz. *ad Hes. Op.* 144, Ps. Orig. *Philos.* 170; Harrison PSGR 551–3. Immarados, a son of Eumolpos (Paus. 1. 38. 3.), seems to stand for *Ἰσμαράοιδος, i.e. Ἰμεράοιδος=εὔμολπος: it is also given as Ismaros (Apld. 3. 15. 4), which was a mountain in Thrace (*Od.* 9. 198) near Maroneia (Str. 331. 44, cf. *Od.* 9. 196).

[123] Paus. 1. 38. 3.

[124] A. fr. 277, A.R. 3. 847 sch.; Lobeck 1212–5; see p. 173.

[125] See pp. 220–2. [126] Hdt. 2. 171.

[127] Paus. 2. 18. 3, 2. 35. 4–8, 1. 14. 2. Her advent was also localised at Pheneos (Paus. 8. 15. 3), Lakiadai (Paus. 1. 37. 2), Sikyon (Paus. 2. 5. 8), Kos (Theoc. 7. 5. sch.), and in Sicily (D.S. 5. 4.).

Mysios (the 'mystic'?), who had welcomed her at Argos.[128] This is important, because the Eleusinian Demeter had ties with Arcadia.

She was met at Eleusis by Metaneira and her daughters at the Well of Flowers.[129] Metaneira was the queen, wife of Keleos. One of her daughters married Krokon, eponym of the Krokonidai, whose ruined palace was seen by Pausanias just on the Eleusinian side of the old Attic frontier.[130] The Well of Flowers lay on the other side of the town, on the road to Megara.[131] This is the road the goddess would have come by if she reached Eleusis from the Peloponnese.

Entering the Peloponnese from Megara, we come to Phleious. Here, at a village called Keleai, were local mysteries of the goddess, founded by one Dysaules, a brother of Keleos.[132] Keleos, Keleai—the connection is unmistakable. Keleos is the male eponym of Keleai, just as Thespios is of Thespiai, Alalkomeneus of Alalkomenai, Eleuther of Eleutherai.[133] Although king of Eleusis, he bears a Peloponnesian name. The implication is that the cult he stands for was of Peloponnesian origin. In the tradition as we have it, owing to the overriding prestige of Eleusis, the truth has been inverted. He is treated as a native of Eleusis and his Peloponnesian connection is explained by saying that the cult of Keleai was an offshoot of the Eleusinian.

Keleai is a place-name of a common type. Like Thespiai, Alalkomenai, Eleutherai, Potniai, Alesiai, it connotes a women's local cult, and it means literally the 'crying women' (*kaléo, kélomai*).[134] Once a month the village women go out to the crossroads and cry to the moon. The custom is

[128] Paus. 7. 27. 9, 2. 18. 3.

[129] Hom. *H.* 2. 105–10, 161, 184–7, 206–7, Paus. 1. 39. 1.

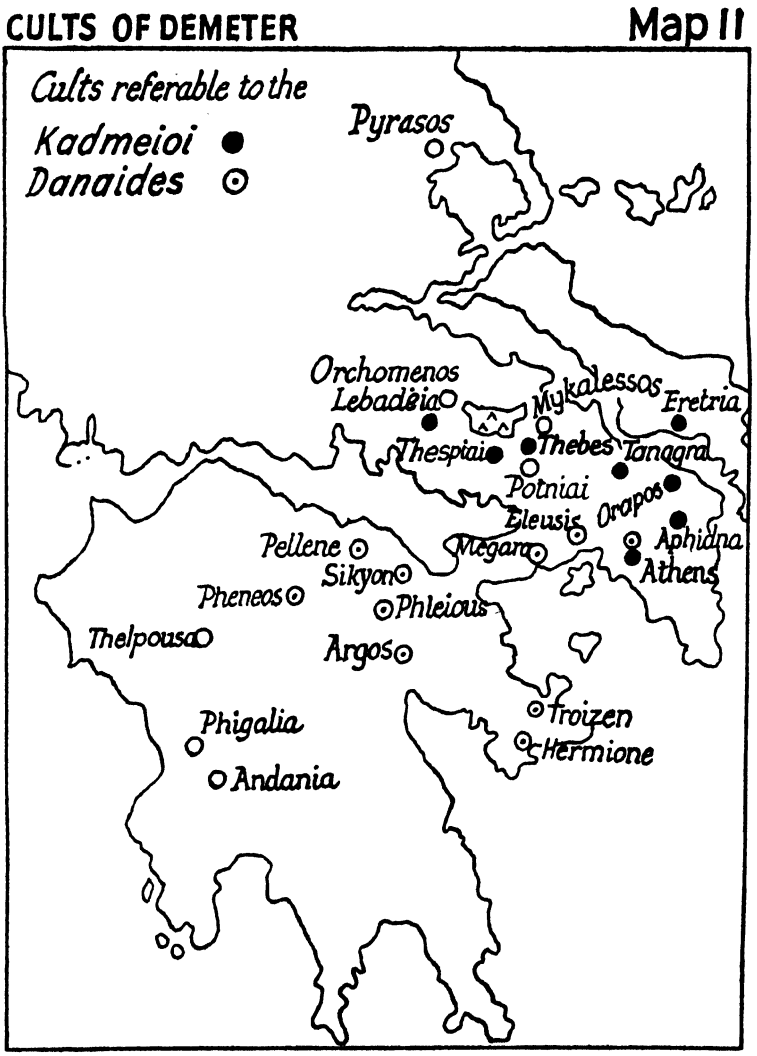
[130] Paus. 1. 38. 1–3.

[131] Paus. 1. 39. 1.

[132] Paus. 2. 14. 1–4, Harp. Δυσαύλης. Keleai, which was the Homeric Araithyree (Paus. 2. 12. 5, *Il.* 2. 571), cannot have been far from Pyraia, where there was another cult of Demeter (Paus. 2. 11. 3). Dysaules was also given as the father of Triptolemos: Paus. 1. 14. 3.

[133] D.S. 4. 29, Paus. 9. 33. 5, St. B. Ἐλευθεραί.

[134] Cf. κελεός 'woodpecker.' Klazomenai, the 'screaming women,' was founded from Phleious: Paus. 7. 3. 9.


CULTS OF DEMETER
Map II
Cults referable to the
Kadmeioi
Danaides
Pyrasos
Orchomenos
Lebadeia
Mykalessos
Eretria
Thespiai
Thebes
Tanagra
Potniai
Eleusis
Oropos
Aphidna
Pellene
Megara
Athens
Sikyon
Pheneos
Phleious
Thelpousa
Argos
Troizen
Hermione
Phigalia
Andania

world-wide.[135] In Greece and Italy it was associated with Artemis, and in later times with Isis, but above all with Demeter. Servius describes the howling of Italian peasant women at the crossways in imitation of Demeter's search for her lost Persephone.[136] There are other examples in this very district. At Megara there was a rock called Anaklethra, the rock of 'invocation' (*anakaléo*). Here Demeter had cried out for her daughter, and the event was commemorated by the Megarian women in a secret rite.[137] At Eleusis itself there was the Laughterless Rock, where the goddess had sat down and wept.[138] The ritual is not recorded, but it must have resembled the Megarian,[139] and in it we have the clue to the name Demeter Achaia, the Mourning Demeter (*áchos*, 'grief').[140]

In the hills west of Phleious lay the town of Pheneos. It had two cults of Demeter. One was said to have been founded by a descendant of Eumolpos. In the other, which is described as the older, she was called Demeter Thermia,[141] which is a dialect variant of Demeter Thesmophoros.[142] Its founder was Trisaules, whose name recalls Dysaules, the brother of Keleos. Arcadia, like Attica, was an ancient home of the Pelasgoi. Arkas, the first king, is said to have introduced the art of agriculture, which he had learnt from Demeter, exactly like Triptolemos.[143] One of his sons, Azan, took his name from the Azanes,[144] whose territory included Pheneos.[145] Another, Apheidas, was

[135] Hastings *s.v.* Crossroads.

[136] Apul. *Met.* 11. 2, Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 4. 609, *E.* 3. 26, cf. Hom. *H.* 2. 20–6.

[137] Paus. 1. 43. 2. At Athens (Eleusis?) the hierophant invoked Persephone by beating an ἠχεῖον (Theoc. 2. 36 sch.); at Pheneos he smote the ground with rods, wearing a mask representing Demeter (Paus. 8. 15. 2–3).

[138] Apld. 1. 5. 1.

[139] Cornford AEM 161.

[140] Plu. *M.* 378e. A different explanation is given in *EM.* Ἀχαία.

[141] Paus. 8. 15. 1–4.

[142] Cf. κόρμοι for κόσμοι (Buck GD 53) and Demeter Thermesia at Troizen (Paus. 2. 34. 6).

[143] Paus. 8. 4. 1.

[144] Paus. 8. 4. 2. Demeter was worshipped on Mount Azanion (Lact. Pl. *ad* Stat. *Th.* 4. 292) and in Phrygia at a settlement founded by Azanes from Arcadia (Paus. 10. 32. 3).

[145] St. B. Ἀζανία.

the eponym of Apheidantes, a village near Tegea.[146] Both reappear in Attica—Azan in the deme Azenia,[147] Apheidas in the clan Apheidantidai.[148] What is more, their mother, the wife of Arkas, is given as Metaneira, daughter of Krokon.[149]

Herodotus was right. The cult of Demeter at Eleusis was in origin a local form of the Thesmophoria,[150] introduced from Arcadia by the Pelasgian Krokonidai, who had got it from the Pelasgoi of Argolis. Of the three clans that worshipped her at Eleusis the closest tie belonged to the one whose part in historical times was the least conspicuous.

Our enquiry into the clan origin of the Eleusinian Mysteries has thus enabled us to unravel the prehistory of one of the most important cults in Greek religion. As a form of the Minoan mother-goddess, Demeter may well have come ultimately from Egypt, with which Minoan culture had many connections.[151] She reached Greece by two main routes, represented by Kadmos and Danaos. The first passed through Euboia to Bœotia, the second through Argos to the Peloponnese. In Attica they converged. Demeter Achaia came from Bœotia, Demeter Eleusinia from the Peloponnese.

9. *The Treatment of Homicide*

Tribal society recognises two capital offences—incest and witchcraft. Incest is violation of the rules of exogamy; witchcraft is the misapplication by individuals of magic, which was designed for the service of the community.[152] Both are punished summarily by the community as a body. Other offences, including homicide, are what we should call torts: redress lies

[146] Paus. 8. 45. 1. [147] Polem. 65, Str. 398.

[148] *IG.* 2. 785. [149] Apld. 3. 9. 1.

[150] The Thesmophoria of Eleusis is said to have been founded by Triptolemos when he became king there (Hyg. *F.* 147). On the other hand, the Athenian form, which closely resembled the Bœotian (cf. Paus. 9. 8. 1), must have been influenced by the cult of Demeter Achaia, because the loaves baked for the occasion (cf. p. 127 n. 117) were called ἀχαΐναι (Ath. 109e).

[151] On the Egyptian connections of Danaos see pp. 379–80.

[152] Diamond 280, Robertson Smith RS. 264, cf. Briffault 2. 568, Roscoe BB (1923) 34, Gurdon 77.

with the victim's kindred. This is the procedure known as primitive self-help.[153]

In Attic law prosecutions for homicide were private suits (*díkai*), not public (*graphaí*)[154] The initiative rested with the victim's household and phratry.[155] The terms for prosecution and defence meant properly to 'pursue' (*diókō*) and to 'flee' (*pheúgō*)—the English 'hue and cry'.[156]

In early times, when manslaughter carried no moral stigma, there was no discrimination between intentional and accidental homicide. If the manslayer was unable or unwilling to offer acceptable compensation, he was forced to flee the country. This was no great hardship, because, wherever he went, he had as a suppliant a compelling claim on the hospitality of any stranger to whom he might appeal. In the *Odyssey*, just before embarking for Ithaca, Telemachos is accosted by a fugitive, who explains that he has committed murder and his victims' kinsmen are on his heels. Telemachos takes him home without a moment's hesitation and entertains him there for as long as he cares to stay.[157] In other cases the fugitive is not only entertained; his host gives him a piece of land, and sometimes a daughter into the bargain.[158] These customs imply a land surplus. A chief who had more land than he could till was ready to endow any stranger that came his way as a welcome addition to his manpower.

In the choice between compensation and revenge and the manner in which the latter was effected we recognise the Iroquois practice. But in Homer one detail is missing. It is clear that the victim's kindred were under the obligation of revenge, but there is no hint that the manslayer's shared in his liability. Why the Homeric poets were reticent on these points need not be discussed now. The facts can be supplied from other sources. There is post-Homeric evidence that the clan was, or had been, responsible for the conduct of its members. In 621 B.C., after failing in an attempted *coup d'état*, Kylon took sanctuary with his followers at the altars. They were seized and put to death by some men of the

[153] Calhoun 62–7. [154] *Ib.* 9. [155] D. 43. 57. [156] Calhoun 64.
[157] *Od.* 15. 272–81, 508–46.
[158] Hes. fr. 144=Paus. 9. 36. 7, *Il.* 6. 155 sch., 14. 120 sch.

Alkmeonidai, who thereby incurred a pollution so grave that it was still being cast in their teeth two centuries later.[159] In an inscription from Mantineia we read of some men fined for murders committed in the sanctuary of Athena Alea, and it is stipulated that, if the fines are not paid, the clans of the guilty persons shall be excluded from the sanctuary for ever.[160] Even in later times, when the clan had fallen to pieces, the principle of collective responsibility survived in the traditional formula of public imprecation: 'If I break this oath, let me perish, myself and my clan!'[161]—or sometimes 'myself, my household, and my clan'.[162] The same form of words is in use among primitive peoples to-day.[163]

These customs enable us to analyse one of the fundamental elements in Greek thought.

The Greek for obtaining satisfaction for an injury, especially homicide, was in Ionic *tísin lambáno*, in Attic *díken dióko*. The Ionic form means to 'take payment', corresponding to the rule of compensation described above. The Attic is based on the same use of *dióko* as we have noticed in the term for prosecution. *Díke* is used in Homer of a 'way' or 'custom', also a 'judgment'. Hesiod too applies it to a 'judgment', and to Justice personified. In Attic it denoted primarily a private suit as opposed to *graphé*, the abstract idea of justice being expressed by *dikaiosýne*, formed from *díkaios*, 'just'. Other adjectival forms are *éndikos*, 'just', and *ékdikos*, 'unjust'.

The root meaning of *díke* is 'path'. It is cognate with *deíknymi* (Latin *dico*) 'point out' or 'show'—to 'show the way'. *Díken dióko tiná* is therefore properly to 'pursue a man along the path', to 'chase him away'. Path-finding is an important thing in the life of savages,[164] and in the Indo-European languages the words for 'path' go a long way back.[165] To stray from the beaten track was dangerous, and in early Attica a curse was pronounced on those who refused to show strangers the way.[166]

[159] Th. 1. 126, Hdt. 5. 71. [160] *IG.* 5. 2. 262, *SIG.* 9.

[161] *SIG.* 37. 1, 360. 50, 526. 40, *Supp. Epig. Gr.* 4. 58, Lycurg. *Leo.* 79, cf. A.C. 1004, 1014.

[162] D. 23. 67. [163] Hutton 166.

[164] Junod LSAT 2. 54–5. [165] Moorhouse 123–8.

[166] Diph. 62. Cf. Krige 214: 'It was the duty of all Zulus to show the road when asked, and they could be fined if they refused to do so.'

Paths also form natural boundaries for holdings of land and territorial divisions. Hence the widespread custom of depositing refuse on roads and crossways, and the apotropaic rites to which it gives rise.[167]

The transition from 'way' in the sense of 'path' to 'way' in the sense of 'custom' is a straightforward advance from concrete to abstract. Similarly, with the law of homicide to guide us, there is no difficulty in following the development from 'path' through 'vengeance' to the idea of punishment in general. And it is an equally easy gradation from 'path' through 'direction' to 'judgment'. This explains why judgments are spoken of as 'straight' or 'crooked'.[168] A straight judgment is *éndikos*, 'on the track'; a crooked one is *ékdikos*, 'off the track'. The metaphor enshrines the original meaning of the word. And lastly the personification of Dike as goddess of punishment or judgment leads to the formulation of the abstract idea of justice.

So far we have been concerned with cases of homicide in which the parties belong to different clans. What happened when a man killed one of his own clan? The distinction is vital. Clan solidarity was founded on collective production, which meant that the individual was incapable of surviving except as a member of a group; and even later, so long as ownership was vested in the clan, clan kinship was of all ties the most binding.[169] The penalty for killing a fellow clansman was consequently as drastic as the crime was rare.

In early Germanic society similar customs prevailed. The procedure in cases of manslaughter between clans is thus described by Grönbech:

> The kinsmen of the slain man appear *in pleno* as accusers. It is the clan of the slayer that promises indemnity, the clan that pays it. It is the clan of the slain man that receives the fine, and the sum is shared out so as to reach every member of the group.[170]

Grönbech goes on to explain that homicide between clans 'is not a crime against life itself, nor even to be reckoned as

[167] Hastings *s.v.* Crossroads.
[168] *Il.* 18. 508, 23. 579–80, Hes. *Op.* 219–21, 250.
[169] Cf. Smith and Dale 1. 296, Roscoe B (1911) 12, B (1923) 5.
[170] Grönbech 1. 55, cf. Tac. *G.* 21.

anything unnatural'. But homicide within the clan is a very different matter.

> From the moment we enter into the clan, the sacredness of life rises up in absolute inviolability, with its judgment on bloodshed as sacrilege, blindness, suicide. The reaction comes as suddenly and unmistakably as when a nerve is touched by a needle. . . . When the curse has been uttered, when the clan has renounced the condemned man by taking the oath whereby the law-thing 'swears him out' . . . , the outlaw is dead. He is flung out from the life of men.[171]

So in Greece. The man who shed a kinsman's blood was hounded out of the community, pursued by the curses of his kindred, or, as they expressed it, by his victim's avenging spirit, which ran him down and devoured him till he was nothing but a heap of bones.[172] The curse and the avenging spirit are the same thing. The Arai or Erinyes symbolise the collective imprecation of the clan calling on the souls of its ancestors to rise and destroy the outcast.[173] Accordingly he went mad; or rather he was already mad when he did the deed. What he has done is so fearful, so unheard-of, that it is proof in itself of his incapacity to behave as a normal member of society. Many instances are on record of savages actually dying of horror at the discovery that they have violated unintentionally some peremptory taboo.[174] The primitive consciousness, being less complex than that of civilised man, is more

[171] Grönbech 1. 343. So in Wales, for the murder of a kinsman 'there is no slaying of the murderer, . . . no *galanas* [fine], nothing but execration and ignominious exile' (F. Seebohm TCAL 42). This distinction, which was general in Celtic and Germanic law (*ib.* 63, 66, 164, 166), explains why in early medieval England 'the homicide of a kinsman is still generally free from judicial interference or criminal law: he is handed over to the Church and his punishment is spiritual penance' (*ib.* 336, cf. Grönbech 1. 35).

[172] A. *E.* 244–66.

[173] A. *E.* 420.

[174] A native of Melanesia, asked how he would feel if he had committed incest, replied, 'We don't do it; if a man did it, his mind having turned wrong and silly, he would wake up and kill himself' (Wertham 179, cf. Malinowski SRSS 95). It is widely believed that violation of the totemic taboo results in insanity or leprosy or both (Frazer TE 1. 16–7) and instances are on record of natives refusing food and dying after receiving superficial spear wounds, simply because they believed the spear to have been bewitched: Spencer A 403–4.

easily deranged. And so the crime is its own penalty. He was mad to do it; and if he regains his sanity, the shock of realisation drives him mad again.

This is the psychology that inspired the Greek concept of *áte*—the fatal delusions inflicted by the Erinyes. In the cultured *milieu* of the Homeric poems the word was largely purged of its savage content, denoting in general little more than a state of mental aberration leading to a disastrous blunder. In Cretan Doric, on the other hand, it survived simply as a legal term for penalty or damages.[175] In the one case it is the subjective aspect, in the other the objective, that has become dominant to the exclusion of its opposite. But the primitive unity is preserved by Æschylus, who applies the word both to the sudden brainstorm that causes the crime and to the self-destruction that is its consequence.[176]

10. *The Law of the Heiress*

Some remarks by Dikaiarchos, a pupil of Aristotle, on the evolution of the Greek tribal system have been preserved in a Byzantine paraphrase. They show how the process was inevitably misinterpreted when viewed in the light of preconceptions drawn from class society.

The clan (*pátra*) is one of the three Greek social units known as clan, phratry, and tribe. When the group of kin, confined originally to the married couple, was extended to the second degree, there arose the unit called the clan, which was named after its oldest or most influential member, e.g. Aiakidai, Pelopidai. The phratry came into existence because daughters were given in marriage to another clan. The bride ceased to take part in the religious life of her father's clan, because she was included in her husband's, and therefore, to replace the severed union between brother and sister, another religious union was instituted, the phratry. And so the phratry arose from the relationship between brothers just as the clan had arisen from the relationship between parents and children. The tribe evolved from the process of fusion into cities and nations, the components of which were termed tribes.[177]

[175] *Lex Gort.* II. 34.

[176] A. *A.* 396–7, *C.* 270–1, 381, 595–6, *E.* 379–81. In my edition *C.* 383–4 has been mistranslated: it should be '*by means* of a reckless, criminal hand.'

[177] Dic. 9.

Dikaiarchos starts, like his master, from the premiss that the primeval unit of society was the married couple. Aristotle had explained how in his view this unit had expanded into the family, village, and city.[178] Here Dikaiarchos is applying the same reasoning to the tribe. The premiss is of course a false one, and so he has considerable difficulty in squaring it with the facts. The facts themselves, however, are stated correctly. The clan is an organic unit within the phratry, which is a group of intermarrying clans. It has been left to modern historians to falsify the facts in conformity with the premiss.

He is not thinking primarily of the Attic system. That is shown by his use of the term *pátra* in place of the Attic *génos* and also by his statement that the bride became a member of her husband's clan. And he says that 'daughters were given in marriage to other clans'. This testimony is specially valuable, because in historical Athens the rule of exogamy had entirely disappeared. Its former existence can, however, be inferred from the laws of inheritance, which define the circumstances in which it might be infringed. But first let us consider an analogy.

The Semitic peoples were originally matrilineal,[179] but the Jews, when they took to agriculture after settling in the land of Canaan, were already patriarchal. All property, real and personal, was transmitted in the male line. Land was inalienable; acquired goods were distributed among the sons. But what if there were no sons? In the Book of Numbers we read (xxvii. 8):

> If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter.

This meant that the usufruct passed to the man she married, who under the rule of exogamy would belong to another clan. Accordingly it was enacted (xxxvi. 8):

> And every daughter that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers.

The 'family of the tribe' is the clan.[180] The heiress was compelled to marry into her own clan in order to keep the property in the male line.

[178] Arist. *Pol.* 1252. [179] Robertson Smith KMEA 27–34. [180] *Id.* RS 276.

In Attic law, as codified in the sixth century, the sons inherited the paternal estate on condition that they dowered their sisters at marriage. The dowry was the daughter's share of the inheritance. If there were no sons, the daughters inherited the whole, but they could then be claimed in marriage by their father's next-of-kin.[181] At Gortyna the rule was the same, except that the daughter inherited a share in her own right, though smaller than the son's, and the heiress could refuse to marry the next-of-kin by surrendering to him part of the inheritance.[182] Though later in date, the Gortynian procedure is more archaic than the Attic, and both rest on the same principle as the Jewish. The rule of exogamy, and with it the woman's liberty, had been sacrificed to the male interest in private property.[183]

To recapitulate: the Greek tribal system resembles that of the Romans and the Iroquois, similar in structure, origin, and development. The *oîkos* was evolved within the *génos*, as the *familia* within the *gens*, by the growth within the clan of smaller units, which eventually became independent. The subsoil of Greek religion consists of totemic clan cults. The principle of clan solidarity, which we have traced in parallel customs among Greeks, Germans, and Amerindians, underlies the terminology and procedure of Greek criminal law. The evidence for exogamy is indirect, but none the less certain, because exogamy is inherent in the structure of the clan.

There remains the mode of succession and descent. This will occupy us continuously in the ensuing chapters. With it is bound up not only the problem of the pre-Hellenic cultures of the Ægean but also the distinctive character of Hellenism. The present chapter may be concluded with some general considerations which will help us to approach these larger questions from the correct point of view.

[181] The heiress was obliged to marry the next-of-kin as soon as she came of age (Is. 6. 14), and the next-of-kin, if already married, divorced his wife in order to marry the heiress (Is. 3. 64). Strictly she was not an heiress at all, but merely an appendage to the estate (ἐπίκληρος).

[182] *Lex. Gort.* 4. 31–44, 7. 54–8. 6.

[183] Plu. *Sol.* 21: 'The property must remain in the *génos* of the deceased.'

11. *Ancient Greek Ethnology*

Surrounded as they were by more backward peoples at various stages of savagery or barbarism and by the advanced but archaic empires of the Near East, the civilised Greeks did not fail to observe that the status of women in these surrounding countries was very different from what it was in their own. Their reports and comments on this subject are of great interest. In point of accuracy they are of course open to question except where they can be confirmed from other sources, and most classical scholars have tended to discount them as credulous travellers' tales. Modern ethnologists have been more respectful. But, apart from their accuracy, they are important, because they reveal the form of words traditionally employed to describe primitive institutions at a time when there was no science of ethnology.

One of our earliest informants is Herodotus. A native of Asia Minor, he had travelled widely, not only in Greek lands, but in Africa, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the countries bordering on the Black Sea. Admittedly he is not always reliable, but some of the things he tells us are in close accord with what we learn from other authorities, ancient and modern.

The Agathyrsoi of Scythia, so he says, 'have wives in common, so that they may all be as brothers to one another without hatred or jealousy'.[184] The idea that community of wives goes with community of property was a familiar one. We meet it again in Aristophanes and Plato.[185]

Another Scythian tribe, the Galaktophagoi, are described by Nicolaus of Damascus as 'having both property and wives in common, and they call their seniors fathers, their juniors sons, and their coevals brothers'.[186] This sounds like Type I of the classificatory system (p. 60). Among the Geloi, also Scythians, the women, according to Eusebius, 'till the soil, build the houses, do all the work, and lie with any man they like without the reproach of adultery'.[187] The sexual liberty of the women is complementary to their activity in the labour

[184] Hdt. 4. 104.
[185] Ar. *Pl.* 510–626, Pl. *R.* 416d.
[186] Nic. Dam. 123.
[187] Eus. *PE.* 9.

of production. Some of the Upper Libyans, says Aristotle, 'have wives in common'.[188] Details are furnished by Herodotus. Among the Machlyes of Libya, he says, 'sexual intercourse is promiscuous: they do not live together but copulate like cattle'. How many missionaries have exclaimed in horror at this abomination! When the children reach a certain age, 'they are assigned to the men at an assembly according to their likenesses'.[189] This point may be fanciful, but it is obvious that in such conditions there could be no concept of individual paternity. Among the Nasamones of Libya 'sexual intercourse is promiscuous, as among the Massagetai: they just set up a staff in front of the hut and then they copulate'.[190] Here again modern analogies are only too plentiful. 'When a man marries, the bride is required on the first night to lie with each of the company in turn'.[191] This practice, which we have met already in contemporary Australia (p. 66), is so widespread that it has been given the name of nasamonism in allusion to Herodotus. It is only another form of the pre-nuptial promiscuity which he records of the Lydians, Cypriotes and Babylonians and Plautus of the Etruscans.[192] Again, the Massagetai of Central Asia, he says, 'have wives in common. . . . When a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver in front of her waggon and enjoys her there and then.'[193] The Massagetai, or Great Getai, are known from Chinese sources, which show that they were matriarchal, and some authorities would identify them with the Jats of Hindustan.[194] If this is correct, their customs must be assigned to the prehistory of our own culture.

Strabo, who was well acquainted with Asia Minor, Egypt, Italy, and the western Mediterranean, says that the Cantabri of Spain 'have a form of matriarchy (*gynaikokratía*); the daughters inherit and give their brothers in marriage'.[195] The same rule of inheritance obtained in ancient Egypt.[196] The Ethiopians, according to Nicolaus, 'hold their sisters in great honour, and their kings are succeeded by their sisters' sons,

[188] Arist. *Pol.* 1262a. 9. [189] Hdt. 4. 180. 5–6, cf. Nic. Dam. 111.
[190] Hdt. 4. 172. 2. [191] Hdt. *l.c.*
[192] Hdt. 1. 93. 3, 1. 199, Plaut. *Cist.* 2. 3. 20. [193] Hdt. 1. 216.
[194] Briffault 1. 354–9, Russell 3. 225–6. For other views see Tarn 81.
[195] Str. 165. [196] See pp. 159–60.

not their own'.[197] This is confirmed by Egyptian annals of the Ammonian Dynasty.[198] In Lycia, says Herodotus, 'if you ask a man who he is, he replies by naming his mother and his mother's mother'.[199] Among the Etruscans, according to Theopompos, the men 'had wives in common' and 'the children did not know their own fathers'.[200] That the Lycians and Etruscans were matriarchal has been proved by archæology.

These quotations show that what was meant by 'having wives in common' was some form of group-marriage combined with common ownership, and that, when children are described as 'not knowing their own fathers', the reference is to descent in the female line. The Greeks were well acquainted with the realities of primitive society.

It is in this light that we must interpret a tradition concerning Kekrops, the first king of Athens, who was credited with the invention of matrimony. Before his time 'there had been no marriage; intercourse was promiscuous, with the result that sons did not know their fathers nor fathers their sons. The children were named after their mothers'.[201] So matrilineal group-marriage had once prevailed at Athens.

There is no reason to discredit this tradition. Athenians would not have fabricated a story which represented their ancestors as savages. 'The Greeks lived once as the barbarians live now.' In these memorable words Thucydides enunciated with characteristic insight the principle of the comparative method in social anthropology.[202] The same truth is implicit in the writings of Æschylus and Hippokrates.[203] That was the materialist tradition. But already, in the time of Thucydides, the reaction had set in. The materialist view of social evolution was irreconcilable with the doctrine, fostered by the growth of slavery, that Greek and barbarian were different by nature. If such things as primitive communism, group-marriage, and matriarchy were admitted into the beginnings of Greek civilisation, what would become of the dogma, on which the ruling class leant more and more heavily as the city-state

[197] Nic. Dam. 142. [198] Revillout 2. 147.
[199] Hdt. 1. 173. 5. [200] Theop. 222.
[201] Clearch. 49, Charax 10, Io. Ant. 13, cf. Varr. *ap.* Aug. *CD.* 18. 9.
[202] Th. 1. 6. 6. [203] G. Thomson AA 218–9.

declined, that its economic basis in private property, slave labour, and the subjection of women rested on natural justice? If the writings of the later materialists, Demokritos and Epicurus, had not perished, we might well have possessed a more penetrating analysis of early Greek society than Aristotle's. But they perished partly for that reason. Plato wanted the works of Demokritos to be burnt,[204] and his wish has been fulfilled.

No serious student can read Aristotle's *Politics* without admiration for the author's erudition and insight. If that book had perished, the world would be the poorer. But this must not prevent us from recognising its limitations. He knew that the Greeks had once lived in tribes, and he must have been familiar with the tradition that they had once been without slaves.[205] He was presumably aware of the part assigned to Kekrops in the history of matrimony, and in any case he had before him the example of contemporary Sparta, where the rule of monogamy was so little binding that half a dozen brothers might share a wife between them and adultery was not punishable or even discreditable.[206] Yet, accepting the city-state as the only possible foundation for civilised life, he constructs a theory in which the original nucleus of society is identified as the married couple dominated by the male and supported by slave labour.[207] The principle laid down by Thucydides was precluded from the start.

Where Aristotle failed, we cannot expect much of Herodotus. During all his travels the truth stated so lucidly by Thucydides never dawned on him. All he has to say of the Egyptian matriarchate is that 'sons were not obliged to support their parents, but daughters were'[208]—alluding to the rule of inheritance; and the remark occurs in a passage where he is more concerned to divert his readers than to interpret the facts. Hence it is not surprising that he introduced his account of

[204] Aristox. 83. [205] Hdt. 6. 137. 3.

[206] The marriage custom is an instance of 'fraternal polyandry' (see p. 71). The children were treated as common: Plb. 12. 6. 8. Conversely, the wives of different husbands might be temporarily exchanged: Plu. *Lyc.* 15, X. *RL.* 1. 9. Wife-lending was also an ancient custom at Rome: Str. 515, Plu. *Cat.* 25, cf. App. *BC.* 2. 99, Quint. *Inst. Or.* 3. 5. 11, 10. 5. 13.

[207] Arist. *Pol.* 1252b. [208] Hdt. 2. 35. 4.

the Lycian matriarchate with the observation that 'it is unparalleled among the peoples of mankind'.[209] The wish was father to the thought. The significance of this misstatement is that it represents what, for reasons that will appear in due course, the Greeks of his day were predisposed to believe.

12. *Linguistic Evidence of Matrilineal Descent*

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the capitalist class viewed past and future alike with complete self-confidence, a long succession of progressive thinkers—Adam Smith, Ferguson, Millar, Bachofen, Morgan, McLennan, Tylor—did much to correct the traditional self-portrait of ancient society to which Plato and Aristotle gave the finishing touches; but, as capitalism moved into its decline, it became apparent that such matters as private property and the status of women touched the same prejudices in the modern bourgeoisie as we have noticed in Aristotle; and in the present century these prejudices have become even more sensitive, because more irrational, through the abolition of private property and of social inequalities between the sexes in the Soviet Union. And so for the second time in history these aspects of ancient civilisation have been expunged. There are of course exceptions. Evans, Ridgeway, Harrison, Glotz, Briffault, and others have insisted on the matriarchal character of prehistoric Greece. But, apart from Briffault, who turned eventually to Marxism, these were all primarily archæologists, on whom a materialist attitude was forced by the nature of their subject. And even so, while recognising the truth, they cannot be said to have appreciated its significance. Among the general run of historians, and of course in the charmed circle of 'pure scholarship', the matter is not discussed. 'Democracy', says Rostovtzeff in his *History of the Ancient World*, 'banished woman from the street to the house'.[210] The fact is noted, but with no attempt to explain why democracy was so unchivalrous; rather, it is taken for granted that democracy put her where she ought to have been all along. And the *Cambridge Ancient History* is silent even about the fact.

[209] Hdt. 1. 173. 4. [210] Rostovtzeff 1. 287.

Words are great telltales. They are speaking witnesses to the vanished past.

The typical Greek clan name has the patronymic termination *-ídas* (*-ídes*), based on the element *-id-*, which in Greek is feminine.[211] It follows that in early times the women, and not the men, had been regarded as representatives of the clan.

The Greek *adelphós* and *adelphé*, 'brother' and 'sister', are without parallel in the other Indo-European languages.[212] IE **bhrā́tēr* and **su̯é̂sōr* survived in Greek as *phráter* and *éor*, but not as terms of relationship. The displacement of these terms is the most distinctive feature of the Greek terminology, and demands an explanation.

Phráter denoted a fellow member of the phratry. At Athens, when a boy came of age, he was admitted to his father's phratry at the Apatouria, the feast 'of the sons of the same fathers'.[213] In what sense were the *phráteres* 'brothers' and 'sons of the same fathers'?

At Sparta, where the boys were enrolled in sodalities called *agélai*,[214] the term *kásios*, 'brother', was applied to all brothers and cousins in the same *agéla*,[215] and in the form *kásis* or *káses* it was used to denote men belonging to the same generation as the speaker.[216] The conclusion is clear. The Attic-Ionian *phráteres* and the Dorian *kásioi* were originally, in each generation, the sons of the same father, the sons of the father's brothers, the sons of the father's father's brother's sons, and so on. They were 'brothers' in the classificatory sense.

Eor survives only in a late Greek lexicon, where it is explained in one entry as 'daughter or cousin', in another as 'relative'.[217] The explanations are obviously inaccurate and

[211] Meillet GCLC 390–1, Buck CGGL 341, Chadwick, HA 359. The Sema Naga patronymic has been analysed by Hutton 131–2 with a similar result.

[212] This account of ἀδελφός is based on Kretschmer GBB.

[213] A. Mommsen 323–49. The third vowel presents a difficulty: Deubner 232. Could Ἀπατούρια have been an epic form (determined by metre, like πουλυβότειρα) on the analogy of μοῦνος=μόνος (*μόνϝος)?

[214] Plu. *Lyc.* 16–21. [215] Hsch. κάσιοι.

[216] Hsch. κάσης, for which κάσις should perhaps be read.

[217] Hsch. ἔορ, ἔορες.

confused, but the original meaning of the word is not in doubt, because it is the Greek equivalent of IE **suésōr*.

The terms *adelphós* and *adelphé* are adjectival; that is, they are properly descriptive epithets, standing for *phráter ádelphos* and *éor adélphe*. The meaning of *adelphós* is 'born from the same womb'.[218] Thus, *phráter ádelphos* is a uterine brother as opposed to *phráter ópatros*, a 'brother by the same father'.

These words tell their own story. Drawn into the orbit of the older Cretan and Anatolian cultures, the Greek-speaking invaders of the Ægean adopted matrilineal succession, and the new application of the terms for brother and sister was marked by descriptive epithets, which eventually supplanted them. The men, however, retained the patrilineal phratry, and in this connection *phráter* survived. The women had no corresponding organisation, and so *éor* disappeared. The linguistic data are completely explained on this hypothesis, and on any other they are unintelligible.

The meaning of the Greek *adelphós* belongs to the domain of what 'every schoolboy knows'; yet how many of them have been encouraged to enquire why the brother should have been described as one 'of the same womb'? There are even professional scholars who have never given it a thought. The beginning of wisdom is an enquiring spirit. As they are continually reminding us, intellectual curiosity was one of the virtues of the Greeks. It cannot be said to flourish under the metaphysical 'discipline' of a classical education.

[218] Kuiper 287 treats κασίγνητος as analogous in form to Lat. *cognatus* and in meaning to ἀδελφός, i.e. 'der mit einem zusammen geboren ist': κάσις would then be hypocoristic. But it seems more probable that κασίγνητος meant originally *consobrinus*, as opposed to ἀδελφός, i.e. 'brother' in the classificatory sense: Suid *s.v.*, *Il.* 9. 464, 16. 456.

Part Two

MATRIARCHY

In eurem Namen, Mütter, die ihr thront
Im Grenzenlosen, ewig einsam wohnt,
Und doch gesellig. Euer Haupt umschweben
Des Lebens Bilder, regsam, ohne Leben.
Was einmal war, in allem Glanz und Schein,
Es regt sich dort; denn es will ewig sein.

GOETHE

V

THE MATRIARCHAL PEOPLES OF THE ÆGEAN

1. *What is Matriarchy?*

A MAJOR factor in man's differentiation from the animals was protraction of his period of growth, during which he was susceptible to formative instruction. This was imparted by the females, whose maternal functions, in the absence of economic production, necessarily placed them in control of the group. The only distinctive function exercised at this stage by the males was procreation. The group's habits, norms of behaviour, inherited traditions, which constituted in their totality the nucleus of human culture, were formed and transmitted by the women.[1]

The subsequent conflict between the sexes resulted, as we saw in Chapter I, from the development of production. Under a hunting economy there arose a contradiction between the economic role of the males and their social status; and this tendency, reinforced by stock-breeding and warfare—both offshoots of hunting—effected eventually, where it operated freely, a reversal in the position of the sexes. That is why, in modern non-agricultural tribes, the matrilineal rule has been overthrown by nearly fifty per cent of the hunters and all the pastoralists.[2]

It has been urged against Morgan that matrilineal descent does not necessarily mean that society is controlled by the women. This is quite true. We must distinguish between matrilineal and matriarchal. In many, perhaps most, of the matrilineal tribes known to us the actual control is in male hands. The rule of succession itself is often circumvented by transparent expedients, as when a man names his sons into his

[1] Briffault 1. 96–110, 195–267.

[2] Hobhouse etc. 152 cite the Navahos of Arizona as pastoral and matrilineal, but from Frazer TE 3. 242 it seems doubtful whether they should be classed as pastoral.

own clan, or makes over his acquired wealth to them as a gift before he dies.[3] In the spirit of subterfuge primitive man shows all the ingenuity of a modern jurist. Change is justified by pretending that things are as they were before.

The factors making for the supremacy of the male were offset by the discovery of agriculture. In contrast to hunting and stock-breeding, which are both nomadic occupations, agriculture prepares the way for one of the most momentous steps in the whole record of human progress—the adoption of a sedentary life. It was only after he had learnt to till the soil that man could become in the full sense of the word a 'political animal'—an animal that lives in towns.[4] This was the step the Iroquois were about to take when they were interrupted by European conquest, thus falling short of the Aztecs, who owed their pottery, metallurgy, and architecture, their pictographic script and lunisolar calendar, to the advance from nomadic to sedentary agriculture. In the Old World the contrast is even more striking. Some parts of the Eurasian steppe-land have only become civilised in our own generation, while the rich alluvial valleys of southern Asia have witnessed from time immemorial the rise and fall of empires. The urban civilisations of the Nile, Euphrates, and Indus, which drew their wealth from the soil, had their beginnings in the fourth millennium B.C., whereas the intervening deserts have remained down to our own day the home of 'such as dwell in tents and have cattle'.[5] There is no need to insist on the supreme importance of agriculture. The point is that this mode of production was initiated by women, who thus played the decisive part in the origin of civilisation.

What then is matriarchy? In answering this question we begin, in accordance with our method, by seeking in the ethnological domain a living example of a matriarchal community. But here we are confronted with a difficulty inherent in the nature of our search. The optimum conditions for the survival of matriarchy would be a rapid advance from food-gathering to agriculture. But these are the optimum conditions for the development of civilisation. The object of our search is

[3] Frazer TE 1. 71, 3. 42, 72, 308; 2. 195, 3. 245, 4. 290.
[4] *Arist. Pol.* 1253 a. 9. [5] *Gen.* 4. 20.

frustrated by the conditions necessary for its attainment. This explains why so few examples of the matriarchate survive today. It lies buried beneath the civilisations erected on it.

What we are looking for is most likely to be found in regions where a rapid advance to the upper stages of barbarism has been followed by stabilisation. Such regions exist in the south and south-east of Asia. I quote from Marx:

> These small and extremely ancient Indian communities, some of which have continued down to our own day, are based on possession in common of the land, on the blending of agriculture and handicrafts, and on an unalterable division of labour, which serves, whenever a new community is started, as a plan and scheme ready cut and dried. . . . The simplicity of the organisation for production in these self-sufficing communities that constantly reproduce themselves in the same form, and when accidentally destroyed spring up on the same spot with the same name—this simplicity supplies the key to the secret of the unchangeableness of Asiatic societies, which is in such striking contrast to the constant dissolution and refounding of Asiatic states and the never-ceasing changes of dynasty. The structure of the economic elements of society remains untouched by the storm-clouds of the political sky.[6]

The Khasis are a people of some 200,000 souls inhabiting the hills to the north-east of Dacca on the borders of Bengal and Assam. Culturally they are isolated. Their language belongs to the Kolarian family, represented by the Santhals and Mundas of Chutia Nagpur and the Satpura Hills in the Central Provinces. Their staple industry is agriculture, supplemented by hunting, fishing, and stock-raising. The principal crop is rice. Manuring is well understood, but in most parts of the country the plough is unknown.

About half of the Khasi country is divided into minute native states; the remainder belongs to British India. British rule, direct or indirect, dates from 1835, and since 1842 the population has been served by a Welsh missionary college, with the happy results noted by Lieut.-Col. Gurdon, to whom we are indebted for a valuable monograph. 'Khasis who have become Christians', he tells us—their number is over 20,000—'often take to religion with much earnestness . . . and are model sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men,

[6] Marx K. 350–2. The stability of Indian society is attested by ancient Greek accounts: E. R. Bevan in CHI 1. 391.

women, and children trooping to Church on a Sunday morning dressed in their best with quite the Sunday expression on their faces that one sees in England.'[7] Along with these benefits the Khasis have managed to preserve their native customs, whose importance may be judged from the following remarks by Lyall:

> Their social organisation presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source and only bond of union of the family; in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan. What he earns goes to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark. In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of tribal piety, the primal ancestress and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan, and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side. In harmony with this scheme of ancestor-worship the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure. The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are the most frequently worshipped. The two protectors of the household are goddesses, though with them is also revered the first father of the clan. Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies. In one important state, Khyrim, the high-priestess and actual head of the state is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions.[8]

The centre of Khasi life is the village. It is usually situated just below one of the hill-tops in which the country abounds. Once built, it is never moved except under compulsion. It may be destroyed by cyclones or marauders, but when the trouble is over the inhabitants return and rebuild it on the old site. The houses are closely packed, with no distinction between those belonging to the chief's family and the remainder. All around are the cromlechs and clan cemeteries, also the sacred groves, dedicated to the village deity. These are taboo, the timber being reserved for the cult of the dead.[9]

The waste-land belongs to the village and is open to all for

[7] Gurdon 6. [8] C. J. Lyall in Gurdon xix–xx. [9] Gurdon 33.

thatching grass and firewood. The arable consists of clan estates, owned collectively; sacerdotal estates for the upkeep of the priests; and royal estates for the chief and his family. There are also a certain number of private estates acquired by purchase. These offer the only exception, and that a limited one, to the rule that the land belongs to the women. In the easterly districts a man who has bought a plot of land is entitled to its usufruct, but at death it reverts to his mother or her heiress. In the west he has the same right, provided he is married, and may even bequeath part of it to his children, but if he is single it is simply counted as his earnings on behalf of his clan.[10]

The Khasis have a saying, 'From the woman sprang the clan'. The clans are strictly exogamous. Marriage within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit. He is excommunicated and loses the right of burial in the clan sepulchre. Each clan is divided into households. This unit, known as *shi kpoh*, 'one womb', comprises all those descended on the mother's side from a single ancestress down to the fourth generation. It is a matriarchal *oîkos* (pp. 109–10). The *materfamilias* administers the cult of the family goddess, and also, if hers is the senior family, that of the clan ancestress. The clan estate, from which a livelihood is guaranteed to all the clansfolk, is managed on behalf of the senior *materfamilias* by her mother's brother. She is succeeded by her elder sisters in order of juniority; in default of sisters by her daughters, the youngest inheriting the house, the elder only a share in the movables. Failing these, the estate passes to the sisters' daughters and then to the mother's sisters and their female descendants in the female line.[11]

This does not leave much scope for the man. As a husband, he is a stranger to his wife's people, who refer to him curtly as a 'begetter'. Marriage is monogamous to the extent that a woman never has more than one husband at a time, but divorce is so easy that, as Gurdon says, 'the children are

[10] *Ib.* 82–7.

[11] *Ib.* 77, 82–3, 88. The Khasi rule is the matriarchal counterpart of Borough English, which is believed to have originated in conditions of rapid expansion: Vinogradoff GM 314–5, F. Seebohm EVC 351, Kovalevsky 135.

ignorant in many cases of their fathers' names'. This does not worry them. They have been brought up in their mother's house, and there, father or no father, they remain.[12]

Public religion, as distinct from the clan cults, is administered largely by male priests, but these are subject to a curious restriction. The priest performs the sacrifice, but a priestess must always be present. The priest is her deputy. As Gurdon points out, this is a survival from a time when the priestess had officiated alone.[13]

Where the chief is a man, his successors are his brothers, beginning with the eldest, his sisters' sons, his sisters' daughters' sons, and his mother's sisters' sons. In the absence of male heirs the succession reverts to females—his sisters, their daughters, and so forth. In Gurdon's time the chief of Khyrim was a woman, of whom he records the important detail that she was in the habit of delegating her secular duties to her son or sister's son.[14] This suggests that the chiefs, like the priests, have won their position by deputising for women.

We can now see the whole history of succession in a new light. In general, wherever the matrilineal rule has survived, it takes the form of succession from mother's brother to sister's son, which accordingly has come to be regarded as the norm. Really it is transitional. The original form is preserved in the Khasi clan, where succession passes from mother to daughter, the men being excluded. This is modified by deputing the woman's functions to the man—either the brother, as among the Khasis and the Iroquois, or the husband, as in the Roman monarchy (p. 97). The succession then passes from man to man but in the female line—from mother's brother to sister's son or from father-in-law to son-in-law. And so we reach the patriarchal rule—the exact opposite of the matriarchal—in which the succession passes from man to man in the male line to the exclusion of the women.

The Khasi matriarchate is unique in preserving as a functional unity all those female rights which occur elsewhere only in fragments or in traditions from the past. There is ample evidence, however, especially in this part of Asia, that

[12] Gurdon 81–2. [13] *Ib.* 120–1. [14] *Ib.* 70–1.

institutions of this type were once general. The Garos of Assam have the same rules of ownership and inheritance, with two significant modifications. The husband enjoys the full usufruct of his wife's property, and the widow is required to marry her

Table VII

EVOLUTION OF PATRILINEAL SUCCESSION

M, man. W, woman. The inheritors are italicised.

M	*W*=M	Direct matrilineal succession (mother to daughter)
	M *W*=M	
M	W=M	Indirect matrilineal succession (mother's brother to sister's son). The woman's rights are transferred to her brother.
	M W=M	
M	*W*=*M*	Indirect matrilineal succession (father-in-law to son-in-law). The woman's rights are transferred to her husband.
	M *W*=*M*	
M	W=*M*	Patrilineal succession (father to son).
	M W=M	

youngest daughter's husband, who thus inherits without infringing the matrilineal principle.[15] In southern China there are still tribes ruled by female chiefs.[16] and ancient China was fully matriarchal. The women, according to Granet,

[15] Frazer TE 2. 323. [16] Briffault 3. 23.

'transmitted their names to their children; the husbands were only consorts annexed to a group of wives'.[17] In the tenth century A.D. northern Tibet was a highly organised matriarchate known to us from Chinese annalists, who called it Nu-kuo, the Kingdom of Women. The queen's husband was a nonentity with no part in the government. This was in the hands of a council of state convened by the queen and composed of the palace women, whose decrees were executed by male officials with the title of 'women's deputies'.[18] Again we see how the queen's husband eventually became a king. This point is so important that further illustrations are desirable. For these we turn to Africa.[19]

Among the Baganda the totem is to-day inherited from the father, but formerly it was matrilineal. The old rule is still preserved in the royal family, which being hieratic is naturally conservative. The king is an absolute despot, yet strangely dependent on two women. The queen and the queen-mother both share the title of king. Each keeps her own court and possesses her own estate administered by her own officials. One of the queen-mother's duties is to furnish the king with daily gifts of food. Her death is regarded as a great calamity, especially for him, and a successor is appointed from her clan without delay, as though he could not survive without her. The queen sits on the same throne as he does and takes the same oath at coronation. She is chosen for him by the queen-mother, and she is his sister.

Among the Baganda the queen-mother's office is mainly sacerdotal, but in the kingdom of Benin, in southern Nigeria, besides holding her own court, she is consulted by the king on all matters of state. She and her daughters live together. They never marry but enjoy as many lovers as they please, drawn from any rank of society. In Lunda the queen-mother reigns jointly with the king. Her approval is required for all his acts, her presence is indispensable at all his public appearances, and her authority is supreme whenever he is absent.

All the more advanced African monarchies conform to this

[17] Granet 343–4, cf. Bishop 305. [18] Briffault 3. 23–4, cf. 1. 647–53.
[19] For the examples that follow see the authorities cited by Briffault 3. 28–36.

semi-matriarchal type, reflecting an antecedent stage in which the king had been merely one of the queen's husbands. In the more backward kingdoms of Loango, Daura, and the Abrons of the Ivory Coast, the king has hardly any power at all, and he is the son of a slave. In Agonna, Latuka, Ubemba, and elsewhere, there is no king. The ruler is a queen, who does not marry but has servile lovers.

The patriarchal developments in these African kingdoms have been fostered by wars of conquest, which, arising initially from the process of tribal expansion, have been sharply intensified by the repercussions of the slave trade and by European and Mohammedan penetration. The primitive matriarchate, founded on agrarian magic, has thus been abruptly modified. We have indeed several instances of these sturdy negresses leading their armies into battle against European bayonets as energetically and hopelessly as our own Boadicea, but the extension of warfare was bound in the long run to weaken their authority. Their success in keeping such a strong hold over their sons and husbands is due to their sacerdotal functions, which being agricultural were the special property of their sex.

It must not of course be imagined that the powers of the African king are exclusively secular. On the contrary, he is everywhere the high priest and in particular the supreme rainmaker. Yet, as Briffault has shown, his sacral functions tell the same tale. In Dahomey, where the king's control of the royal women is unchallenged, he is revered as a descendant of the rain-god, who is supposed to lodge with him in the palace; yet it is his wives, under the title of the Mothers, who draw the ceremonial water from the wells and perform the rain-making magic. Hence we are not surprised to find that in communities less advanced than Dahomey the rainmakers are regularly women. At Chigunda (Central Africa) the whole tribe assembles for the rainmaking, but the actual ceremony is conducted entirely by women. Among the Damaras prayers for rain are offered by the chief's daughter, who tends for the purpose a sacred fire, which is never put out. So among the Hereros, it is the chief's daughter who prays for rain and tends the sacred fire in the hut of his principal wife. The

reader will recall the ever-burning fire of the Roman Vestals, who, as Frazer has shown, were originally wives of the Roman kings.[20]

Thanks to Frazer's monumental researches it is now recognised that the kingship is derived ultimately from agrarian magic, its military and political functions being secondary. The king secures his position by concentrating in his person or under his control all the social energy directed towards the fertilisation of man and nature. Endowed by this means with the supreme power over his people's welfare, he is revered as a god and admitted to office by a special initiation—the rite of coronation, which signifies that he has been born again, no longer man but god.[21] The real nature of his exalted status is vividly expressed in the words with which the Jukuns of Nigeria acclaim a new king. They bow down before him and cry: 'Our rain, our crops, our health, our wealth!'[22]

If the king began as a mere consort of the royal women, it becomes possible to understand what to modern minds is the most puzzling of his primitive characteristics. It is again to Frazer that we are indebted for the discovery that his tenure of office was limited in early times to a prescribed period, at the end of which he was put to death. When we consider the marital customs of these African queens, who treat their consorts as slaves, because they *are* slaves, we can see that in these conditions the king's death was only an incident in a women's ritual cycle. Among the Shilluks of the Sudan, who killed their kings within living memory, the princesses enjoyed the same rights of free love, and in former days they used to strangle the king with their own hands.[23]

It was necessary for these 'queens' to conceive in order that the earth might bear fruit. Their sexual life was a cycle of mimetic magic. Accordingly, the procreator was imagined as a god—in the first instance, no doubt, the god of the moon,

[20] Frazer GB-MA 2. 228. [21] Hocart 70–98.

[22] Meek 137. Not only was the Jukun king liable to be put to death if he failed to produce plenty, but, though his authority was nominally absolute, he was so hedged round with taboos that the real power rested with the priests who acted as intermediaries between him and the people: Meek 333–4.

[23] Briffault 3. 36–7, Frazer GB-DG 17–8.

which in primitive thought is the cause of pregnancy in women and fertility in the soil; and after serving their purpose the men in whom this god was embodied were put to death. They had to die in order that the crops might live. This ritual, which inspired the myths of Ishtar and Tammuz, Isis and Osiris, Venus and Adonis, is the precursor of the Greek sacred marriage, in which it was adapted to the conditions of monogamy.

No one can study these Bantu monarchies without recalling the kingdom of the Pharaohs. In ancient Egypt royalty was transmitted in the female line.[24] The children of a royal mother were royal, but the king could only secure his status for his sons by marrying one of his sisters or a daughter of his mother's sisters.[25] This is the rule of matriarchal endogamy, observed in ancient Egypt as among the Baganda to-day.

If the king's mother was royal, he reigned in his own right, while she occupied the same exalted position as the Bantu queen-mother. The two are sometimes represented on monuments as seated side by side.[26] If he was not of royal birth, he reigned by right of marriage.[27] Just as he was the god incarnate, so the queen was a 'wife of the god' with a status hardly inferior to his own. The celebrated Hatshepsut of the XVIIIth Dynasty ruled the country for over thirty years in partnership first with her father and later with her nephew, Thothmes III, who, great man though he afterwards became, played second fiddle till she died. Tutankhamen was overshadowed in the same way by the queen Ankhsenpaaten and the queen-mother Nefretiti, the energetic wife of Amenhetep IV.[28]

If the king married outside the royal house, the succession reverted to the female line, and consequently the founder of a new dynasty usually took the precaution of marrying into the old.[29] This practice persisted down to the days of Antony and Cleopatra, when the Egyptian monarchy at last came to an

[24] Petrie HE 2. 183, cf. SLAE 110–1.
[25] Petrie HE 2. 95–6. Cf. Koschaker 81.
[26] Petrie HE 1. 114.
[27] *Ib.* 2. 240, Budge HE 4. 145.
[28] Hall AHNE 232, 308.
[29] Revillout 2. 57, H. R. Hall in CAH 1. 279, cf. Bancroft 2. 142; D.S. 17. 107, Arr. *An.* 3. 22. 5.

end. It is the same principle as we have traced in the Sabine and Etruscan dynasties at Rome.

Where ancient Egypt differed from the Bantu kingdoms, as they are to-day, is that in Egypt the whole of society was more or less matriarchal. The normal rule of inheritance was that a man's property passed to his eldest daughter, though he might bequeath specific goods to his sons.[30] If the woman owned the property in the second generation, how, we ask, had the man come to own it in the first? The answer is that strictly speaking he did not own it at all. He merely enjoyed its use by right of marriage. And this takes us back to the Garo modification of the Khasi rule, which vests all property rights in the women. Accordingly, following the Pharaoh's example, the son married his sister. The Egyptian brother-and-sister marriage was dictated by the assertion of male property rights within a matriarchal system. As Petrie has put it, 'sister-marriage reconciled matriarchal property with paternal inheritance'.[31]

Under the Old Kingdom the status of women had been high enough to qualify them for administrative functions in the public service, such as local prefectures, and the wife's position in the family was at least equal to the husband's. But, beginning with the XIIth Dynasty, we meet signs of a change, which become still more pronounced towards the close of the Middle Kingdom, promoted perhaps by the Hyksos kings, who were pastoral nomads from the north. We now find that besides the principal wife, the *nept pa* or mistress of the household, noblemen were permitted to marry a 'wife of the second degree'.[32] The priesthoods too fall increasingly under male control, and women withdraw from public life. The manner of their withdrawal is characteristic. 'The inscriptions of Beni Hassan', according to Revillout, 'prove that in this period, where governmental functions were hereditary, subject to the approval or veto of the sovereign, the woman transferred her

[30] Breasted 86, H. R. Hall in CAH 1. 279.

[31] Petrie SLAE 110.

[32] Revillout 2. 31, 39, 57–8. The institution of the second wife is recognised in Babylonian and Hittite law (Cuq 471) and is found also among the ancient Irish (Dillon 38).

rights in them to her son or husband.'[33] The woman was supplanted by the 'woman's deputy'.

'In Egypt,' according to Hall, 'there were always strong traces of *Mutterrecht*, but none in Babylonia.'[34] I hesitate to challenge his authority. Robertson Smith believed that all the Semitic peoples were originally matriarchal,[35] and matriarchy seems to have left something more than a trace in the early Sumerian city-states, which Hall himself described as follows:

> Each city was ruled by a hereditary governor, who was also high-priest of the local god and bore the title *patesi*, which signified that its possessor was the earthly vice-gerent of the gods. The Sumerian language possessed a word denoting the ruler of a higher political organisation: this was *lugal*, 'king' (literally 'great man'). This word had no theocratic connotation and . . . it seems to have been assumed by any *patesi* who succeeded by force or fraud in uniting several cities under his government.[36]

The office of *patesi* was theocratic, that of *lugal* rested on military power. This distinction is in keeping with the normal development of the kingship in the decline of the matriarchate. At the beginning of Sumerian history we find Baranamtarra, wife of Lugalanda, the *patesi* of Lagash, ruling the city jointly with her husband. She bears the honorific title of 'the Woman', and she keeps her own court, the 'House of the Woman', as distinct from the 'House of the Man', which belongs to the *patesi*. The wife of the next *patesi*, Urukagina, enjoyed a similar status. Her name was Shagshag, her title 'the goddess Bau'. The chief minister of state was styled, under Lugalanda, 'scribe of the House of the Woman', and, under Urukagina, 'scribe of the goddess Bau'. He belonged therefore in both reigns to the *patesi's* wife's retinue. In both reigns, moreover, official documents were dated in her name. All this suggests, as Langdon has remarked, that the *patesis* were merely consorts, the real authority being vested in their wives.[37] If this is not matriarchy, it is very like it. Nor were such conditions peculiar to Lagash. At Zabshali, and again at Anshan, we hear of a *patesi* married to a daughter of a *lugal*; and in at least one instance, at Markhashi, a *lugal's* daughter actually held office as *patesi*.[38]

[33] Revillout 2. 57, 91. [34] Hall AHNE 205. [35] Robertson Smith KMEA.
[36] Hall AHNE 178–9. [37] S. H. Langdon in CAH 1. 385–6.
[38] R. C. Thompson in CAH 1. 509–10.

Matriarchal institutions have been traced in ancient Elam,[39] and there they were transmitted to the Persian Emperors. Readers of Æschylus will remember the majestic figure of the Queen-Mother Atossa, who during her son's absence ruled the kingdom.[40] Dareios, the father of Xerxes, was her second husband. Her first was her brother, Kambyses, and after his death, according to Herodotus, she continued to 'hold all the power'.[41] That no doubt is why Dareios married her. A later Dareios, contemporary with Alexander the Great, succeeded to the throne by marrying one of his sisters, who were all 'princesses of the blood royal'.[42] The strenuous part played by women in the dynastic struggles of the Macedonian monarchy suggests that it too may have contained matriarchal elements.[43] Be that as it may, brother-and-sister marriage is definitely attested for Alexander's successors, the Ptolemies, Arsacids, and Seleucids. The Ptolemies took it over from the Pharaohs, the Arsacids and Seleucids from the Persians. Thus, Laodike, daughter of Antiochos III, was married in turn to her three brothers, Antiochos, Seleukos IV, and Antiochos IV. By Seleukos she had a son, also named Antiochos, who was proclaimed king in boyhood under the regency of her third brother, Antiochos IV, who then married her. Tarn says that the regent's motive for the marriage was to secure the succession for his ward.[44] But that was already guaranteed by his parentage. It is much more likely that he wanted it for himself. And he got it. Shortly afterwards the boy was assassinated, and Antiochos IV became king. Who was the murderer?

Arrian says that Asia Minor had been 'ruled by women' ever since the legendary days of Semiramis.[45] This may be an exaggeration, though, as a native of the country, he ought to have known. There are two reasons why in modern histories of the Near East the status of women has been neglected. One

[39] König MTAE.

[40] A. *Per.* 153–60. Æschylus seems to have been well acquainted with Persian life: König RI 88–90.

[41] Hdt. 7. 3. 4, cf. 3. 31, 68, 88.

[42] Arr. *An.* 2. 11–2, cf. Luc. *Sacr.* 13. 5. The Persian Magi practised matriarchal endogamy: Xanth. 28.

[43] Plu. *Alex.* 9.

[44] Tarn 185. See further Wesendonk VA.

[45] Arr. *Ind.* 1. 23. 7.

is the general lack of understanding of what matriarchy is and the rather indolent assumption that ancient society must have resembled our own except in so far as it is definitely proved to have been different. The other lies in the ancient documents, which, being mainly concerned with political life, give a one-sided picture. After the decline of the matriarchate the women's publicly acknowledged privileges were confined to religion, but this did not prevent them from exercising an unobtrusive influence on secular affairs. Long after surrendering the form they retained the reality, and so developed one of the characteristics of their sex.

2. *The Lycians*

Let us now draw the net closer. Linguistic evidence has led us to conclude that the Greek-speaking immigrants into the Ægean came under matriarchal influences (p. 146). What support is there for this conclusion in their traditions about themselves?

The Ægean basin was never completely hellenised. In the north it remained exposed to fresh irruptions—Thracians, Phrygians, and later Macedonians, Gauls, and Slavs. In Anatolia, it was only after the conquests of Alexander that Greek speech penetrated into the interior. Behind Aiolis lay the Phrygians, behind Ionia the Lydians, behind the Dorian settlements further south the Carians and Lycians. A non-Greek language was still spoken in parts of Crete as late as the fourth century B.C.[46]

The Lycians were so called because their national god, Apollon Lykios, was worshipped as a wolf (*lýkos*).[47] His mother, Leto, is said to have been changed into a wolf before his birth, or led by wolves to the spot where he was born.[48] Their own name for themselves was Trmmli, vocalised in

[46] Nilsson HM 65–6. [47] *Scr. Myth. Gr.* 77.

[48] Æl. *NA.* 10. 26, Ant, Lib. 35. Apollo appears with attendant wolves on coins of Tarsos: Imhoof-Blumer 171. This seems enough to fix the meaning of *Il.* 4. 101 λυκηγενέι, which is simply epic for λυκογενεῖ, cf. *Il.* 2. 54 Πυλοιγενέος, 3. 182 μοιρηγενές, and see W. G. Headlam in G. Thomson AO 2. 10. There is consequently no need for Kretschmer's hypothetical *Λύκη (Hittite *Lugga*)=Λυκίη (SLS 102). See further his NLKV 14–7.

Greek as Termilai. From Egyptian annals, in which they appear under their Greek name (Luka), we learn that in 1248 B.C., together with other Ægean peoples, they had been raiding the Nile Delta. A century later a section of them and the Carians migrated through Pamphylia and Cilicia into northern Palestine, where they became known as the Philistines.[49]

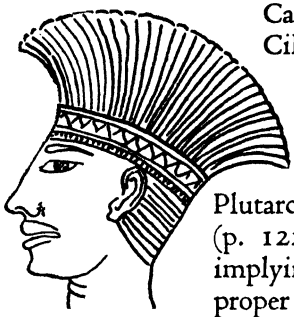


FIG. 6. *A Philistine: Egyptian painting*

Reference has already been made to their matriarchal institutions (pp. 99, 142). Descent was matrilineal. When Plutarch mentions the Lycian clan Ioxidai (p. 122), he calls them 'Ioxidai or Ioxides', implying that the feminine form was the proper one.[50] Succession too was matrilineal. Daughters inherited in preference to sons.[51] The basic unit of society, attested by sepulchral inscriptions, was the matriarchal household. Some of these inscriptions contain a formula of the familiar matriarchal type: 'Neiketes son of Parthena. . . . Neiketes son of Lalla. . . . Eutyches, father unknown. . . . Alexandros, father unknown.'[52] Systematic excavation in this area will add much to our knowledge of the Anatolian matriarchate.

In Greek tradition, it was with Lycian aid that King Proitos occupied and fortified the stronghold of Tiryns,[53] one of the most important Mycenean sites in the Argive plain. In the same generation Bellerophon, son of Glaukos and grandson of Sisyphos, after sojourning at the court of Proitos, migrated to Lycia, where he married the king's daughter and received a share of the kingdom. He had a daughter Laodameia and a son Hippolochos. Laodameia became by Zeus the mother of Sarpedon, who led the Lycians to the Trojan War. Hippolochos

[49] H. R. Hall in CAH 2. 282–4. [50] Plu. *Thes.* 8. [51] Nic. Dam. 129.

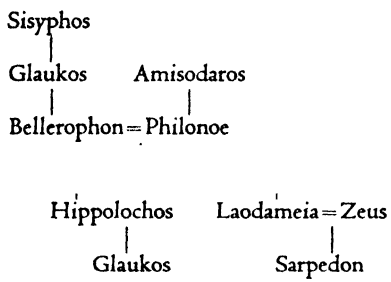
[52] *TAM.* 2. 176. a. 48, b. 20, 46 πατρὸς ἀδήλου, cf. 2. 601. It is possible that in these cases the mother was a priestess of the same type as the Babylonian *Nin-An*, 'bride of God.' Sargon, whose mother was probably a *Nin-An*, 'knew not his father': R. C. Thompson in CAH 1. 536–7.

[53] Apld. 2. 2. 1, where Bellerophon's father-in-law is given as Amphianax or Iobates. The latter was a Lycian name: *TAM* 2. 283. According to *Il.* 6. 170 sch. he was Amisodaros, cf. *Il.* 16. 328. Amisos was a town in Paphlagonia (Str. 68–71) and for the termination cf. Pixodaros (p. 167).

was the father of another Glaukos, Sarpedon's companion at Troy.[54] When the Greeks colonised Ionia, members of this family were chosen as kings at Miletos and elsewhere.[55] Another branch remained in Lycia at Xanthos, where there was a townland called Glaukou Demos.[56]

Table VIII

DESCENDANTS OF SISYPHOS



The fact that the Lycian leader at Troy was Sarpedon and not Glaukos attracted the attention of the ancient Homeric commentators, who explained it quite correctly as a mark of honour for his mother.[57] Since Bellerophon had attained royal rank by marrying the king's daughter, the succession passed through her daughter. This, as we have seen, is a form of indirect matrilineal succession.

The Glaukidai must have been Greek-speaking, otherwise the Ionians would not have chosen them to be their kings. They cannot have learnt Greek in Lycia, where the native language survived into the Christian era, and therefore the stock of Sisyphos must have been Greek-speaking when they left the Peloponnese. This is just what our linguistic analysis has led us to expect. A Greek clan, settling among an alien

[54] *Il.* 6. 152–206. There is an Irish tradition very similar to the story of Bellerophon: Dillon 35. Traces of succession from father-in-law to son-in-law are found in Scandinavian mythology: Chadwick OEP 312.

[55] Hdt. 1. 147.

[56] Alex. Polyh. 82–3.

[57] Eust. *ad Il.* 12. 101. Similarly, the Kinyradai of Cyprus, descended from Teukros and a daughter of Kinyras, owed their priesthood of Aphrodite to the latter (Paus. 1. 3. 1, Tac. *H.* 2. 3.): see p. 513.

matriarchal people, rises to power by conforming to the indigenous rule of succession.

This is not the only case of its kind. The Dorians of Argolis were organised in their three ancestral tribes (p. 102), but besides these they had a fourth, the Hyrnatheis, drawn from the conquered population.[58] The story of their eponym Hyrnetho (Doric Hyrnatho) was as follows. Temenos, the Dorian chief to whom Argolis had been assigned, offended his sons by favouring Deiphontes, who had married his daughter Hyrnetho. Fearing to lose the succession, his sons suborned some criminals, who waylaid him and killed him, but the old man lived long enough to bequeath the kingdom with his dying breath to his daughter and son-in-law, who, after being confirmed in possession by the people, reigned jointly.[59] The story may not be historical, but that does not affect its value as evidence of early custom. Besides illustrating the conflicts that accompanied the transition from mother-right to father-right, it gives us a Greek instance of the principle that, where a man succeeds his father-in-law as king, he does so as consort of his queen, who reigns in her own right.[60]

3. *The Carians and Leleges*

The Carians and Leleges both belonged to the Anatolian seaboard, and the distinction between them is somewhat indefinite. Herodotus regards the Leleges as a branch of the Carians that retained the old national name. Other views were that they were a distinct people reduced by the Carians to serfdom, and that originally they had been confined to Samos and Chios.[61] In historical times they were little more than a

[58] *IG.* 4. 517, St. B. Δυμᾶνες, *SIG.* 594 n. 4.

[59] Nic. Dam. 38, Apld. 2. 8. 5.

[60] So at Megara: Sikyon married a daughter of Pandion and claimed the succession against his brother-in-law Nisos; it was divided between them; Nisos was succeeded by his son-in-law Alkathoos and he by his son-in-law Telamon: Paus. 1. 39. 6, 41. 6, 42. 4. At Corinth Jason succeeded by marriage to Medea (Paus. 2. 3. 10); Oros of Troizen was succeeded by his daughter's son (Paus. 2. 30. 5), cf. 4. 30. 3 and see further 7. 1. 3, 8. 5. 6, Parth. 1, D.S. 4. 33.

[61] Hdt. 1. 171. 2, Phil. Theang. 1 = *FHG.* 4. 475, Pher. 111, Str. 321, 661.

memory, whereas the Carians were universally familiar as the non-Greek inhabitants of the country that bore their name.

The principal Greek settlement in Caria was Halikarnassos, the birthplace of Herodotus. The historian himself was probably of Carian extraction, for the names of his father and uncle, Lyxes and Panyasis, are not Greek.[62] Though more exposed to Greek influence than the Lycians, they too preserved their language and culture. Herodotus must have known them well, and, since he describes the Lycian matriarchate as unique (p. 144), it would seem to follow that the Carians of his day were patrilineal. Even here, however, it is necessary to make reservations.

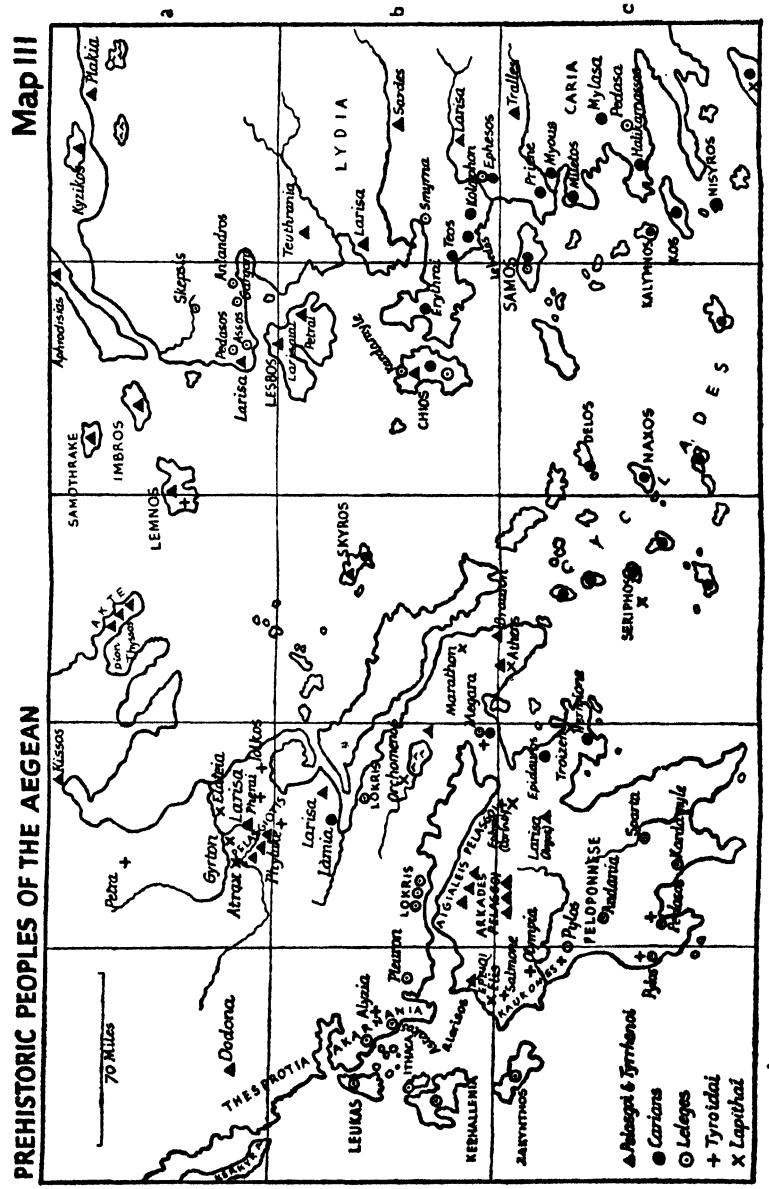
The best-known of the Carian kings was Mausolos, who reigned in the fourth century. His wife was his sister Artemisia. He had two brothers, Idrieus and Pixodaros. Idrieus was married to another sister, Ada. Mausolos died childless and was succeeded by Artemisia, who erected to his memory the famous Mausoleum. She was succeeded by Idrieus, and he by Ada. This lady was expelled by Pixodaros, who submitted to the Persians and left the kingdom to the Persian satrap, who married his daughter. Finally the satrap was expelled by Alexander the Great at the instance of Ada, who thus reigned once more in her own right.[63] A hundred years after Herodotus we find the Carian dynasty observing the same rule of matriarchal endogamy as the Pharaohs.

We learn from Herodotus himself that at the time of the Persian War his native Halikarnassos was under a Carian queen, who, to judge by her name, Artemisia, belonged to the same dynasty. Her mother was a Cretan; her father was named Lygdamis. Her husband was dead, but, though she had a grown-up son, she retained the royal power 'out of sheer manly spirit'. Her domain extended to the adjacent islands of Kos, Kalymnos, and Nisyros.[64] When Xerxes invaded Greece,

[62] Suid. 'Ηρόδοτος, Dur. 57. The survival of such place-names as Ouassos and Onzossyasos (*SIG.* 46) suggests that Carian continued to be spoken in Halikarnassos itself.

[63] Str. 656–7, Arr. *An*, 1. 23. 7–8. For Pixodaros cf. *SIG.* 169. 16 and see p. 164 n. 53. Arrian *l.c.* says that brother-and-sister marriage was a Carian custom.

[64] Hdt. 7. 99.


Map III
PREHISTORIC PEOPLES OF THE AEGEAN
70 Miles
Pelasgi & Tyrrheni
Carians
Leleges
Tyroidai
Lapithai
THESPROTIA
LEUKAS
KEPHALLENIA
ZAKYNTHOS
LOKRIS
ARKADIA
PELOPONNESE
LEMNOS
IMBROS
SAMOTHRAKE
SKYROS
LESBOS
CHIOS
SAMOS
DELOS
NAXOS
KALYMNOS
KOS
NISYROS
LYDIA
CARIA
Dodona
Gyrton
Atrax
Larisa
Pelinna
Pherai
Iolkos
Lamia
Orchomenos
Marathon
Megara
Troizen
Epidauros
Argos
Sparta
Pylos
Olympia
Pleuron
Aigion
Aigeira
Pharai
Kleitor
Mantineia
Tegea
Phigaleia
Kissos
Petra
Aphrodisias
Kyzikos
Miletos
Skepsis
Antandros
Pedasos
Assos
Larisa
Methymna
Teuthrania
Petra
Larisa
Sardes
Smyrna
Teos
Erythrai
Klazomenai
Ephesos
Larisa
Priene
Myous
Miletos
Mylasa
Pedasa
Halikarnassos
Trallis

she furnished him with a contingent of five warships, commanded by herself. At the Battle of Salamis, when the Persian rout had begun, her flagship was hotly pursued by the Athenians, but she saved herself by adroitly turning about and ramming a Persian vessel. The Athenians took this to mean that she was deserting to their side, and gave up the chase. The Persians, on their part, supposed that the ship she rammed must be an enemy; so Xerxes, watching the battle from the shore, and disgusted with the failure of his own admirals, made the famous remark, 'My men have become women and my women men'.[65] The special interest of this incident is that on board one of the Athenian ships, perhaps an eye-witness, was the dramatist whose greatest character surpassed even Artemisia in masculine strength of purpose.

The Ionian conquerors of Miletos took Carian wives, who, resenting the slaughter of their menfolk, refused to eat with their new husbands or call them by their names.[66] This implies that in the early days of the colony the women had maintained to some extent their native organisation. At Teos, another Ionian settlement, there has been recovered a list of annual magistrates.[67] In each case the man's name is followed by those of his clan and *pýrgos*. The *pýrgos* was his village, equivalent to the Attic deme. And in 11 cases out of 25 the clan and village have the same name, e.g. 'Euthyrrhemon Boides of Boios'. This means that the identity of the two units was still largely intact. The clan names themselves are significant. One of them, Philaides, is Attic (p. 121); another, Kothides, comes from Euboia;[68] a third, Maliades, from Thessaly.[69] Several, such as Bryskides and Daddeios, are Carian.[70] Since these Carian clans remained in occupation of their native settlements under their native names, they must have preserved their native institutions; and, if this happened at Teos, it must have happened in other Ionian colonies.

In prehistoric times the Carians and Leleges had extended far beyond Caria. They are said to have been driven from the

[65] Hdt. 8. 87–8, cf. Ar. *Lys.* 675.

[66] Hdt, 1. 146. 3. Herodotus says the Ionian women's costume was of Carian origin (5. 88).

[67] *CIG.* 3064. [68] Str. 447. [69] Cf. Str. 633. [70] Cf. Paus. 7. 3. 6.

Troad after the Trojan War.[71] The old name of Kos was Karis, and there was a townland in Chios called Karides.[72] They are mentioned as early inhabitants of Naxos,[73] where we meet with the personal name Lygdamis,[74] and Naxos itself seems to be connected with the Carian town of Naxia.[75] The Carians of Naxos are said to have come from Lamia in the extreme south of Thessaly.[76] Epidauros and Troizen, on the Argive coast, were Carian settlements.[77] The acropolis of Megara was called Karia after King Kar, the 'Carian'.[78] The cult of Zeus Karios, centred at Mylasa, the Carian capital, is found in Bœotia[79] and again in Attica.[80]

Another early king of Megara was Lelex, and Leleges from Megara were the original founders of the Messenian Pylos.[81] Lelex was also the first king of Sparta, whose earliest inhabitants are described as Leleges.[82] We also hear of Leleges in Leukas, Akarnania, Lokris, and Bœotia.[83] Lastly, Thucydides says that the Carians were expelled from the Cyclades during the Minoan thalassocracy, and he adds that in his own lifetime, when some ancient graves were dug up in Delos, more than half the corpses were identified by their accoutrements as Carian.[84]

Nevertheless, the Carian domain has definite limits. It is

[71] Str. 321, cf. *Il.* 21. 85–8. Antandros, Skepsis, Pedasos, Gargara, Assos had all belonged to the Leleges: Str. 605–10.

[72] Hell. 103. Eph. 34. The early inhabitants of Samos and Chios are described as Carians: Paus. 7. 4. 8–9, Str. 637.

[73] D.S. 5. 51. [74] Hdt. 1. 61. 4, cf. 7. 99. 2. [75] Alex. Polyh. 54–5.

[76] D.S. 5. 51. [77] Arist. fr. 491=Str. 374. [78] Paus. 1. 40. 6.

[79] Hdt. 1. 171. 6, Str. 659, Phot. Κάριος Ζεύς. [80] Hdt. 5. 66.

[81] Paus. 1. 39. 6, 4. 36. 1. Another Lelex settlement, identified by its name, was Pedasos in S. Messenia (*Il.* 9. 152). Expelled from the Trojan Pedasos (see n. 71) the Leleges fled to Halikarnassos, where they founded Pedasa (Str. 611). The Messenian Kardamyle (*Il.* 9. 150) was presumably founded by Leleges from Chios, where there was a town of the same name (Th. 8. 24. 3).

[82] Paus. 3. 1. 1, cf. 3. 12. 5. A son of this Lelex founded Andania (Paus. 4. 1. 2) and his daughter gave her name to Therapne (Paus. 3. 19. 9). The Spartan Leleges were agricultural: their king, Lelex, had a son Myles, the 'miller,' who ground corn at Alesiai ('grinding women'), and a grandson Eurotas, who drained the Eurotas valley: E. *Or.* 626 sch.

[83] Arist. fr. 560=Str. 321–2; see further pp. 425–30.

[84] Th. 1. 4. 8.

bounded by a line drawn from Leukas to Lamia and thence across to Chios. North of this line the prehistoric inhabitants remembered by the Greeks were Pelasgoi.

4. *The Pelasgoi*

The Pelasgoi survived, still speaking their own language, at several places in the north Ægean—Akte on the Macedonian coast, Kreston somewhere in the same region, Lemnos and Imbros,[85] and Plakia and Skylake in the territory of Kyzikos on the Propontis.[86] They are also recorded in Samothraike, the Troad, Lydia, Lesbos, and Chios.[87]

In Greece proper they left their name in the ancient shrine of Zeus Pelasgios at Dodona,[88] and in the Thessalian plain, which was known as Pelasgikon Argos or Pelasgiotis.[89] They are mentioned as early inhabitants of Bœotia and the Peloponnesian Achaia,[90] and more especially as the aboriginal population of Attica, Argolis, and Arcadia.[91] Near Olympia there were remnants of a tribe called the Kaukones, who had once ranged over the whole of Elis. These too were probably Pelasgoi.[92] A tribe of the same name is mentioned along with Pelasgoi in the *Iliad* as allies of the Trojans, and the name reappears further north in the Kaukones or Kaukoniatai of Paphlagonia on the Black Sea coast.[93] There is no trace of

[85] Th. 4. 109. 4 (cf. Str. 331. 35). Hdt. 1. 57, 5. 26 (cf. Str. 221), 4. 145. 2. The traditions relating to the Pelasgoi were collected by Hellanikos of Lesbos, whose *Phoronis* was probably based on an epic with that title: Pearson 159.

[86] Hdt. 1. 57, cf. Deioch. 5–6=*FHG.* 2. 17–8, Hec. 205, Eph. 104.

[87] Hdt. 7. 42, Str. 221, 621, St. B. Νινόη.

[88] *Il.* 16. 233, Str. 327, Plu. *Pyrrh.* 1.

[89] *Il.* 2. 681, 840, Str. 221. 443. The word ἄργος, which meant 'plain' (Str. 372, cf. J. D. Denniston *ad* E. *Io* 1), was probably Pelasgian; and if, as will be argued later (p. 396), the Achæan name for Thessaly was Hellas, then the Homeric Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (*Od.* 1. 344) may be interpreted as a description of that region by its two alternative names.

[90] Str. 410, Hdt. 7. 94.

[91] Hdt. 1. 57, 4. 145. 2, 6. 137. 1, cf. Th. 2. 17; E. fr. 228, Hdt. 2. 171; Hdt. 1. 146, Paus. 8. 1. 4.

[92] Str. 345, 542, *Od.* 3. 366.

[93] *Il.* 10. 429, 20. 329, Str. 345. The Kaukoniatai of Str. 345 are evidently the Kaukones of Str. 541–2.

Pelasgoi in the southern Peloponnese or the Cyclades, but they are mentioned in the *Odyssey* as one of several peoples inhabiting Crete.[94]

The name, according to Kretschmer, is an ethnical derivative of *pélagos*.[95] This is an Indo-European word for a level surface, a plain, but in Greek it was applied to the sea (cf. Latin *aequor*). The current Greek for 'sea' was *thálassa*, which is not Indo-European. Was this borrowed by the Greek invaders of the Ægean from the 'people of the sea' they found there—the Pelasgoi?

Though widely scattered, their culture seems to have been homogeneous. One of their distinctive place-names, Larisa, is found in several parts of Thessaly, Attica, Argolis, Elis, Crete, the Troad, Aiolis, and Lydia.[96] The worship of Hephaistos, the fire-god, which was certainly pre-Hellenic, was centred at Athens and Lemnos.[97] He also figures in the Pelasgian cult of the Kabeiroi, which survived in Samothraike, Lemnos, and Imbros.[98] It has already been argued by A. B. Cook that Hephaistos was a Pelasgian divinity.[99] So in all probability was Hermes. He too was associated with the Kabeiroi, and he had a non-Greek cult in Imbros.[100] His oldest seats on the mainland were in Arcadia and Attica. He is said to have been born on the slopes of Mount Kyllene in Arcadia, where he was

[94] *Od.* 19. 177.

[95] Kretschmer GGD 16–7, but cf. Cuny 21. In default of independent evidence all such etymologies must be treated with reserve.

[96] *Il.* 2. 841, Str. 430, 440, 620–1, Paus. 2. 24. 1, 7. 17. 5. The Cretan Larisa was absorbed in the later Hierapytna (Str. 440). Larisa was a daughter of Pelasgos (Paus. 2. 24. 1) and Larisa Kremaste was also known as Larisa Pelasgia (Str. 435).

[97] *Il.* 1. 593, Philoch. 6, S. *Ph.* 986–7, Dion. Chalc. 2=*FHG.* 4. 393, *Il.* 2. 722 sch. V, Nic. *Th.* 472 sch., Lyc. 224 sch. Hephaistos figures on the coinage of Kyzikos, Bithynia, and Lydia: Farnell CGS 5. 394.

[98] Hdt. 2. 51, 3. 37, Str. 472, Paus. 9. 25. 5–10.

[99] Cook Z 3. 226; see also K. Bapp in Roscher LGRM 3. 3040–1.

[100] St. B. Ἴμβρος: he was known there as Imbramos. Hermes appears on Imbrian coins (Head 261), also in Lemnos (A. *A.* 295–6) and Thrace, whose kings claimed descent from him (Hdt. 5. 7, cf. Farnell CGS 5. 77): no doubt the Thracians had taken him over from the Pelasgoi. On his name see Kretschmer NKLV 3–4.

worshipped as an ancestor god,[101] and at Kyllene in Elis his image consisted simply of a *penis erectus*,[102] analogous to the phallic effigies called *hermaî*, whose origin was ascribed to the Pelasgoi.[103] The Eleusinian Hermes, clan ancestor of the Kerykes, was connected with the myth of Daeira (p. 128) and that in turn with the Samothracian Mysteries.[104]

Where had the Pelasgoi come from? Not from the south. In Crete they are expressly distinguished from the Eteokretes or True Cretans,[105] and they appear nowhere else in the southern Ægean. Nor from south-western Anatolia. That belonged to the Carians and Lycians. All the signs point to the north—to the Macedonian coast, together with the islands of Samothraike, Lemnos, and Imbros, which lie at the gates of the Hellespont; and since we have traced them through the Hellespont and Propontis along the north coast of Anatolia, there is a strong case for placing their original home somewhere on the far side of the Black Sea.

Thucydides, who had ancestral connections with the north coast of the Ægean, describes the Pelasgoi of Akte, Lemnos, and Attica as Tyrrhenoi (Tyrsenoi).[106] Sophokles applies the same designation to the Pelasgoi of Argolis.[107] This was the name by which the Greeks knew the Etruscans. According to Greek tradition the Etruscans had migrated to Italy from somewhere in the Ægean—Herodotus says, from Lydia; other writers describe them as Pelasgoi from Thessaly, or from Lemnos and Imbros.[108] Conversely, the Etruscans of Caere claimed descent from Thessalian Pelasgoi.[109]

[101] Hom. *H.* 4. 1–7, Paus. 8. 17. 1–2, A. fr. 273. His nativity was also located at Thebes and Tanagra (Paus. 8. 36. 10, 9. 20. 3) and he had an important cult at Pheneos (Paus. 8. 14. 10, 8. 16. 1, cf. 8. 47. 4).

[102] Paus 6. 26. 5.

[103] Hdt. 2. 51, Paus. 4. 33. 3. The ithyphallic Hermes appears on coins of Imbros: Head 261.

[104] Paus. 1. 38. 7, cf. Cic *ND.* 3. 22. 56, Prop. 2. 2. 9–12, Hdt. 2. 51; Toepffer AG 96, Lobeck 1215–1348.

[105] *Od.* 19. 177.

[106] Th. 4. 109. 4. The Cretan Φλχανός and Etruscan Velchans (Lat. Volcanus) may be assigned along with Hephaistos to the Tyrrhenoi-Pelasgoi: Kretschmer SLS 28. 109.

[107] S. fr. 248.

[108] Hdt. 1. 94, Str. 443, 221; Kretschmer EP. [109] Str. 220.

Tyrrhenos is an ethnical derivative of Tyrrha, a town in Lydia.[110] The name was borne by a brother of Tarchon, the Greek form of Tarquinius.[111] Their father, Telephos, appears in Italy as progenitor of the Tarquinii, in Lydia as king of Teuthrania.[112] Lastly, some inscriptions discovered in Lemnos are in a language closely related to Etruscan. Of the Lydian language little is known, but enough to show that it belonged to the same family.[113]

Like the Etruscans, the Lydians practised pre-nuptial promiscuity (p. 141)—a relic of group-marriage. The Etruscans are known to have been matriarchal, and this makes it likely that at the time of the migration the Lydians were matriarchal too. We hear of three Lydian dynasties—the Atyadai, Herakleidai, and Mermnadai, the last being the house of Croesus. The pedigrees are confused, but we learn that Sadyattes of the Mermnadai married his sister, and that his son and heir, Alyattes, did the same.[114] Herodotus says that in the preceding dynasty the succession had passed from father to son,[115] implying that it was patrilineal; but, while there is no reason to doubt the fact, the implication is open to question. Brother-and-sister marriage also results in succession from father to son, being designed for that purpose, but in origin it is matrilineal: the son inherits properly from the mother. It is possible therefore that the Herakleidai followed the same rule as the Mermnadai—in fact, more than possible, because there are grounds for suspecting that the tradition given by Herodotus has been tampered with. The founder of the dynasty, in his account, was a son of Herakles by a Lydian slave girl, a daughter of Iardanos. This is a striking deviation from the version given by Sophokles and others. Sold into slavery by Eurystheus, Herakles was bought by Omphale, the daughter of Iardanos, who was no slave girl but a queen, and since her husband's death she had reigned alone.[116] The Lydian

[110] *EM* Τύρρα; Toepffer AG 195. [111] Lyc. 1248.

[112] Lyc. 1249 sch., St. B. Ταρχώνιον, D. H. *AR.* 1. 28. 1, D.S. 4. 33. On Telephos see Kretschmer NKLV 13–4.

[113] Cortsen LID, Kretschmer SLS 28. 108, R. S. Conway in CAH 4. 408.

[114] Nic. Dam. 63, Suid. Ἀλυάττης.

[115] Hdt. 1. 7. 4. [116] S. *Tr.* 252–3, D.S. 4. 31. 5–8, Hyg. *F.* 32.

Herakles in this story is the Etruscan Servius Tullius (p. 97).

If the Lydians and Etruscans were matriarchal, so were their kinsmen the Pelasgoi. The Pelasgoi of Lemnos figure in one of the best-known Greek legends. After setting sail from Thessaly in quest of the Golden Fleece, the Argonauts put in at Lemnos, which was then 'ruled by women' under Queen Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas. Some time before the Lemnian women had given offence to Aphrodite, who afflicted them with a smell so unpleasant that their husbands deserted them. The women replied by murdering their menfolk, all except Hypsipyle, who spared her father. Jason, the captain of the Argonauts, fell in love with her, and their son, Euneos, founded the clan Euneidai (p. 122).[117]

The meaning of this myth, first explained by Bachofen,[118] is not open to doubt. It enshrines the memory of the Pelasgian matriarchate, but in a degraded form, corresponding to the subsequent degradation of the female sex:

> Of all the crimes told in tales the Lemnian
> Is chief, a sin cried throughout the world with such
> Horror, that if men relate
> Some monstrous outrage they call it Lemnian.
> Abhorred of man, scorned of God,
> Their seed is cast out, uprooted evermore;
> For none respects what the gods abominate.[119]

This reads like a curse on the old order by the new.

The Tyrrhenoi-Pelasgoi of Attica were a branch of the Lemnian.[120] They had been employed by the Athenians to build a wall round the Acropolis.[121] In those days there were no slaves, and the freeborn Athenian boys and girls who went to fetch water from the Nine Springs were constantly being assaulted by the Pelasgoi, who accordingly were driven out of Attica and settled in Lemnos.[122]

Democratic Athenians were proud of their Pelasgian origin. They called themselves 'sons of the soil'.[123] Herodotus describes

[117] Hdt. 6. 138, A.R. 1. 609–23, Apld. 1. 9. 17, Hyg. *F.* 15.
[118] Bachofen 84–7.
[119] A.C. 631–4.
[120] Th. 4. 109.
[121] Hdt. 6. 137. 2, D.H. *AR.* 1. 28. 4.
[122] Hdt. 6. 137. 3–4.
[123] Ar. *V.* 1076, E. *Io* 20.

them as hellenised Pelasgoi.[124] One of their early kings was Kekrops,[125] the founder of matrimony (p. 142). Before his time the women had mated indiscriminately and named their children after themselves. This is exactly what we are told of the Etruscans (p. 142).

The Etruscans are further connected with Anatolia—and not with Lydia only but with Caria and Lycia—by numerous parallels in place-names. Moreover, throughout the Ægean basin and the Anatolian hinterland as far as Cilicia in the south and the Caucasus in the north we encounter place-names based on certain non-Indo-European elements (*-ntb-*, *-nd-*, *-ss-*, *-tt-*), e.g. Korinthos, Kelenderis, Myndos, Parnassos, Knossos, Hymettos, Adramyttion.[126] The word *thálassa* (Attic *thálatta*) belongs to the same type. They are naturally most plentiful in Caria and Lycia, where the pre-Hellenic languages lasted longest, but their wider range shows that the Ægean basin must once have constituted a uniform linguistic domain extended from Anatolia.

Lastly, the speech of the Etruscans was related to languages still spoken in the Caucasus. This discovery was made fifty years ago by Thomsen, and has been confirmed by Marr.[127]

That is as far as I can go. The problems raised by the Caucasian affinities of Etruscan and other Asianic languages have been complicated and extended by the discovery of a common linguistic substratum covering the whole region from the Black Sea to Syria and from the Ægean to Sumer.[128] Further, if these languages came from South Russia, where the Indo-European diaspora is believed to have taken place, some of the non-Indo-European elements in Greek, which are very deep-seated, may be as old as Greek itself. The very concept

[124] Hdt. 1. 57. 3. [125] Hdt. 8. 44. 2.

[126] Kretschmer EGGS 401–6, ASK 92–6, Schwyzer 1. 60–1, Eisler SAQ, Blegen CG, Haley CG, Nilsson HM 64–5. The forms in *-ntb-*, common in Greece, do not occur in Anatolia, with the exception of Xanthos (Lycia, Troad), and conversely there appear to be only four instances of *-nd-* in Greece proper: Pindos, Andania, Kelenderis, and Karandai in Aitolia (*SIG.* 546. 14).

[127] Thomsen RPLE, Marr JK, cf. Bleichsteiner 72, Hall CRPS, CGBA 292–3.

[128] Kretschmer ASK, Sigwart 148–59.

of Indo-European as a definite category may have to be revised. Problems so far-reaching are not to be solved, or even adequately stated, in a few pages. We must hold ourselves in patience pending further progress in Anatolian prehistory. Meanwhile I would merely insist that the ancient Greek traditions concerning these early Ægean peoples cannot be dismissed as effusions of popular ignorance or antiquarian speculation. When the pieces are put together they make a coherent picture, which harmonises with the pattern emerging from archæological and linguistic research.

5. *The Minoans*

The earliest known occupants of the Cyclades were settlers from the east and south, perhaps largely from Crete, who were acquainted with copper. This culture, known as Early Cycladic, developed under Minoan influence. Early in the third millennium it spread to the Peloponnese, Central Greece, and southern Thessaly (Early Helladic). The people that introduced it may be identified with some confidence as the Carians and Leleges.[129]

The neolithic population of Crete included an element from North Africa. Their waistcloth and codpiece, and their figure-of-eight shield, have parallels in Libya and pre-dynastic Egypt.[130] But place-names of the type mentioned above are commoner in Crete than anywhere else outside Anatolia, and the cult of the double axe survived in Caria after it had passed into legend at Knossos.[131] For these and other reasons it is agreed that the Minoan Cretans had affinities with the Carians, Leleges, and Lycians.

These ties have left their mark on the Greek tradition. Sarpedon, whom we meet in the *Iliad* as a grandson of Bellerophon (p. 164), appears elsewhere as a brother of Minos, the king of Knossos.[132] The first is the Greek version, the second

[129] D. G. Hogarth in CAH 2. 555, Frödin 432. Almost all the instances of the place-name Minoa lie in the Caro-Lelegian area: Amorgos (Nic. Dam. 47, Androt. 19), Paros (Nican. 6), Delos (A. J. Evans PM 3. 74), Laconia (Str. 368), Nisaia (Str. 391).

[130] Hall CGBA 25–7.

[131] For other Anatolian connections see Pendlebury 42.

[132] Hdt. 1. 173.

Lycian and Minoan. A Cretan origin was assigned to the cult of Zeus Atabyrios in Rhodes and the Carian settlement at Miletos.[133] The Lycians, and the Carians of Kaunos, were said to have come from Crete.[134]

In these traditions the focal point is Crete. There is no hint of a reverse movement to Crete from Anatolia. That is because, thanks to their political supremacy, the Minoans dominated the tradition. But their version was not undisputed. The Carians insisted that their ancestors had reached the Ægean islands from the Anatolian mainland, and in proof they appealed to their kinship with the Lydians, who had no connection with the islands.[135]

That Minoan civilisation was in some sense matriarchal is generally acknowledged. One of the few facts about it, apart from legends, that the Greeks remembered was that 'in Crete it had been customary for women to appear in public'.[136] The custom impressed them because it contrasted with their own. Not only did these women appear in public, but on the frescoes, gems, and seals excavated by Evans we see them strenuously engaged as boxers, bull-leapers, acrobats, charioteers, and hunters.[137] They even made pots.[138] In Greece we never hear of a female potter in real life, and even in religion only faint vestiges survive, such as the worship of Athena as patroness of the craft, and those curious girls of gold employed by Hephaistos in his smithy.[139] And yet the comparative evidence leaves no doubt that the art of baking clay was invented by women.[140] These Minoan *potières* supply the link between Greek civilisation and primitive practice.

The Minoan rules of inheritance will not be known until the inscriptions have been interpreted, but they are not likely to have differed fundamentally from those we have found in Lycia and other parts of the Near East.[141] The religious evidence, which is relatively full, will be reviewed in Chapter VII.

[133] Apld. 3. 2. 1, Eph. 32. [134] Hdt. 1. 172–3. [135] Hdt. 1. 171. 5–6.
[136] Plu. *Thes.* 19. [137] Glotz CE 143. [138] A. J. Evans PM 1. 124–5.
[139] Hom. *Epig.* 14, *Il.* 18. 417–21.
[140] Briffault 1. 466–77, Mason 91–113.
[141] At Gortyna in Greek times the son of a freewoman by a slave was free if born in the mother's house: *L. Gort.* 7. 1, cf. p. 99.

6. *The Hittites*

We have completed our circuit of the Ægean, and on all sides we have found vestiges of the matriarchate. But there is still one people that demands attention.

The Hittites are believed to have entered Anatolia from the Caucasus.[142] They were a mixed stock, pastoral and warlike.[143] The use of iron was known to them at least as far back as the thirteenth century.[144] One of their languages was Indo-European. Their capital was Hattusas, the modern Boghaz-keui, in N.W. Cappadocia.[145] They built up an extensive empire controlling the whole of Cappadocia, a good part of Syria, and some districts in central Anatolia. Further west, Hittite monuments have been found at Sardeis, the Lydian capital, on the heights of Sipylos, and down the Hermos valley to the sea.[146] It has been suggested that the Atyadai, the first Lydian dynasty, were subject to Hittite overlords.[147] Myrsilos, the last of the Herakleidai, has the same name as Mursil, who became king of the Hittites about 1350 B.C.[148] The third Lydian dynasty, the Mermnadai, came from the country of the Leukosyroi or 'White Syrians', who may have been Hittites.[149] Further, Tarchon or Tarquinius, ancestor of the Etruscans, seems to be named after the Hittite wargod, Tarkhun.[150] Some of these equations are conjectural, but on the main point there is agreement. At the height of their power the influence of the Hittites extended down the waterways of the Hermos and Maiandros to the Ægean.

The early Hittite kings were patriarchal and polygamous,

[142] Cavaignac 14–5.

[143] *Ib.* 5, 42.

[144] Cavaignac 4, Hall CGBA 253, cf. Str. 549, A. *Pr.* 740–1.

[145] Cavaignac 1–2.

[146] D. G. Hogarth in CAH 2. 264, 548, cf. Garstang 18, Lethaby 13.

[147] Garstang 18.

[148] Hdt. 1. 7; Hogarth in CAH 2. 264

[149] Nic Dam. 49, Apld. 2. 5. 9; Garstang 171.

[150] Kretschmer SLS 28. 104, 112–4, Blümel HT: Lycian **tarχu* 'be strong', Gk. ταρχύω, Hittite *tarrb*–'be powerful' (Sturtevant 153). Among the proper names in Hittite documents are Tarkundaraba, Tarkulara, Tarkunazi, Tarkumuva, cf. Str. 676 Tarkondimotos (Cilicia): Laroche 89.

with succession from father to son, but in the days of their greatness we find the queen and queen-mother in positions of authority, the latter being associated with the king in his official acts.[151] It would appear that their native institutions were modified under Anatolian influence. So in religion. They adopted Ishtar from Babylonia, Hepa and her consort Teshub from the Mitanni.[152] Among the sculptural reliefs at Hattusas is the figure of a female warrior, a goddess or priestess, perhaps the queen herself in battle dress. In this warrior queen we may recognise the prototype of the Amazons.[153]

7. *The Legend of the Amazons*

The legend of the Amazons fascinated the Greeks. They carried it with them wherever they went. It grew with their own expansion until the whole of the known world had been peopled with these romantic figures and their origin forgotten.

Their home, according to the prevalent tradition, was on the north coast of Anatolia or further east in the Caucasus. Herodotus relates how, after being defeated and taken prisoner by the Greeks, they overpowered their captors and escaped by sea to the Crimea, where they became friendly with the Scythians.[154] Later writers take them much further afield. According to Diodoros they were natives of Libya. After making themselves mistresses of that country they marched under their queen Myrine to the western borders of the world, fabulous Atlantis, where they overcame the Gorgons; then, turning eastwards into Egypt, where they made an alliance with Horus, the son of Isis, they fought their way through Arabia and Syria, subjugated the highlanders of Tauros, and passed on through Anatolia to the Ægean coast, where they founded several cities named after the bravest of their leaders. Thence they made their way by Lesbos and Samothraike to Thrace, and so, having conquered the world, they returned in triumph to their Libyan home.[155]

[151] Cavaignac 52, 72, 85. [152] *Ib.* 116. [153] *Ib.* 116, Garstang 86–7.
[154] Hdt. 4. 110–3, cf. A.*Pr.* 749–51, Str. 505, 547, Paus. 1. 41. 7, Hp. *Aq.* 17.
[155] D.S. 3. 52–4.

Throughout the Ægean area and along the north coast of Anatolia there were local monuments called Amazoneia and legends commemorating their adventures, but the region in which they are said to have founded cities is more circumscribed. A number of these were on the shores of the Propontis

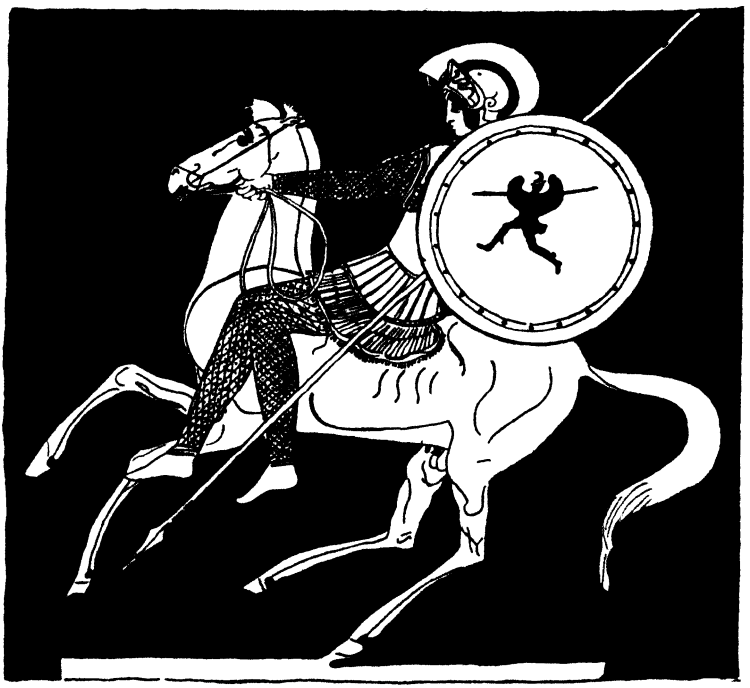


FIG. 7. *Amazon: Attic vase*

and Paphlagonia.[156] The remainder were all on that part of the Ægean coast which was known later as Aiolis and Ionia—Myrine, Mytilene, Elaia, Anaia, Gryneia, Kyme, Pitane, Smyrna, Latoreia near Ephesos, and Ephesos itself, which is said to have been ruled by an Amazon named Smyrna.[157]

[156] Thiba (Arr. fr. 58), Sinope (Hec. fr. 352), Nikaia (Eust. *ad* D.P. 828, cf. Plu. *Thes.* 26), Amastris (Dem. Bith. 9=*FHG.* 4. 385), Kymna and Myrleia=Apameia (St. B. *s.vv.*)

[157] D.S. 3. 54, Arr. fr. 58, Str. 550, 633, Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 4. 345, Ath. 31d.

The ancient shrine of Artemis at Ephesos—Diana of the Ephesians—was founded by Amazons.[158] This tradition has been confirmed by excavations, which have brought to light statutory groups of female hunters or warriors, evidently votaries of the goddess like the Korai on the Athenian acropolis. These monuments were published by Lethaby, who observed among the early remains clear signs of Hittite influence. Garstang agrees with him in associating the Amazons with a Hittite cult, from which the worship of the later Artemis was descended.[159]

The current explanation of their name was that being hampered in battle by their breasts they adopted the practice of cauterising one or both in infancy, and so became known as 'breastless' (*ámazoi*).[160] Another view was that some women of Ephesos, abandoning the natural vocations of their sex, took to warfare and agriculture, and since they used to reap (*amáo*) with girdles (*zônai*) round their waists, they were called Amazons.[161] We need not set much store by these etymologies, but the idea behind the second is suggestive. It is from the same point of view that they were identified with some Caucasian tribes, in which, as reported by Strabo, 'the women did all the ploughing, planting, pasturing, and horse-breeding'.[162] The same idea appears again in what Diodoros says of their social life:

> The Amazons were a people ruled by women, and their way of life was very different from ours. The women were trained for war, being obliged to serve under arms for a prescribed period, during which they remained virgins. After being discharged from military service they resorted to men for the sake of having children, but retained in their own hands the control of all public affairs, while the men led a domesticated life just like the married women in our own society.[163]

To complete the picture we have only to add, on the authority of Arrian, that they 'counted descent in the female line'.[164]

This myth was engendered, in its Greek form, as a symbol for the matriarchal institutions of a theocratic Hittite settlement

[158] Paus. 7. 2. 7, Tac. *Ann.* 3. 61. [159] Lethaby 10. [160] D.S. 3. 52.
[161] Themistag. 3 = *FHG.* 4. 512. [162] Str. 503–4. [163] D.S. 3. 52.
[164] Arr. fr. 58; Markwart 29.

at Ephesos, dedicated to the Anatolian mother-goddess.[165] From there it spread over the Ægean. Throughout the period of Greek colonisation, which extended to all corners of the Mediterranean, the legend continued to expand in response to the expanding acquaintance of the Greeks themselves with the still matriarchal peoples with which they were everywhere brought in contact, Or to put it another way, beginning as handmaids of the warrior-queen at Hattusas, the Amazons absorbed successively into a unified mythical concept all the other matriarchal figures that arose on the widening Greek horizon—the Lydian Omphale, the Lemnian Hypsipyle, the Assyrian Semiramis, the queens and queen-mothers of Egypt and Ethiopia, Tomyris of the Massagetai, and the capable, high-spirited women of countless other primitive tribes in Arabia, Libya, Italy, Gaul, and Spain.[166] The Amazons and the women of Lemnos are polarised expressions of the same idea. In the Lemnian legend the concept of mother-right has been reduced to the level of a revolt against the later social order, which, once established, claimed to be primeval; in the Amazons it has been severed from reality, romanticised, freed to float on a harmless flight of fancy.

8. *The Minyai*

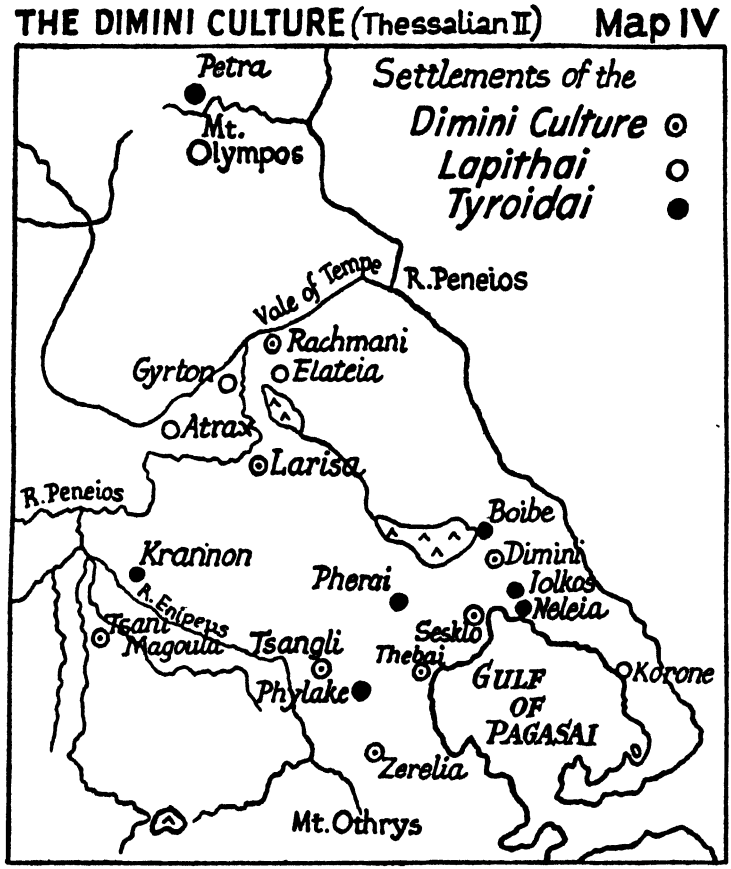
We have now to consider what place in this matriarchal world can be assigned to the first carriers of Greek speech.

The infiltration of the new language must have begun far back in the second millennium. If, as many believe, the immigrants came from the Danube basin, they must have moved

[165] The Hittite mother-goddess was related to the Armenian, who inspired the legendary Semiramis. It is possible that in tracing the Amazons to the Caucasus the Greeks were following a tradition which recognised the Caucasian origin of Artemis. The place-name Kizkal'ah, Maiden's Castle, is still a common one for hills surmounted with earthworks in Armenia and Azerbaijan: C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher LGRM 4. 701.

[166] The Nayars of Kerala preserved their matriarchate until after the war of 1914–18, and their women, 'whose beauty, self-respect, and elegance are proverbial, represent also a far healthier type than the Brahmin girls, i.e. the patriachally ruled women of the same country . . . and have developed a standard of intellect, character, and physical fitness equal to that of the men': Ehrenfels 58–9.

down the Axios (Vardar) valley or else along the Adriatic coast into Epeiros. In either case they would have been attracted to the rich Thessalian plain watered by the Peneios and its tributaries. Indeed, it has been proposed to identify them with the neolithic culture named after the Thessalian site of



Dimini.[167] These Dimini people were immigrants from the north who established themselves in eastern Thessaly, with extensions as far south as Corinth, where their remains have been found overlaid by those of the Cycladic culture (Early Helladic) mentioned above (p. 177). They fortified their

[167] Hall CGBA 248. On the Dimini culture see Hansen 22–76.

villages and introduced a new type of dwelling-house, the 'megaron'. This identification is of course conjectural, but at least it points to southern Thessaly and Bœotia, where the earliest movements from north and south overlap, as a promising field for exploration.

Before making use of the traditional Greek genealogies it is necessary to define so far as possible their historical value. In a sense, as we shall see, they are all fictions, but they cannot be dismissed for that reason, because fictions are significant. The sons of Hellen—Aiolos, Doros, and Xouthos the father of Ion—are palpably fictitious in the sense that no such persons ever existed. They embody the national self-consciousness of the Greeks—their sense of unity as Hellenes and of diversity as Æolic, Doric, Ionic—and that is not fiction but fact.

In primitive society the elders of the clan carry in their heads a fully articulated pedigree covering all the living members and as many of the deceased, together with their marriage connections, as are needed for transmitting the clan's traditions and regulating its conduct. But as time passes the clansmen of the past lose their individuality, merge into one another, and fade into the generalised concept of clan ancestor, who stands to other figures of the same kind as brother or cousin according to the manner in which the clans have evolved. The chronology tends to be foreshortened, but the sense of origin remains.

Such traditions retain their vitality as long as kinship remains the dominant factor in social life. When the tribal system breaks up, they become stereotyped, and as the class-struggle develops they become exposed to arbitrary reconstructions and distortions. It is these later redactions that contain the main sources of error. Where the genealogies have remained relatively undisturbed, as among the Icelandic Norsemen and the Maoris, they are, within limits, remarkably accurate.[168] The Greek pedigrees, however, belong to a more advanced stage, and the margin of error is accordingly wider. On the other hand, the very diversity of the Greek tradition, resulting from the autonomy of the city-states, provides material for analysis like the variant readings of different manuscripts.

[168] Chadwick GL 1. 270–6, 3. 242–3.

The historical value of a tradition is not necessarily annulled by the fact that it has come down to us in different versions. Of two variants both may be valid, even though they are contradictory. Boutes was a son of Poseidon; Boutes was a son of Pandion (p. 126). Neither of these statements is a fact. The one symbolises the ultimate origin of the Boutadai, which will be investigated in a later chapter;[169] the other their admission to the cults of the Erechtheidai. We may be sure that, when they took over the worship of Athena Polias and Erechtheus, they did in fact submit to some ceremony of affiliation or adoption; and according to tribal ideas the introduction of a strange clan involves an adjustment of the pedigrees as a formal register of the act of rebirth by which the union has been effected.

One feature of the Greek pedigrees strikes us at the first glance. From the point where they emerge into the full light of history women are mentioned quite frequently. This is largely because, being recent, the details are fully remembered. Besides, even under the democracy, the old families retained a good deal of their prestige, and sometimes their intermarriages had a political significance. But in the preceding period, as far back as the Dorian conquest, women's names are conspicuous by their absence. The main purpose of the genealogies appertaining to this period was to preserve the line of clan descent for the sake of its accompanying privileges, and, since descent was patrilineal, the women were a negligible factor. But then, going still further back, we find women more prominent than ever. Take the stemma of the Kodridai, to which Solon and Plato belonged.[170] It covers thirty-two generations, from the fourteenth century to the fourth. In the first three the wife's name is recorded in almost every case, and in several cases in the fourth; but after the fourth generation there are no more women till we reach the thirtieth. Some of these early women's names are mere names, with no apparent functional value; but they must once have been more than that, or they would not have impressed themselves so deeply on the tradition. Our greatest difficulty in interpreting these prehistoric pedigrees is that they have been transmitted to us through a

[169] See pp. 265–6. [170] The stemma is given by Petersen 94.

period in which the woman's part in determining succession and descent had ceased to be understood.

The city of Orchomenos, called the Minyan Orchomenos to distinguish it from others of the same name, lay a little to the north of the point where the Kephisos empties into Lake Kopais.[171] It is the most northerly site on the mainland at which Minoan culture was securely established. From the earliest times Orchomenos had disputed with Thebes, another Minoan centre, the control of the Bœotian plain. Their rivalry lasted down to 364 B.C., when Orchomenos was sacked and its people sold into slavery. Its traditions, save for a few fragments, perished with it. The Thebans had triumphed. Even so they were unable to efface the memory of a time when their own city had been ruled, perhaps even founded, by kings of Orchomenos.[172]

The first king of Orchomenos was Andreus, a son of Peneios. During his reign a newcomer, Athamas, was allotted lands on Mount Laphystion and on the lakeside at Koroneia and Haliartos. Andreus married a granddaughter of Athamas, and had a son, Eteokles, who succeeded him.[173] In his reign Almos, son of Sisyphos, entered the country and settled at a village which was named Almones after him. Almos was succeeded by his daughter's son, Phlegyas, and he by Chryses, son of his mother's sister. The Phlegyai were a warlike people and ravaged the country as far as Delphi. They were destroyed by thunderbolts and earthquakes.

Then a new dynasty began, founded by Minyas, son of Poseidon, a ruler of fabulous wealth, which he stored in subterranean treasuries.[174] His son was Orchomenos. The next king was Klymenos, a great-grandson of Athamas. It was his son, Erginos, who conquered Thebes. Trophonios and Agamedes,

[171] This account of the dynasties of Orchomenos is from Paus. 9. 34–7; the principal variants are given in the footnotes.

[172] Apld. 2. 4. 11, D.S. 4. 10. 3–5, Paus. 9. 37; *Od.* 11. 263–5.

[173] Eteokles is also given as father of Minyas and Orchomenos: Pi. *I.* 1. 79 sch.

[174] Minyas is variously described as a son of Poseidon by a daughter of Aiolos (Pi. *P.* 4. 120 sch.) or Okeanos (Pi. *O.* 14. 5 sch.) or Boiotos (A.R. 1. 230 sch.) or Hyperphas (*Od.* 11. 326 sch.), or as a son of Orchomenos, Eteokles, Aleos, or Ares (Pi. *I.* 1. 79 sch.).

the sons of Erginos, were famous architects of shrines and treasuries. The kingdom then passed to Askalaphos and Ialmenos, whom a great-granddaughter of Klymenos had born to Ares. These led the contingent from Orchomenos to the Trojan War.

Table IX

THE KINGS OF ORCHOMENOS



These pedigrees are confused, incoherent, and conflicting. They represent the attempts of antiquaries to square a local tradition surviving only in fragments with the Homeric poems and other literary sources. Even so it is possible to disentangle the guiding thread.

Peneios, father of the first king, is the river that flows through the Thessalian plain. Almos, the eponym of Almones, also left his name in a Thessalian village variously known as Almos, Salmon, Halmonia, Salmonia.[175] It lay near the Thessalian Orchomenos (the later Krannon), which at one time,

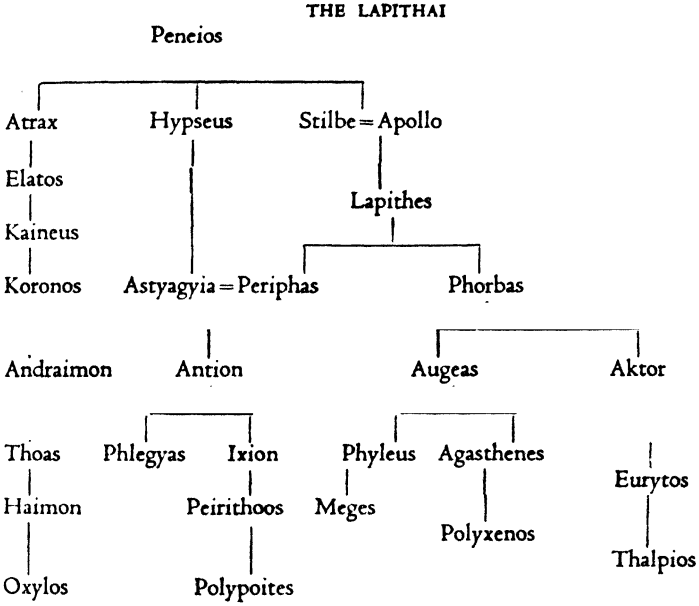
[175] Plin. *NH.* 4. 29, St. B. Μινύα, Hell. 27.

we are told, had been called Minyeios.[176] Sisyphos, the father of Almos, was located at Corinth, but Aiolos, the father of Sisyphos, was a native of Thessaly.[177]

So with the variants. Phlegyas appears elsewhere as a son of Antion, but Antion was a grandson of Lapithes, eponym of a

Table X

THE LAPITHAI



Thessalian tribe.[178] One of his brothers was Gyrton, a town in N.E. Thessaly above the Vale of Tempe.[179]

Another son of Peneios was Atrax, a town further up the valley.[180] Kaineus, grandson of Atrax, was a famous Lapith chief.[181] His father was Elatos, eponym of Elateia, which lies in the same valley below Gyrton.[182]

[176] Plin. *NH.* 4. 29.

[177] Apld. 1. 9. 3, 1. 7. 3. Sisyphos himself is described as a native of Thessaly: see below n. 223.

[178] Phlegyas was a brother of Ixion (Str. 442), the son of Antion (A. fr. 89), the son of Periphas, the son of Lapithes (D.S. 4. 69). There are other variants but the Lapith connection is constant.

[179] St. B. Γύρτων. [180] St. B. Ἄτραξ. [181] Ant. Lib. 17. [182] Dic. 30.

No matter how these traditions may contradict one another in details, they concur in indicating that Orchomenos was occupied in early times by branches of the Lapithai, which had reached Bœotia from N.E. Thessaly; and what is more, their Thessalian homeland, as defined by the eponyms, coincides with the environs of the modern Rachmani, which are exceptionally rich in remains of the Dimini culture.[183] It is possible therefore that the neolithic culture of the Rachmani district corresponds to the Lapithai of Greek tradition.

Aiolos appears in the Homeric poems as the father of Sisyphos and Kretheus.[184] In Hesiod the same paternity is claimed for Athamas, Salmoneus, and Perieres.[185] Later writers extend it still further. Like Doros and Ion, who are unknown to Homer, Aiolos is a relatively late concept. He symbolises one of the three branches into which the Greeks found themselves divided when they settled down in their new home. For this reason he cannot be relied on for the early history of the tribes and clans affiliated to him. In spite of this, the fact that he was assigned to a Thessalian origin is significant, and at least two of his sons, Sisyphos and Kretheus, have independent ties with the same region. As we have seen, Almos, son of Sisyphos, bears a Thessalian name. Sisyphos himself reigned at Ephyra, identified as Corinth, but there was another Ephyra in Elis and a third in Thessaly.[186] This should mean that emigrants from Thessaly had settled in Corinth and Elis, and we shall find that such was in fact the case. Sisyphos, it will be recalled, was the grandfather of Bellerophon, from whom the Ionian kings were descended—an indication, as I have pointed out, that his stock was Greek-speaking (p. 165). Kretheus was the founder of Iolkos at the head of the Gulf of Pagasai.[187] His wife was Tyro, who bore him three sons—Aison, Pheres,

[183] Hansen 26–8, 33–7, 43–4, 50–5, 78–113, 182–4.

[184] *Il.* 6. 152–4, *Od.* 11. 235–7.

[185] Hes. fr. 7.

[186] *Il.* 6. 152–3, Apld. 1. 9. 3, Str. 328, 333, 338. The Thessalian Ephyra was the later Krannon (Str. 338, 442). There was a fourth near Dodona, founded from Thessaly (Pi. *N.* 7. 37, Str. 324) and a fifth in Aitolia (Str. 338) where there was a Lapith colony, represented in Homer by Thoas (*Il.* 2. 638; see Table X).

[187] Apld. 1. 9. 11.

and Amythaon.[188] Aison stands for Aisonis, another settlement on the Gulf; Pheres founded Pherai in the same district.[189] Aison's son, Jason, the leader of the Argonauts, set sail from Iolkos.[190] I have already alluded to his sojourn in Lemnos, where he begot Euneos of the Euneidai (p. 175). Amythaon, the third son of Kretheus and Tyro, was the father of Melampous and Bias. These migrated to the Peloponnese, where Melampous married a daughter of Proitos, the king of Argos who entertained Bellerophon.[191] In Elis there was a stream called the Minyeios, in which Melampous purified the daughters of Proitos after Dionysus had driven them mad.[192] From him was sprung the priestly clan of the Klytidai, who administered the Olympic Games.[193]

So far we have not established any direct connection between Sisyphos and Kretheus beyond their affiliation to Aiolos, which we have decided to disregard. But there is still one small detail. Sisyphos is said to have had children by Tyro, who killed them at birth.[194] This looks like a reminiscence of an ancient tie between Sisyphos and Tyro, which the Corinthian tradition suppressed.

Tyro was also at home in Elis, where she appears as a daughter of Salmoneus, eponym of Salmone to the north of Olympia.[195] There she became enamoured of the River Enipeus, and, either to him or to Poseidon disguised as the river, she bore twin sons, Pelias and Neleus.[196] Pelias 'dwelt in Thessaly', where he begot Alkestis; Neleus went south to the Messenian Pylos, where we meet his son Nestor in the *Odyssey*.[197] When the

[188] *Od.* 11. 235–9. [189] Pher. 58, Apld. 1. 9. 14. [190] Apld. 1. 9. 16.
[191] Apld. 1. 9. 11, 2. 2. 2. [192] *Il.* 11. 722, Paus. 5. 5. 7, 5. 6. 3.
[193] Paus. 6. 17. 6. Other descendants of Melampous and Bias can be traced in Megara, Messenia, and Akarnania (Paus. 1. 43. 5, 4. 34. 4, Hdt. 7. 221). At Mantineia there was a shrine of Poseidon Hippios erected by Trophonios and Agamedes (Paus. 8. 10. 2), also tombs of the daughters of Pelias (Paus. 8. 11. 2). These cults may be referred to the Tyroidai or Lapithai.
[194] Hyg. *F.* 60, 239. Neleus was said to have been buried secretly at Corinth: Paus 2. 2. 2.
[195] Apld. 1. 9. 7–8, Str. 356. [196] *Od.* 11. 235–59.
[197] *Od.* 11. 281–6, Apld. 1. 9. 9, Paus. 4. 2. 5. That the residence of Nestor was the Messenian Pylos, not the Triphylian, has been confirmed by recent excavations: Blegen EP.

Dorians broke into the Peloponnese, these Neleidai of Pylos fled to Attica, where they founded some of the most renowned of the Athenian clans—the Alkmeonidai, Peisistratidai, Paionidai, and Kodridai.[198] The Kodridai led the migration to Ionia, where they were installed in several cities as kings, like their distant relatives, the descendants of Bellerophon from Lycia.[199]

This tradition is important from several points of view. In the first place, it is hard not to believe that a series of migrations so extensive in space and time was part of the movement that established the Greek language in its historical domain. There is a strong presumption that the stock of Kretheus, as of Sisyphos, spoke Greek.

Secondly, the focus of the whole movement is Thessaly. Salmone, the abode of Salmoneus in Elis, is only another form of the Thessalian Almos.[200] The River Enipeus, which Tyro loved, appears in Thessaly as a tributary of the Peneios.[201] The stream Minyeios harks back through the Minyan Orchomenos to the Thessalian Orchomenos or Minyeios. Contrariwise, there was a river in Elis called the Peneios.[202] And the story of Bias, who, before he could wed the lovely daughter of Neleus, was sent to fetch the cattle of Phylake, had evidently been transferred from Thessaly, because Phylake lies between the Gulf of Pagasai and the Thessalian Enipeus.[203]

Then there is Tyro herself. The daughter of Salmoneus in Elis, the wife of Kretheus in Thessaly, hers is the name that unites the two branches of the stock. She is the common ancestress, the first mother of the clan. Can it be that Salmoneus and Kretheus have been inserted at the head of the tree in order to adapt to the ideas of a later age a tradition of matrilineal descent? With this possibility in mind, let us turn to the Minyai.

[198] Hdt. 5. 65. 4, Paus. 2. 18. 8. Some descendants of the Neleidai survived in Messenia: Str. 355.

[199] Hdt. 1. 147, 9. 97. Herodotus describes the Kodridai as Kaukones, which I take to mean that their followers included Kaukones from Pylos.

[200] See above n. 175.

[201] Str. 356, 432, cf. Apld. 1. 9. 8.

[202] Str. 337–8.

[203] *Od.* 11. 287–97, Apld. 1. 9. 12, Str. 433, 435.

The Minyai were the people of the Minyan Orchomenos, so called after Minyas, who refounded the city. He seems to have come from the Thessalian Orchomenos, the former Minyeios, but, though hailing from Thessaly, he has no ties with the Lapithai or Tyroidai. He marks the intrusion of a new element. We turn to archæology for the clue.

Shortly after 2000 B.C. Orchomenos was destroyed and re-occupied by a people using a distinctive type of pottery known as 'Minyan ware'. This is the name Schliemann gave it, and perhaps it was truer than he knew. Pottery of this type has been found in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Troy, with secondary extensions into central and southern Greece, where it overlays Early Helladic (p. 177). It is now many years since Forsdyke argued that it reached Greece from Troy, and Heurtley's recent excavations in Macedonia support this view.[204] Heurtley considered that it was developed in Thessaly and Central Greece by immigrants who had come by way of Macedonia from N.W. Anatolia. Further, he postulated a common provenance for this and the Early Helladic culture 'somewhere east of Troy'. I would suggest, with all due reserve, that, just as Early Helladic was the work of the Carians and Leleges (p. 177), so Heurtley's immigrants from N.W. Anatolia are the Pelasgoi.

Under the Minyai Orchomenos was drawn into the orbit of Minoan Crete. This epoch, culminating in the great palace excavated there, which dates from about 1400 B.C., is the one to which we may refer the architectural feats of Trophonios and Agamedes and the traditions concerning the daughters of Minyas. These are of special interest because they testify to intimate relations with the Tyroidai.

Minyas had a bevy of daughters. Their names were Klymene, Periklymene, Eteoklymene, and Phersephone.[205] Since Klymenos was a title of Hades,[206] and Persephone his queen, they point to a Minoan palace cult of Demeter-Persephone, like the one founded by Kadmos at Thebes (p. 124).

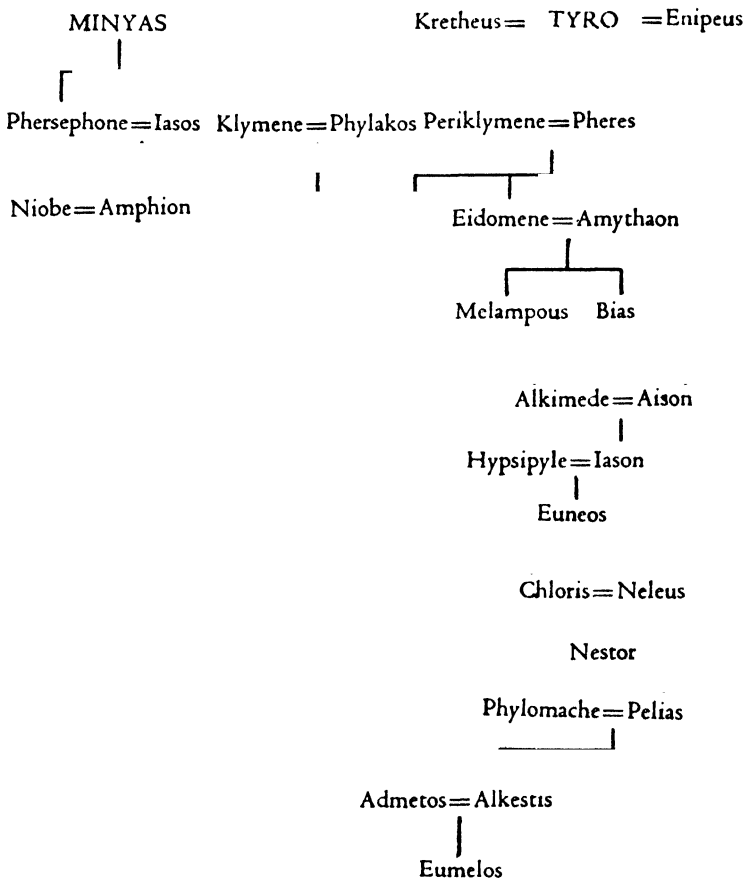
[204] Forsdyke PMW, Heurtley PM 118–23.

[205] A. R. 1. 230 sch., Pher. 56.

[206] Las. *ap.* Ath. 642e=Diehl 2. 60, Call. fr. 139 Mair, cf. Paus. 2. 35. 4, and see H. W. Smyth 300.

Table XI

MINYAS AND TYRO



Phersephone was the mother of Amphion,[207] who had two daughters, Chloris and Phylomache. These married Neleus and Pelias, Tyro's sons by Enipeus.[208] Periklymene married Pheres,

[207] Pher. 56. Amphion is also given as a son of Antiope, granddaughter of Hyrieus, i.e. Hyria under Mount Kithairon: Apld. 3. 5. 5.

[208] *Od.* 11. 281–2, Apld. 1. 9. 10. Neleus is said to have ruled Orchomenos as well as Pylos (Pher. 56), presumably by right of marriage to Chloris. The wife of Pelias is also given as Anaxibia, daughter of Bias (Apld. 1. 9. 10).

one of Tyro's sons by Kretheus. They had two children—Admetos and Eidomene.[209] Admetos married Alkestis, daughter of Pelias and Phylomache. Eidomene married Amythaon, Tyro's second son by Kretheus, to whom she bore Melampous and Bias.[210] Klymene married Phylakos, and their daughter, Alkimede, married Aison, Tyro's third son by Kretheus, to whom she bore Jason.[211] All this sounds remarkably like a tradition of two intermarrying clans.

The Minyai were properly the people of Orchomenos. But Jason and the Argonauts are also described as Minyai. Why should the inhabitants of Iolkos have been designated by this name? One explanation offered in antiquity was that Minyai from Orchomenos had settled at Iolkos.[212] That is likely enough, because S.E. Thessaly has yielded fairly plentiful Mycenean (Late Helladic) remains, poorer than the Bœotian and introduced from that direction.[213] Another, given by Apollonios, the learned author of the *Argonautika*, was that the Minyai of Iolkos were so called because their leaders were sprung from the daughters of Minyas.[214] In other words these descendants of Tyro, who had settled round the Gulf of Pagasai and intermarried with the dynasty of Orchomenos, were Minyai in the female line.

The same conclusion is reached by approaching the problem from an entirely different angle.

At the Bœotian festival of the Agriania a band of women was pursued with a drawn sword by the priest of Dionysus, who was entitled to kill the hindmost if he caught her. The explanatory myth referred to the daughters of Minyas. After refusing to be initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus they were seized with a mad desire for human flesh. They cast lots, and the sister on whom the lot fell gave her own child to be torn in pieces and eaten. After that they ran wild in the mountains, feeding on ivy, yew, and laurel.[215] The last detail corresponds to another feature in the festival at Orchomenos.

[209] A.R. 1. 230–3 et sch., Apld. 1. 9. 14. [210] Apld. 1. 9. 10–1.

[211] A. R. 1. 45–7, 230–3. There were several other variants of Jason's paternity: Roscher LGRM 1. 197.

[212] Str. 414. [213] Hansen 107. [214] A.R. 1. 229–32.

[215] Plu. *M.* 299e, Ant. Lib. 10.

'The women', says Plutarch, 'fall upon the ivy in their frenzy, tear it in pieces, and devour it.'[216]

This ritual belongs to a well-known type. A human victim is driven out into the country and there sacrificed as a scapegoat for the sins of the community.[217] The *pompai* or processions of Greek religion, in which the god's image was escorted out of the town and brought back again after a sacrifice, were rites of the same nature.[218]

The Agriania was also observed at Argos, where it was associated with the daughters of Proitos. When Dionysus came to Argos, the women refused to be initiated. The god drove them mad, whereupon they killed the babes at their breasts and devoured them. The daughters of Proitos, in particular, roamed in distraction all over the Peloponnese, pursued by Melampous at the head of a band of young men performing an ecstatic dance. During the pursuit one of them died. We are not told that Melampous killed her, but it sounds like it. Eventually the survivors reached the River Minyeios near Olympia, and there they were purified by Melampous, who took one of them to wife.[219]

It is clear from the identity of the two myths that the Argive Agriania was based on the same ritual as the Bœotian.[220] We may conclude that it was introduced into the Peloponnese by a branch of the Tyroidai, represented in the genealogies by Melampous, who had inherited it from the Minyai of Orchomenos through the female line.

The Attic Euneidai, descended from Jason, also had a cult of Dionysus, associated with Dionysos Kittos, the Ivy Dionysus. It was characterised by flute-playing and dancing, and one of the clan's privileges was to supervise the state processions (*pompai*).[221] This too, it seems, goes back to Orchomenos,

[216] Plu. *M.* 291a. [217] Frazer GB–S. [218] G. Thomson AA 166–7.

[219] Apld. 2. 2. 2, Hdt. 9. 34, Str. 346, D.S. 4. 68, Paus. 2. 18. 4, 5. 5. 10, 8. 18. 7.

[220] The month Agrianios (=Att. Thargelion, *SIG.* 1031 n. 1) occurs in Bœotia, Sparta, Rhodes, Kos, Kalymnos, and Byzantium: Paton 327–30, Farnell CGS 5. 300. This distribution agrees with the hypothesis that it was introduced to the Peloponnese from Bœotia: see G. Thomson GC 56.

[221] Paus. 1. 31. 6; see p. 122 n. 91.

where the ancestors of the Euneidai had acquired it as Minyai in the female line.

Were these Minyai Greeks? Nilsson believes they were—Ionian Greeks.[222] But I think we must draw a distinction. Though the Minyai intermarry with the Tyroidai, there is no ancestral connection. Accordingly, I prefer to regard the Minyai of Orchomenos as non-Hellenic—perhaps, as I have suggested, Pelasgian. But the Minyai of Iolkos are different. If the stock of Tyro was Greek, then so were these—Minoanised Greeks. But I should hesitate to call them Ionians, because it is unsafe to assume that Ionic existed at this early period as a separate dialect. More probably their speech was the parent of the later Ionic and Æolic. That would explain why, while their descendants in Attica and Ionia became affiliated to Ion, they were themselves always reckoned as descendants of Aiolos.

It is tempting to go further. I have suggested that the Lapithai of northern Thessaly—Atrax, Gyrton, and Elatos—are to be connected with the Dimini settlements around Rachmani, which is just north of Elateia. Outside this district, Dimini remains are most plentiful in the lowlands round the Gulf of Pagasai. This was the homeland of the Tyroidai. Dimini itself lies close to the ancient Iolkos. Further, it appears that the Tyroidai had reached the Gulf from the north; for the god whom Tyro loved, the father of Pelias and Neleus, is described as Poseidon Petraios, referring to Petra on the northern foothills of Olympos.[223] Were the Lapithai and Tyroidai two branches of the Dimini people? Against this it might be urged that in the genealogies the Thessalian Lapithai are affiliated to Apollo, but that may have been due to later influences from Delphi, and in a later chapter we shall find their descendants, the Lapithai of Attica and the Peloponnese, connected with Poseidon, and in particular with Poseidon Petraios.[224] If the Dimini culture has left any trace at all in

[222] Nilsson MOGM 155, HM 96.

[223] Pi. *P.* 4. 138. The shrine of Poseidon Petraios is said to have been founded in memory of the birth of Sisyphos, whom the god produced in the shape of a horse with a blow of his trident on the rock: *EM.* Ἵππιος ὁ Ποσειδών.

[224] See pp. 264–5.

Greek tradition, the Lapithai and Tyroidai have a strong claim on it. And if we accept it, we may say that these were the people who after assimilating the culture of Orchomenos transmitted 'Minyan ware' to southern Greece.

One point has still to be cleared up. Our conclusion is that these Greek-speaking villages fringing the Gulf had been drawn into intercourse with the urban culture of Orchomenos. But this culture reached its zenith about 1400 B.C. Tyro, on the other hand, if we accept the traditional chronology, cannot be put further back than 1300. She is much too late.

Difficulties of this kind will confront us repeatedly in the Greek genealogies. In a later chapter I shall argue that the traditional chronology cannot be accepted as it stands.[225] Meanwhile it may be observed that our attitude to the chronological framework of these pedigrees must depend on our estimate of their content. If we accept the traditional date of Tyro at its face value, we accept her as a real person. I doubt if anyone is prepared to do that. But, if she was not a real person, she cannot have had a date. As soon as we recognise her as merely a symbol for the common matrilineal origin of a group of Greek clans, the chronological difficulty disappears.

When the earliest remembered ancestors of the Kodridai and Alkmeonidai emerge out of the mists of the Enipeus in chalcolithic Thessaly, they fall under the spell of the matriarchal priest-kings of Orchomenos, with whom they trade and marry. But they are already a warlike people, established in a ring of strongholds round the Gulf of Pagasai, and soon, taking to the sea, they open up relations with Lemnos and Troy, and from there, perhaps with Pelasgian pilots, they find their way to Kolchis at the far end of the Black Sea; then, turning south, they found kingdoms on the west coast of the Peloponnese. By this time, it may be, they are becoming patriarchal again, but later still, when their descendants cross the Ægean to Ionia, they find themselves in a situation not unlike that of their ancestors at Iolkos—compelled to marry Carian wives and to construct their new patriarchal city-states in conscious opposition to the vast matriarchal world that stretches from their doorsteps into the heart of Anatolia.

[225] See p. 409.

9. *Some Matriarchal Survivals*

It is to be feared that even those of my readers who succeeded in threading their way through the classificatory system of relationship will be suffering from the effects of these genealogies. This is regrettable, but it cannot be helped. If we want to understand how we have become what we are, we must train ourselves to see things from the standpoint of our remote ancestors, who, since their lives were determined by the supreme fact of kinship, saw kinship everywhere. We must develop a genealogical outlook on the world.

By way of relaxation let us conclude the present chapter by enquiring whether there can be found in any part of Hellas 'some little town by river or sea-shore' in which mother-right lasted long enough to enter the light of history.

Lokroi Epizephyrioi was a Greek colony on the toe of Italy. It was founded in 683 B.C. from Lokris in Central Greece, whose early inhabitants are described by Aristotle as Leleges.[226]

Speaking of the colony as it was in the first century B.C. Polybius says: 'All their ancestral honours are traced through women, as for example the noble rank enjoyed by descendants of the Hundred Families.'[227] From other sources we learn that, like the Lydians and Etruscans, the people of Lokroi practised pre-nuptial promiscuity,[228] and that theirs was the first Greek state to codify its laws.[229] Their retention of matrilineal succession is thus explained by the formal stabilisation of their institutions at an abnormally early date.

The Hundred Families were descended from the original nobility of the homeland, and we are told that what drove the colonists to emigrate was the scandal caused by these high-born ladies in consorting indiscriminately with slaves.[230] In

[226] Arist. fr. 560=Str. 322. Which Lokris he meant is uncertain (Str. 259).

[227] Plb. 12. 5. 6. That ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν means 'through women', not merely 'from women', appears from Arr. fr. 58.

[228] Clearch. 6.

[229] Arist *Pol.* 1274a. 6–7, Eph. 47, Pi. *O.* 10. 17 sch. Under this code alienation of the ancestral estates was illegal: Arist. *Pol.* 1266b. 6.

[230] D.P. 365–7, Plb. 12. 6b. The 'slaves' were doubtless serfs: δοῦλος covers both.

their defence it might be pleaded that they were no worse than Omphale or Tanaquil, or the Bantu queens of Africa; and when the tradition goes on to stigmatise the colonists themselves as a ruffianly gang of runaway slaves and adulterers, we smile again at the prejudice that created the crimes of Lemnos. Not so, however, our learned historians. 'That a body of colonists formed of such unpromising materials', we are gravely assured by Grote, 'should have fallen into much lawlessness and disorder, is no way surprising, but these mischiefs appear to have become so utterly intolerable in the early years of the colony as to force upon everyone the necessity of some remedy: hence arose a phenomenon new in the march of Greek society—the first promulgation of written laws.'[231] When we reflect on what this theory of the origin of legislation implies—that the most abandoned criminals are the natural leaders in the onward march to law and order—it is hard not to laugh outright.

Lokroi Epizephyrioi may have been exceptional in making such a bad start, but in this region there were other colonies founded in the same period and in conditions economically similar, if not morally.

Taras (Tarentum), on the heel of Italy, was even older than Lokroi. It was founded by some men from Sparta called Partheniai, 'maidens' sons'. When the Spartans were conquering Messenia, which took them many years, their wives consoled themselves in the same manner as Clytemnestra, and these 'maidens' sons' were the result. Their fathers are described as Spartans who had stayed at home. At the end of the war the husbands returned and punished the seducers by degrading them to serfdom.[232] Such was the story, but it is not quite convincing. If the culprits were freeborn Spartans, they were doing what was not an offence in the fourth century (p. 143), and so we may doubt if it was in the eighth. Moreover, the reason why they were called 'maidens' sons' can only be that

231 Grote 3. 378.

232 Theop. 190, Ant. 14, Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 3. 551. In another version the fathers of the Partheniai are soldiers sent home on purpose to beget offspring (Eph. 53); but they are described as ἐπευνακταί, 'additional bedfellows'—a term implying a recognised class of serfs with special privileges, like the κατωνακοφόροι of Sikyon (Theop. 195). In *Il.* 16. 180 παρθένιος means 'son of an unmarried mother.'

their mothers were unmarried. The truth seems to be that their fathers had been serfs all the time—serfs with a privileged status, like those who enjoyed the favours of the Locrian ladies. Hitherto the offspring of such unions had possessed a claim on the maternal estate; but now, with the rich plain of Messenia ready to be appropriated, the old rule was abolished, and so those who were only Spartans on the mother's side were compelled, 'bearing their birthright proudly on their backs', to seek new fortunes overseas. The foundation of Taras, as of Lokroi, was an incident in the conflict that was going on in the mother-country over rights of succession to real estate—the struggle for the land.[233]

Kypselos, the first tyrant of Corinth, seized power in 657 B.C. He belonged to the clan Kaineidai, descended from Kaineus the Lapith (p. 189).[234] He was born a few miles from Corinth in the townland of Petra, which reproduces the Petra on the foothills of Olympos.[235] Before his time the city had been ruled by the Bakchidai, who claimed to have come in with the Dorian conquerors—where from, we do not know. At first they had ruled as kings, and, after the kingship was abolished, they retained power through annual magistrates appointed exclusively from themselves.[236] This clan observed the custom, as Herodotus expresses it, 'of marrying and giving in marriage among themselves'. Here we have a confirmation of our view that the early Greek clan was normally exogamous. Why then were the Bakchidai endogamous? The historian continues:

> One of them, Amphion, had a daughter, Labda, who was a cripple, and since none of the Bakchidai would take her to wife she was married to Eetion, son of Echekrates, of Petra, a Lapith of the Kaineidai.[237]

Shortly afterwards the Bakchidai received from Delphi an enigmatic oracle which they eventually construed to mean that

[233] At the beginning of the war, asked why he wanted to fight his brother Dorians of Messenia, the Spartan king replied, 'I am going to enter on our unallotted heritage' (Plu. *M.* 231e), i.e. divide the land. On another occasion the Spartans were encouraged to invade Tegea with the promise of 'a fine plain to measure with the rope' (Hdt. 1. 66).

[234] Hdt. 5. 92β.

[235] Pi. *P.* 4. 246 sch.

[236] Paus. 2. 4. 3. There were over 200 of them (D.S. 7, Wesseling 4.15).

[237] Hdt. 5. 92β.

the son of Eetion would be the ruin of the city; and so, when in due course Labda was delivered of a fine boy, they decided to destroy it. Ten of them proceeded to the house of Eetion, ostensibly on a friendly visit. Their plan of action, arranged on the way, was that whoever got hold of the child first was to dash its brains out. Labda suspected nothing and handed the baby to one of them. At this moment it happened to smile. This touched the murderer's heart, and he passed it on to one of his companions. Overcome with compassion in his turn, he did the same, and so the beaming infant was bandied from one to another and back into its doting mother's arms. After leaving the house the soft-hearted assassins broke into mutual recriminations, and then turned back again with the stern resolve that 'they would all take a share in the bloodshed'. But meanwhile Labda, her suspicions aroused, had hidden the baby in a box. And so Kypselos grew to manhood, overthrew the Bakchidai, and became tyrant of Corinth.[238]

It would be unwise to read too much into this silly story, but the peculiar marriage custom must be accepted as a fact, and this gives the key to the rest. Wade-Gery has suggested that it 'was perhaps due to their dislike that an heiress's portion should pass outside'.[239] But the patriarchal law of the heiress operates only in default of male heirs, not as a general rule. We have seen in the present chapter from numerous examples that the continuous intermarriage of near kin is a means of obviating succession from mother to daughter in favour of father and son. Assuming then that what we have here is a normal instance of matriarchal endogamy, nothing further is needed to explain why the men hesitated to kill the baby or why the baby grew up with a claim on their inheritance. He was their fellow clansman.

Lastly, it is worth noting that in a number of Ægean islands, including Lesbos, Lemnos, Naxos and Kos, matrilineal succession to real property was the rule at the end of the eighteenth century A.D. The facts were reported by an English traveller, John Hawkins, who wrote:

> At the close of the year 1797 I transmitted to Mr. Guys as the result of those enquiries which it had been in my power to make: that in a large

[238] Hdt. 5. 92 γ–ε. [239] H. T. Wade-Gery in CAH 3. 534.

proportion of the islands of the Archipelago the eldest daughter takes as her marriage portion the family house, together with its furniture, and one third or a larger share of the maternal property, which in reality in most of these islands constitutes the chief means of subsistence; that the other daughters, as they marry off in succession, are likewise entitled to the family house then in occupation and the same share of whatever property remains; finally, that these observations were applicable to the islands of Mytilin, Lemnos, Scopelo, Skyros, Syra, Zea, Ipsera, Myconi, Paros, Naxia, Siphno, Santorini, and Cos, where I have either collected my information in person or had obtained it through others.[240]

I am not in a position to explain this remarkable survival or revival. That could only be done by embarking on the unexplored subject of Greek land-tenure under the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. I mention it, because those scholars who find it impossible to believe that anything so un-Greek as matriarchy ever existed even in the prehistoric Ægean may be reassured to know that it was flourishing there in their great-grandfathers' time.

[240] Hawkins in Walpole 392.

VI

THE MAKING OF A GODDESS

1. *Childbirth and Menstruation*

IN the earliest phases of human society collective labour was a condition of survival. Food-gathering and hunting, at a low technical level, required many hands. There was no danger in too many, because the surplus could always move away, but too few meant death. Production of the means of subsistence was inseparable from reproduction of the group itself. And if the technique of production was precarious, so was that of reproduction. The infant mortality of primitive peoples is enormous. The magical rites that cluster everywhere round the event of childbirth sprang from material necessity.[1]

Similar conditions recur at a higher level with the discovery of agriculture. So long as the new technique was rudimentary, tremendous efforts were needed to make a clearing in the forest and to keep it clear. The settlement was besieged with unknown dangers—infectious diseases as well as wild beasts injurious to health and wealth. In the Germanic languages, as in the Semitic, to till is to build (German *bauen*, Arabic *'amara*).[2] It was necessary to tame the wilderness, which fought back savagely. In such conditions it was impossible for a single family to settle alone. Safety lay in numbers. The crops, tended laboriously by the women, were blessed or blighted by goddesses of childbirth.

The dread inspired by the magic surrounding the reproductive functions of women was reinforced from the outset by a powerful taboo. On this subject Briffault writes:

> Although nothing exists in animal psychology exactly corresponding to a taboo or formulated prohibition, there is one relation, and one only, in

[1] I do not mean that the rites were consciously designed for the survival of the species, but simply that they were the ideological expression of the maternal impulse.

[2] Robertson Smith RS 95–6.

which an interdict is normally imposed from without on the most potent animal impulses. . . . In the mammalian female sexual congress is not functional or desirable during pregnancy and lactation, and the male is at these times invariably repelled. In the human female, though the period of sexual activity is more continuous than in many animals, a further interruption appears in the form of definite menstruation. . . . The repulse of the male by the female presents the analogue, and the only one, of a 'prohibition' among animals. It can only be enforced among animals by the actual resistance or escape of the female; it cannot therefore, in animal psychology, exactly correspond to a formulated prohibition. Only traditional heredity can do this. It is at the human level only, through the medium of language, that a prohibition can acquire the status of a recognised principle.[3]

As the first taboo, the ban on sexual intercourse during pregnancy and menstruation became the prototype of all subsequent taboos.

It is important to observe that the magic of human fecundity attaches to the process, not to the result—to the lochial discharge, not to the child itself; and consequently all fluxes of blood, menstrual as well as lochial, are treated alike as manifestations of the life-giving power inherent in the female sex. In primitive thought menstruation is regarded, quite correctly, as a process of the same nature as childbirth.[4]

This magic is ambivalent. Its very potency makes it something to be feared. It is a source of energy, like an electric current, which without proper control can do a lot of damage. So with the taboo. From one aspect the woman who may not be approached is inviolable, holy; from another aspect she is polluted, unclean. She is what the Romans called *sacra*, sacred and accursed. And hence in patriarchal society, after woman has lost her control of religion, it is the negative aspect that prevails. Not only are her sexual functions treated as impure in themselves, but the same condemnation attaches to her feminine nature as such. She becomes the root of all evil, Eve, a witch.[5]

These ideas are universal. There is no sphere of human life in which a greater uniformity can be observed than in the treatment of menstrual and puerperal women. The subject is discussed at length by Briffault, who has collected examples from every branch of the human race and every stage of culture.[6] All that need be done here is to summarise the significant features

[3] Briffault 2. 364. [4] *Ib.* 2. 366. [5] *Ib.* 2. 407. [6] *Ib.* 2. 364–439.

with a view to demonstrating their bearing on Greek religion.

Among the Herero tribes of South Africa the herdsmen bring the morning's milk every day to a woman in childbed, who consecrates it with her lips.[7] In North America, when the corn is attacked by grubs, menstruating women go out at night and walk naked through the fields.[8] Similar customs still survive among the European peasantry.[9] Pliny recommended as an antidote to noxious insects that menstruating women should walk through the fields with bare feet, loose hair, and skirts drawn up to the hips. Demokritos, according to Columella, held the same opinion: the women, he said, should run round the crop three times with bare feet and flowing hair.[10] The idea was evidently to diffuse the fertile energy with which the female body was believed at such times to be charged. Elsewhere the energy is regarded as inherent in their sex. Among the Zulus, for example, the girls who perambulate must be naked but need not be actually menstruating at the time.[11] This is the origin of the well-known women's rite of exposing the genitalia by drawing up the skirts—a rite which in Greece was especially associated with Demeter;[12] and the custom common to many Greek cults of female votaries walking in procession without shoes, headbands or girdles belongs to the same circle of ideas.[13] Eventually, purged of their superstitious dross, these girls, dancing and singing through the fields unveiled, dishevelled, and unsandalled, became a traditional conceit, one of the prettiest in Greek poetry.[14]

[7] Briffault 2. 410. [8] Schoolcraft 5. 70. [9] Briffault 2. 389, 410.

[10] Plin. *NH.* 28. 78, Colum. *RR.* 11. 3. 64. [11] Krige 200.

[12] Clem. *Pr.* 2. 20–1, Hdt. 2. 60. 2, D.S. 1. 85. The use of obscene language—a constant feature of Demeter-worship—is a modification of this custom: Hom. *H.* 2. 203–5, D.S. 5. 4, Luc. *D. Mar.* 7. 4 sch., Hdt. 5. 83. 3, Paus. 7. 27. 10, Hsch. γεφυρίς, Suid. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν σκώμματα, Plu. *M.* 417c, A.R. 4. 1701–30, Apld. 1. 9. 26, 2. 5. 11, Thphr. *HP.* 7. 3. 3, 9. 8. 8; see further Briffault 3. 204.

[13] Call. *Cer.* 1–6, 125–6, *SIG.* 736. 4, Nonn. *D.* 9. 243–8, Verg. *A.* 4. 509, Ov. *F.* 3. 257.

[14] Call. *Cer.* 124–5, Bion 1. 21–2, Opp. *Ven.* 1. 497–8, Nonn. *D.* 5. 374, 405–7, 8. 16–19, 9. 248, 14. 382, Longus 1. 4, 2. 23, Ach. Tat. 1. 1. 7, cf. Alcm. 1. 15, A. *Pr.* 140, S. *OC.* 348–9, Theoc. 19 (24) 36, Polites E 74. 113–5.

Faith in the life-giving properties of pregnancy and menstruation has been everywhere combined, without any sense of incongruity, with the deepest horror and aversion.[15] A woman in either condition must be segregated as strictly as one who has touched a corpse. For a man even to set eyes on her may be fatal to him. A mere touch of her hand or foot will maim the cattle or blight the crops. In the case of childbirth access to the hut in which she is confined is forbidden to all except the midwives; and when the confinement is over, all clothes and cooking utensils, together with the placenta, umbilical cord, and all traces of blood, must be carefully destroyed or removed to a place where there is no risk of anyone inadvertently touching them or treading on them.[16] Among some peoples it is sufficient to deposit them on a road or at a crossways, the idea being that the pollution will be carried away by passing travellers.[17] The woman herself must also submit to ablutions and other purifications before she is readmitted to society. During menstruation she is usually obliged to leave the village altogether and retire into the forest, where she remains in an isolation hut, alone or with other women in attendance. In this case, too, before her return, she must obliterate all vestiges of her pollution and bathe in running water. A girl's first period is commonly the subject of special precautions, because it coincides with her introduction to sexual life, and, where women's rites of initiation survive, it is included in them.[18] An account of the initiation of girls among the South African Bantus will serve as an example.

When a girl feels her first period approaching she chooses from a neighbouring village a married woman to be her 'foster-mother', and when the day comes she runs away to this foster-mother

[15] Briffault 2. 365–90.

[16] Add to Briffault's references Earthy 69–70, 75, Roscoe B (1911) 21, 54, cf. BB 159: 'All the sweepings were thrown in some place where they could not be trodden on or disturbed, and where future sweepings from the house and all excrements from the child could also be thrown.'

[17] Junod 1. 200–1, cf. 2. 478; Petron. 134. In Pl. *Leg.* 873b it is enacted that the crossroads at which the bodies of murderers are to be thrown must lie beyond the city boundaries, cf. 855a; see further Hastings *s.v.* Crossroads.

[18] Briffault 2. 371–2.

'to weep with her'. Her seclusion lasts a month. Three or four girls usually take the initiation together. They are shut up in a hut, which they may not leave except with covered faces. Every morning they go down to a pool to bathe, escorted by initiated women who sing obscene songs and carry sticks to drive away any man that may cross their path, because it is believed that, if a man should see them, he would be struck blind on the spot. After returning to the hut, though dripping wet and shivering with cold, they are not allowed near the fire but are scratched, teased, and tormented by the older women, who keep up their bawdy songs, instruct them in sexual matters, and warn them never to reveal anything about the blood of the menses to a man. At the end of the month the girl is restored to her mother and entertained to a feast. She has 'finished her misfortune'.[19]

In ancient Greece women in childbed were believed to be under a pollution as grave as bloodshed or contact with a corpse.[20] At Eleusis all those who had committed manslaughter, or touched a corpse, or approached a woman in childbed, were excluded from the Mysteries until they had been purified.[21] In Hesiod's *Works and Days* the men are warned not to wash in water in which a woman has washed previously.[22] From inscriptions we learn that women were not admitted to the temples for so many days after menstruation or childbirth, and then only after they had purified themselves by bathing.[23] In ancient Italy the horror excited by menstruation was as great as it is among savages to-day. Pliny's confidence in its beneficial effects when properly applied did not weaken his conviction that in general it was pernicious:

> Hardly can there be found a thing more monstrous than is that flux and course of women. For if during the time of their sickness they may happen to approach or go over a vessel of wine, be it never so new, it will presently

[19] Junod LSAT 1. 177.

[20] E. *IT.* 381-3, cf. Plu. *M.* 170b, Thphr.. *Char.* 16. 9, Ar. *Lys.* 912-3. The Zulus treat the following categories as unclean: pregnant and menstruating women, mothers of infants, persons who have just had sexual intercourse, attended a funeral, or touched a corpse (Krige 82).

[21] Porph. *Abst.* 4. 16, Theo Sm. 14, cf. Apld. 2. 5. 12.

[22] Hes. *Op.* 753.

[23] *SIG.* 982-3, 1042.

sour; if they touch any standing corn in a field, it will wither and come to no good. Also, let them in this estate handle any grasses, they will die upon it; the herbs and young buds in a garden, if they do but pass by, will catch a blast and burn away to nothing.[24]

These superstitions enable us to interpret a curious Sicilian folktale:

Hera bore to Zeus a girl named Angelos, and Zeus gave her to the nymphs to nurse. When she grew up, she stole the myrrh that Hera used to rouge her face. When Hera found out, she was going to punish her, but the girl ran away to the house of a woman who had just given birth and from there to some men who were carrying out a corpse. Then Hera gave up the pursuit, and Zeus told the Kabeiroi to take charge of the girl and cleanse her; so the Kabeiroi took her away and cleansed her in the Lake of Acheron.[25]

Angelos was identified with Artemis.[26] Why she stole her mother's rouge will appear in a moment, but it is already plain that what prompted her flight from home and her contact with the twin pollutions of birth and death was a third pollution of the same nature, which the storyteller has suppressed.

Aristotle, Pliny, and other naturalists, ancient and medieval, believed that the embryo is formed from the blood retained in the uterus after the stoppage of menstruation.[27] This is the blood of life. Hence the commonest method of placing persons or things under a taboo—menstrual, lochial, or any other interdict formed on this original pattern—is to mark them with blood or the colour of blood. And in keeping with the ambivalent nature of the taboo itself this sign of blood has the double effect of forbidding contact and imparting vital energy. It is a worldwide custom for menstruating or pregnant women to daub their bodies with red ochre, which serves at once to warn the men away and to enhance their fertility. In many marriage ceremonies the bride's forehead is painted red—a sign that she is forbidden to all men save her husband and a guarantee that she will bear him children.[28] This is the origin of cosmetics. Among the Valenge, a Bantu tribe, every woman keeps a pot of red ochre, which is sacred to her sex and used to paint her face and body for ceremonial purposes.[29] Of the

[24] Plin. *NH.* 7. 64 tr. Holland. [25] Theoc. 2. 12 sch. [26] Hsch. Ἄγγελον.
[27] Arist. *GA.* 2. 4, *PA.* 2. 6. 1, Plin. *NH.* 7. 66, Briffault 2. 4, 44.
[28] Briffault 2. 412-7.
[29] Earthy 123, cf. 73, 76, Hollis NLF 58, Burkitt P 222-3.

many occasions for which she needs it the following may be noted. At the end of her confinement both mother and child are anointed with it: in this way the child will live and the mother is restored to life. At initiation the girl is painted red from head to foot: so she is born again and will be fruitful. At the conclusion of mourning, after stepping over a fire, the widow is painted the same colour: so she returns from the contamination of death.

Red is renewal of life. That is why the bones from upper palæolithic and neolithic interments are painted red.[30] The symbolism becomes quite clear when we find, as we commonly do, that the skeleton has been laid in the contracted or uterine posture (pp. 48, 55). Smeared with the colour of life, curled up like a babe in the womb—what more could primitive man do to ensure that the soul of the departed would be born again?

2. *Moon-worship*

It is a commonplace among all peoples of mankind that the reproductive functions of women are regulated by the moon. Whether there is any scientific foundation for the belief is doubtful. Recent research is against it, though, since the data are drawn from civilised women, the result is not conclusive.[31] Whatever the truth may be, the menstrual period coincides so closely with the lunar that the idea was bound to arise of a direct connection between them. This belief underlies all primitive customs pertaining to the moon, which are so deeply imbedded that even civilised peoples, who have long discarded moon-worship, retain them almost intact on the lower levels of folklore and superstition.

In magic the moon receives far more attention than the sun, and it is universally the first time-keeper.[32] The original unit of the calendar was the lunar month of twenty-seven or twenty-eight nights, which was divided in two by the full moon.[33] Later a tripartite division was obtained by separating

[30] Burkitt P 163, 184, 191, Childe DEC Index *s.v.* Ochre.
[31] Gunn 872, cf. H. M. Fox SSM 75, 80, LPR 547.
[32] Nilsson PT 148–9, cf. Briffault 2. 577–83.
[33] Nilsson PT 155.

the periods before and after the full,[34] and finally the Babylonians rearranged the month in four quarters, which are the origin of our weeks.[35] The dependence of the calendar on the moon is reflected in the common base underlying our words for 'moon', 'month', and 'measure'.[36]

The moon is the cause of menstruation. In the Murray



FIG. 8. *Cult of the moon: Minoan gem*

Islands, to cite a typical instance, the moon is a young man who ravishes the women and so causes their discharges of blood.[37] Since the menstrual blood is believed to be the material of the embryo, the discharge is regarded as a form of abortion —what is still popularly known as a 'moon-calf'. From these premisses it should follow that impregnation too is caused by the moon, and in primitive thought it does follow. The moon, say the Maoris, is the real husband of all women.[38] The truth

[34] *Ib.* 167–70. [35] *Ib.* 171, Langdon BM 86–7.

[36] The old view that IE **mḗter* is connected with this base has been abandoned, *ma-* being now explained as a *Lallwort* (Walde-Pokorny *s.v.*) but the two interpretations are quite compatible; for 'the evolution of language is a process of differentiation' (Bréal 33).

[37] Briffault 2. 583–4. [38] *Ib.* 2. 432.

about procreation is only recognised when paternity has acquired a social value, and even then the older belief lingers on. Women conceive from the moon. Accordingly in primitive languages the moon is normally spoken of as a male, the Lord of the Women.[39] It is still masculine in Slavonic and Germanic, and it was once so in Celtic, Greek and Latin. The Greek *seléne* is a substitute for *méne*, a feminine derivative of *mén*, which survived as the word for 'month'. In Anatolia the moon continued to be worshipped as a male, whom the Greeks called Men.[40] From the idea that women conceive from the moon arises the further notion that through him they become inspired or possessed. Hence the traditional associations of the moon with hysteria, epilepsy, and all diseases regarded as divine.[41] The connection between lunar influence and lunacy speaks for itself.

Emanating as it did from the sexual life of women, moon-worship became involved with their social functions. It was their task to draw water, tend the plants, secure plenty of dew and rain. The moon was accordingly regarded as the cause of growth in vegetation, the source of all lifegiving waters. In India it is 'the bearer of seed, the bearer of plants'; in Babylonia it was the fountain-head of all plant life. Hence its identification with a sacred plant or tree, like the Indian soma or North American maize. Natives of the Rio Grande used to say, 'While the moon is growing, the sap is always flowing'.[42] Vegetable juices, especially aromatic gums used for incense and unguents, derive their virtues from the moon. 'The virtue of the gum acacia as an amulet', writes Robertson Smith of the Semites, 'is connected with the idea that it is a clot of menstruous blood, i.e. that the tree is a woman.'[43]

The Egyptian moon-goddess Nit was the inventor of the loom, and in European folklore the moon is still a spinner. These too are women's tasks, and in many primitive traditions we find the moon engaged in grinding corn, making pots, or cooking.[44] Further, since magic had once been controlled by

[39] Nilsson PT 2. 583–97. [40] Roscher LGRM 2. 2687.
[41] Briffault 2. 608–10.
[42] *Ib.* 2. 624–38. Cf. A. Jeremias in Roscher LGRM 4. 1470.
[43] Robertson Smith RS 133. [44] Briffault 2. 624–8.

women, it is a potent source of charms and spells, especially for love-making; and when feminine magic has been banned, it remains, as it still is, patron of the black art of witchcraft.[45]

The idea of the moon as the source of fertility was expanded by the subjective interpretation of actual lunar phenomena. The moon waxes and wanes, grows and decays, dies and is born again. It becomes a universal symbol for the renewal of life. Among all primitive peoples the belief in resurrection after death is associated with the rising moon.[46] In this way it was brought into relation with other symbols of the same sort, especially the serpent, whose significance has been explained in Chapter IV (p. 119). In Australia and Melanesia the moon is said to cast its slough month by month, and conversely the serpent is everywhere a seducer of women and guardian of sacred waters.[47] This association of ideas is assisted by the animal's phallic shape and its habit of frequenting pools and springs.[48] The place of the serpent in fertility ritual may be illustrated from the secret society of the Mpongwe women in West Africa. Their meetings, held in the depths of the forest, are so secret that, though they have a recognised head, called the Mother, nobody knows who she is. Every woman must catch one of the little snakes that live in the mangrove roots; then they strip naked and with the snakes in their hands strike up lascivious songs, singing and dancing all through the night till they drop from exhaustion.[49]

The moon's lifegiving virtue is also believed to reside in stones, especially crystals and translucent gems, and in human bones and hair.[50] The importance attached to tooth-evulsion and hair-cutting at initiation (pp. 47–8) arises from the fact that these parts of the body possess the property of self-renewal. Where sacrifices are offered to the moon, there is a remarkable uniformity in the choice of victims.[51] These are principally the hare, the goat, the pig, all of which are still prominent in witchcraft; the dove, especially characteristic of Semitic women's cults; and the cat, which owes its proverbial nine

[45] *Ib.* 2. 620–3. [46] *Ib.* 2. 651–2. [47] *Ib.* 2. 664–73.
[48] *Ib.* 2. 667, Roscoe BB (1923) 43–4. [49] Briffault 2. 548.
[50] *Ib.* 2. 692–4, 702–9. [51] *Ib.* 2. 610–23.

lives to this association. In ancient Egypt the cat was an object of worship, and Plutarch explains why:

> The variegated colouring of this animal, its nocturnal habits, and its peculiar manner of reproduction combine to make it a fitting symbol for the moon. It is said to produce one kitten at the first birth, two at the second, and one more every time until the seventh, making twenty-eight kittens in all, which is the number of days in the month; and though this may savour of the fabulous, there is no doubt that a cat's eyes appear to grow larger and more luminous at the full moon, smaller and duller as it wanes.[52]

As Briffault remarks, 'the rule that the sacrificial animals of women belong to small species is universal'. His explanation is that 'women being in most cases unable to offer large animals such as are used in sacrifice by hunters and herdsmen, are generally confined in their choice to smaller species'.[53] This is true of the later stages, but the initial factor was more probably the domestication of animals. It is believed that this began with the huntsmen bringing home the young of smaller species, which the women kept as pets.[54]

Lunar magic has also had an influence on dancing. The Iroquois dance in honour of the moon for the sake of its health when it is sick, the Californians to prevent it waning. The Diegueños of southern California used to run footraces regularly at the new moon to help it grow, and the Pawnees assert that their ball dances were instituted by the Great Hare in memory of his brother the Wolf, who was the waning moon.[55] In such cases the ball is a mimetic symbol.

3. *The Moon in Popular Greek Religion*

Aristotle's theory of the formation of the embryo from the menses is in harmony with the belief, which he shared with Empedokles, that menstruation occurs normally towards the end of the month, when the moon is on the wane.[56] His account of the spinal marrow follows the same lines. 'The parts of the body', he says, 'are formed from the blood; the embryo

[52] Plu. *M.* 376e. [53] Briffault 2. 619.
[54] Thurnwald 77, Frazer TE 1. 14–5. [55] Briffault 2. 746–9.
[56] Arist. *HA.* 7. 2 (582b), *GA.* 2. 4. 9, Sor. *Gyn.* 21 (Rose 185), cf. Gal. 9. 903; Roscoe B (1911) 24.

is fed on blood; and in the same way the marrow represents the element of blood in the bones.'[57] The word *aión*, 'marrow', was extended to the idea of eternity. A direct connection between the marrow and the moon is not attested, but something of the sort must have been in Æschylus's mind when he described the marrow as 'reigning' within the breast, because this term was used in astrology for the influence of celestial bodies.[58] The moon figures as a symbol of eternity in the myth of Endymion, who during his everlasting sleep was visited nightly by Selene.[59]

In Greece, as elsewhere, the moon was popularly regarded as the source of fertilising moisture. The dew, according to Plutarch, is heaviest at full moon, and in poetry it is a daughter of the moon.[60] In Stoic doctrine the moon draws its sustenance from springs and streams.[61] The moon, says Pliny, brings forth the moisture which the sun consumes; and, according to Cicero, it releases a flow of moisture which fosters the growth of living creatures and brings to maturity everything that rises from the earth.[62] Epilepsy and allied disorders were ascribed to the same influence,[63] and the symptoms of other maladies were thought to rise or subside according to the lunar phases.[64] The full moon was the best time for sowing or planting,[65] and for

[57] Arist. *PA.* 2. 6. 1. [58] G. Thomson AO 2. 13.

[59] Apld. 1. 7. 5, Paus. 5. 1. 4.

[60] Plu. *M.* 367d, 659b, Alcm. fr. 43, cf. Thphr. *CP.* 4. 14. 3, Macr. *Sat.* 7. 16. 31, Gal. 9. 903, Hom. *H.* 32. 11–2, Verg. *G.* 3. 337, Nonn. *D.* 40. 376, 44. 221, *Il.* 23. 597–9, A. fr. 44, *A.* 1390–1, A. R. 3. 1019–21.

[61] Porph. *Ant.* 11, cf. Plu. *M.* 659b, Plin. *NH.* 2. 223, Arist. *Mete.* 1. 10.

[62] Plin. *NH.* 20. 1, Cic. *ND.* 2. 19. 50.

[63] Gal. 9. 903, Macr. *Sat.* 1. 17. 11, Artem. 104. 14, Orph. *L.* 50, 474–84, cf. Ar. *Nu.* 397 sch., Hsch. βακκοσέληνος, *Psalms* 121. 6; Roscoe B (1911) 24, Earthy 73.

[64] Gal. 19. 188, Plin. *NH.* 28. 44. So with prophecy: at Argos there was a shrine of Apollo at which monthly oracles were delivered by a woman after drinking ram's blood: Paus. 2. 24. 1. The prophetic trance is probably the 'epileptic equivalent' (*Dämmerzustand*), a condition similar to the epileptic fit but without loss of consciousness or violent physical convulsions (Bleuler 338). It is possible that Gk. μαντική and μανία both go back to the same root as μήν (see above n. 36).

[65] Pall. 1. 6. 12, *Gp.* 1. 6. 1, 5. 10. 1, Lyd. 2. 8.

weddings.[66] New-born infants were taken out of doors by their nurses and 'shown to the moon'.[67] One of the most efficacious amulets was the moonstone, which was strung into children's necklaces, hung on fruit-trees, and used as a love charm and a cure for epilepsy.[68] On the same principle the time for cutting plants, felling, and sheep-shearing was when the moon was waning[69]—a rule scrupulously observed by the Emperor Tiberius in having his hair cut.[70] Neglect of this precaution resulted in baldness.

The connection with the serpent appears in the popular belief, accepted by Aristotle without demur, that a snake has as many ribs as there are days in the month.[71] As a guardian of waters the snake appears in many Greek myths, the best-known being the story of how Apollo conquered Delphi:

> Near at hand was a bubbling spring, and there with a shaft from his strong bow Apollo slew the dragon, a fearful overgrown monster, which had done untold harm to men.[72]

The serpent was equally familiar as a ravisher of women, as we see from the inscriptions discovered in the temple of Asklepios, the snake hero, at Epidauros. On one occasion a woman visited the temple to cure herself of sterility, spending the night there in accordance with the usual practice. She dreamt that the god came to her with a snake, with which she had sexual congress, and nine months later she was delivered of male twins.[73] Here the snake is the god, who impregnates his votary through his animal medium. It may be added that the healing powers of the snakes kept in the temple of Asklepios were attributed to

[66] E. *IA.* 716–7, Pi. *I.* 8. 44–5, D. Chr. *Or.* 7. 245R. Parturition was easiest at full moon: Cic. *ND*, 2. 46. 119. Plu. *M.* 282d, 658f, 939f, *Il.* 21. 483 sch A.

[67] Plu. *M.* 658f, cf. Ath. 139a, D.S. 5. 73; Briffault 2. 590–1, cf. Nilsson PT 149–54.

[68] Dsc. 5. 159, Hsch. σεληνίς, cf. Gal. 9. 859, Æl. *NA.* 14. 27, Plaut. *Epid.* 5. 1. 33, Plu. *M.* 282a, 287f–288b.

[69] Plin. *NH.* 18. 321–2, Varr. *RR.* 1. 37.

[70] Plin. *NH.* 16. 194.

[71] Arist. *HA.* 2. 17. 23, Plin. *NH.* 11. 82.

[72] Hom *H.* 3. 300–3, cf. Apld. 3. 6. 4, Paus. 9. 10. 5.

[73] *SIG.* 1169. 19, cf. 1168. 112. On the snake affinities of this god see Frazer PDG 3. 65–6.

the animal's faculty of renewing its life by changing its skin.[74]

In further illustration of this circle of ideas it will suffice for the present to provide the West African snake dance described above (p. 213) with a parallel from Macedonia:

From early times the women of this country have been addicted to Orphic and Dionysiac orgies. . . . Surpassing the others in her zeal, Olympias made the



FIG. 9. *A Mænad: Attic vase*

rites still more barbarous and abandoned by carrying in the dances huge tame snakes, which kept creeping out of the ivy in the mystic cradles and coiling round the women's wands and crowns—a sight that struck terror into the men.[75]

Olympias was the mother of Alexander the Great. It is related that some time before he was born her husband came home and found her asleep in bed with a snake beside her.[76]

[74] Ar. *Pl.* 733 sch. [75] Plu. *Alex.* 2. [76] Plu. *Alex.* 2, cf. Suet. *Oct.* 94.

4. *Herbal Magic*

We are now in a position to uncover the primitive magic that lies beneath the worship of the stately goddesses of the Greek pantheon.

Herbal magic is everywhere the province of women. In her study of the Valenge Miss Earthy writes:

> Nearly all trees and plants have a magical value. If the women saw me gathering botanical specimens, their curiosity was at once aroused, because plants are associated in their minds with recipes for magic or medicine.[77]

Ancient Greek herbal lore, which can be studied in the pages of Dioskorides and Pliny, has not received as much attention as it deserves from students of Greek religion.

The root of the peony, which was called *ménion* or *selenogónon*, implying that its virtue was derived from the moon, was administered at menstruation and childbirth.[78] The dittany (*díktamnos*) was used to assist parturition and woven into chaplets for Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth.[79] The myrtle prevented premature delivery by closing the uterus; the lily was a check to menstruation.[80] These flowers were sacred to Aphrodite.[81] The *lýgos*, a species of withy, was variously believed to induce or arrest menstruation.[82] At Sparta Artemis was called Lygodesma, 'withy-bound', because her image was said to have been discovered in a bed of withies,[83] and the statue of the same goddess at Agra (Attica) was decorated with garlands of withy.[84] In the same way the Hera of Samos was said to have been born under the withy-tree that grew in her sanctuary.[85] The galingale (*kýpeiros*) was made into potions for

[77] Earthy 24.

[78] Dsc. 3. 157, Plin. *NH.* 26. 151. On the use of herbal medicines for menstruation in medieval and modern Europe see McKenzie 284–6.

[79] Thphr. *HP.* 9. 16. 1, Arat. 33 sch.

[80] Plin. *NH.* 23. 159–60, 24. 50, 21. 126. The λύγος or ἄγνος (Plin. *NH.* 24. 59) is the *Vitex agnus castus*: Hort 2. 437.

[81] Paus. 6. 24. 7, Ov. *Met.* 10. 512. The pomegranate was consecrated to her in Cyprus: Ath. 84c. At Boiai (Laconia) the myrtle was sacred to Artemis Soteira, 'saviour' of women in childbirth (p. 275): Paus. 3. 22. 12.

[82] Dsc. 1. 134, Plin. *NH.* 24. 59–60.

[83] Paus. 3. 16. 11.

[84] E. *Hip.* 73 sch. (read λύγῳ for λόγῳ).

[85] Paus. 7. 4. 4.

opening the womb;[86] the helichryse assisted the menses, and was used by Spartan girls to make crowns for Hera.[87] In Alkman's hymn to Hera a girl prays, 'I beseech thee and bring unto thee a wreath of helichryse and galingale.'[88] One of the functions of Juno, the Roman Hera, was to assist menstruation,[89] and Hera, Artemis, Aphrodite were all worshipped as goddesses of childbirth.[90]

Of all the plants in Greek lore the most familiar was the pomegranate. Demeter was constantly portrayed as holding in her hand a poppy or a pomegranate or both.[91] The image of Victory Athena at Athens had a helmet in the right hand and a pomegranate in the left.[92] At Olympia there was a statue of the athlete Milon holding a pomegranate. Milon was a priest of Hera.[93] Hera's statue at Argos had a sceptre in one hand and a pomegranate in the other. In referring to it Pausanias remarks: 'I will say no more about the pomegranate, because the story connected with it is in the nature of a secret.'[94] What was the secret?



FIG. 10. *Goddess with pomegranate: Attic statue*

The fruit of the pomegranate is a brilliant red. So is the seed (*kókkos*) which by yielding a common dye gave Greek its word for scarlet (*kókkinos*).[95] The pomegranate was a sign of blood.

[86] Plin. *NH.* 21. 118. The seeds were eaten roasted to arrest menstruation. The κύπειρος is the *Cyperus longus*: Hort 2. 461.

[87] Plin. *NH.* 21. 148, Ath. 678a. [88] Alcm. 24.

[89] Varr. *ap.* Aug. *CD.* 7. 2.

[90] Farnell CGS 1. 196, 2. 444, 655–6.

[91] Roscher LGRM 2. 1342–3, 1345.

[92] Heliod. fr. 2=*FHG.* 4. 425, cf. Farnell CGS 1. 327.

[93] Paus. 6. 14. 6, Philost. *Ap. Ty.* 4. 28.

[94] Paus. 2. 17. 4. Hera holds a basket of pomegranates in statuettes from the Heraion at the mouth of the Sele in Lucania: Zanotti-Bianco 244; see further G. W. Elderkin 429–31, Bossert 327.

[95] Str. 630. There are two varieties, red and white, and it was presumably the latter that was used to *check* menstruation, on the principle, still observed in the Balkans, that red flowers always stimulate the blood: Kemp 37; see further McKenzie 247–9.

That is generally understood, but the real meaning of the sign has been missed. It has usually been regarded as a symbol of violent death.[96] That is undoubtedly what it means in particular cases. It was said to have sprouted from the blood of Dionysus when he was slain by the Titans;[97] it bloomed over the body of the suicide Menoikeus, and was planted on the grave of Eteokles by the Erinyes who had caused his death.[98] To dream of pomegranates portended wounds.[99] But these applications are secondary. The pomegranate was used medicinally for menstruation and pregnancy,[100] and this shows that in the hands of Demeter it had the same value as the poppy, which is expressly described as a symbol of fecundity.[101] In the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Arcadian Mysteries of Despoina (Persephone) it was taboo,[102] in allusion to a well-known incident in the story of Persephone, which will be examined presently. At Athens the women who kept the Thesmophoria were required to abstain from pomegranates and from sexual intercourse. Each night they slept on beds of withy, which had the double virtue of checking the sexual impulse and scaring away snakes.[103] Since they used the withy as an antidote to sexual activity, we must suppose that they avoided the pomegranate because it was a stimulant. Its colour was not primarily the blood of battle but the blood of fertility—menstrual and lochial blood.

5. *The Thesmophoria and Arrhephoria*

The purpose of the Thesmophoria was to fertilise the crops. Why then did the women take care to avoid fertilising influences? The answer to this question will show what happens to primitive ritual when its original function is forgotten.[104]

[96] Frazer PDG 3. 184–5. [97] Clem. *Pr.* 2. 16.

[98] Paus. 9. 25. 1, Philost. *Im.* 2. 29. 4. [99] Artem. 1. 73.

[100] Plin. *NH.* 23. 107, 112.

[101] Eus. *PE.* 3. 11. 6, cf. Call *Cer.* 45, Theoc. 7. 155–7; A. J. Evans PM 3. 458. The myrtle, which is allied to the pomegranate, was made into crowns for the Eleusinian hierophants: S. *OC.* 683 sch., cf. Ar. *Ra.* 330 sch.

[102] Porph. *Abst.* 4. 16, Paus. 8. 37. 7.

[103] Clem. *Pr.* 2. 16, Plin. *NH.* 24. 59, Ael. *NA.* 9. 26, cf. Hsch. κνέωρον, Ov. *Met.* 10. 431–5.

[104] The principal sources are Luc. *DMer.* 2. 1 sch., 7. 4 sch; Deubner 43–66.

The festival took place towards the end of October. Some months before—probably at the Skirophoria, held in June or July—the women had sacrificed a number of pigs and deposited them in a cavern as an offering to Demeter. Now, having kept themselves in a state of purity for three days,[105] they entered the



FIG. 11. *Woman sacrificing a pig: Attic vase*

cavern, clapping their hands to scare the snakes, and recovered the decomposed remains, which were then mixed with the seed-corn for the autumn sowing. The pigs are described as 'symbols of the birth of man and crops'.[106] A story was told that, when Persephone was carried off into the underworld, a herdsman who happened to be in the vicinity was engulfed together with his swine.[107]

Like the hare, dove, and other women's animals, the pig was believed to be exceptionally prolific.[108] It was therefore an appropriate symbol of fertility. But it was more than that. It was a substitute for the woman herself. That explains why the

[105] The same rule was observed at the same festival at Abdera (D.L. 9. 43) and Sparta (Hsch. τριήμερος) and in the cult of Isis at Tithoreia (Paus. 10. 32. 14).

[106] Luc. *DMer.* 2. 1 sch. The principle is that both people and crops are made to increase through the fertilisation (initiation) of women (D. A. Talbot 86): hence such doublets as Damia and Auxesia (Hdt. 5. 82–3), Hegemone and Karpo (Paus. 9. 35. 2), Dionysos Polites and Auxites (Paus. 8. 26. 1).

[107] Clem. *Pr.* 2. 17. [108] Luc. *DMer.* 2. 1. sch.

word for this animal (*choîros*) was used in vulgar language for the *pudenda muliebria*.[109] The word *kókkos* was used in the same sense.[110] The pig's blood was a surrogate for the woman's *kathármata*—menstrual and lochial blood. The starting-point of the festival was the primitive practice of secretly disposing of these *kathármata*, which were used to fertilise the seed-corn.[111] Afterwards, when this function had been transferred to the pig's blood, the sexual activity of the women, deprived of its positive value, was treated as a pollution and banned.

This type of ritual was not confined to Demeter. On a certain night in the year two girls consecrated to Athena Polias used to descend the Acropolis carrying something secret in a box. At the foot of the hill was a cave. They went in, deposited their charge, and returned with another object which had been laid there on a previous occasion.[112] What the box contained is not stated, but it can be inferred from the story of Erichthonios. Born in the form of a snake, Athena put him in a box, which she gave to the daughters of Kekrops with strict instructions not to open it. They did, with the result that they went mad and threw themselves from the Acropolis.[113] The snake has the same meaning as the pig, and the taboo on it has developed in the same way.

This ceremony was known as the Arrhephoria, which means, as Deubner has shown, the 'conveyance of secrets'.[114] Similarly,

[109] Varr. *RR.* 2. 4. 10. [110] Hsch. *s.v.*

[111] That the Greeks took the same precautions as other peoples (see above n. 16) in disposing of the καθάρματα, especially of women and epileptics, is clear from Paus. 2. 31. 8, 5. 5. 10, 8. 41. 2, Hp. *Morb. Sac.* 4, and an allusion to their original nature is perhaps embodied in the name of the associated festival, the Skirophoria: Plin. *NH.* 7. 63, Arist. *GA.* 4. 7. 1, Ath, 647a. The popular etymology (Ar. *Ec.* 18 sch.), referring to a white umbrella (σκίρον=σκιάδειον), may be dismissed as a polite invention.

[112] Paus. 1. 27. 2–3.

[113] Apld. 3. 14. 6: fig. 36. All such stories of insanity caused by the sight of sacred objects (Paus. 3. 16. 9. 7. 19. 7, Derc. 7) go back to pre-deistic magic.

[114] Deubner 11: ἀρρηφόρια=ἀρρητοφόρια (*EM.* ἀρρηφόροι), cf. τέτραχμος (τετράδραχμος), κιόκρανον (κιονόκρανον), ἀκμόθετον (ἀκμονόθετον). The alternative form, ἑρρηφόρια (Hsch. ἀρρηφόροι, *IG.* 2. 1397–85, 3. 902, 916) is due to confusion with the cult of Pandrosos (ἕρση=δρόσος): see p. 261. The Arrhephoria fell in the month of Skirophorion (*EM. s.v.*) and is probably only another form of the Skirophoria.

the Thesmophoria is the 'conveyance of *thesmoí*'. A *thesmós* is something 'laid down', normally a 'law' or 'ordinance', and in later times the name was referred to Demeter in her capacity of marriage goddess.[115] But it is obvious that such ritual is older than marriage laws, and *thesmós* was also used in a concrete sense of things 'stored' or 'deposited'[116]—in this case, originally, the *kathármata*. The two festivals have a common source in women's fertility magic.

6. *Rites of Ablution*

Whereas Demeter was mainly concerned with the cultivation of cereals, Artemis was a goddess of woodland, marsh, and meadow. She was

> the archer goddess who roams the hills, Taÿgetos or Erymanthos, delighting in boars and stags, at play with the nymphs of the wild, while her mother rejoices to see how beautiful she is, head and shoulders above the others—all are lovely, but she is the first to catch the eye.[117]

At Letrinoi, on the banks of the Alpheios, there was a shrine of Artemis Alpheaia. Once upon a time Alpheios fell in love

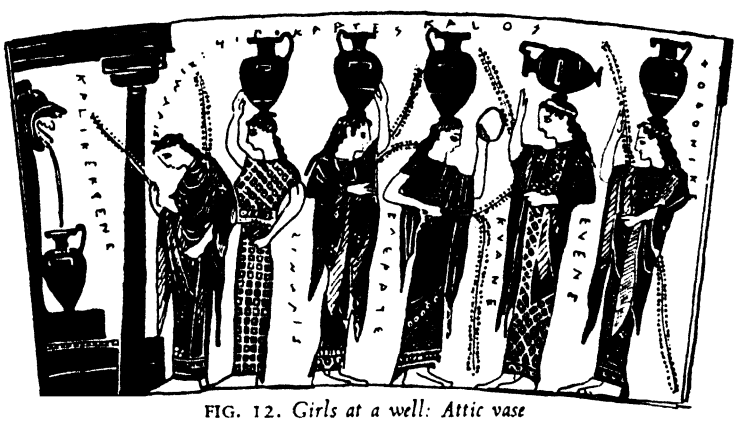


FIG. 12. *Girls at a well: Attic vase*

with her. He knew that, being pledged to chastity, she would never yield to his advances, so he approached by stealth while she was out with her nymphs at an all-night festival. But Artemis and her companions had got wind of his intentions, so they plastered their faces with mud, which made it impossible

[115] Deubner 44–5. [116] Anacr. 58. [117] *Od.* 6. 102–8.

for him to distinguish one from another.[118] This myth presupposes a secret rite in which marriageable girls went down to the river and assimilated the life-giving waters by smearing themselves with slime. That medicinal properties were ascribed to the Alpheios is shown by its name, the River of Leprosy (*alphós*).[119] The whole valley was rich in cures of this kind. Further down the coast from Letrinoi was Lepreos, Lepers' Town, with a shrine of Zeus Leukaios, god 'of the white sickness', and there was a stream in the same district called the Anigros, with a cave to which lepers made pilgrimages.[120]

Other local myths follow the same pattern. Leukippos of Pisa fell in love with Daphne. Disguising himself in women's clothes, he became her intimate friend by accompanying her and her companions on their hunting expeditions. One day, however, the girls decided to bathe in the Ladon. When Leukippos refused, they stripped him forcibly and, discovering his sex, stabbed him to death.[121] The Ladon is a tributary of the Alpheios, rising on the slopes of Erymanthos. Another example comes from Bœotia. On a hot summer's day, tired out after hunting, Artemis found herself in a densely-wooded valley, and was bathing in a spring called the Maiden's Well (Parthenia) when, attracted to the same spot with his hounds, a man, Aktaion, set eyes on her. To prevent him revealing what he had seen, the goddess turned him into a hind, which the hounds immediately devoured.[122]

All over the Greek countryside there were springs and streams called Parthenia or Parthenios.[123] The girls used to bathe at such places to purify themselves before religious festivities,[124] and it was customary for brides to bathe before

[118] Paus. 6. 22. 9, cf. Telesill. 1. [119] Str. 347, Lycoph. 1050–3 sch.

[120] Paus. 5. 5. 5, 5. 5. 11, Str. 346. [121] Paus. 8. 20. 3.

[122] Hyg. *F.* 181. So on Mount Pholoe (Arcadia) Artemis shot Bouphagos for attempting to rape her: Paus. 8. 27. 17.

[123] Paus. 6. 21. 7, Str. 357, 457, Hom. *H.* 2. 99 etc.

[124] Plu. *M.* 771f, 772b, cf. Ar. *Ly.* 913. Hence local myths of the type recorded from Haliartos, where the infant Dionysus was said to have been washed by his nurses in the spring of Kissousa: Plu. *Lys.* 28, cf. Paus. 9. 20. 4, and see further my AA 144. In Messenia, the καθάρματα from the birth of Zeus were thrown by the nymphs into the River Neda, where the children of Phigalia (probably when they came of age) used to dedicate their hair: Paus. 8. 41. 2, cf. 8. 28. 2, 1. 43. 4, Poll. 3. 38.

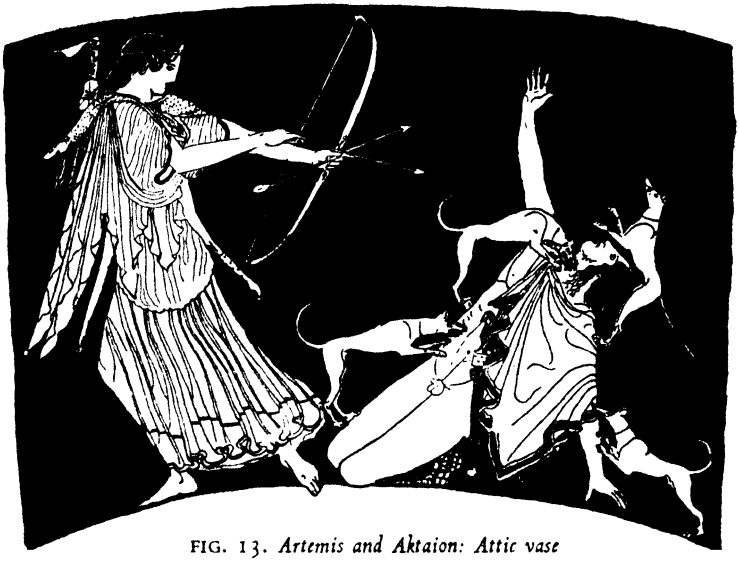


FIG. 13. *Artemis and Aktaion: Attic vase*

the wedding in the local river or in water brought from the river.[125] All such practices go back to initiation.[126] The act of immersion served originally to purify the girls at their first menstruation and at the same time to make them fruitful. The nuptial water, which was described as 'life-giving', was believed to have this effect.[127] Brides of the Troad were even more explicit. When they bathed in the Skamandros, they used to pray to the river-god and say, 'Skamandros, take my virginity!'[128] This shows that in Greece, as in other countries, it had once been believed that the girl was actually impregnated by the water. And it is fairly plain that these girls who having bathed become brides are the human prototypes of the

[125] Th. 2. 15. 5, Poll. 3. 43, E. *Ph.* 344–8, Harp. λουτροφόρος, Plu. *M.* 772b.

[126] Earthy 167: 'All washing of the body is more or less of a ceremonial character. . . . It is a type of cleansing from the moral defilement of illness, death, and loss. . . .When people are ill they will not wash themselves until they are well again.' The Dardaneis (Illyria) used to wash only twice in their lives, at birth, marriage, and burial: Nic. Dam. 110.

[127] Nonn. *D.* 3. 89, E. *Ph.* 347 sch.

[128] Ps. Æschin. *Ep.* 10. 3.

nymphs—the 'brides' (*nýmphai*) who embrace the river-gods and bear heroic sons.

7. *The Daughters of Proitos*

The Anigros, to which lepers resorted, had been known in early times as the Minyeios. It was the same stream in which Melampous had purified the daughters of Proitos and so healed them of their madness (p. 196). We can now see a little further into the ritual behind this myth.[129]

The girls went mad 'when they reached maturity'[130]—that is to say, at their first menstruation. In one version they are driven mad by Dionysus, in another by Hera. Dionysus came from the north, and according to Herodotus he was introduced by Melampous himself.[131] This implies that the Peloponnesian Agriania had been superimposed on an older cult of the same nature. In the second version the girls are driven mad because they have stolen Hera's gold.[132] We remember how Angelos stole her rouge (p. 209). And they were turned into cows.[133] They were restored, as I have said, in the Anigros or Minyeios, and after purifying them Melampous threw the *kathármata* into the stream.[134] In another version he purified them near Lousoi at a shrine of Artemis Lousia, the Bathing Artemis.[135]

What was their disease? The only difficulty in answering this question arises from the fact that in primitive medicine maladies now known to be distinct are confused. Leprosy is not the same as epilepsy, but in primitive thought they have a great deal in common. The leper was expelled because of his contagion; the epileptic, on the approach of a seizure, ran out of doors and away into the wilds.[136] Both became outcasts. Hence, when Æschylus describes the physical condition of a sinner persecuted by the Erinyes, he combines the symptoms of the two diseases.[137] Again, epilepsy was regarded as possession

[129] This section is based largely on Roscher SV 70–1.
[130] Apld. 2. 2. 2, Hes. fr. 27=Str. 370. [131] Hdt. 2. 49.
[132] Serv. *ad* Verg. *E.* 6. 48. [133] Prob. *ad* Verg. *E.* 6. 48.
[134] Paus. 5. 5. 10. [135] Paus. 8. 18. 8, cf. 2. 7 .8.
[136] Hp. *Morb. Sac.* 4. [137] A. *C.* 277–95.

by an animal.[138] That explains why the Proitides were turned into cows. Such therianthropic delusions, properly symptoms of schizophrenia, are rare among civilised peoples, but among savages still dominated by a totemic psychology they are common.[139] Further, the Greeks believed that in women epilepsy was caused by a stoppage of the womb, which prevented menstruation.[140] They were of course mistaken. Such a condition might lead to hysteria, but not to epilepsy. But owing to the similarity of the symptoms these disorders were identified, and long after Hippokrates had laid the foundations of scientific medicine the belief persisted that hysteria was an affection peculiar to women, caused by a stoppage of the womb (*hystéra*).[141]

The idea that a number of women should suddenly lose their senses and rush out into the open country seems fantastic to our minds, but scepticism is soon dispelled by the study of primitive psychology.[142] It was not fantastic to the Greeks. Cases of mass hysteria are recorded from Sparta and Lokroi Epizephyrioi, and in both the victims were women.[143] At Sparta they were cured by the medicine-man Bakis under instructions from the Delphic Oracle. At Lokroi they would be sitting quietly at their meal, when suddenly, as though in answer to a supernatural voice, they would leap up in a frenzy and run out of the town. They were cured by singing pæans to Apollo.

There are still some elements in the Agrianía that we have not accounted for—the infanticide, the pursuit, and the slaughter of the hindmost. These must be held over till a later stage of our enquiry.[144] But the general purport of the Argive

[138] Hp. *Morb. Sac.* 4: hence its name θεία νόσος (Aret. *SD.* 1. 4) the 'divine disease'; Junod LSAT 2. 479.

[139] Roscher SV 71, Frazer PDG 5. 381–3, Bleuler 105.

[140] Gal. 11. 165.

[141] Arist. *GA.* 4. 7. 6.

[142] Frazer A 147 quotes from I. H. N. Evans a case from Malaya: 'A curious complaint was made in my presence by a Jakun man . . . that all the women of his settlement were frequently seized by a kind of madness—presumably some form of hysteria—and ran off singing into the jungle, each woman by herself, and stopped there for several days and nights, finally returning almost naked, or with their clothes torn to shreds. . . . They were started by one of the women, whereupon all the others followed suit.'

[143] Ar. *Av.* 962 sch., Aristox. 36. [144] See my AA 144–5.

myth is now clear. It is a projection of the terror inspired by the magic inherent in the physiological processes of women.

8. *Greek Goddesses and the Moon*

It is now half a century since Roscher, working on a thorough collection of the data, argued that virtually all the Greek goddesses were in the first instance lunar deities.[145] His views are not generally accepted. The attitude of his opponents, led by Farnell, is that the evidence on which he relied is drawn largely from Hellenistic sources, belonging to a time when Greek religion had been thrown open to oriental influences. The controversy is not settled yet, and never will be, until students of Greek religion adopt a scientific method.

Not all Roscher's sources are late, and those that are have a greater value than Farnell admitted. It is true that, when the Greek city-states dissolved into the cosmopolitan empires of Macedon and Rome, there was a copious influx of oriental cults, but these were to a large extent of the same ultimate origin as the Greek. In Greece the prehistoric religion of Anatolia and the Ægean, affected from the outset by Babylonian and Egyptian influences, developed along distinctive lines determined by the particularisation of the city-states; and the result was that, when these states lost their independence, their religious superstructures collapsed along with them, leaving them once more exposed to the influence of the less differentiated cults of Anatolia and the East. In this way the ground was prepared for the mystical eschatology of the later Orphics and Neoplatonists, which, elaborated though it was with speculative novelties, obscurantist and sophisticated, was essentially a revival of some of the most primitive elements in ancient religion.

The weakness of Roscher's position lies not in his sources but in his treatment of moon-worship as a 'thing-in-itself' without reference to the structure of primitive society. The lunar associations which we find clinging to nearly all the

[145] Roscher SV.

Greek goddesses and many of the gods are relics of the time when it had been believed that the moon dominated the life of woman.

The deity most overtly associated with the moon was Hekate, goddess of witchcraft. At the end of the month, when there was no moon in the sky, the Greek housewife used to sweep her floors and take the rubbish to a crossroads, where she threw it down with averted eyes and returned without looking back. Such deposits were known as 'Hekate's suppers'.[146] The idea was that the human excreta swept up with the rest were charged with magic and so dangerous. A comparative study of the evidence makes this interpretation inescapable, and it is confirmed from internal sources. An inscription from Ioulis (Keos) records a law for the regulation of funerals. After forbidding services for the deceased at the end of each month—what Catholics to-day call the 'month's mind'—the law makes it an offence to place sweepings from the house on the grave.[147] The prohibition of these practices shows that they had been general. They sprang from the belief that these monthly deposits helped the dead to be born again.

On the sixteenth of the month, when the moon had just passed the full, the women used to go to the crossroads and offer to Hekate round cakes stuck with candles, which they called 'shiners' (*amphiphôntes*).[148] The object was to preserve the light of the moon. 'Shiners' were also offered to Artemis.[149] This is only one of many connections between the two deities. Æschylus, whose authority is neither late nor dubious, speaks of the moon as 'the eye of Leto's daughter', and elsewhere he identifies Hekate and Artemis as a single goddess of

[146] Harp. ὀξυθύμια, A. *C.* 97 sch., Plu. *M.* 708–9, Ar. *Pl.* 594 sch., Poll. 5. 163, Thphr. *Char.* 16. 7, Ath. 325a.

[147] *SIG.* 1218. 22.

[148] Ath. 645a, Phot. ἀμφιφῶν. At Athens this rite became a commemoration of the Battle of Salamis, which took place on the 16th of Mounychion (Plu. *M.* 349f), just as our All Hallows has become confused with the Guy Fawkes plot: see further Jeanmaire 398–9.

[149] In this ritual Hekate and Artemis were identified: Ar. *Pl.* 594 sch. Cakes known from their shape as 'moons' were offered to Selene, Hekate, Artemis, and Apollo: Poll. 6. 76.

childbirth.[150] Hekate is in origin simply Artemis Hekate, sister of Apollon Hekatos—the goddess who 'shoots from afar' the shafts or pangs of childbirth.[151] Both goddesses are entitled *triodîtis*, referring to the crossways, the place where 'three ways meet', and *triprósopos*, 'three-faced'.[152] Since the crossroad ritual was addressed to the moon, the three ways were taken to represent the three lunar phases. 'The moon', says Porphyry, 'is Hekate, who symbolises its changing phases and the powers dependent on them: that is why her influence is manifested in three forms.'[153] Porphyry was a Syrian Neoplatonist of the third century A.D., but more than a thousand years earlier Hesiod had told how Hekate was allotted 'a share in earth and sky and sea'.[154] The concept of a threefold Hekate was far older than Neoplatonism.



FIG. 14. *Three-faced Hekate: gem*

In Orphic literature the lunar phases are variously interpreted. 'For the first three days,' according to one authority, 'the moon is called Selene; on the sixth she becomes Artemis; on the fifteenth Hekate.'[155] 'When she is above the earth', according to another, 'she is Selene; when within it, Artemis; when below it, Persephone.'[156] These authorities are late, but they were reproducing an ancient tradition. Epicharmos identified the moon with Persephone on the ground that both spend part of their time beneath the earth.[157] and Epicharmos

[150] A. fr. 170, cf. E. *Ph.* 109–10; A.*Su.* 684–5. Farnell dismissed this testimony as a 'misconception' (CGS 2. 460)—surely a strange approach to the study of Greek religion. Elsewhere Aeschylus 'misconceives' Artemis as a daughter of Demeter: A. fr. 333, cf. E. *Io* 1048.

[151] Hom. *H.* 9. 6, *Il.* 7. 83, *H.* 3. 277, *Il.* 1. 14. On the Anatolian origin of Hekate see Nilsson GF 397, PT 368. The name is very likely non-Greek, the Greek interpretation of it being secondary.

[152] Orph. *HMag.* 1. 1, Ath. 325a, Charicl. 1, Bergk *PLG.* 3. 682: fig. 14.

[153] Porph. *ap.* Eus. *PE.* 3. 11. 32.

[154] Hes. *Th.* 427.

[155] E.*Med.* 396 sch.

[156] Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 4. 511.

[157] Epich. 54, cf. Serv. *ad* Verg. *G.* 1. 39, Cic. *ND.* 2. 27. 68.

lived in the sixth century B.C. In fact the connection is already implicit in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. It is Hekate who overhears Persephone's cries when she is ravished—she does not actually see the rape, only the Sun does that; it is Hekate who meets the disconsolate Demeter and tells her what she heard; and it is Hekate who embraces the resurrected girl and becomes her faithful minister.[158] Who is Persephone? What does her story, which has haunted poets ever since, really mean?

9. *The Rape of Persephone*

The cavern into which the women threw their pigs at the Thesmophoria was called a *mégaron*. This was the word regularly used of caves sacred to Demeter and Persephone.[159] It was also applied to a house or palace. That is its Homeric sense. The chasm into which Hades disappeared with Persephone was a *mégaron*.[160]

The earliest shrines were caves; the earliest dwellings were caves.[161] Such was the Greek tradition, and archæology confirms it.[162] In palæolithic Europe cave mouths and rock shelters were used as habitations and caves as sanctuaries. In the neolithic age, abandoned as dwellings, they remained in use as shrines, tombs, and granaries. In Greece many of these cave sanctuaries have yielded Minoan remains, notably the Cave of Amnisos near Knossos, which is mentioned in the *Odyssey*.[163] The simplest Minoan sepulchres are just caves and nothing more. There were also artificial chambers dug out of the soil and enclosed by monoliths, often with access through a door at the side or an opening in the roof.[164] The megalithic monuments of western

[158] Hom. *H.* 2. 24–6, 47–58, 438–40.

[159] Luc. *DMer.* 2. 1 sch., Plu, *M.* 378e, Paus. 1. 39. 5, 3. 25. 9, 8. 37. 8, 9. 8. 1, Clem. *Pr.* 2. 14, Eust. *ad Od.* 1. 27, Phot. μάγαρον. The stone circles that served the same purpose (Paus. 2. 34. 10, 2. 36. 7) were doubtless artificial μέγαρα.

[160] Hom. *H.* 2. 379.

[161] Porph. *Ant.* 20, Ps. Luc. *Am.* 34.

[162] Childe DEC 4, 221, 231, 285 etc., Burkitt P. 90–1, 161.

[163] *Od.* 19. 188; Nilsson MMR 50–71. These caves, with their paraphernalia of figurines and other ritual objects, suggested the traditional description of the cave of the nymphs in *Od.* 13. 102–12, cf. 12. 317, Longus 1. 4.

[164] Childe DEC 50–1, 67.

Europe are regarded by some archæologists as reproductions of natural caves.[165] Artificial tombs began as models of caves and developed by following the pattern of domestic architecture.[166] The tomb was the house of the dead.

In Anatolia the Phrygians, and probably the Hittites before them, used pits excavated in natural mounds and propped with timber as refuges from the heat and cold.[167] Similar pits, employed as granaries and entered by a ladder from the roof, were common in Cappadocia, Armenia, Italy, Germany, Libya, and Spain. In Latin they were called 'wells' (*putei*). Varro says that cereals stored in this way, and firmly sealed, would keep for many years—wheat for fifty, millet for more than a hundred.[168]

The Roman *mundus* was a structure of this type.[169] At the foundation of the city a pit was dug in the centre of the site as a receptacle for the firstfruits. It was opened annually on August 24 to receive the seed-corn from the harvest, and again on November 8, when the seed was taken out for the sowing. The unsealing ceremony was a solemn one. It was as though a door were being opened to the spirits of the dead. As Jane Harrison observed, 'the same structure is treasury, storehouse, tomb: ghosts and the seed-corn from the outset dwell together'.[170]

Grain was stored at Eleusis.[171] Many Greek states used to send their firstfruits to the Eleusinian Demeter. There they were sealed in subterranean granaries till the autumn, when they were taken out and sold.[172] For what purpose were they sold? 'Surely', Cornford remarks, 'not to be eaten, but to be mixed with the grain of the sowing, like the *sacra* of the Thesmophoria.'[173] This was simply a ritual survival of the ordinary procedure of storing the seed-corn.

The Laughterless Stone at Eleusis was so called because Demeter sat down there and wept. It corresponds to the Stone

[165] Childe DEC 50–1, 209.

[166] A. J. Evans PM 1. 72, Pendlebury 63, Xanthoudides 135.

[167] Vitr. 2. 1. 5.

[168] Varr. *RR.* 1. 57, X.*An.* 4. 5. 25, D.S. 14. 28, Tac. *G.* 16, cf. D. 8. 45, Artem. 2. 24.

[169] Fowler MP, Harrison SID.

[170] Harrison SID 143. The *mundus* was consecrated to Dis Pater and Proserpina: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 16. 17–8.

[171] *SIG.* 83. 11. [172] Harrison SID 145. [173] Cornford AEM 164–5.

of Invocation at Megara, where the goddess summoned her daughter from the dead (p. 131). In the Homeric Hymn the Laughterless Stone is not mentioned. There Demeter is described as sitting down beside the Maiden's Well.[174] This was not a natural spring (*kréne*) but a *phréar*, a cistern or artificial pit, the Latin *puteus*. Cornford inferred that the Maiden's Well was properly a granary and the Laughterless Stone its lid.[175] Another name for the Maiden's Well was the Well of Flowers, in allusion to the nosegays that Persephone was gathering when she was carried off.[176] This then was the very spot at which the rape took place—a subterranean granary, a house of the dead, a threshold of the underworld.

The Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated in September. The sowing season, in the historical period, was October, but in early times it had begun a month before.[177] The harvest was in June. The seed-corn was thus stored for four months, a third of the year; and this, in the myth, is the annual term which Persephone has to spend in the underworld.

For these reasons Cornford interpreted the rape of Persephone as a symbol of the custom of storing the seed-corn from harvest to sowing in underground pits.[178] The sanctity that attached to these granaries in virtue of their immemorial associations with shrines and sepulchres engendered the belief that the grain so stored was fertilised by contact with the dead, and the whole thing was

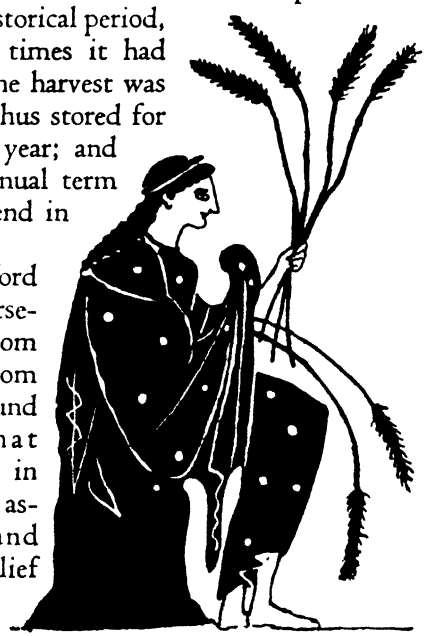


FIG. 15. *Persephone in Hades: Attic vase*

[174] Hom. *H.* 2. 99. [175] Cornford AEM 161.

[176] Paus. 1. 39. 1. In the Sicilian version the rape was located at a spring near Enna: D.S. 5. 4.

[177] Plu. fr. 11. 23, Procl. *ad* Hes. *Op.* 389=*Carm. Pop.* 50.

[178] Cornford AEM 157–91.

projected as a myth of the girl ravished by Hades, mourned by her mother, and released on condition that for a third of each year she returned to her subterranean lover. Persephone is the spirit of the corn, which is buried and rises again.

This interpretation shows Cornford at his best—a bold and clear-sighted materialist. But there is a small residue of details which it does not cover. One of these he pointed out himself. If Persephone was raped at harvest time, how was she gathering spring flowers? He explained this as a later element 'due to a ritual enactment of the whole story in spring'.[179] It is not hard to find parallels. The Greeks of southern Italy had a festival of Demeter and Persephone at which the women gathered wild flowers for their hair.[180] A similar festival, the Erosantheia or Feast of Spring Flowers, was observed in the Peloponnese.[181] But why should such a ceremony have been associated with the spirit of the seed-corn?

Let us read the opening of the Homeric Hymn:

> Persephone was playing with the nymphs and gathering flowers in a lush meadow—roses, crocuses, violets, irises and hyacinths, and the narcissus too, which Earth had brought forth at the command of Zeus to please the Lord of the Dead, who desired it as a snare for the handsome girl. . . . And as she stretched out her arms in wonder to pluck this pretty plaything, the ground opened and the Lord with his immortal horses leapt upon her.[182]

There were other versions. At Megalopolis she was represented as gathering flowers, but with Athena and Artemis.[183] At Olympia her companions were the nymphs, but they were playing ball.[184] Ball dances were common in Greek ritual. The Spartan ball fight (*sphairomachía*) was performed by boys at initiation;[185] and on the Acropolis at Athens a ball court was reserved for the Arrhephoroi,[186] the girls who carried the box down to the cave at the foot of the hill (p. 222).

We need not enquire too curiously into the botany of the Homeric Hymn. The poet has evidently chosen his flowers

179 Cornford AEM 166.
180 Str. 256.
181 Hsch. ἠροσάνθεια, cf. Paus. 2. 35. 5.
182 Hom. *H.* 2. 5–18.
183 Paus. 8. 31. 2, cf. Hyg. *F.* 146.
184 Paus. 5. 20. 3.
185 Eust. *ad Od.* 8. 376=*FHG.* 2. 69, Paus. 3. 14. 6, cf. Caryst. 14=*FHG.* 4. 359, Ath. 14d. I suspect that these ball-dancers had once been girls: see pp. 272–3.
186 Plu. *M.* 839b.

with an eye to their intrinsic beauty. But the last of them stands apart. Like the hyacinth and crocus,[187] the narcissus was sacred to Demeter and Persephone, whose votaries plaited it into garlands.[188] This mythical flower-gathering rests on herbal magic. Every spring the women went into the meadows to gather plants for their dyes, medicines, and spells. So far from being late, this part of the myth is one of the earliest. Herbal magic is older than agriculture.

As described in the hymn, the rape is a marriage by capture —a patriarchal union, implying that the bride went to live with her husband. But in that case where was the girl's father, and why did he not come to her rescue? Her father was said to be Zeus,[189] but there is no hint of this in the hymn. The truth is that originally Persephone was fatherless. So was Demeter. It was her mother Rhea who gave her her name and conveyed to her the promise to found mysteries in her honour.[190] Similarly, at Eleusis it is the queen who invites her into the palace and entertains her.[191] The background of the myth is matriarchal. By this I do not mean that the marriage itself is a late accretion, only its form. The Eleusinian Mysteries included a sacred marriage, enacted by the hierophant and high-priestess.[192] Details are lacking. In the Phrygian mysteries of Sabazios, derived probably from those of the Hittite mother-goddess, the priestess slipped a gold snake down through her vestments to the ground—the 'god through the bosom'.[193] This gives us the genuine matriarchal form of the ceremony, except that originally, we must suppose, it was not enacted with a gold

[187] Hsch. δαμάτριον, Paus. 2. 35. 5, S. *OC.* 683–5. The hyacinth was believed to promote puberty: Plin. *NH.* 21. 170.

[188] S. *OC.* 683–5.

[189] Hes. *Th.* 912–3.

[190] Hom. *H.* 2. 122, 459–69.

[191] Hom. *H.* 2. 169–230. The kernel of the Mysteries was probably a matriarchal palace cult (Deubner 88–91) like those discussed above pp. 124–5, 193.

[192] Aster. *Hom.* 10 = Migne 40. 323, Ps. Orig. *Philos.* 5. 1 = Cruice 170, Clem. *Pr.* 2. 13. The women's rite in the cult of Demeter at Sikyon was enacted in a 'bridal chamber': Paus. 2. 11. 3.

[193] Clem. *Pr.* 2. 14. Some cults of Persephone seem to have included a rite of this kind: Head 476.

snake in a temple but in one of those prehistoric cave sanctuaries in which real snakes abound.

Hekate overheard the girl's cries but did not actually see the rape. She was in her cave at the time—invisible.[194] She appeared, torch in hand, nine days later.[195] During the interval Demeter had been searching for her daughter and crying at the crossroads (p. 131). These nine days, when Hekate was invisible and Demeter on her wanderings, are the period of the dying moon, the last third of the month, the time for the crossroad ritual.[196] And Persephone remained in the nether world for a third of the year.[197] It seems that Epicharmos was not far from the truth when he identified Persephone with the moon.

In the neolithic age there was no solar calendar. This was a much later invention, presupposing a well-organised priesthood and an official cycle of agrarian festivals.[198] Even in historical Greece the clan cults, devoted to the ancestors, retained their lunar basis (pp. 112, 125), and when we go back to Hesiod we find the life of the peasantry regulated almost exclusively by the moon. The annual storing of the seed-corn had been grafted on a more primitive observance which was not annual but monthly.[199]

Why did Demeter mourn and search for Persephone? In the circumstances created by the myth her behaviour is so natural that the question may seem superfluous. But in these matters the questions that most need to be asked are precisely those which the story takes for granted. The answer is to be found, I believe, in what has been recorded of the Mohawks of North America:

> When a young woman finds herself come to a state of maturity, she retires to conceal herself with as much care as a criminal would take to keep out of the reach of justice; and when her mother or any other female relative

[194] Hom *H.* 2. 25. [195] Hom. *H.* 2. 51–2.

[196] In western forms of the Thesmophoria the period of abstinence imposed on the women was nine days: Ov. *Met.* 10. 431–5, cf. D.S. 5. 4, Orph. fr. 47.

[197] Hom. *H.* 2. 398–400. [198] Nilsson PT 173, 231–2.

[199] The change was assisted by the fact that the early Greeks recognised only three seasons (Nilsson PT 71–2); or perhaps we should say that the three seasons were modelled on the three enneads.

notices her absence, she will inform her female neighbours, and all will begin to search for the missing one. They are sometimes three or four days without finding her, all of which she passes in abstinence, and I really believe she would rather die than show herself before they find out.[200]

Lastly, before leaving her house of death Persephone was induced to eat a pomegranate seed.[201] We have learnt what this means. Thereby she condemned herself to a periodical return. In the story as we have it this is an annual period of four months, but originally it was the menstrual period of the dying moon.

Who then is Persephone? Is she a moon-goddess, as Roscher maintained? Is she a corn-maiden, as Cornford proved? Is she a queen of the dead, as she was to her ancient worshippers? She is all these—'goddess and maiden and queen'—but she is also an ordinary young woman, embodying the actual experience of girlhood from the daughters of the palæolithic cave-dwellers, brutish in their looks and filthy in their habits, to the smartly-dressed young ladies that made such a fine show at the Athenian carnivals.

10. *The Female Figurine*

The oldest extant piece of statuary was discovered in an upper palæolithic loess deposit in Lower Austria. It is carved in soft oolite limestone, eleven centimetres high, and represents a nude woman with the arms folded across the breasts. It is known as the Venus of Willendorf. To those who have admired the Venus of Milo in the Louvre the title may seem inapposite. This palæolithic Venus is fat, thick-hipped, heavy-breasted. She was painted with red ochre.[202]

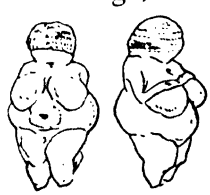


FIG. 16.
Venus of Willendorf: palæolithic figurine

These female figurines have turned up in hundreds among the neolithic and chalcolithic deposits of Central Europe, the Mediterranean region, and the Near East. They are usually made of baked clay (terracotta) but sometimes carved in stone. Male figures

[200] D. Cameron quoted by Briffault 2. 369. [201] Hom. *H.* 2. 371–4.
[202] Macalister 1. 447, Burkitt P 222: fig. 16.

occur, though they are less common than females, and also models of animals.

In Phase I of the Danubian culture a small quantity of female figurines have been found. In Phase II they are abundant. In Phase III they disappear. Phase III is marked by the development of stock-breeding and warfare (p. 34).[203] If these changes were accompanied by a decline in the status of women, as they normally are, that would account for the disappearance of the female figurines.[204]

The Gumelnita culture of Rumania is rich in ritual remains. Phase I includes a large number of well-modelled clay figurines, all female. They continue into Phase II, but males too are now represented, together with clay phalli. Above the Gumelnita deposits lies a later culture, distinguished by flint arrow-heads and battle-axes. In this there are no female figurines.[205]



FIG. 17. *Thessalian figurine: terracotta from Sesklo*

A similar sequence has been established in neolithic Thessaly:

> In general all the earlier figurines are well made of refined clay, usually polished and in some cases painted in the red-on-white style or something akin to it. The majority of the human figurines are female; a few are male. . . . Most of the early female types are very corpulent, with anatomical details greatly exaggerated. . . . They are represented standing or sitting, sometimes with one foot under the body. The arms are extended beside the hips, folded across the body, or support the breasts.[206]

In the Dimini culture (Thessalian II) figurines are still found, in stone as well as clay, and two new types appear—a seated woman with a baby in her arms, and a seated man, ithyphallic, with his hands on his knees. There are also models of cattle. But the Dimini figurines are less plentiful than those of the preceding period, and inferior in execution. This deterioration continues in Thessalian III, and after that they disappear.[207]

The Minoan figurines have been described by Evans. Fragments of male figures have been found, but the great majority are female. The commonest type, which has its nearest parallels in Anatolia, is short, stumpy, and steatopygous. Evans adds:

[203] Childe DEC 99–108. [204] *Ib.* 108. [205] *Ib.* 126–9.
[206] Hansen 43–4. [207] *Ib.* 68–71, 91: fig. 17.

This evidence points to the existence already in the neolithic age, both on the Ægean and Anatolian side, of related families of squatting or seated female figures formed of clay and of obese or steatopygous proportions. The appearance of one of the stone offshoots of this family as far east as the middle Euphrates is a phenomenon of the greatest interest in connection with the diffusion of a parallel group of female figures through a wide Semitic region and even to the seats of the Anau culture in southern Turkestan. . . . Among the earliest known examples of this oriental class are the clay figurines, identified with the Babylonian mother-goddess, found at Nippur and dated about 2700 B.C.[208]



FIG. 18. *Minoan figurine: terracotta from Knossos*

Thus, while the figurines of S.E. Europe and S.W. Asia developed to some extent under Babylonian influence, it is clear that the image of the Babylonian mother-goddess herself had evolved from the same origin. There is consequently no reason for postulating a Babylonian origin for the actual cult, which is characteristic of the whole domain.

'In Crete itself', Evans goes on, 'it is impossible to dissociate these primitive images from those that appear in the shrines and sanctuaries of the great mother-goddess.'[209] In Greece too throughout the neolithic and chalcolithic periods we find these female figurines in abundance, and, since the Greek goddesses of historical times have admitted affinities with the Minoan, we are obliged to infer that they go back to the same neolithic prototype.

During his excavations at Mycenæ—the first to be undertaken on this site—Schliemann discovered, mostly in tombs, a large quantity of female figurines. They are so crudely

[208] A. J. Evans PM 1. 45, 51. [209] *Ib.* 1. 52.

modelled that he mistook them for cow's heads, which he interpreted as symbols of the 'cow-faced' Hera.[210] This was an error, but there is no reason to doubt that they represented Hera. A temple of the same goddess at the mouth of the Sele in southern Italy has yielded over 200 terracotta statuettes of a female figure.[211] They are much later in date and quite different in style from the Mycenean, but they must have been inspired by similar motives, and there can be no question that they are effigies of the goddess. One of their commonest attributes is a basket of pomegranates held in the hand. Archaic figurines have also been found at Heraia near Corinth and in the temple of Artemis at Sparta.[212]

It is agreed that these objects were intended somehow to promote fertility. So much indeed is in some specimens obvious. But there the problem has been left. In attempting to solve it, several considerations must be kept in mind. In the first place, cults involving the use of human effigies are not confined to this region of the world nor to the past. Secondly, since the remains present a continuous series from Late Palæolithic to the Iron Age, we must be prepared to find that they served different purposes at different times. Between the first and last of them lies almost the whole history of magic. Thirdly, the circumstances of discovery demand attention. Most were found in tombs; many of the later examples must have been votive offerings, some being perforated for suspension. In some cases too the postures and gestures are obviously intended to be significant. And lastly, the sequence revealed in the stratified cultures of the Danube, Gumelnita, and Thessaly suggests that they should be studied against the background of the primitive agricultural matriarchate.

A number of female figurines, modelled in clay, with exaggerated sex-marks, have been recovered from neolithic deposits in Japan.[213] Female statuettes, carved in wood and highly stylised, have been found in the Philippine Islands and

[210] Nilsson MMR 260–2. [211] Zanotti-Bianco 244.

[212] Payne P 197–227, Dawkins 145–62.

[213] Matsumoto 58, Adam 111–2. Also on upper palæolithic sites in E. Siberia: De Pradenne 191.

the south-easterly Carolines.[214] In parts of Africa an important part in women's ritual is played by wooden dolls. It is here, where the ritual context is still alive, that we must begin our search.

Savage children, like our own, play with dolls. Among savages, as among ourselves, these playthings are mainly for girls. Playing with dolls, as we can all see, is a rehearsal for motherhood. But it is a much more serious business among savages than it is in a modern nursery. Unfortunately we know very little about it. The male savage does not pay much attention to it—it would be very improper if he did—and the male anthropologist even less. Moreover, even if asked, native women are not likely to reveal to white-skinned university professors the secrets they guard from their own husbands; and the social status of our own women does not encourage them to take up anthropology. The result is that the woman's half of primitive life, which for the study of origins is the more important half, is very poorly documented. Special credit is therefore due to Miss Earthy for her full and frank account of the initiation of girls among the South African Valenge.[215]

Early in spring the local chief issues a proclamation summoning all the girls who have reached puberty during the year to be initiated. The ceremonies that follow last a month. They are superintended by a woman called the *nyambutsi*, who has inherited the office from her mother, and with it the initiatory symbols, which have been handed down in a special basket from mother to daughter for generations. They consist of a drum, a horn, models of the genitalia of both sexes, and male and female wooden dolls, all painted with red ochre. On the first day, when the candidates have assembled, a band of initiated women, led by the *nyambutsi*, perform a nude dance to the beating of the drum, which is a symbol of the womb. Meanwhile, as they watch, the novices are sobbing bitterly, overcome with terror. In the evening, when the dance is over, each girl submits in turn to an operation in which the hymeneal membrane is pierced with the sacred horn. On the succeeding

[214] Boas 69, Adam 125.

[215] Earthy 111–24. On the need for more women in social anthropology see Hambly 284, Ehrenfels 63.

days they receive methodical instruction in the facts of sexual life. It is for this purpose that the dolls are produced from the basket. Together with the genital images they serve as working models of the sexual act. They are treated with great veneration, because they are supposed to be vehicles for the activity of ancestral spirits. During this time the novices are taught a secret language, and are encouraged to steal from one another, which they may do with impunity. On the last morning of the month the dance of the first day is repeated, all the performers being now covered in red ochre. But this time the girls do not weep. They beg the *nyambutsi* to open her basket for the last time, and when she complies they dance round the dolls in delight, clapping their hands and singing:

> Babies elect, babies elect,
> Babies, we greet you because you are beautiful!

All is now over. The *nyambutsi* packs up her treasures, the girls go home and take off their ornaments, which their mothers stow lovingly away in some secret corner of the hut.

Magic is a mimesis—a rehearsal or make-believe; and games are an offshoot of magic. In children's games the make-believe has become an end in itself, but in magic it is directed consciously to a practical object. When a peasant makes a wax image of an enemy and sticks pins into it or melts it over the fire, he is engaged in primitive magic. The Valenge dolls serve the same purpose. Objectively, they are instruments for demonstrating the actual practice, but subjectively the demonstration assumes the character of a magical rehearsal. The magical element cannot be separated from the actual technique; it is simply its subjective aspect. At the end of the demonstration the dolls are no longer man and woman; they have become infants, fulfilling the promise of the demonstration and conveying the further promise that in due course the whole process will repeat itself in real life.[216]

Returning to the figurines, we see from the early preponderance

[216] Himmelheber, quoted by Adam 97, reports from the Ivory Coast that a woman may sometimes be seen carrying a doll on her back 'to bring home to her body that she wants a child like that.' Wax images of the 'Mother' are still dedicated in the Tyrol as a cure for sterility: McKenzie 298.

of females that they cannot have been designed originally for the same object as the Valenge dolls. They go back to the time when the connection between copulation and conception was unknown, as it still is among the lowest savages.[217] The magic for which they were made was directed in the first place to menstruation and parturition, and extended later to initiation, marriage, disease, and death—to every crisis that demanded the infusion of reproductive energy, the renewal of life.

The presence of phalli along with male figures in the later deposits suggests that this stage corresponds to the Valenge ritual. The figures are still made by and for women, but as puppets for demonstrating the sexual act. The third stage, marking the development of anthropomorphic divinities, brings us within range of the Greek data. Being associated with a deity who is imagined as a woman, the effigies become confused and identified with her. The figurine becomes a cult statue.

The earliest Greek figurines are the Cycladic. They occur mostly in tombs, and the characteristic type is a nude woman with the arms crossed beneath the breast.[218] Specimens of this type were imported into Crete, where they have been found in Early Minoan tombs. The Middle and Late Minoan figurines fall into three classes —those found in tombs, votive offerings from sanctuaries, and cult idols. In the females the hands are almost invariably held beneath or before the breasts, sometimes with one of them raised. In this they anticipate the so-called 'dancing girls'—bronze statuettes in flounced skirts with one hand against the forehead and the other on the waist—what Nilsson has called



FIG. 19. *Cycladic figurine: marble*

[217] Their ignorance is not surprising when we realise that 'there is no such thing as a virgin among the native tribes of Australia' (Spencer NTNTA 25): see p. 287 n. 182. Even where the process is understood, the sexual act is often regarded simply as the medium through which the woman is impregnated by animal or vegetable spirits: Karsten 427–9.

[218] Nilsson MMR 251: fig. 19.

the 'gesture of benediction'. The same attitude is found in some of the male specimens; in others the hands are placed on either side of the chest.[219]

The Mycenean specimens, also found in tombs and shrines, are divided by Nilsson into three types. In the first the head has a cap, with the hair flowing down the back; the arms are mere projections, like horns—hence Schliemann's mistake. The second is capless and armless. In the third the arms are resting against the breast and sometimes crossed.[220]



FIG. 20. *'The gesture of benediction': bronze from Knossos*

These postures are undoubtedly symbolical. At Aigion there was a cult statue of Eileithyia in which one hand was extended straight forward while the other held up a torch.[221] The same goddess appears in the same posture in a vase-painting of the birth of Athena,[222] and in poetry Artemis is described as holding both hands over a woman in labour.[223] This gesture, as Farnell observed, was supposed to assist childbirth. The reverse sign, for retarding delivery, was to lock the hands by intertwining the fingers.[224] Having established this point, we may infer that the very common sitting or squatting attitude represents the actual moment of delivery. We know that among savages the woman squats or kneels, supported by the midwives, and we have

[219] Nilsson MMR 252–6: fig. 20.
[220] *Ib.* 260–2.
[221] Paus. 7. 23. 6.
[222] Farnell CGS 2. 614.
[223] *AP.* 6. 271.
[224] Ov. *Met.* 9. 292–300, Plin. *NH.* 28. 59, cf. Ant. Lib. 29, *Il.* 19. 119, Paus. 9. 11. 3. Women entered the temple of Juno at Rome with all knots untied: Ov. *F.* 3. 257–8. It is still customary to unfasten knots and locks in a house where a woman is in childbed: Frazer GB—TPS 294–8. Among the Bathonga 'no knot must enter a grave' (Junod LSAT 1. 140)—in order that the dead may be born again.

some archaic Greek statuettes of kneeling women, Eileithyiai or Genetyllides, goddesses of childbirth.[225]

The Jukuns of Nigeria have a rain dance, performed by the king's daughters. It is very simple. The dancer moves her hands alternately and repeatedly from head to hip and hip to head—the 'gesture of benediction'. This parallel is all the more interesting because it is believed that the Jukun priest-kings have historical connections with ancient Egypt.[226] It suggests that the varied attitudes struck by the figurines may have been passing moments in a dance—'the sacred chant of Eileithyia'[227]—and at the same time it confirms the view that such gestures were considered to be as efficacious for the growth of crops as they were for the birth of man. These puppets could render assistance in all the vicissitudes of life, including the last. That is why so many of them have been found in tombs.

There remain the specimens from sanctuaries, which Nilsson classes as votive offerings. This term had better be avoided for the moment, because it prejudges the issue. No doubt many of them, at least in the later deposits, were votives, but not all offerings are votive, and their neolithic antecedents must have belonged to pre-deistic cults in which the very idea of an offering was unknown.[228]

The Greek cave sanctuaries have been prolific in ritual remains, and the nature of the ritual is apparent from the associated traditions—the cave at Amnisos in which Hera gave birth to Eileithyia,[229] the caves in which Rhea gave birth to Zeus,[230] and the ubiquitous caves of the nymphs.[231] Many contain pools or springs. Sacred springs were as plentiful as sacred caves, and they tell the same story—the springs where Rhea was purified after her delivery,[232] the Maiden Springs, the springs in which girls bathed before festivals (p. 224), and the springs consecrated

[225] Earthy 69, 71, Roscoe B (1911) 51, BB 242, BTUP 24, cf. Hutton 233; Farnell CGS 2. 613–4, cf. Hom. *H.* 3. 116–8.

[226] Meek 283, 191, 196, 202, 207.

[227] Call. *Del.* 257, cf. Ov. *Met.* 9. 300–1.

[228] Many sepulchral deposits usually classed as votives are more probably charms: Karsten 244–5, 251–2.

[229] *Od.* 19. 188, Str. 476, Paus. 1. 18. 5.

[230] Paus. 8. 36. 3, Call. *Jov.* 10, cf. A. R. 4. 1130–6.

[231] Roscher LGRM 3. 509–11, 529–34. [232] Paus. 8. 28. 2.

to the nymphs.[233] From time out of mind these places had been the scene of women's mysteries in connection with initiation, menstruation, marriage, childbirth, and hence it is not surprising that they have yielded so many figurines.

As cult properties, the figurines were naturally stored in the sanctuaries, where there was no risk of their being damaged or causing damage through the magic they contained. When the idea of a goddess took shape, they came to be regarded as hers and as deriving their potency from her. Similarly, the women who absorbed their magic by manipulating them believed themselves to be filled with the divinity and so identified with her.[234] By this time the figurines had become something more than puppets. They were regarded indifferently as representations of the goddess herself or of her worshippers. This enables us to understand how they came to be used as offerings.

A votive offering properly so called is made in fulfilment of a vow. You are in a fix, so you promise God that if he will get you out of it you will give him this or that. The payment is frequently made in advance. The votary may flatter himself that this is a mark of faith on his part, but really it belongs to a more primitive stage in the evolution of the custom. In Greece, when the cattle were diseased, the farmers used to make models of oxen and dedicate them in the temples:[235]

> These are my oxen; they helped me raise my crops. They are only made of dough, but take them kindly, Demeter, and vouchsafe in return that my real oxen may live and fill my fields with sheaves.[236]

Why does the deity get such a poor bargain? The offering of a replica in return for the original cannot be explained in terms of propitiation. It belongs to mimetic magic. My enemy prospers,

[233] Roscher LGRM 3. 509–11.

[234] The same process can be followed in the evolution of portrait statues out of images carved from the sacred tree. The image of Artemis Lygodesma was made of her own withy: Paus. 3. 16. 11. The old statue of the Argive Hera was of pear-wood: Paus. 2. 17. 5, cf. Plu. *M.* 303a. The image of Asklepios Agnitas was of *agnos*: Paus. 3. 14. 7. The initial stage is seen in the Corinthian cult of Dionysus, who before a statue was made for him had been worshipped simply as a tree: Paus. 2. 2. 6.

[235] Farnell 2. 579.

[236] *AP.* 6. 40, cf. 55. On the same principle models of parts of the body were dedicated by patients in thanks for their recovery: Rouse 211. Many such objects have been found in Minoan cave sanctuaries: Nilsson MMR 63, 69.

so I make a wax image of him and burn it. My cattle are ailing, so I make models of healthy cattle. This is the point of the whole business.[237] The dedication of the image is, so to speak, an afterthought, prompted by the consideration that being charged with magic it needs to be put away in a safe place.

So with the figurines. As representations of the worshipper they were dedicated by her in order to place her under the goddess's protection. This was done both in times of actual danger, sickness or childbirth, and in times of imaginary danger, such as initiation, marriage, or bereavement. As representations of the goddess, they were an acceptable gift in return for her favours. The interpretation was immaterial. The important thing was the rite itself, the dedication, which had taken the place of the magical act.

In the market-place at Troizen Pausanias saw a row of statues of women and children erected by Athenian women who had been evacuated there during the Persian invasion.[238] In this case the motive was retrospective—gratitude for survival. But we also hear of statues erected to persons absent or missing with the object of ensuring their safe return.[239] Here the idea of magic is still active. In the same way the original purpose behind the practice of erecting statues to the dead was not to perpetuate their memory but to perpetuate their existence in the spirit world.

Throughout Greece it was the custom to dedicate statues of victors in athletic contests and priests and priestesses at the expiry of their office. How the athlete came to be regarded as divine will be considered when we investigate the Olympic Games. The priests and priestesses derived their sanctity directly from their function. The Athenian Arrhephoroi, for example, held office for a year, and on their discharge statues were erected in their honour.[240] These were portraits of the

[237] The oldest example known to me is in the Babylonian *Epic of Creation* 1. 61–5, where Ea sends Apsu to sleep by making a model over which he recites a hypnotic incantation: S. Smith 37.

[238] Paus. 2. 31. 7. [239] Benveniste SMK.

[240] *IG*. 2. 1378–85, 1390–2, 3. 887, 916–8, cf. Paus. 2. 17. 3, 2, 35. 8, 7. 25. 7, Hdt. 2. 143. All the statues on the Athenian acropolis were dedicatory: Paus. 5. 21. 1. The sanctity of these Arrhephoroi appears also in the rule that any gold ornaments they might wear became sacred to the goddess: Harp. ἐρρηφορεῖν.

girls themselves but as representatives of the goddess whose nature they had assimilated through contact with her *sacra*. Greek sculpture never entirely divested itself of these magical associations.

One of the earliest examples of archaic sculpture is a marble statue from Delos. It represents a standing woman, with flowing hair, arms down the sides, and the body draped in a long *chitón*. Beneath it is an inscription:

> Nikandra dedicated me to the goddess who shoots her arrows from afar, Nikandra, the peerless daughter of Deinodikes of Naxos, sister of Deinomeneus, and now the wife of Phraxos.[241]

As the last words show, it was dedicated at marriage. Whom does it represent? Is it Artemis or Nikandra? Perhaps Nikandra herself could not have answered that.

And so at last, in Greece as elsewhere, we reach the final chapter in the long history of the Venus of Willendorf. Strolling one sunny day along the shady banks of the Ilissos, Sokrates and Phaidros came to a shrine of the nymphs, where they saw a number of votive offerings—images and dolls. The Greek for a doll is *kóre*, a 'girl'. The sight was evidently a familiar one, so they merely noted it and passed on.[242] Who had left the dolls there, and why? The answer is given in a dedicatory epigram:

> To thee, Artemis of the Marshes, maid to maid, as is meet, Timarete presents, as bride-to-be, her drum, ball, and headband, her dolls and their dresses. O Daughter of Leto, stretch thine arm over her and bless her and keep her pure and safe from harm![243]

Timarete is going to be married, so it is time to put away childish things. But though only toys they cannot be just thrown away—they must be returned to the goddess to whom they have always properly belonged, because there still clings to them a faint aura from the time when Timarete's remote ancestresses had handled the same symbols, vibrant with the power of renewing life, in the damp moonlit darkness of a palæolithic cavern.

241 *GDI.* 5423. In an epigram attributed to Sappho a statue dedicated in similar circumstances is described expressly as a portrait of the donor: *AP.* 6. 269.

242 Pl. *Phdr.* 229–30.

243 *AP.* 6. 280, cf. 189, 309, *SIG.* 1034, K. M. Elderkin JDA.

VII

SOME MATRIARCHAL DEITIES OF THE ÆGEAN

1. *Demeter*

WHILE the figurines were degenerating into dolls, the matriarchal goddesses who had taken them over from primitive magic were adapting themselves to their new patriarchal environment. The beginnings of this process can be detected in the Late Minoan period.

The standard Minoan burial practice was collective interment in natural caves or tholos tombs.[1] At Mochlos and in the Mesara the graves are grouped in cemeteries, implying the congregation of several kindreds in a single village settlement.[2] Collective burial was also general in the Cyclades, Attica, and the Peloponnese.[3] In the Peloponnese it was exceptionally persistent. One of the sepulchres in the Grave Circle at Mycenæ was in continuous use for two centuries (1450–1250 B.C.) and a family likeness has been recognised in the skeletons.[4] Recent excavations at Malthi (Messenia) have brought to light a Late Helladic village comprising over 300 rooms variously grouped in closely packed houses. It was fortified, and outside the wall, near the main gate, was a large cemetery enclosed by monoliths like the Grave Circle at Mycenæ.[5]

On the other hand, individual interment in jars, stone cists, or clay coffins had already begun in Crete and the Cyclades as far back as the Early Minoan period, and became increasingly common.[6] The jar burials are perhaps a special case, many of them being designed for infants. It is a widespread custom to bury infants in jars either in the house or just outside it with the object of reimpregnating the mother with the spirit of the

[1] Childe DEC 22–3, A. J. Evans PM 1. 70–2, Hall CGBA 44.
[2] Childe DEC 23, Pendlebury 63–5. [3] Childe DEC 50–1, 67.
[4] *Ib.* 76, cf. 209. [5] Valmin SME.
[6] Childe DEC 24, 50–1, A. J. Evans PM 1. 149–50.

dead child.[7] But in general individual interment must be taken as a sign of the disintegration of the clan. It shows that the Minoan and Cycladic cultures were already moving along the road from tribe to state—a process which was subsequently repeated, in different conditions, all over Greece.



FIG. 21. *Trojan face urn*

Of the Minoan tribal system we know at present nothing, but totemic survivals abound. At Praisos there was a taboo on sow's flesh, supported by a tradition that the infant Zeus had been suckled by a sow.[8] The people of this district were Eteokretes or True Cretans[9] —that is, of Minoan stock; and, since the name of Zeus is Indo-European, we may infer that it had been attached by Greek-speaking invaders to an indigenous totemic cult. In other parts of the island Zeus was associated with the goat.[10] On the slopes of Mount Aigaion, the Goat Mountain, which was consecrated to him, there is a natural grotto, the Cave of Psychro, in which a Minoan vase has been

[7] Frödin 437. Among the Valenge 'all infants who are born dead or die under the age of a few months are given a pot burial' (Earthy 153) and 'a water-pot is one of the symbols of the womb' (66). In S. America 'the clay jar in which Indians bury their dead may be taken to represent the womb' (Karsten 34–5); 'the clay vessel is a woman, just as the earth itself from which the clay is obtained is regarded as a woman' (246–7, cf. 251–2). Neolithic pots marked with a female head and breasts have been found in Cyprus (Lang 187) and a woman's head is a characteristic design on the so-called face urns of Anatolia (Childe DEC 41: fig. 21). All this has a bearing on the myth of Pandora, which I hope to discuss in a later volume. On the ritual of pot-making see Karsten 240–1, Briffault 1. 466–7.

[8] Ath. 376a.

[9] Staph. 12=*FHG.* 4. 507.

[10] He was reared on Mount Ida by the nymph Amaltheia, who fed him on goat's milk (Erat. *Cat.* 13. Hyg. *Ast.* 2. 13) out of a cornucopia (Hsch. Ἀμαλθείας κέρας). The livestock of Minoan Crete was mainly pigs and goats (Childe DEC 21).

found decorated with goats and double axes.[11] It would seem that the goat rendered the same service as the sow, because we possess a Minoan seal with the design of a goat giving suck to an infant.[12]



FIG. 22. *Child suckled by goat: Minoan seal*

The characteristic symbols of Minoan religion are the pillar, double axe, and bull's horns, and the most important animals are the serpent, dove, and bull. All these come from Anatolia. The pillar is a stylised form of the sacred tree.[13] The axe must have owed its sanctity in the first place to its use for hewing timber, which in primitive society is women's work.[14] Being used for felling trees, it was associated with the lightning, and so became a rain charm. Later still it became a battle-axe and a sacrificial axe, and in the last capacity its potency was further enhanced by contact with the blood of the sacred bull.[15] Of the animals, the serpent and dove have already been discussed (pp. 114–20, 213). The bull, embodying the reproductive energy of the male, was the deified leader of the herd. Cattle worship, which can be studied among modern pastoral communities, is attested for neolithic Europe by bull figurines discovered among actual bones of cattle.[16]

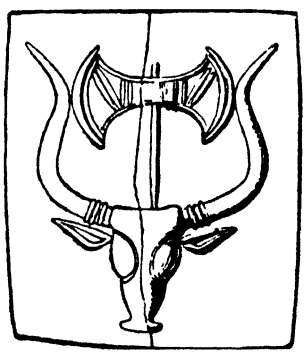


FIG. 23. *Minoan double axe: intaglio from Knossos*

The Minoan mother-goddess was served by priestesses, assisted by male attendants. On a Minoan signet three priestesses are dancing in a meadow. Their breasts are

[11] Glotz CE 252–3, Nilsson MMR 56–8.

[12] A. J. Evans KE 88: fig. 22.

[13] Id. MTPC.

[14] Mason 133. The Minoan double axe is never found in the hands of a male deity: Pendlebury 274. A characteristic motive in the neolithic culture of the Tarn and Garonne is a woman carrying a double axe: Childe DEC 294.

[15] Glotz CE 231–2. [16] Childe DEC 137, Roscoe B (1923) 90.

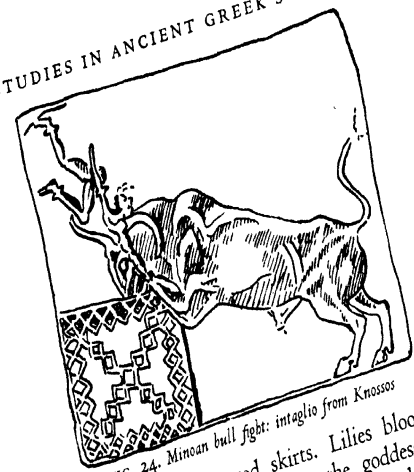


FIG. 24. *Minoan bull fight: intaglio from Knossos*

open and they wear flounced skirts. Lilies bloom beneath their feet. Above, in the distance, the goddess hovers in mid-air; below, as though ascending to meet her, a snake



FIG. 25. *Mycenean cult scene: gold ring from Mycenæ*

rises from the ground.[17] On a gold ring from Mycenæ a priestess bends over an altar in an attitude of lamentation, while another is dancing, with her elbows bent and her hands

17 Glotz CE 249: fig. 71. The fruit trees on one of these gems have been identified as pomegranates: Bossert 327.

just descending to her hips. To the right is a tree, which a male acolyte is bending down for the priestesses to pluck the fruit.[18] At Gournia the goddess is represented in a cult idol as a woman in labour.[19] This is the aspect in which she was worshipped at the Cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos. We may take it that the



FIG. 26. *Dance at a sacred tree: gold ring from Mycenæ*

Greek Eileithyia, whose name is not Indo-European, was descended directly from the Minoan goddess of childbirth. Some scholars have gone further and suggested an etymological connection between Eileithyia and Eleusis.[20]

In confirmation of the Minoan ancestry of Demeter, which



FIG. 27. *Ascension of Demeter: terracotta relief*

has been discussed in Chapter IV, attention may be drawn to some of her cult monuments. In the Louvre there is a terra-cotta relief of Demeter rising from the ground with corn-stalks in her hands and a snake gliding up either arm. Its date

[18] Glotz CE 238: fig. 26. [19] Hawes 11 pl. 10. [20] Nilsson MMR 450–1.

is late, but the type is probably old.[21] In some early statuettes found at Eleusis she wears a tall cylindrical hat like that of the modern Greek *pappás*.[22] These two types have nothing in common with one another, but both recall some Middle and Late Minoan statuettes, in which the goddess or her priestess is represented in a tall hat, flounced skirt, and a bodice open at the breast; the hands are extended, and in one or both there is a snake, while others are coiling round the arms, shoulders, and head.[23] And this Minoan type invites comparison with the traditional concept of the Erinyes as women with snakes in their hair and hands.[24] In Arcadia the goddess was actually worshipped as Demeter Erinys.[25] It would seem that she originated as a particularised form of the Erinyes, to whom she stood in the same sort of relation as Artemis to the nymphs.



FIG. 28. *Pappas type of Demeter: terracotta from Eleusis*



FIG. 29. *Minoan snake priestess: statuette*

Persephone was known at Eleusis as Kore, the Maid; at Andania as Hagne, the Pure Maid.[26] Ariadne, the legendary princess of Knossos, is Cretan Doric for *eriágne*, the Very Pure Maid,[27] and her story—after being carried off by Theseus to Naxos she was ravished by Dionysus, with whom she disappeared

21 Roscher LGRM 2. 1359, cf. A. J. Evans PM 3. 458: fig. 27.

22 Farnell CGS 3. 215: fig. 28.

23 Hall CGBA 127–8, Pendlebury pl. 28. 2. These Minoan statuettes may be compared with a Syrian figurine described by Pritchard 36: 'The nude female figure appears to be holding a serpent in the left hand; another serpent is shown draped about the neck with its head pointing to the genital region.'

24 A. *C.* 1046–8; Roscher LGRM 1. 1331–4.

25 Paus. 8. 25. 4.

26 *SIG.* 736. 34.

27 Hsch. ἀδνόν. The form Ἀριάγνη occurs on vases: Roscher LGRM 1 539. She was also identified with Aphrodite: Plu. *Thes.* 20.

into the mountains[28]—is the rape of Persephone in another form. A third figure of the same type is Britomartis, whose name is one of the few Minoan words that we can understand: it means the 'sweet maid'.[29] Pursued by Minos for nine months, she eluded him by plunging into the sea.[30]



FIG. 30. *Britomartis: intaglio from Lyttos*

The Minoan mother-goddess had a male partner, her son or her consort, or both. The god does not appear in the neolithic age at all. In the Middle and Late Minoan periods his status rises, but he remains subordinate to the last.[31] He stands for the patriarchal principle emerging within the matriarchate. At Knossos he seems to have been identified with the bull. Hence the myth of the Minotaur, loved by Queen Pasiphae, which is perhaps founded on a sacred marriage, the male part

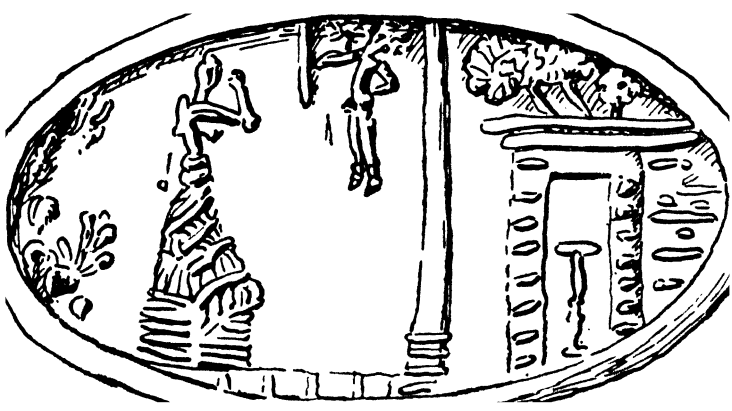


FIG. 31. *Descent of the god: Minoan signet*

[28] D.S. 5. 51. [29] *EM.* Βριτόμαρτις, Solin. 11. 8. She too was identified with Artemis: Hsch. Βριτόμαρτις, Paus. 3. 14. 2. [30] Call. *Dian.* 189–203.
[31] A. J. Evans PM. 4. 46, Glotz CE 252–4, Nilsson MMR 343, Pendelbury 273: fig. 31.

being taken by the king masked in a bull's head.[32] As son, he is the Zeus whom Rhea entrusted to Amaltheia; as consort, he is the Iasion whom Demeter embraced in a ploughed field.[33]



FIG. 32. *Minoan priest: relief from Knossos*

At Eleusis too the sacred marriage led to the birth of a divine child, who appears in myth as Demeter's foster-son, Demophon or Triptolemos.[34] The use of the plough was communicated to mankind by Triptolemos, who had acquired it from Demeter.[35] Thus the appearance of the male in the myth coincides with his intrusion into agriculture (p. 42).

Demeter was of all Greek goddesses the most conservative. The only centre at which her cult developed along new lines was Eleusis, where it became a panhellenic mystical religion; but even there she did not completely



FIG. 33. *Demeter and Triptolemos: Attic cup*

lose her agrarian character, and elsewhere she maintained her ban on the other sex. She was the only mother-goddess to survive intact.

[32] Apld. 3. 1. 2, 3. 15. 8; Cook Z 1. 464–96, 521–5.
[33] *Od.* 5. 125–7. [34] Hom. *H.* 2. 223–49, Apld. 1. 5. 2.
[35] Harrison PSGR 273, cf. Paus. 8. 4. 1.

2. *Athena*

Thucydides says that the earliest settlements in Greece were not established on the coast, like the later ones, but in the interior, where they were safer from pirates.[36] His statement may be illustrated by comparing some of the oldest sites—Thebes, Orchomenos, Athens, Mycenæ—with the Caro-Lelegian settlements at Hermione, Epidauros, and the Messenian Pylos. He also says that in these early times the largest element in the population was the Pelasgoi.[37]

The usual site for one of these early villages was a natural eminence, which, when it expanded into a town, became the citadel or acropolis. Athens is an obvious example. All over Greece—at Athens, Argos, Sparta, Troy, Pergamos, Smyrna, Rhodes, and many other places—we find the acropolis consecrated to Athena.[38] As Aristeides puts it, 'Athena reigns supreme over the summits of all cities'.[39] This of course is an exaggeration. She was not ubiquitous. But the association was so widespread as to form one of her distinctive features, and it must have arisen from the circumstances in which her worship was diffused.

She had deep roots in the Peloponnese. At Aliphera (Arcadia) there was a local legend of her birth.[40] In northern Elis there was a stream called the Larisos, where she was worshipped as Athena Larisaia.[41] She had the same title on the acropolis at Argos, which had been known in early times as Larisa.[42] This was a Pelasgian place-name (p. 172). At Athens her cult must presumably date from the foundation of the city. Its original inhabitants were Pelasgoi, and Kekrops, their king, was her servant. This suggests that she was brought there by her worshippers, the Pelasgoi. From what direction did they come?

The Bœotians preserved the memory of a town called Athens

[36] Th. 1. 7. [37] Th. 1. 3. 2.

[38] Paus. 2. 24. 3. (Argos), 3. 17. 1. (Sparta), *Il.* 6. 88 (Troy), *SIG.* 1007. 40 (Pergamos), Str. 634 (Smyrna), Plb. 9. 27. 7 (Rhodes, Akragas), Paus. 2. 29. 1 (Epidauros), 2. 32. 5 (Troizen), 3. 23. 10 (Epidauros Limera), 3. 26. 5 (Leuktra), 4. 34. 6 (Korone), 6. 21. 6 (Phrixa), 7. 20. 3 (Patrai), 8. 14. 4 (Pheneos), 10. 38. 5 (Amphissa), X. *Hell.* 3. 1. 21 (Skepsis), *GDI.* 345 (Thessalian Larisa).

[39] Aristid. 1. 15. [40] Paus. 8. 26. 6. [41] Paus. 7. 17. 5. [42] Paus. 2. 24. 3.

submerged by the floods that created Lake Kopais. According to Strabo and Pausanias it dated from a time when Kekrops had ruled over Bœotia, implying that the Attic Athens was



FIG. 34. *Athena: Attic vase*

the older;[43] but there is no independent support for this tradition, while the motive for inventing it is obvious. The Athenians did not like to think they owed anything to the stupid Bœotians. Yet it appears they were indebted to them

[43] St. B. Ἀθῆναι, Str. 407, Paus. 9. 24. 2; Meyer GA 2. 1. 277–8.

for Athena. Her epithets Tritogeneia and Alalkomeneis, referring to the tradition that she was born on the banks of the Triton near Alalkomenai, must be extremely old, because they are already divested of their local significance in the Homeric poems.[44] For these reasons we may agree with Meyer that Athena reached Attica from Bœotia.

Entering Bœotia, we are led still further north. In historical times she was the national goddess of the Bœotian League, which worshipped her as Athena Itonia. The epithet points to Itonos in southern Thessaly. There, under the same title, she was the national goddess of the Thessalian League.[45] The Bœotian League went back to the Boiotoi, who occupied Bœotia in the period of the Trojan War. The Thessaloi overran Thessaly in the same period: it was they who drove the Boiotoi into Bœotia. From this it is clear that the cult of Athena Itonia reached Bœotia from southern Thessaly. But, since her cults at Athens and elsewhere date from long before the Trojan War, we cannot suppose that she was introduced into Thessaly by the Thessaloi or Boiotoi. They must have taken her over from the people they found there, and since the Pelasgoi are said to have been more numerous in Thessaly than in any other part of Greece,[46] we may safely conclude that she had belonged in the first place to them.

Along the southern shore of the Gulf of Malis, which divides Thessaly from Bœotia, lie the territories of Lokris Epiknemidia and Lokris Opountia, so called to distinguish them from another settlement of the same people, Lokris Ozolis, on the Gulf of Corinth. The people of Lokris Opountia had a remarkable custom. Every year they used to send two girls to Troy, where they were dedicated to the service of the Trojan Athena.[47] It was explained as an expiation for the sin of Aias, their leader at the Trojan War. During the sack of the city he raped Priam's daughter, Kasandra, who was a priestess of Apollo. This of course is an ætiological invention, in which the truth is inverted. The custom itself implies that

[44] Paus. 9. 33. 7, *Il.* 4. 415, 5. 908 etc.
[45] Paus. 9. 34. 1, 10. 1. 10, Str. 411. Th. 1. 12. 3.
[46] Str. 220–1.
[47] Timae. 66, Plb. 12. 5. 6; Wilhelm I.M. Kretschmer H 256–7.

the Locrian cult of Athena was an offshoot of the Trojan.

In the *Iliad* Athena is the patron goddess of Troy, residing in her temple on the acropolis. But her priestess, Theano, is not a Trojan at all. She is a daughter of Kisseus, who dwelt in Thrace. Strabo says he dwelt in that part of Thrace known later as Macedonia—in the peninsula of Chalkidike, where there was a Mount Kissos and at one time a town of the same name, absorbed in the later Thessalonike (Salonika).[48] This region had been inhabited by Pelasgoi, whose language survived there (p. 171). Kisseus also appears as the eponym of the Kissioi, a tribe located near Sousa in Lower Mesopotamia.[49] Sousa is a far cry from Troy, but the House of Priam had oriental connections. One of the Trojan allies was Memnon, son of Tithonos, the founder of Sousa, whose acropolis was known as the Memnonion; Tithonos was a brother of Priam, and his wife was named Kissia.[50] Hecuba herself is described in the post-Homeric tradition as a daughter of Kisseus.[51] It seems then that there were two branches of the Kissioi, east and west, the latter providing the dynasty of the Homeric Troy.

Memnon was sent to Priam's assistance by one Teutamos, who is described vaguely as a king of Assyria or Asia.[52] The proper names in *-amos* have been investigated by Kretschmer, who has shown that they are characteristically Anatolian.[53] The native name for the Pelasgian Hermes of Imbros (p. 172) was Imbramos.[54] The Pelasgian chiefs allied to Priam—they

[48] *Il.* 11. 222–4, Str. 330. 24, cf. Lyc. 1232 sch.

[49] Hdt. 3. 91. 4, 5. 49. 7, 7. 62. 2, Str. 728. The Kissioi of Sousa were associated with the Medoi (Hdt. 7. 62. 2, 2. 86. 1, 2. 10. 1, Plb. 5. 79. 7) who were traditionally connected with the Caucasus and had at one time been known as Arioi (Hdt. 7. 62. 1); the Kissioi are coupled with the Arioi in A. *C.* 422. The Arioi (Areioi) can be traced further east beyond Hyrcania, where they had a town called Sousia: Arr. *An.* 3. 25. 1.

[50] *Od.* 4. 188–9, *Il.* 11. 1, Str. 728, Simon. 27 Bergk, *Il.* 20. 237, Hdt. 5. 49, 53–4, A. *Per.* 123, fr. 405, D.S. 2, 22. This Kisseus was sometimes identified as the Homeric Kisseus (E. *Hec.* 3 sch. AM) but according to Philochoros (*FHG.* 4. 648) he was the eponym of a 'Phrygian' village or clan. Priam's mother is given in one version as Plakia (Apld. 3. 12. 3), which was a Pelasgian settlement (p. 171).

[51] E. *Hec.* 3, Verg. *A.* 7. 320, 10. 705.

[52] D.S. 2. 22, Io. Ant. 24=*FHG.* 4. 550.

[53] Kretschmer *EGGS* 325.

[54] St. B. Ἴμβρος, Head 261.

came from the Trojan Larisa—were grandsons of Teutamos.[55] The Thessalian Larisa had once been ruled by a Pelasgian king named Teutamidas or Teutamias.[56] And Priam's own name (Priamos) belongs to the same class. All this hangs together. If the Kissioi were Pelasgian, we look for their original home in the Caucasus (p. 173); and there we find a settlement called Kissa,[57] the modern Kisseh, on the coast between Trebizond and Batum. And if their two branches migrated in contrary directions, that explains the myth of Tithonos which the western branch brought into the Ægean: Tithonos was carried off by the Dawn.[58] Were these Kissioi of Troy and Macedonia the Pelasgians who, as suggested in Chapter V (p. 193), introduced the culture characterised by 'Minyan ware'? I have little doubt that this and other questions affecting the Pelasgian immigration could be answered by further analysis of the literary data, mythographical and topographical; but for the moment I am merely concerned to insist that Athena was a goddess of the Pelasgoi.

Kekrops is described as a 'son of the soil', that is, a Pelasgian aborigine. His body ended in a snake's tail.[59] He had three daughters—Aglauros or Agraulos, Herse, and Pandrosos. The etymology of the first is not clear, but Herse, the 'dew', and Pandrosos, 'all-dewy', emanate from the cult of the sacred olive that grew in the Pandroseion adjoining the temple of Athena Polias.[60] Once, when Athena visited Hephaistos in his forge to ask him to manufacture some weapons for her, the fire-god assaulted her, and in the struggle his semen fell on to her leg. The disgusted goddess took a piece of wool (*érion*) and

[55] *Il.* 2. 840–3, Str. 620; Leaf T 198–213.

[56] Apld. 2. 4. 4. The original name of Theophrastos, a native of Lesbos, was Tyrtamos, which Aristotle persuaded him to change because it was so ugly: Str. 618.

[57] Arr. *Ind.* 26. 8. According to Herzfeld 2, Κίσσιοι is derived from Akkadian *Kaššū*, *Kaššē*, cf. Str. 522 Κοσσαῖοι from Aramaic *qussāyē* (mod. *Ba-qsa*), all of which 'presuppose genuine *Kas*, from which the true plural would be *Kasip*, attested by Gk. Κάσπιοι.'

[58] Hom. *H.* 5. 218.

[59] Apld. 3. 14. 1; Roscher LGRM 2. 1019: fig. 35.

[60] Apld. 3. 14. 2, Paus. 1. 2. 6, 1. 27. 2. Sacrifices were offered to Pandrosos and Athena by the ἔφηβοι: *IG.* 2. 481.

wiped it off on to the ground (*chthón*). From it sprang the snake-child Erichthonios, whom Athena entrusted to the daughters of Kekrops (p. 222).[61] This story, in the form in which we have it, is a singularly clumsy concession to the later Athenian doctrine that their goddess was a virgin. The need for inventing it could scarcely have arisen unless the two deities had



FIG. 35. *Athena, Erichthonios and Kekrops: Attic relief*

once been united in some form of sacred marriage. The real mother of the snake-child was the snake-goddess. And this goddess, like the Minoan, was associated with a sacred olive, tended by the daughters of the royal house. Her cult was matriarchal.

Two important events were assigned to the reign of Kekrops. One was the institution of matrimony (p. 142). The other was a dispute between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of the Acropolis. While Athena was planting her sacred olive in the Pandroseion, Poseidon produced with a blow of his trident

[61] Apld. 3. 14. 6.

the sacred well in the precincts of the Erechtheion. Kekrops was asked to arbitrate, and gave his verdict for Athena.[62] Similar stories, always with Poseidon as one of the contestants, were current at Troizen, Argos, and Corinth. He disputed the possession of Troizen with Athena, and eventually agreed to share it.[63] He was opposed at Argos by Hera, who defeated



FIG. 36. *Athena and the daughters of Kekrops: Attic vase*

him.[64] At Corinth, where his rival was Helios, the sun-god, the city itself was awarded to Helios, but Poseidon received the Corinthian Isthmus, where the Isthmian Games were founded in his honour.[65] In another tradition the Games were founded in memory of Melikertes, whose mother, Ino, was a daughter of Kadmos.[66] Megareus, the eponym of Megara, which lies on the Isthmus, was a son of Poseidon from Onchestos, near the Minyan Orchomenos.[67] These traditions were brought from Bœotia, not necessarily by the Kadmeioi or Minyai, but by people who had been in contact with them.

[62] Hdt. 8. 55, Apld. 3. 14. 1. The well, which lay inside the building and was probably an artificial cistern, is said to have contained sea-water (Paus. 1. 26. 5). It may be compared with the Babylonian *apsu* (S. H. Langdon in CAH 1. 399, S. Smith 8) and the χωνευτήριον or θάλασσα in the ἱερόν of the modern Greek church: this is a small subterranean piscina into which is thrown water that has been used for baptism and other ablutions, i.e. the καθάρματα (Antoniadis 10).

[63] Paus. 2. 30. 6. [64] Paus. 2. 15. 5, 2. 22. 4.

[65] Paus. 2. 1. 6. [66] Apld. 3. 4. 3.

[67] Paus. 1. 39. 5, Apld. 3. 15. 8. The Homeric Nisa, assigned to the Boiotoi (*Il.* 2. 508) is perhaps Nisaia, the port of Megara: Allen HCS 57.

In Thessaly we have met Poseidon as the ancestor god of the Tyroidai (p. 191), and still further north he had an ancient cult at Petra near the mouth of the Peneios (p. 201).[68]

Poseidon came from the north. Who brought him to Attica and the Peloponnese? Not the Tyroidai, who did not reach Attica till after the Dorian conquest. Nor the Boiotoi, who also claimed descent from him, because, though they penetrated to the Peloponnese, they have left no trace in Attica. There remain the Lapithai, whose presence is recorded in Attica, Corinthia, and the northern Peloponnese.[69] The Attic Peirithoidai were Lapithai, and Peirithoos was the companion of Theseus, the Athenian national hero. This saga, in its present form, is probably no older than the latter part of the sixth century, when the figure of Theseus was elaborated by Athenian nationalism as a counterpart to the Dorian Herakles.[70] Before that he had been a local hero of Marathon, where the Peirithoidai belonged, and in the *Iliad* we meet him as a comrade-in-arms of Peirithoos and Kaineus in Thessaly.[71] In origin he was a Thessalian Lapith. This solves our problem, because Theseus was intimately associated, not only with Poseidon, whom Pindar and Euripides describe as his father, but with Troizen and the Isthmus.[72]

[68] Pi. *P.* 4. 138.

[69] Augeias of Elis and the Homeric chiefs of the Epeioi (*Il.* 2. 615–24) were Lapithai: D. S. 4. 69, Paus. 5. 1. 11.

[70] Toepffer TP 30–46, P. Weiszäcker in Roscher LGRM 3. 1761, Herter 245, Schefold 65–7.

[71] E. *Held.* 32–7, Hdt. 9. 73, Eph. 37, *Il.* 1. 264–8, Hes. *Sc.* 178–82. The Philaidai of Brauron (p. 121) had Lapith connections. The mother of Philaios was a daughter of the Lapith Koronos (St. B. Φιλαΐδαι), eponym of Koroneia in Thessaly (St. B. Κορώνεια); there was another Koroneia, the modern Koroni, near Brauron (St. B. *l.c.*). Among the personal names current in this clan were Kypselos (Hdt. 6. 34; see p. 201) and Thessalos (Plu. *Per.* 29). The latter also occurs among the Peisistratidai, who may have got it by intermarriage, because Peisistratos came from Philaidai (Plu. *Sol.* 10).

[72] Pi. fr. 243, E. *Hip.* 887, 1167–9 etc., B. 16. 33–6. The 8th of the month was sacred to Theseus and Poseidon: Plu. *Thes.* 36, Procl. *ad* Hes. *Op.* 788. Theseus was born at Troizen and cleared the Isthmus of highwaymen: Apld. 2. 6. 3, 3. 16. 1. One of the early kings of Corinth was Marathon (Paus. 2. 1. 1)—another Lapith connection; and further, a Lapith origin may be assigned to the religious confederacy known as the

Poseidon has two further links with the Lapithai, independent of Theseus and bearing directly on the point at issue. The first comes from Corinth. Potidaia, a Corinthian colony on the Macedonian coast, bears his name, which was presumably chosen by its founder, a son of the tyrant Periandros.[73] Periandros was the son and successor of Kypselos, whose story was told in Chapter V (p. 201). And Kypselos belonged to the Lapith clan of the Kaineidai, who had settled near Corinth at Petra.[74] It may be inferred that they had come from the Thessalian Petra, the seat of Poseidon Petraios. The Corinthian Petra cannot be precisely located, but, if it was east of the city, where the main part of Corinthia lay, it was on the Isthmus. Poseidon's intrusion at Corinth is thus explained. He was brought there by a branch of the Lapithai.

In the Erechtheion, which had belonged originally to Athena (p. 116), there was an altar of Poseidon Erechtheus, symbolising the fusion of the old snake hero with the new god. Beside it was an altar of Boutes, and the walls were adorned with portraits of Boutadai who had served there as priests.[75] Boutes was a son of Poseidon (p. 126), and he had a daughter, Hippodameia, whose wedding with Peirithoos was the occasion of the celebrated fight between the Centaurs and the Lapithai.[76] These Boutadai were another branch of the Lapithai.

In Chapter V it was suggested that the Lapithai were one of the peoples that brought Greek speech into prehistoric Thessaly (p. 197). Now, the Boutadai were the cream of

League of Kalauria. Its centre was the temple of Poseidon on the island of that name, which belonged to Troizen (Eph. 59) and its other members were Hermione, Epidauros, Nauplia, Prasiai, Aigina, Athens, and the Minyan Orchomenos: Str. 374. Hence the sanctity of the number 8? Its Bœotian and Thessalian connections appear also in the tradition that the island had once been called Anthedon or Hypereia: Arist. *ap.* Plu. *M.* 295d, cf. *Il.* 2. 508, 734. Poseidon is said to have taken the island in exchange for Delos from Leto or Apollo: Eph. 59, Paus. 2. 33. 2. This harmonises with the tradition of Carian settlements at Troizen and Epidauros (p. 170).

[73] Nic. Dam. 60.

[74] Hdt. 5. 92β.

[75] Paus. 1. 26. 5, Plu. *M.* 841–3.

[76] D.S. 4. 70, *Il.* 1. 263 sch. V, *Od.* 21. 295–309, Paus. 5. 10. 8, Apld. *Epit.* 1. 21.

the Athenian aristocracy—clannish, old-fashioned, and reactionary (p. 108). The elevation of Theseus to the status of national hero may well have been due to them. Earlier in their career they had captured the cult of Athena Polias, which, in the conditions of aristocratic rule, implies virtual control of the city. If the Athenians were 'hellenised Pelasgoi' (p. 176), the Boutadai must have had a hand in hellenising them. The view that they came of a Greek-speaking stock is thus intrinsically probable.

When the Lapithai first settled in Attica, they were surrounded by alien Pelasgoi, whose culture they assimilated and adapted. But old memories died hard. They were kept alive for generations by the struggle for the land. The aristocrats were as proud of their non-Attic ancestry as they were contemptuous of the common people, the natives, mere 'sons of the soil'. The result was that the democratic movement took the form of a resurgence of these 'sons of the soil', who, as Munro has well said, boldly proclaimed their humble origin as 'a democratic slogan' and 'a protest against the dominance of an alien nobility'.[77]

Having usurped the shrine of Erechtheus, the Boutadai proceeded to affiliate their clan ancestor to the native dynasty (p. 126). Herodotus, our earliest authority for the dispute between Poseidon and Athena, tactfully refrains from expressing an opinion on the merits of the case, but Apollodoros says definitely that Poseidon was the first comer and that Athena only succeeded by the false testimony of Kekrops.[78] This 'son of the soil', then, was a perjurer. Such were the little tricks by which this lordly family legitimised its past.

But what of our Pelasgian Athena? She has been forced to come to terms. She is still mistress of the Acropolis, but only at a price. What that price was can be ascertained from another version of the story. In this version the dispute is settled by a democratic vote of the Athenian people—more democratic, in fact, than any taken under the democracy. In the reign of Kekrops, we are told, women as well as men had the right to vote in the assembly. When the present dispute was submitted to them, the men voted for Poseidon, the women for

[77] Munro 116. [78] Hdt. 8. 55, Apld. 3. 14. 1.

Athena, and the women got a majority of one. The goddess was thus confirmed in possession, but the men retaliated. They excluded the women for ever from the assembly, denied them the title of Athenians, and prohibited the practice of naming children after the mother.[79] The women of this story are the matriarchal Pelasgoi, the men are the patriarchal immigrants. The conflict of cults coincides with the introduction of patrilineal succession, the disfranchisement of the women, and the transition from group-marriage to monogamy. The myth expresses as clearly as a myth can the unity of all human relationships—economic, political, social, sexual.

Changes so far-reaching must have taken a long time. Their effect on Athena must have been equally gradual. It cannot be followed in detail, but we are all acquainted with the final outcome. With her serpent and sacred olive, and her girl priestesses named after the dew, who carry her *sacra* underground and play ball in her honour, the prehistoric Athena is hardly distinguishable from the Minoan mother-goddess, whom we see on signets and intaglios descending to her votaries as they dance among the lilies, pluck her fruit, and twine her serpents in their hair. These features were too deep to be eradicated, but they were overlaid and reinterpreted. She had never been married, because in Pelasgian times there had been no marriage, but in the new age this is taken to mean that she prefers virginity.[80] She had never had a mother, because as mother-goddess she was herself the embodiment of motherhood, but now she becomes the favourite daughter of Zeus the Father, from whose head she sprang fully armed.[81] She remains a patron of weaving, pottery, and the arts,[82] but in addition and above all she becomes a goddess of martial valour, forensic eloquence, and seasoned, temperate judgment—the ideals of the democracy.[83] Her new official aspect appears in all its forbidding splendour in the colossal gold and ivory statue

[79] Varr. *ap.* Aug. *CD.* 18. 9; see p. 142.

[80] A.*E.* 740.

[81] Hes. *Th.* 929 k–m: fig. 37.

[82] Hom. *H.* 5. 7–15, cf. *Il.* 9. 390, *Od.* 7. 110–1, 20. 72. Hence her title Ergane: Paus. 1. 24, 3, 3. 17. 4, 8. 32. 4, 9. 26. 8.

[83] G. Thomson AO 1. 56.

erected by Pheidias in the Parthenon—'a handsome virgin, tall, bright-eyed, wrapped in the ægis, robed to the ankles, a crested helmet on her head, a spear in her hand, and a shield at her feet'.[84] As divine president of the patriarchal state, she



FIG. 37. *Poseidon and Hephaistos at the birth of Athena: Attic vase*

has become as masculine as her sex, determined by her origin, permits. It only remains to add that beneath the shield at her feet there lay curled up unobtrusively a little snake—Erichthonios.[85]

[84] Max. Tyr. 14. 6. [85] Paus. 1. 24. 7, Hyg. *Ast.* 2. 13.

3. *The Ephesian Artemis*

The cult of Artemis at Ephesos was already ancient when the Ionians settled there.[86] If, as is believed, it goes back to the Hittites, it must be at least as old as the thirteenth century.[87] No other Greek cult reveals quite such an unbroken history. For what follows I am indebted to Picard, who has reconstructed it from the Hittite period down to the days when Demetrius made a fortune out of his devotion to Diana of the Ephesians.[88]

It was addressed originally to Leto. She was represented by a wooden image, said to have been found in the swamps of the Kaÿstros,[89] which was hung on a sacred tree. The earliest shrine was simply a courtyard surrounding the tree, beneath which stood a small altar.[90] This was a cult of exactly the same type as those depicted on the Minoan gems (pp. 251–3). In the early archaic period this simple structure expanded into a characteristic Greek temple—a house for the goddess and her statue.[91] The temple was reconstructed several times until it became one of the largest in the Greek world, served by a populous and highly-organised community of priests and priestesses.[92] The annual festival fell in spring and lasted a month.[93] It opened with public sacrifices and dances, which were followed by athletic contests.[94] These differed from others of the same nature—the Olympic Games, for example—in that as late as the sixth century women were permitted to watch them without restriction.[95] The winners were enrolled in a sacred college.[96] The general character of the Ephesian goddess is thus delineated by Picard:

FIG. 38. *Ephesian Artemis: statuette from Ephesos*

[86] Paus. 7. 2. 6. [87] Lethaby ETA. [88] *Acts* 19. 24–7.
[89] Picard EC 13–4. [90] *Ib.* 18–9. [91] *Ib.* 20–1. [92] *Ib.* 28, 104.
[93] *CIG.* 2954. The month was Artemision, which Picard 328 equates with the Attic Thargelion, but it may have been the Attic Mounychion, like the Delian Artemision and Rhodian Artamitios: *SIG.* 974 n. 5.
[94] Picard EC 332.
[95] Th. 3. 104. 3. At Olympia the rule was that girls might watch the Games but not married women (Paus. 5. 6. 7) excepting the priestess of Demeter Chamyne (Paus. 6. 20. 9). [96] Picard EC 340.

The whole realm of nature belonged to her. She presided over the spring blossoms and the fertilisation of the soil. She reigned over the elements, ruled the air and waters. She governed the life of beasts, taming the wild ones and protecting the tame. By turns a benefactress and a dealer of death, healer of sickness and goddess of health, she was also the guide of souls on their journey beyond the grave.[97]



FIG. 39. *Mother-goddess and twins: Attic vase*

In addition, and in defiance of the Homeric poems, which portrayed her as a virgin huntress who abjured male company, she remained to the last a helper of women in childbirth.[98]

The sacred tree marked the spot where she was born. Leto had leant against it when the birth-pangs came upon her.[99] This was the kernel of the cult. Among the temple remains have been found several statuettes of the *kourotróphos* type—a woman nursing an infant. The oldest of them represent simply a mother and child—Leto and Artemis. But in some of the later specimens there are two children.[100] The infant daughter has been joined by an infant son. Artemis eventually took her mother's place, but the Ephesian Apollo never grew up.

Some twenty miles north of Ephesos, near Kolophon, Apollo had a sacred grove called Klaros. On this site too the original cult had been addressed to the mother, Leto, and here again she gave birth to a child, but in

[97] Picard EC 377. [98] Apul. *Met.* 11. 2. [99] Tac. *Ann.* 3. 61.

[100] Picard EC 455–6, 479–81. For other examples of the *kourotróphos* type see Hansen 69 (Thessalian II, 'a woman seated on a four-legged stool holding a baby in her arms'), Nilsson MMR 261 (Mycenean, from Aigina, 'four idols of a woman with a child and one with two children'). Like other goddesses, Artemis was worshipped as Kourotrophos: Farnell CGS 2. 577.

this case it was a son, who eventually became supreme.[101] Why was she succeeded at Ephesos by the daughter, at Klaros by the son? The answer is given by Picard:

> In general Klaros was more resistant than Ephesos to the East and its traditions. . . . A god like Apollo, the celestial ruler of a patriarchal society, would naturally receive a more favourable reception at Kolophon.[102]

The Ephesian Artemis preserved her matriarchal character. She had many oriental features, but these were not simply due to oriental influences.[103] Rather, in admitting those influences she remained true to her origin. Founded by the Hittites at the height of their power, her cult was already, when the Greeks wrested it from the Carians and Leleges, proof against any radical alteration. But, though unable to patriarchalise the cult itself, the Greeks did introduce one innovation which politically was decisive. The sacred colleges included priestesses as well as priests, but there was a rule that no woman might enter the inner shrine on pain of death.[104] The central administration was thus secured under male control. When we remember that these Greeks married Carian women (p. 169), the significance of this rule becomes apparent, and its peremptory character is a tribute to the tenacity of the matriarchal tradition.

The temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta stood in the marshes of the Eurotas. Excavations have brought to light a number of female figurines.[105] The image was said to have been discovered in a bed of withies, and the goddess was named Lygodesma, 'withy-bound'.[106] The parallel with the image at Ephesos is so clear as to suggest that the Spartan Artemis was an offshoot of the Ephesian. The earliest inhabitants of Sparta, we remember, were Leleges (p. 170). It was at this shrine

[101] Picard EC 455–6. [102] *Ib.* 457.

[103] That was in some cases the immediate cause, as when the Magi secured a place in the cult after the Persian conquest: Picard EC 130.

[104] Artem. 4. 4. Similarly, it was a capital offence for married women to be present at the Olympian Games: Paus. 5. 6. 7. It appears that a non-Greek element survived in the Ephesian cult, for Aristophanes speaks of the goddess as being worshipped there by Lydian girls: Ar. *Nu.* 599–600.

[105] Dawkins 145–62.

[106] Paus. 3. 16. 11. Another tradition was that Orestes brought it back from Tauris: Paus. 3. 16. 17.

that the Spartan boys, when they came of age, were subjected to that ordeal of flagellation which has made their national name a byword of austerity. The ceremony was a test of endurance or trial of strength—a typical form of tribal initiation (p. 48). In one feature only was it abnormal. The boys were scourged in the presence of the priestess, who held the sacred



FIG. 40. *Artemis Orthia: ivory from Sparta*

image in her arms.[107] An invariable rule of primitive initiation, enforced by the severest sanctions, is the rigid exclusion of the other sex. The Spartan ordeal had therefore been modified in this vital particular. The presence of a priestess at a rite performed by priests means, as we have learnt from the Khasis (p. 154), that the priestess had once officiated. We have also learnt that the withy (*lýgos*) was one of the plants used for the sake of its supposed effect on menstruation (p. 218). An ordeal of flagellation described as very similar to the Spartan survived at Alea in Arcadia, and there it was performed on

[107] Paus. 3. 16. 11.

women.[108] The scourging of the Spartan boys was done under the eyes of the priestess because it was derived from a rite in which the novices had been girls and the priestess the officiant.[109]

None of the remains on this site antedate the Dorian conquest. This means that the cult was established there by the Dorian settlers, but not that it was indigenous to them. It has always been the concern of conquering peoples to consolidate their position by adopting the cults of the conquered. And as a matter of fact we know where the Spartan Artemis had come from. Her site at Sparta was called Limnaion (*límne* 'marsh'), and the cult had been so named after the village of Limnai on the Messenian frontier, where there was a shrine of Artemis Limnatis, goddess 'of the marshes'.[110]

The meaning of the title Orthia or Orthosia—it occurs in both forms—is unknown. All we can say is that Orthia was a village in Elis, Orthosia a village in Caria.[111] It was not peculiar to Sparta. There are nine recorded cults of Artemis Orthia (Orthosia), all of which except two are in the Peloponnese.[112] Further, from what has just been said it is clear that Artemis Orthia and Artemis Limnatis were virtually the same goddess. There are seven cults of Artemis Limnatis (Limnaia), all of them in the Peloponnese.[113] To these may be added Artemis Stymphalia at the Arcadian lake of that name, and Artemis Alpheaia at Letrinoi (p. 223), which clearly belong to

[108] Paus. 8. 23. 1. In some cults of Demeter, perhaps the Thesmophoria, the women whipped each other with a plant called μόροττον (Hsch. *s.v.*). The underlying motive of these flagellations is clear from a Nandi rite of initiation, in which the novices are beaten with stinging-nettles on the genitals: Hollis NLF 54.

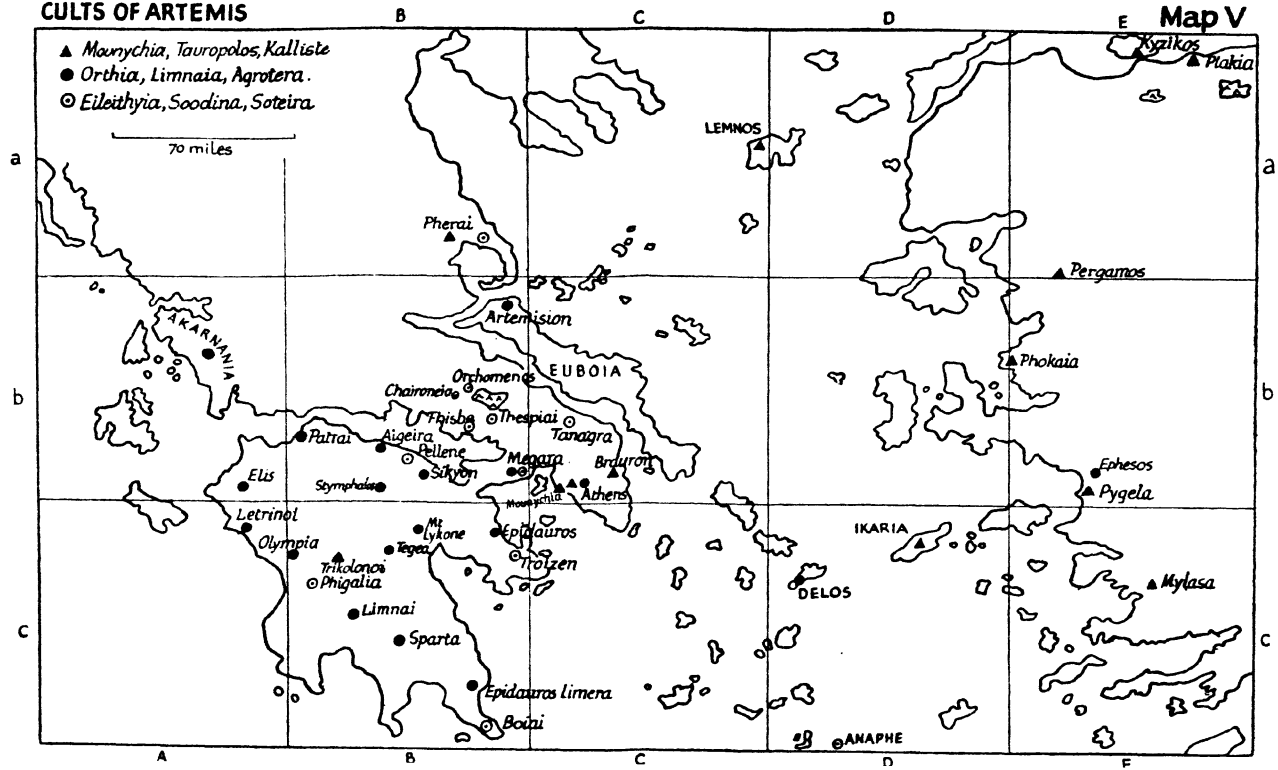
[109] The Artemis Agrotera of Agra near Athens was also connected with initiation; the ἔφηβοι held races and processions in her honour: *IG.* 2. 467–71.

[110] Str. 362, Paus. 3. 16. 7, 4. 4. 2, 4. 31. 3, Tac. *Ann.* 4. 43.

[111] Paus. 5. 16. 6, Str. 650.

[112] Pi. *O.* 3. 54 sch., cf. Paus. 5. 16. 6, Hsch. Ὀρθία (Elis, Arcadia), Paus. 2. 24. 5 (Mt. Lykone near Argos), Farnell CGS 2. 572 (Epidauros), *CIG.* 1064 (Megara), Pi. *O.* 3. 54 sch. (Athens), Hdt. 4. 87. 2 (Byzantium).

[113] Paus. 2. 7. 6 (Sikyon), 7. 20. 7–8 (Patrai), 8. 5. 11 (Tegea), 4. 31. 3 (Kalamai), 3. 23. 10 (Epidauros Limera), 3. 14. 2. (Sparta, E. of marketplace). In the last-mentioned cult she was also called Artemis Issora, as at Teuthrone (Paus. 3. 25. 4).


CULTS OF ARTEMIS
Map V
▲ Mounychia, Tauropolos, Kalliste
● Orthia, Limnaia, Agrotera.
⊙ Eileithyia, Soodina, Soteira
70 miles
B
C
D
E
a
b
c
A
B
C
D
E
LEMNOS
Kyzikos
Piakia
Pherai
Pergamos
Artemision
AKARNANIA
EUBOIA
Orchomenos
Chaironeia
Thisbe
Thespiai
Tanagra
Phokaia
Patrai
Aigeira
Pellene
Megara
Brauron
Ephesos
Elis
Sikyon
Athens
Pygela
Letrinoi
Mt Lykone
Epidauros
IKARIA
Olympia
Tegea
Troizen
Trikolonoi
Phigalia
DELOS
Mylasa
Limnai
Sparta
Epidauros limera
Boiai
ANAPHE

the same class.[114] There was another Artemis Alpheaia at Olympia.[115] Again, this goddess 'of the marshes' cannot have been very different from Artemis Agrotera, the goddess 'of the wild'. This title occurs at nine sites, of which five are in the Peloponnese.[116] Thus, out of twenty-four centres of Orthia-Limnatis-Agrotera no less than eighteen are in the Peloponnese. Of the remainder, two were at Athens; another at Byzantium, a colony from Megara; two more at Artemision (Euboia) and Phanagoreia, both Ionian colonies; and the sixth in Akarnania. These cults were characteristically Peloponnesian, and that harmonises with the view that they had been introduced from Anatolia by Carians or Leleges.[117]

Outside the Peloponnese Artemis was worshipped chiefly in Bœotia. But her Bœotian titles were different. At Chaironeia she was Soodina, 'saviour from birthpangs';[118] at Thisbe she was Soodina and Soteira, 'saviour'.[119] The latter recurs at Megara, Troizen, and in Laconia and the southern Cyclades.[120] At Chaironeia, Thisbe, Thespiai, and Orchomenos we also find an Artemis Eileithyia.[121] From this we may conclude that in Bœotia the Carian goddess of childbirth merged with the Minoan.

In Thessaly we meet Artemis Soteira at Magnesia, but the typical Thessalian form of the goddess was Enodia, 'of the

[114] Paus. 8. 22. 7, 6. 22. 8.

[115] Paus. 5. 14. 6, Str. 343.

[116] X. *Hell.* 4. 2. 20 (Laconia), Paus. 5. 15. 8 (Olympia), 2. 29. 1 (Epidauros), 1. 41. 3 (Megara), 7. 26. 3 (Aigeira), 1. 19. 6 (Agrai), Lolling AAN 202 (Euboia), *Supp. Epig. Gr.* 1. 213 (Akarnania), *CIG.* 2117 (Phanagoreia).

[117] In some cases from Crete. In several places she was identified with the Cretan Britomartis-Diktynna (p. 255): Paus. 3. 14. 2 (Sparta), 10. 36. 5 (Phokis), E. *Hip.* 145, 1130 (Troizen), Homolle 23 (Delos).

[118] *IG.* 7. 3407.

[119] Schmidt 129, Latischew 357, Farnell CGS 2. 586. Throughout Bœotia she was worshipped at marriage under the title Eukleia: Plu. *Arist.* 30.

[120] Paus. 1. 40. 2, 1. 44. 4, 2. 31. 1, 3. 22. 12, *CIG.* 2481, Legrand 93. Also at Pellene, Megalopolis, Phigalia, and Athens: Paus. 7. 27. 3, 8. 30. 10, 8. 39. 5, Farnell CGS 2. 586.

[121] *CIG.* 1596, Farnell CGS 2. 568, Schmidt 129, Latischew 357. In this form she was identified with Artemis Locheia: Plu. *M.* 659a, cf. *CIG.* 1768, 3562, A. *Su.* 684-5.

crossways',[122] a local form of Artemis-Hekate, related perhaps to the Thracian Brimo and Bendis.[123] Nowhere in Thessaly do we find Orthia or Limnatis or Agrotera. Thus the northward extension of these titles coincides with the limits of the Carian domain (pp. 170–1).

4. *The Brauronian Artemis*

We have now to track this virgin huntress into one of the darkest corners of Greek religion.

The progenitor of the Arcadians was Arkas, the 'bear-man' (*árktos*). Shortly before his birth his mother, a companion of Artemis, had been changed into a bear.[124] Her name was Kallisto, Megisto, or Themisto. These were properly titles of Artemis herself.[125] At Brauron, on the Attic coast, was a temple of Artemis Brauronia. Here, before marriage, the girls, clad in saffron, performed a bear dance.[126] Another incident in the festival was the sacrifice of a goat. Once upon a time, after killing a bear, the people had been afflicted by the goddess with a plague, and in the hope of appeasing her one of them sacrificed to her a goat which he had dressed up in his daughter's clothes.[127]

The Arcadian myth, the expectant mother turned into a bear, is explained by the Attic ritual, the bear dance of intending brides. But in the ritual there are two details not covered by the myth—the sacrifice of a goat and the pretended sacrifice of a girl. The goat, we may suppose, was a substitute for a bear. This would imply that the ritual was derived from an earlier period, or from a foreign country, in which bears were easier to come by than they were in historical Attica. But what about the girl? We have heard already the story of the Athenian children molested by Lemnian Pelasgoi (p. 175).

122 Stählin 54, 71, 107, *Supp. Epig. Gr.* 3. 485.

123 Head 307–8, Lyc. 1176–80, Hsch. Βενδῖς, App. *BC.* 4. 105, E. *Io* 1048.

124 Apld. 3. 8. 2, Paus. 1. 25. 1, 8. 3. 6–7, Erat. *Cat.* 1, Hyg. *F.* 155, 176–7. Similar totemic myths attached to the birth of Apollo (p. 156).

125 Müller PMW 73–6, Farnell CGS 2. 435. She was worshipped as Kalliste at Athens and Trikolonoi: Paus. 1. 29. 2, 8. 35. 8.

126 Ar. *Ly.* 645 sch., Harp. ἀρκτεῦσαι.

127 Hsch. Βραυρωνία ἑορτή, Eust. *ad Il.* 331. 26, Suid. Ἔμβαρός εἰμι.

In another tradition the Pelasgoi are accused of raiding the coast at Brauron, kidnapping Attic girls, and shipping them to Lemnos.[128] What did they want with them there? The people of Lemnos, we are told, worshipped a 'great goddess', to whom girls were immolated.[129] Murder will out.

When the fleet of a thousand ships assembled at Aulis, it was held up by storms, which the prophet interpreted to mean that Artemis was angry and could only be placated by sacrificing the king's daughter. So Agamemnon prepared to slaughter Iphigeneia, who was clad in saffron, but at the last minute she was spirited away and replaced at the altar by a hind or a bull or a bear.[130] She was carried overseas to Tauris, the Crimea, whose king, named Thoas, was in the habit of sacrificing to Artemis every stranger that landed on his shores. There she became the priestess of the goddess. Many years afterwards her brother, Orestes, arrived, in exile for the murder of his mother. The king handed him over for sacrifice, but, discovering his identity, Iphigeneia disguised him in the sacred vestments of the goddess and on the pretext of taking the image down to the sea to wash it embarked with him on his ship and sailed safe home.[131] Let us return to Lemnos. When the Lemnian women murdered their menfolk, Hypsipyle spared her father (p. 175). His name was Thoas. She rescued him by dressing him in the vestments of Dionysus and conveying him to the shore. There they took ship and sailed away to Tauris, where he became king.[132]

The history of this bear-goddess is now plain. She belonged to the Pelasgoi, who brought her to Arcadia from Attica, to Attica from Lemnos, and ultimately from the far shores of the Black Sea. That being so, she must have reached the Ægean by

[128] Hdt. 4. 145, Plu. *M.* 247a, *Il.* 1. 594 sch. A.

[129] St. B. Λῆμνος, Phot. μεγάλην θεόν, Hsch. μεγάλη θεός.

[130] Procl. *Chr.* 1. 2=Kinkel 19, A. *A.* 249, E. *IA.* 87–98, 358–60, 1541–89, Apld. *Epit.* 3. 21–3, Lyc. 186 sch.

[131] E. *IT.* 28–41, Hdt. 4. 103. 1, Apld. *Epit.* 3. 23. According to Euripides the image was brought from Tauris to Athens and removed from there to Halai near Brauron: E. *IT.* 89–91, 1446–67, cf. Paus. 1. 23. 7. In other versions it is taken to Laodikeia (Cappadocia) or Sousa: Paus. 3. 16. 8, 8. 45. 3. All these variants are in keeping with the view that the myth was Pelasgian.

[132] Hyg. *F.* 15, cf. 120.

way of the Propontis. This was one of the districts in which Pelasgian speech survived (p. 171), and here we find a Bear Mountain—the hill on which Kyzikos was built.[133] The Caucasian origin of the Pelasgoi is thus confirmed, and other scraps of evidence now fall into place. The Kaukones, whom we traced in Elis, the Troad, and Paphlagonia (p. 171), bear the Caucasian name; and in Chios, also occupied by Pelasgoi, there was a village Kaukasa with a cult of Artemis Kaukasis—the Caucasian Artemis.[134]

The bear dance of Brauron was the initiation rite of a bear clan in which one of the novices, incarnating the totem, was put to death. Human sacrifice at initiation occurs sporadically in modern tribes.[135] But the same goddess had other sacred animals beside the bear. One of these was the bull, after which she was named Tauro or Tauropolos. This title occurs in Attica, Lemnos, and Cappadocia,[136] and of course it is implied in the name of Tauris itself, her original home.

If the Artemis of Brauron was Pelasgian, we must consider in what relationship she stood to Athena. We look for some point of contact between the two cults. It turns up at Troy. Those Locrian girls who were sent to serve the Trojan Athena (p. 259) had first of all to undergo an ordeal. They were made to run for their lives. If they managed to reach the sanctuary without being caught, they became priestesses; if not, they were sacrificed to Athena.[137] Again we recognise the 'great goddess' of Lemnos.

It appears, then, that, while the main body of Pelasgoi came overland by Macedonia and Thessaly, another group, smaller and perhaps later, reached Central Greece by sea from Lemnos and the Troad. Athena belongs to the first movement, the bear-and-bull-goddess to the second. Why then was the latter named Artemis? The identification was due presumably to the influence of the great goddess of Ephesos. And perhaps it was

[133] Str. 575, Nic. *Alex.* 6–8.

[134] Hdt. 5. 33. 7, cf. *SIG.* 1014. 20, *IG.* 12. 5. 1078.

[135] Webster 35.

[136] Farnell CGS 2. 569–70. Another of her Anatolian titles was Leukophryene: *SIG.* 558. 12, 561. 26, Str. 647, Tac. *Ann.* 3. 62, cf. Paus. 1. 26. 4, 3. 18. 9. Leukophrys was an old name for Tenedos: Str. 604.

[137] Lyc. 1141 sch.

first made in the Troad. From a fragment of the *Kypria*, one of the lost epics, we learn that, when the daughter of Chryses was captured in the Troad by the Achæans, she was due to be sacrificed to Artemis.[138] Apparently this Trojan Artemis was only another form of the Trojan Athena, and the confusion is explained by the fact that in this area the Pelasgian and Caro-Lelegian domains overlap.

There were other affinities too. The Ephesian Artemis never lost her maternal and lunar associations.[139] The Spartan Artemis had a shrine just outside the town to which male infants were brought by their nurses[140]—a variant of the custom of showing the baby to the moon (p. 216). The Brauronian Artemis was clad in vestments made from the clothes of women in childbed,[141] and she bore the title Mounychia,[142] which undoubtedly refers to the moon.[143] There was a town of this name near Athens, and here her festival fell on the sixteenth of the month of Mounychion (April–May),[144] implying that it was based on the old monthly observance of offering cakes on the night after the full moon (p. 229). Artemis Mounychia reappears at Pherai, Pygela, Kyzikos, and Plakia—all within the Pelasgian domain.[145]

The evolution of Artemis illustrates the truth that the Greek deities are products of a complex process involving the fusion of different cultures. This Pelasgian Artemis cannot be dismissed, any more than Athena, as non-Hellenic. She is pre-Hellenic in the sense that the girls of Brauron had probably been dancing their bear dance before a word of Greek was spoken in that or other Attic villages, but she contributed all the more largely for that reason to the mature Artemis, the goddess who in the most renowned of all the tales of Hellas demanded the blood of Agamemnon's daughter; and she

138 Eust. *ad Il.* 1. 366.

139 Picard EC 368.

140 Ath. 139a, Hsch. Κορυθαλλιστρίαι, Κυριττοί, cf. Plu. *M.* 657e.

141 E. *IT.* 1463–7.

142 Ar. *Ly.* 645 sch.

143 Μουνυχία seems to stand for *μονϝονυχία, an epithet of the moon, as μούνυχες for *μονϝόνυχες, cf. p. 222 n. 114.

144 Plu. *M.* 349f.

145 Call. *Dian.* 259, Str. 639, *CIG.* 3657, Lolling MK 155.

continued to be adored by the young women of Brauron down to the day when the knell rang for this maiden mother to surrender her shrines to the Blessed Virgin. The origins of Hellenism cannot be relegated to the limbo of an impenetrable past in the Balkan highlands or the steppes of the Ukraine. They lie on Greek soil, just beneath the surface.

5. *Hera*

Hera deviates from type even more widely than Athena. She was probably the first to shed her matriarchal character. At Mycenæ, the royal seat of Agamemnon in the Argive plain, she became the national goddess of the Achæan federation that laid siege to Troy and so was exalted at an early date as queen of Olympus and wife of Zeus, the celestial ruler of the new patriarchal world.

In the historical period she was worshipped, especially as goddess of matrimony, in most parts of Greece, but her Argive Heraion never lost its primacy. In the *Iliad* Mycenæ, Argos, and Sparta are the three cities she loves best.[146] The Spartan cult of Hera Argeia was introduced from Argos.[147] The most northerly point at which a shrine of hers is mentioned is Pharygai, on the Gulf of Malis, and it was founded by settlers from Argolis.[148] In Bœotia she had centres in most cities, but her oldest cult in this region seems to have been on Mount Kithairon at the head of the Corinthian Gulf.[149] She was worshipped all round the head of the Gulf—at Corinth, Heraia, and Sikyon.[150] These territories had formed part of the kingdom of Mycenæ.[151] Excavation has proved that the cult at Heraia was derived from the Argive Heraion, and tradition said the same of her two cults at Sikyon.[152] Her temple at

[146] *Il.* 4. 50–2. [147] Paus. 3. 13. 8.

[148] Str. 426. She figures in the myth of the Argonauts as Hera Pelasgis: Apld. 1. 9. 8, A.R. 1. 14.

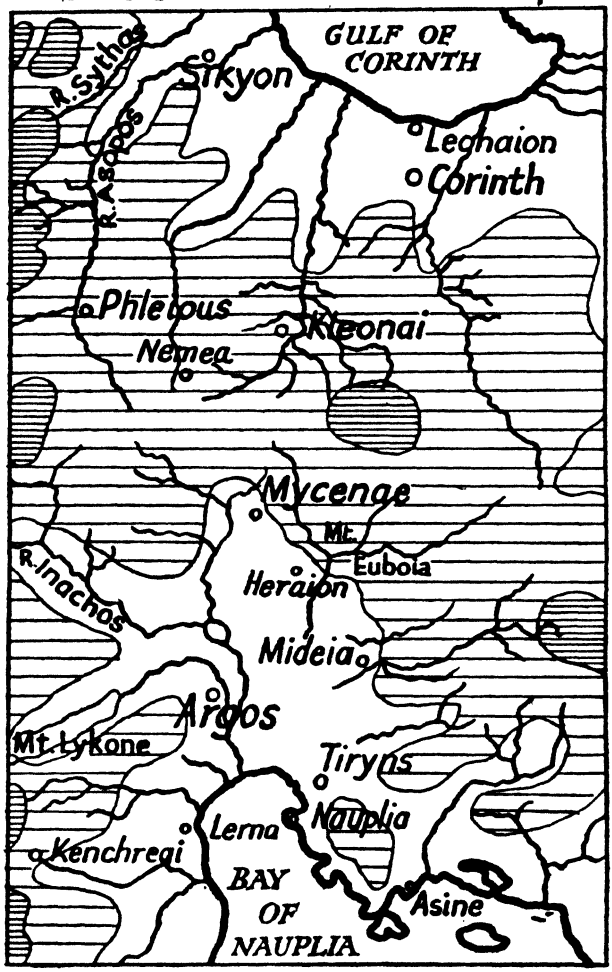
[149] Paus. 9. 2. 7, 9. 9. 3.

[150] Farnell CGS 1. 248.

[151] See p. 394.

[152] Payne P 22; Paus. 2. 11. 1–2, Pi. *N.* 9. 30 sch. The kings of Sikyon had been vassals of Agamemnon: Paus. 2. 6. 7. Her festival at Aigina was introduced by settlers from Argos: Pi. *P.* 8. 113 sch.

THE ARGIVE PLAIN Map VI



Olympia, the oldest on the site, cannot be dissociated from the tradition that the Games were founded by the Argive Herakles.[153] At Athens she is inconspicuous, and had no shrine on the Acropolis. In Euboia her myth and ritual are almost a replica of the Argive.[154]

If the focus of her worship on the mainland was the Argive Heraion, it follows almost of necessity that she must have reached the Argive plain from overseas. Her oldest image in the Heraion, made of pear-wood, had been brought there from Tiryns.[155] Tiryns was only a couple of miles from Nauplia, where there was a cult of Hera Parthenos,[156] and Nauplia, with its fine natural harbour, must have been the principal port of call for Minoan traders. There is another good harbour at Hermione, and here too was a cult of Hera Parthenos, with a tradition that this was where Zeus and Hera landed when they reached Greece from Crete.[157]

In the Ægean there is only one centre with any claim to challenge the Argive Heraion. The worship of Hera at Samos was of acknowledged antiquity, and her temple there was even larger than that of the Ephesian Artemis.[158] Her image was said to have come from Argos, but the Samians denied this and insisted that she was born under the withy-tree in the sanctuary.[159] Samos, like Hermione, was a Carian settlement, and its old name had been Parthenia.[160] Thus the Samian Hera was related to the Hera Parthenos of Hermione and Nauplia, while the legend of her nativity suggests contact with the Carian Artemis.

There is nothing to show that Hera originated in Anatolia,

[153] Pi. *O.* 10. 23–59. The Olympian Hera, like the Argive, wore a bridal veil (G. W. Elderkin 424–5); the Olympian Heraia was founded by Hippodameia, whose bones had been brought from Mideia (Paus. 5. 16. 4, 6. 20. 7), and was probably held in the month of Parthenios (F. M. Cornford in Harrison T 230); and the stream Parthenias near Olympia (Paus. 6. 21. 7) corresponds to the spring of Hera Parthenos at Nauplia (p. 285).

[154] Farnell CGS 1. 253; see p. 285. [155] Paus. 2. 17. 5.

[156] Paus. 2. 38. 2. [157] St. B. Ἑρμιών, cf. Theoc. 15. 64 sch.

[158] Hdt. 3. 60. 1. [159] Paus. 7. 4. 4.

[160] Str. 637. Imbrasos, the stream flowing past the sanctuary, is a Carian name (*SIG.* 46. 57–9 Ἰμβράσσιδος . . . Ἰμβάρσιδος) related probably to the Pelasgian Imbros, Imbramos (p. 172 n. 100).

and the local tradition at Hermione has already beckoned us to Crete. There, at Knossos itself, she was worshipped with Zeus in a sacred marriage,[161] which was doubtless a survival of the Minoan palace cult (p. 255). A short distance from Knossos is the Cave of Amnisos, where she gave birth to Eileithyia.[162] For these reasons we may be sure that Hera is descended from some form or aspect of the Minoan mother-goddess.



FIG. 41. *Zeus and Hera: Attic vase*

The sacred marriage was one of the most widespread features of her worship. In her cult at Plataiai an effigy draped as a bride was escorted to the top of Mount Kithairon.[163] At Athens there was an annual feast celebrating her union with Zeus.[164] In Euboia the nuptials were located on Mount Oche.[165] At Samos she was again represented by an effigy in bridal costume.[166] At Nauplia annual mysteries were enacted at the

[161] D.S. 5. 72; G. W. Elderkin 424–5.

[162] Paus. 1. 18. 5. She was worshipped as Eileithyia at Athens and Argos Roscher LGRM 1. 2091, Hsch. Ειλειθυίας.

[163] Paus. 9. 3. 3–9.

[164] Phot. Ιερὸς γάμος.

[165] St. B. Κάρυστος.

[166] Aug. *CD.* 6. 7, Lact. *Inst.* 1. 17. Pre-nuptial intercourse was permitted in Samos, and there was a local myth of Zeus and Hera uniting in secret: *Il.* 14. 296 sch. A.

spring in which she bathed after marriage to renew her virginity.[167] In this way the local Hera Parthenos was reconciled with the official wife of Zeus. At Hermione the bridegroom is said to have approached her disguised as a cuckoo—a reminiscence of the bird epiphanies characteristic of the Minoan goddess.[168]

The sacred marriage was sometimes represented as a union of bull and cow. That is the meaning of the myth of Io, who, as Jane Harrison and Farnell for once agreed, is Hera's double.[169] Io was a priestess of Hera. It was her father who set up the old pear-wood image at Tiryns.[170] Zeus fell in love with her and forced her father to drive her out of house and home into the water-meadows of Lerna. There she was turned into a cow and put to grass under the hundred eyes of the herdsman Argos, who wore a bull's hide. Then, pursued either by Zeus or his jealous queen, she wandered all over the world, till at last she came to the Egyptian Delta. With a touch of his hand Zeus restored her to her right shape and mind, and by the same touch she conceived a son, Epaphos. After many generations Danaos, a descendant of Epaphos, set sail from Egypt with his daughters, landed at Nauplia, and settled at Argos in his ancestral home.[171]

Such is the story as Æschylus tells it. We see at once that Io has something in common with the daughters of Proitos (pp. 226–8). In Egypt she was identified with Isis, whose sacred animal was the cow.[172] How old this part of the story was is uncertain, but there were other versions in which Egypt does not figure at all. In Euboia it was said that she gave birth to

[167] Paus. 2. 38. 2.

[168] Paus. 2. 36. 1–2; Nilsson MMR 285–94. In the original form, we may suppose, she was approached by the cuckoo as such—a myth of parthenogenesis (p. 243 n. 217, p. 287 n. 182).

[169] Farnell CGS 1. 182, Harrison PHW 74–8.

[170] Apld. 2. 1. 3, Paus. 2. 17. 5, Plu. *Daed.* 10; Roscher LGRM 3. 1754.

[171] A. *Pr.* 672–709, 733–61, 816–41, 872–902, *Su.* 1–18, 305, Paus. 4. 35. 2, Apld. 2. 1. 2.

[172] Apld. 2. 1. 3, D.S. 1. 24–8, Hdt. 2. 41; see p. 379. Just as her voyage to Egypt was influenced by her association with Isis, so her crossing of the Bosporos rests on a confusion with the cow cult of N. W. Anatolia: Arr. fr. 35.

Epaphos in a cave on the shore near Karystos.[173] The prehistoric inhabitants of Euboia were the Abantes, who settled there under the leadership of Abas, an early king of Argos.[174] The name of the island—the isle 'of fair oxen'—is also significant. Not only is it suggestive of Io, but it reminds us that the Argive Heraion stood on the lower slopes of a mountain called Euboia. It is said to have been so called after Hera's nurse.[175] This means that it was originally an epithet of Hera herself. So Io bore her child on the hillside overlooking the temple in which she served. The myth is thus reduced to the initiation of a girl as a priestess who impersonated Hera in a sacred marriage, the male part being taken by a priest got up as a bull.[176] And in this form it corresponds exactly to the myth of the Minotaur. Pasiphae, the wife of Minos, fell in love with a bull, and the craftsman Daidalos constructed a hollow effigy of a cow, which was then covered by the bull with her inside it.[177] The offspring of this ingenious union was the Minotaur, a man with a bull's head. He is the counterpart of Epaphos, whom Æschylus describes as a heifer.[178]



FIG. 42. *The Minotaur: coin from Knossos*

Zeus and Hera were worshipped everywhere as patrons of wedlock, the Olympian couple whose joint benediction was bestowed on the lawful union of man and wife.[179] Farnell argued that this aspect of the two deities was so ancient as to defy further analysis.[180] It is true of course that

[173] St. B. Ἀβαντίς, Κάρυστος. Bull, cow, and calf appear on coins of Karystos: Head 357. Hera retired there after a quarrel with Zeus: Paus. 9. 3. 1.

[174] Pi. *P.* 8. 73 sch.

[175] Paus. 2. 17. 1.

[176] Cook Z 1. 464–96.

[177] D.S. 4. 77, Clem. *Pr.* 4. 51.

[178] A. *Su.* 41.

[179] A. *E.* 214, Ar. *Th.* 973–6 et sch., Suid. τελεία, Poll. 3. 38, *FPG.* 2. 57.

[180] Farnell CGS 1. 199–201. On the strength of this hypothesis he suggested that the Sirens in the hands of the Argive Hera, which are a variant of the Horai or Charites (p. 339), 'may simply denote the fascination of married life' (1. 184).

as a form of the sacred marriage it was essentially nothing more than a ritualisation of the sexual act, which man has inherited from the animals. But of all its forms the matrimonial was the latest. It is only by a convenient licence that we speak of it as a 'marriage' at all. The Greek sacred marriage certainly goes back into the Mycenean period, and beyond it, but not in the form of a union between Zeus and Hera.

If Hera was descended from the Minoan mother-goddess, Zeus cannot have been her original partner, because he is the one member of the Greek pantheon of whom we can say definitely that his name is Indo-European. He was introduced no doubt at a very early date, but he must have taken some time to establish himself. It seems probable that he owed his rise to power to the Achæans, most of whom traced their pedigrees to him, and, as we shall see in Chapter XII, the Achæans belonged to the Late Mycenean period, when the matriarchal structure of Ægean society was undermined. This revolution in the real world precipitated an upheaval in the world of ideas. The old matriarchal myths were subverted. They did not die out, but they were adapted and distorted almost out of recognition. It is to this period that the marriage of Zeus and Hera must be assigned.

If Zeus and Hera had always been the ideal matrimonial couple, we should at least expect to find their union blessed with offspring.[181] But we do not. Zeus has hundreds of children, but Hera is not their mother. Hera has several, but Zeus is not their father. Nor can their married life be described as exemplary. In the *Iliad* their conjugal squabbles are an unfailing source of laughter. From every point of view this ill-assorted Olympian family is a palpable fabrication. Athena is said to have sprung from Zeus's head, but she had once been a typical mother-goddess, who is by definition fatherless. Artemis and Apollo are said to have been begotten by Zeus, but the early shrines of Ephesos and Klaros knew only of a mother. Ares and Hephaistos were sons of Hera before Zeus was claimed as their father, but originally, since the one was a Thracian and the other a Pelasgian, they can have had nothing

[181] Cook WWZ.

to do with either.[182] With the sole exception of Eileithyia, who, since both can be traced to Knossos, seems to have a genuine claim on her reputed mother, all these children are supposititious. As Herodotus remarked, it was Homer and Hesiod who made the Greek theogony:[183] that is to say, it was a product of the epic tradition, which has its roots in the Mycenean period.

As a form of the Minoan mother-goddess, Hera must have had a male consort (p. 255). Who was he?

Herakles and Iphitos were twins, one divine, the other mortal.[184] This was the starting-point of the Herakles saga. It corresponds to the widespread practice of killing one of a pair of twins, rendered necessary by the difficulty of rearing them[185] and excused by the belief that the one killed became immortal.[186] Herakles was born at Thebes, but his mother was a native of the Argive plain, and the Argive plain was the centre of his exploits.[187] His saga was thus located in the two main areas of Mycenean culture,[188] and this implies that it was of Minoan origin. One of its most remarkable features is the hero's relationship with the goddess of his mother's birthplace. It was she who cheated him of his heritage while he was still in the womb and sent serpents to strangle him as soon as he saw the light.[189] It was she who maddened him to murder his wife and children, incited the Amazons to take arms against him, and, when he returned from the ends of the earth with the cattle

[182] Hera gave birth to Ares without the help of Zeus after touching a flower: Ov. *F.* 5. 229–56. As Cook observes, 'we sink here to the same primitive stratum of ideas as that which ascribed the birth of Hebe to a lettuce' (WWZ 367): *Myth. Vat.* 1. 204. For similar parthenogenetic myths among the ancient Irish see Chadwick GL 1. 216, and cf. Roscoe B (1911) 48: 'Women found to be with child unexpectedly might affirm that some flower falling from a plantain which they were digging had caused them to become pregnant.' See further Frazer FOT 2. 372.

[183] Hdt. 2. 53. 2.

[184] Hes. *Sc.* 48–52.

[185] Meek 357.

[186] Frazer GB-MA 1. 267–9.

[187] Apld. 2. 4. 6, 2. 5. 1.

[188] Nilsson MOGM 207.

[189] *Il.* 19. 95–133, Pi. *N.* 1. 33–40, Apld. 2. 4. 5–8.

of Geryon, sent a gadfly across his path which scattered the cattle far and wide.[190] She was his implacable enemy from first to last.

It is a recognised principle of mythological analysis that, when the proper relationship between two concepts has been disturbed, it is liable to be converted into its opposite. Hera's hostility to Herakles 'protests too much', and, when we turn from the literary version of the saga to local traditions, we find memories of something quite different. She had a shrine in Sparta which he built out of gratitude for the help she had given him in his fight with Hippokoon.[191] When he saw her struggling with the giant Porphyrion, he shot her assailant dead.[192] When he journeyed to the Garden of the Hesperides, she was there to greet him, and, when he returned home with the Golden Apples, she was again ready with a welcome for him.[193] In these traditions he is her partner and assistant.

The Greeks tried to resolve this embarrassing contradiction by saying that there were two heroes of the same name—the hairy-armed stalwart from Argos and a mild-eyed young man from Crete, the latter being the older.[194] At Megalopolis there was a statuary group including Demeter and her daughter with this Cretan Herakles at her side.[195] At Mykalessos the same Herakles served Demeter as sacristan.[196] According to the literary tradition the founder of the Olympic Games was the Argive Herakles, but the local priests, who ought to have

[190] E. *HF.* 843–73, Apld. 2. 4. 12, 2. 5. 9–10.

[191] Paus. 3. 15. 9.

[192] Apld. 1. 6. 2.

[193] Gruppe 460–1. These apples, which had been grown for Hera's marriage (Ath. 83c), were probably pomegranates or quinces (p. 219). Apples and quinces were, and are still, used as offerings of love or marriage: Theoc. 2. 120, 3. 10, 5. 88, Verg. *E.* 3. 71, Claud. *EP.* 8, Polites E no. 138, cf. *Skirnismal* 19: 'Eleven apples all of gold here will I give thee, Gerth.' Attic brides were recommended to eat a quince before lying down with the bridegroom: Plu. *M.* 138d.

[194] Hdt. 2. 43–4, Paus. 9. 27. 6–8.

[195] Paus. 8. 31. 3. Herakles was associated with Demeter Eleusinia on Mount Taygetos: Paus. 3. 20. 5.

[196] Paus. 9. 19. 5, 9. 27. 8.

known, said it was the other one from Crete.[197] When Dio Chrysostom was on a country ramble near Olympia, he came across a wayside shrine of Herakles with an old peasant woman sitting beside it. In reply to his questions she explained in broad Doric that she was the keeper of the shrine with the gift of prophecy from the Mother of Gods. The local farmers used to consult her about the welfare of their herds and crops.[198] Joint cults of Herakles and the Mother seem to have been common in the country districts.[199] In these out-of-the-way parts the peasantry continued to worship the hero in his ancient aspect. The only concession they had made to the official view was to transfer him from the Olympian wife of Zeus, who meant very little to them, to a goddess who had preserved her homely, matriarchal character.

Then there is the name itself. Throughout his history, whether Hera's enemy or Demeter's friend, the hero was known by a name which means 'called after Hera'. It has been strangely misconstrued. After analysing at length the Argive and Theban Herakles, without saying a word about the Cretan, Nilsson states that 'the name Herakles is the starting-point for the role of Hera in the Herakles saga'.[200] On this hypothesis, the original choice of the hero's name is an accident; his subsequent association with the goddess is another accident; and their hostility remains a mystery. We do not deserve to solve the problem if we throw away the clue. His name cries aloud to us that he is the mother-goddess's male partner, typifying the status of the sexes in a society in which the son is named after his mother.

[197] Pi *O.* 10. 23–59, Paus. 5. 7. 6–7. Here again he was probably associated with Demeter, whose cult epithet at Olympia was Χαμύνη (Paus. 6. 20. 9, 6. 21. 1), i.e. Χαμαιεύνη (*Il.* 16. 235), in allusion to the tradition that he and his companions used to sleep on beds of olive leaves (Paus. 5. 7. 7): see my AA 115. The two versions may be reconciled on the hypothesis that the cult underlying the Games was founded from Mycenæ at a time when the Argive Herakles retained his matriarchal character.

[198] D.Chr. 1. 61R.

[199] Farnell GHC 129.

[200] Nilsson MOGM 211. The Greeks were quite clear about it: Herakles was named after Hera either because he performed his labours at her instigation or because he had saved her life in the Battle of the Giants: Pi. fr. 291, *EM.* Νεῖλος, cf. Kretschmer MN 122.

The double axe was a symbol of the lightning (p. 251). At Mylasa, the Carian capital, there was a national cult of Zeus Labrandeus, Zeus of the Double Axe. 'Why is it', asks the indefatigable Plutarch, 'that the Carian Zeus is portrayed with an axe in his hand instead of the sceptre or the thunderbolt?' When Herakles killed the Queen of the Amazons, he stripped her of her arms, among them an axe, which he presented to Omphale, the Lydian queen in whose service he was engaged. From her it was handed down as an heirloom to the last of the Herakleidai, who was slain by Arselis of Caria. Arselis took it to Mylasa and placed it in the hand of Zeus.[201] Zeus Labrandeus got his axe from Herakles, who got it from the Hittites.

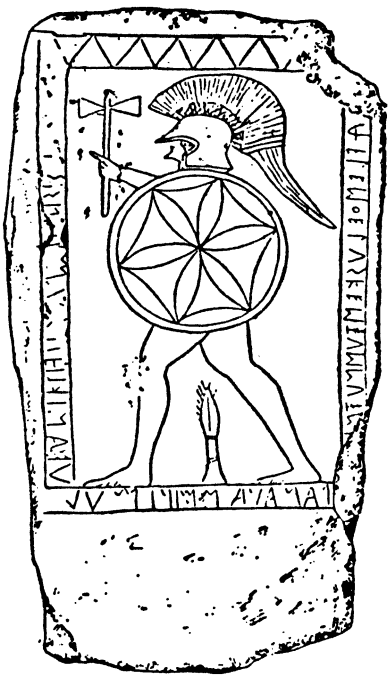


FIG. 43. *Etruscan armour: stele from Vetulonia*

An early Etruscan funerary monument represents a warrior carrying a double axe and wearing on his helmet an enormous crest.[202] The crest was a national characteristic of the Lycians and Carians, who are said to have invented it.[203] Further, the Etruscan Herkle and Unial and the Roman Hercules and Juno stood in exactly the same relationship as we have postulated for the Greek Herakles and Hera. On an archaic Roman bronze we see Jupiter introducing Hercules to Juno. His intention is something more than a reconciliation. That is proved by the male and female genitals lying at their

201 Plu. *M.* 301f. This Lydian Herakles was the same as Sandas, the consort of Kybebe or Kupapa (p. 512): O. Höfer in Roscher LGRM 4. 319–33.

202 R. S. Conway in CAH 4. 392: fig. 43.

203 Hdt. 1. 171. 4; Hall CGBA 136.

feet.[204] It is in fact a sacred marriage. At Roman weddings the bride's girdle was consecrated to Juno, and the knot in it, which



FIG. 44. *Juno and Hercules: Etruscan bronze*

the bridegroom untied on the nuptial couch, was called the *nodus Herculaneus*.[205] This evidence has been cited by Cook, whose

[204] Cook WWZ 374, Roscher LGRM 1. 2259: fig. 44. An Etruscan mirror representing Herakles and Hera, with Zeus and Hebe in the background, carries an inscription *hercle unial clan*, which means 'Herakles son of Hera'; Cook WWZ 416.

[205] Fest. 63.

conclusion is that 'when, at a very early date, the cult of Herakles spread to Italy, the acknowledged partner of Herakles was Hera'.[206] The extant data do not permit us to decide when the Greek myth was recast, but in at least one local cult the hero preserved his marital function. At Kos marriages were solemnised in his temple, and food was offered to him as one of the wedding guests.[207]

That is as far as we can see clearly, but faint signs tempt us still further into the past. The union of Herakles with Hera of Knossos reminds us that Demeter embraced Iasion in a Cretan field.[208] The companions whom Herakles brought with him from Crete to found the Olympic Games were Paionaios, Epimedes, Idas, and Iasios.[209] The first two are merely eponyms of primitive medicine; Idas is named after the Cretan Ida; and Iasios is barely distinguishable from Iasion.[210] This gives us a whole series of reduplications—Herakles-Iasion, Demeter-Persephone, Hera-Eileithyia, Eileithyia-Eleusis. When we are in a better position to investigate Hera and Demeter on their native soil, we may be able to track both down to their origin in the neolithic mother-goddess.

One more question. If Hera divorced Herakles to marry Zeus, who was the original wife of Zeus? Aristotle informs us that the earliest home of the Hellenes was the country round Dodona,[211] where Zeus had a shrine of immemorial antiquity, perhaps his oldest on Greek soil. It is here, if anywhere, that we might hope to find his Indo-European aspect surviving free of Ægean influences. At Dodona, we are told, Hera was called Dione;[212] and Dione, or Dia, is simply the feminine of Zeus (IE **dyēus*). In keeping with the status of the sexes in each case, the patriarchal Indo-European goddess was named after her master, just as the matriarchal Minoan god was named after his mistress: and the fusion of the two cultures in patriarchal Greece was aptly symbolised in the marriage of the matriarchal goddess to the patriarchal god.

206 Cook WWZ 375. 207 Paton 76. 208 *Od.* 5. 125–7. 209 Paus. 5. 7. 6.
210 Picard PPD 357. 211 Arist. *Mete.* 1. 14. 212 *Od.* 3. 91 sch.

6. *Apollo*

This account of the subject is not intended to be exhaustive. One major goddess, Aphrodite, has been omitted. I shall have something to say about her in dealing with the Homeric Helen. The present chapter will be concluded with some observations on Apollo, designed to show how he evolved out of the matriarchal worship of Artemis and Leto.

Some of Apollo's characteristics, such as his connection with



FIG. 45. *Apollo and Artemis: vase from Melos*

the amber trade, point northwards into Central Europe.[213] These may be Indo-European. But in general his affinities lie with S.W. Anatolia and Crete. This has been shown by Nilsson.

> Festivals of Apollo are comparatively rare on the mainland, and he has everywhere usurped older festivals which did not originally belong to him. . . . In contrast to all the other Greek gods, who preferred the time of full moon, Apollo occupied the seventh day of the month, on which all his festivals are celebrated. The agreement with the Babylonian *shabattu* is complete and cannot be accidental. . . . His mother, Leto, originated in S.W. Asia Minor. Personal names compounded with Leto occur only here—an argument of the most convincing kind. Her name is connected by

[213] Krappe AK. It appears that, though Anatolian, Apollo was not indigenous to Lycia (König SX 11) and the name *Apulunas*, referring to a god of gateways (Apollon Agyieus?) has recently been deciphered on a Hittite altar: Nilsson GPR 79, cf. Laroche 80.

philologists with the Carian word *lada*, 'woman'. Her cults in Greece are few and their age uncertain; only in Crete is a festival attributed to her.[214]

Nilsson's results can be carried a stage further in the light of Picard's work at Klaros. We saw how the Madonna of Klaros was supplanted by her son. A similar development may be presumed for the Apollo of other Carian settlements, especially Miletos and Delos. In historical times his cult at Delphi became so influential as to dominate all the others, but even at Delphi it was remembered that the first keepers of his shrine were strangers from Crete.[215] If he reached Delphi from Crete, we may be sure that he reached Crete from Anatolia.

When the Carian Apollo came to Delos, his mother, the Woman, was still strong enough to secure a place there for herself and her daughter.[216] But when he landed under Parnassos, he proclaimed himself simply 'the son of Zeus'.[217] At Delphi, in myth and ritual alike, the mother and sister dropped out.[218] The Delphic Apollo is thus a faithful image of the social changes that had created him. At Ephesos the divine heritage passed from mother to daughter; at Klaros and Delos from mother to son. At Delphi mother and daughter both withdraw, leaving the Son invested with the authority of his almighty Father—a figure so commanding that we almost forget he began life as a baby in the arms of a neolithic figurine.

214 Nilsson MMR 443–4, cf. PTR 366–7, Picard EC 458–9, 463. With Leto 'the woman' cf. *mu-al-li-da-at* (Μύλιττα) 'the woman who bears,' a title of the Babylonian goddess of childbirth: Langdon BEC 217.

215 Hom. *H.* 3. 475–80.

216 His birth was located there: Call. *Del.* 36–58, Simon. 26b Bergk. The Ephesian origin of the Delian cult is indicated by the old name of the island, Ortygia (Ath. 392d), which was the name of the grove in which he was said to have been born at Ephesos (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 61); and its original connection with childbirth and initiation, especially the initiation of girls, appears from Hdt. 4. 34–5, Call. *Del.* 255–7, 296–306, Paus. 1. 18. 5, 8. 21. 3.

217 Hom. *H.* 3. 480

218 Farnell CGS 2. 465.

Part Three

COMMUNISM

And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine.

Leviticus

My field was God's earth. Wherever I ploughed, there was my field. Land was free. It was a thing no man called his own. Labour was the only thing men called their own.

TOLSTOY

VIII

THE LAND

1. *Beginnings of Private Property*

IT is characteristic of hunting peoples that the huntsman does not appropriate his catch but brings it home to be distributed.[1] This rule corresponds to an economy in which, owing to the low level of technique, production and consumption were alike collective.[2] As labour becomes more productive, a man tends to claim for himself and his immediate relatives the wealth he has acquired with his own hands. This is the germ of private property and the family, which ultimately transforms the tribal system into the state. In its initial stages, however, it develops within that system, and even strengthens it by intensifying those co-operative functions on which, as we have seen, the tribe depends. Clan is tied to clan in an intricate network of reciprocal services, in which, animated by a spirit of constructive emulation, they vie with one another for prestige.[3] The man who has acquired a surplus of game or loot signalises his success by inviting another clan to feast with his own. His invitation is a challenge, imposing on his rivals an obligation to return it, if possible with interest, in order to recover their prestige.[4] If the obligation cannot be met, it may be commuted into some form of labour service. And so the clans cease to be equal. Co-operation becomes competition. Meanwhile the same process is beginning to take effect within the clan, which accordingly splits into families.

[1] Spencer NTCA (1904) 609, NTNT 36, A 52, 490, Howitt NTSEA (1904) 756, Malinowski FAA 283–6, Bancroft 1. 118, 417, 506, Rivers KSO 108, Williamson 3. 235, Wollaston 129, Smith and Dale 1. 384, Hobhouse 244, Landtman 7, Buradkar 155.

[2] W. E. Roth 96, 100, Mathew 87, Hollis NLF 24, cf. J. L. Myres in CAH 1. 50.

[3] Morgan AS 96, Spencer NTCA (1904) 164, Hubert 195, Landtman 70.

[4] Bancroft 1. 192, 217, 2. 711, Roscoe B (1911) 6, Frazer TE 3. 262, 300–1, 342–4, 519, 545, Granet 165, 267, Grönbech 2. 8, 87, Hubert 54, 193–6.

Among modern tribes these inherent tendencies towards the growth of property have been sharply stimulated by capitalist exploitation. They mark the extreme point to which individual rights can develop within the tribal system; and consequently, in arguing back to the prehistory of civilised peoples, we must be prepared to find that common ownership persisted to a higher stage. There are many indications, when we turn to our own past, that one of the major factors was the adoption of a pastoral economy. The Latin *pecunia*, from *pecus* 'cattle', tells its own tale, and it is supported by similar etymologies in many other languages.[5] Game is perishable; land is immovable; but livestock is easy to seize, divide, or exchange. Being necessarily nomadic, pastoral tribes are quick to augment their wealth by cattle-raids and war; and since warfare is waged by the men, it reinforces the tendency inherent in this economy (p. 42) for wealth to concentrate in their hands. These hardy, restless tribes plunder one district after another, killing the men and carrying off the women as chattels, until eventually they settle permanently in an agricultural region and subject the natives to regular tribute, which is the first step to reducing them to serfdom.[6] Such was the origin of the Kassites who overran Babylonia, the Hyksos kings of Egypt, and the Achæan pillagers of Minoan Crete.[7] The Indo-European nomads possessed a further asset in the swiftest of all domesticable animals, the horse. Their success in extending their speech so far was not due to any innate superiority but to a peculiar combination of social and historical circumstances, which gave them the opportunity to subdue and assimilate the sedentary agricultural civilisations of the Near East.

[5] Heichelheim 1. 47.

[6] Cf. Roscoe BB (1923) 6–9. The initial stage can be seen in Strabo's account of the Massagetai and other Caucasian nomads, who secured over the sedentary plainspeople the right to overrun and plunder their territory at stated times of the year: Str. 511, cf. 311.

[7] The speech of the Kassites, who conquered Babylonia c. 1710 B.C. and introduced the horse, was largely Indo-European: Hall AHNE 199–203. The Hyksos or 'shepherd kings' who entered Egypt c. 1800 B.C. included Anatolian and Indo-European elements, and the rapidity of their conquest has been attributed to their use of the horse-and-chariot: *ib.* 212–3, Engberg 23, 41–50. This, derived probably from Egypt and Anatolia, appears in Crete in Middle Minoan III: Hall CGBA 84–5.

War demands unitary leadership, and hence in these tribes the kingship is militarised.[8] After a successful campaign the king and his subordinate chiefs are rewarded with the lion's share of the spoils, both chattels and land, and the wealth thus accumulated promotes inequalities that shake the whole fabric of society, beginning at the top.

2. *The Problem of Ownership in Early Greece*

In the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which lavishes a whole chapter on the 'famous victory' of Marathon, the problem of early Greek land-tenure is settled in one sentence:

> The Greeks had long outlived the stage, if it ever existed, when land had been owned in common by the clan and private ownership was unknown.[9]

Is it possible, then, we are prompted to ask, that private property had existed ever since the enclosure of the Garden of Eden? On that point the cautious writer does not commit himself. It is enough to have pushed it back so far that its origin can be comfortably ignored. This is hardly the way to write history.

In the *Iliad* we read of

> two men with measures in their hands quarrelling over boundaries in a common ploughland, contending for equal shares in a small space of ground.[10]

What sort of tenure does this imply? Hardly the same as ours, because the land is described as common. If we want to understand it, we must study it in its context along with all the other data bearing on the subject. This might seem to be elementary commonsense. Yet here again our leading authorities, usually so meticulous, become disconcertingly abrupt. Listen to Nilsson, the greatest living Homeric archæologist:

> It is an old assumption that Homer mentions landed property as communal and that this property was redivided from time to time, but the passage adduced as evidence can be interpreted otherwise. It is uncertain whether the word *eplxynos* signifies 'communal'; it may signify simply 'common', viz. 'of disputed ownership', and the quarrel may be one of the quarrels concerning boundaries common among farmers.[11]

[8] See pp. 328–31.
[9] F. E. Adcock in CAH 4. 42.
[10] *Il.* 12. 421–3.
[11] Nilsson HM 242.

What is meant by this subtle distinction between 'communal' and 'common' and the even subtler equation 'common viz. of disputed ownership'—these are questions that may try the reader's mother-wit as sorely as they have tried mine; and even if he succeeds in answering them, he will still have to ask himself why, if it is the ownership of the land that is in dispute, the parties are engaged in dividing it into equal shares. Further, the 'old assumption' discarded in favour of this cryptic hypothesis is the interpretation given half a century ago by Esmein and deduced from a comparative study of the subject.[12] The 'old assumption' was consequently not an assumption at all but a reasoned argument, which Nilsson has replaced with an entirely unsupported assumption of his own—that the passage can be interpreted out of hand in the light of modern capitalist property relations. This, again, is not the way to write history.

Why are bourgeois historians so shy of private property? They were not always so. The earliest of them—Ferguson, Millar, Adam Smith—were proud of it. They believed that human progress depended on it, as indeed it did. These writers anticipated Marx and Engels in recognising it as the decisive factor in the growth of civilisation. They could not fail to recognise it, because in their day the development of capitalist property, for which they stood, was still being obstructed by remnants of feudalism. How different the bourgeois attitude to property was in those days may be judged from some observations by Sir John Sinclair, an ardent advocate of the Enclosure Acts, in 1795:

> The idea of having lands in common, it has justly been remarked, is to be derived from that barbarous state of society, when men were strangers to any higher occupation than those of hunters or shepherds, or had only just tasted of the advantages to be reaped from the cultivation of the soil.[13]

In contrast to what we read in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, this statement by an unlearned landlord in the days of 'bad King George' is scientifically correct. Of course, the bold assertiveness of the old attitude and the evasive reticence of the new both spring from the bourgeois interest in property. But the

[12] Esmein PFPH. [13] Hammond 12.

world has changed. Owing to the growth of the socialist movement and more recently to the example of the Soviet Union it is no longer feasible to dismiss communism as something prehistoric, and so the subject has become taboo. It would be superfluous to point out which attitude is the more conducive to the discovery of truth.

Marxists are sometimes accused of distorting the facts to fit their principles. The shoe is really on the other foot. It is a habit of the bourgeoisie to charge their opponents with their own delinquencies. The inductive method, which these empiricists profess, serves well enough for certain purposes, so long as it is applied without restriction to the whole range of relevant material, though even then it is inadequate; but when it is confined, as in the present instance, to a small corner of the field, which cannot be understood except in relation to the whole, its effect is merely to preclude the possibility of establishing general conclusions. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the comparative method, without which modern science would not exist, was applied by bourgeois historians with magnificent results; but in recent times, with far more material available, they have abandoned it. Confronted with the growing power of socialism, they have retreated from one after another of the positions which their predecessors gained. If private property came into being, private property will pass away. 'Ah, Faustus, now hast thou but one bare hour to live.' If, on the other hand, its origins can be pushed out of sight, we can shut our eyes a little longer to the shadows that are creeping over it to-day. *O lente, lente currite, noctis equi.* And so the writing of history becomes more and more introverted. It ceases to be a science and becomes an 'art'.

The wilful blindness to which this attitude leads can be seen in the remarks made by Toutain on the problem before us in the *Iliad*:

> Here we have a perfect picture of collective property, says Esmein. Really, one must be the slave of a preconceived idea to interpret the scene in this way. On the contrary, it seems to me that the attitude of the two neighbours bears witness to the existence of private property and to the stubbornness with which each fought for his own portion.[14]

[14] Toutain 14.

That is all—no argument, no reply to Esmein's arguments. Which is the slave? And this blank negative is combined with a denunciation of the comparative method:

> Because in some primitive peoples ownership of the soil has been collective, that is no reason why the same system should have existed uniformly in all primitive peoples. Those who draw this conclusion forget that the character of landownership cannot be independent of the nature of the soil and the climate. . . . In any case, a method which would, in such a matter, draw conclusions from one country to another is in my opinion thoroughly dangerous.[15]

The particular form of land-tenure is determined in each case, not only by soil and climate, but by the whole complex of natural and social conditions. That is the proposition, which Toutain refuses to face. On the other hand, it may be admitted that there is a certain danger in drawing conclusions 'in such a matter' from one country to another on the continent of Europe in its present fluid state.

3. *Primitive Land-tenure*

It is time to enquire into the facts. This will not be easy. The history of primitive land-tenure has yet to be written. In Greece and elsewhere there are many problems still unsolved. The most that can be attempted here is to outline the method which, when pursued with more knowledge than I can command, will lead to their solution.

Let me begin by summarising the results obtained by Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg from their statistical analysis of the ethnological data:

> We may express the whole tendency best by saying that the communal principle predominates in the lower stages of culture and retains a small preponderance among the pastoral peoples, and that private ownership tends to increase in the higher agricultural stages, but partly in association with the communal principle, partly by dependence on the chief, or in some instances by something in the nature of feudal tenure. We seem in fact to get something

[15] *Ib.* 12–3. Contrast Vinogradoff GM 18: 'There seems to be hardly anything more certain in the domain of archaic law than the theory that the soil was originally owned by groups and not by individuals, and that its individual appropriation is the result of a slow process of development.'

of that ambiguity as between signorial and popular ownership that we find at the beginning of our own history. Over and over again, at the stage in which barbarism is beginning to pass into civilisation, the communal, individual, and signorial principles are found interwoven . . . and it seems to be the next stage upwards in civilisation that gives its preponderance to the lord.[16]

Next, to give substance to these generalisations, I propose to quote some typical instances from Africa, Asia, and Europe, beginning with Junod's account of the South African Bathonga.

The Bathonga system dates from before the decimation of their cattle in recent years by disease. It belongs therefore to an economy which was largely dependent on stockbreeding. The plough is now used to some extent, but this is an innovation. The land belongs to the chief, but only in the sense that through him it becomes available to all who need it. Each village headman receives from him an extensive grant of land, the best part of which he apportions among the households under his jurisdiction. These holdings are hereditary but inalienable. Land cannot be bought or sold. Similarly, when a newcomer wishes to settle in the district, the mere act of submission to the chief entitles him to as much land as he wants, which he proceeds to clear and cultivate. It is in the headman's interest to encourage him, because he enhances the value of the land, thereby increasing the wealth and man-power of the district, and besides he is in the habit of rendering certain labour services.[17] Such a system presupposes a land surplus. There is plenty of room for all comers and for shifting cultivation in each district. The Bathonga were just approaching the economic limit of expansion in these conditions when the British poll-tax intervened, forcing their menfolk into the mines.

Turning to India, we find a different and very varied set of conditions, some of which approximate to those that have been postulated for primitive Indo-European culture. In the most fertile areas the soil is difficult to clear and requires irrigation.[18] These factors are unfavourable to shifting tillage.

[16] Hobhouse 253.

[17] Junod LSAT 2. 6–7, cf. Krige 176–7, Smith and Dale 1. 387.

[18] Baden-Powell 51, 66.

One widespread form, the *raiyatwari* type of village commune, is thus described by Baden-Powell:

> In the countries marked by the prevalence of villages of this type we are almost always able to note evidences of a tribal state of society. . . . There were clan divisions of territory containing a number of villages, each under its own headman or chief. . . . Each village group contains a number of household or family holdings. . . . As the headman or chief was always an important personage, it was doubtless by his influence that the site for clearing and settlement was selected. . . . We find that in later times the headman regulated subsequent extensions of cultivation and disposed of disputes about the occupation of fresh lands. When a Raja was (perhaps in still later days) established, it was always understood that there was no appropriation of waste land without his permission, although in practice it was often tacitly allowed and indeed freely encouraged; for the early state authorities were only too glad to see more land cultivated, because the king's revenue share of the produce, which was from very early times his chief resource, was thereby increased. . . . As to the residence of the landholders, a central village site is usually established within the group of arable lands. In this the headman had a residence larger and better built than the others. . . . Instances have occurred where the headman made his house a veritable fort of refuge against marauders. . . . His office was remunerated by an important holding of land, often the best in the village. . . . Besides this he had various privileges and precedence rights.[19]

The writer goes on to describe the status of artisans and the conditions of tenure:

> Resident craftsmen and menials are not paid by the job but are employed by the village on a fixed remuneration, sometimes a bit of rent-free (and perhaps revenue-free) land, sometimes by small payments at harvest, as well as by customary allowances of so many sheaves of corn. . . . The individual holding now passes on the death of the holder to the descendants jointly, under the Hindu law, and they divide it as far as circumstances permit. . . . The headman alone is, or was, responsible for such village expenditure as entertaining guests, celebrating festivals, and the like.[20]

The mode of dividing the holdings may be illustrated from villages of this type in S.W. Bengal. First, there are

[19] Baden-Powell 9–15, cf. Russell 1. 43–4: 'The *patel* or village headman, on whom proprietary right was conferred by the British Government, certainly did not possess it previously; he was simply the spokesman and representative of the village community.' On the imposition of private ownership as a matter of policy by the British in India see Dutt 209–15.

[20] *Ib.* 16–9.

special allotments for privileged persons: one for the chief of the district, another for the headman, and a third for the priest. The remainder of the arable was divided into household estates adjusted to their needs and periodically redistributed.[21] Originally the Raja's income was simply the produce of his special estates (*majhhas*), tilled for him by labourers who were granted rent-free holdings in each village, but in course of time this was supplemented by a general levy on the produce of the village holdings.[22]

The practice of periodical redistribution was designed to maintain so far as possible the real equality of the holdings in relation to the changing needs of the families. It was effected by lot, and in some cases the procedure was very elaborate, as may be seen in the following account from Peshawar:

> The areas were taken by drawing lots. . . . If the land to be allotted was variable in quality, the clan authorities would arrange a number of circles or series, consisting of good, middling, and indifferent soils, or distinguished in some other way. Then the groups of sharers would have to take their lands partly out of each series. . . . But in any case, in spite of the soil classification, inequality in the holdings was not altogether excluded, and so a system of periodical exchange or redistribution was long followed.[23]

4. *The English Village Community*

It was the great achievement of Henry Maine to demonstrate the affinity underlying the village communities of Europe and Asia. A study of the pre-feudal forms of European land-tenure enables us to draw conclusions of great value for ancient Greece. They must of course be used with discretion, but again and again they enable us to make sense of data which being fragmentary are in themselves unintelligible. The promise of this approach was recognised with characteristic acumen by Ridgeway as long ago as 1885, when he published

[21] *Ib.* 179–80, cf. 132, 324–5, Dange 35–8. [22] *Ib.* 181.

[23] *Ib.* 253–5, cf. 262, 324–5. Periodical redistribution survives in parts of the Middle East. See Warriner 18, 66–7, and cf. 19: 'In Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria still another form of semi-collective ownership exists. . . . When the tribe settled originally, the arable land of each village was allotted between members equally, each member receiving a piece of land in different zones of the village; and to maintain equality between the members the land was reallocated at intervals.'

a remarkable article on the Homeric land system. Among classical scholars it aroused very little interest and has never been followed up. The only further advance that has been made in this direction is due to H. E. Seebohm, whose study of primitive land-tenure in general gave him an immediate insight into the Homeric problem.[24] Before availing ourselves of their work we must prepare the ground, as they did, by studying the land system that prevailed in our own country down to the sixteenth century, with numerous later survivals, some of which are not quite obliterated even to-day. In this as in other matters wisdom begins at home.

The typical English village was surrounded by a number of open fields or 'shots', each of which was divided into so many strips belonging to different holdings. The fields were fenced while the crop was growing, but after the harvest they were thrown open to pasture. The meadow-land too was divided into strips, which were distributed annually by lot among the holders of the arable. The waste land was undivided, its use being regulated by the community. The homesteads were managed severally, though in early times even these were subject in some cases to reallotment.[25] In the west of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland there was a different system, known as the run-rig, in which all the land, arable and meadow alike, was subject to annual redistribution. In this respect the run-rig system was the more archaic of the two.[26] It rested directly on the principle that

> the soil was not allotted once for all to individuals but remained in the ownership of the tribal community, while its use for agricultural purposes was apportioned according to certain rules among the component households, strips for cultivation being assigned by lot.[27]

The length of the strip varied according to the lie of the land and the nature of the soil, but it was fixed conventionally at 40 rods, that is, 1 'furrow-long' or furlong, which was as far as the plough could be driven conveniently without a halt. The breadth was determined originally by the number of furrows

[24] Ridgeway HLS, MW, H. E. Seebohm SGTS.
[25] F. Seebohm EVC 105–17, Vinogradoff GM 165–6, 173.
[26] EVC 438–41.
[27] GM 18.

of the given length that could be ploughed in a given time—a day or half a day. Hence the French *journel* and the German *Morgen*, which mean both 'strip' and 'acre'.[28] The English acre is of the same origin. If its length is fixed at 1 furlong, its breadth will be 4 rods, and that was the conventional breadth of the strip.[29]

The standard unit for reckoning the size of a holding was the hide. Its value varied in different districts, but it was commonly reckoned at 120 acres.[30] In Anglo-Saxon times the holding was inalienable.[31] It was inherited by the sons, who either worked it jointly or divided it into equal shares. This is the rule of gavelkind, which survived in Kent.[32] It was not a compact unit. Its component strips were scattered about in the several shots, so that every holder had a share in the different qualities of soil.[33]

The hide is defined by Bede as a holding sufficient for the needs of an average family—*terra unius familiæ*. As Bloch has remarked, he was using this word in the Latin sense:

> Bede's words give us in all probability the key to the institution in its primitive form. But we are not to think of the little matrimonial family of our later ages. Ill-informed as we are about the history of blood relationships in the dawn of our civilisation, there is every reason to think that the group whose original shell was the manse was a patriarchal family of several generations and several collateral households living around a common hearth.[34]

[28] EVC 124–5.

[29] EVC 2. Seebohm's identification of the strip with the acre has been contested by Orwin 43 on the ground that its size varied; but this is equally true of other land measures, such as the bovate, carucate and virgate. Orwin identifies the strip with the 'land', which is produced automatically by a plough fitted with a mouldboard, such as is still commonly used in this country. Even if we accept this view, the dimensions of the 'land' remain to be explained; and it is open to the objection that, while the strip system is found in many parts of Europe and Asia, the use of the mouldboard seems to have been confined to N.W. Europe. The ancient Greek plough had no mouldboard: see figs. 46, 47.

[30] EVC 49–57, GM 141–4.

[31] I refer to peasant tenements, not to large estates. The latter, or rather the rights over them, were fully alienable.

[32] H. E. Seebohm 95, cf. Baden-Powell 417.

[33] Vinogradoff GM 175–7.

[34] Bloch RDC 268. He equates the manse with the hide.

These joint households take us back to the groups of kindred, real or fictitious or partly both, in which the Saxons were organised when they first landed on our shores.[35] Their names are still enshrined in our familiar Tootings, Wokings, Eppings and Hoppings, all based on the patronymic *-ingas*,[36] which implies that the village had been founded by a clan or a group modelled on the clan.[37]

5. *Greek Husbandry*

Greece is a country of winter rains and summer droughts. The annual precipitation rises sharply from low altitudes to high and from south to north. In some districts there is an excess of rainfall, which washes away the humus; in others a deficiency, which can only be made good by irrigation. We know



FIG. 46. *Ploughing: Attic vase*

that irrigation was practised in the prehistoric period, but not on a large scale, owing to the nature of the country, and no important advances are recorded in historical times.[38]

The holding was divided into two portions, which were sown in alternate years.[39] There is no evidence of crop rotation

[35] Chadwick OEP 303.

[36] Vinogradoff GM 140, cf. EVC 346–7.

[37] The evidence of the last two sections shows that Tac. G. 26 should be translated as follows: 'Each community occupies in turn a tract of land proportionate to the number of its cultivators. The land is then distributed according to social status. The spacious plains make distribution easy. The fields are shifted annually, and there is still a surplus of land. They do not even trouble to exploit the fertility and extent of the soil by fruit-growing, enclosing meadows, or irrigation.' This rendering, which implies periodical migration in place of fallowing, is the only one that conforms to the general probabilities of the case without imposing any strain on the Latin, cf. Seebohm EVC 343–4.

[38] On ancient Greek agriculture see A. S. Dorigny in Daremberg-Saglio 4. 902–10, H. Michell 38–88. Michell gives an admirable account of husbandry, but says nothing about land-tenure.

[39] *Il.* 18. 541, Pi. *N.* 6. 9–11, Suid. ἐπὶ καλάμῃ ἀροῦν.

before the fourth century, and since fallowing is not enough to restore the soil, it was supplemented by digging, burning, and manuring.[40] Digging is good for vines on clay soils, but less effective for cereals. Burning is merely a palliative. Manuring is mentioned in the Homeric poems but not in Hesiod.[41] The

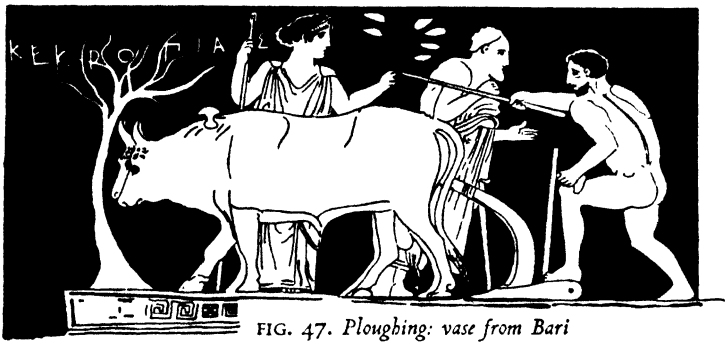


FIG. 47. *Ploughing: vase from Bari*

easiest way of applying manure is to turn the cattle on to the fallow, but this method is recorded only once, in the third century, and in several extant leases it is prohibited.[42] The reason why it was not generally adopted is probably that the lowland pastures, adjacent to the arable, are usually of very poor quality, and the prohibition suggests that the fields were not well enough enclosed to prevent the cattle from straying.

When the fallow land was brought back into cultivation, it was ploughed at least three times. The first ploughing was done in spring with the composite plough (*pekton árotron*) drawn by a pair of oxen.[43] The second took place after harvest, and was done crosswise on the first.[44] On this occasion the simple plough (*autógyon árotron*) was used, preferably with mules, which are quicker than oxen and drive a straighter furrow.[45] The third was done in October, just before the sowing.[46]

The staple cereals were barley and wheat. Barley was the easier and older, and remained the staple food of slaves.[47] It

[40] X. *Oec.* 16. 14–5, 18. 2. [41] *Od.* 17. 299. [42] H. Michell 54.
[43] Hes. *Op.* 432–3, 460, *Od.* 13. 32. [44] Hes. *Op.* 462, Plin. *NH.* 18. 128.
[45] *Il.* 10. 351–3, *Od.* 8. 124, Hes. *Op.* 46.
[46] In Attica, after the feast of Proerosia, held on the 5th of Pyanepsion, the sowing month: Plu. *M.* 378e.
[47] Semple 342–3, G. Thomson AO 2. 109–10.

was sown in October, as soon as the rain set in. Wheat required greater care, because the crop was liable to be ruined at the outset by too much or too little rain, and accordingly it was sown at discretionary intervals throughout the late autumn.[48] The harvest was gathered in May or June according to latitude



FIG. 48. *Olive harvest: Attic vase*

and altitude. Threshing was not done with a flail but by cattle treading out the grain on a cobbled floor. After being tossed and winnowed in the cradle (*líknon*) the grain was heaped in baskets and thrown against the wind, which blew away the chaff.

The backwardness of cereals was due to the nature of the soil, which is much more favourable to horticulture, especially figs, vines, and olives. Figs were used largely for feeding slaves. Olives need very little attention, but since they take several years to mature, growers were exposed to heavy loss from marauding raids and wars.[49] Still, olive and vine were very profitable, as they are to-day. The stable exports of democratic Athens, as of Minoan Knossos, were oil and wine. Deficiency of home-grown cereals was made good by maritime

[48] X.*Oec.* 17. 4, Thphr. *HP.* 8. 6. 1.

[49] Semple 394, 434, Heitland 104.

trade, and it is significant that the best wheat-raising areas—Thessaly, Elis, Laconia—were for a long time politically backward.

In most parts of the country the lowland pastures are suitable only for sheep, goats, and swine. Large cattle graze



FIG. 49. *Country dance: Ionian vase*

throughout the summer in the mountains, and draught cattle have to be stall-fed all through the year. Owing to the scarcity of good grazing land cow's milk is of poor quality, and cheese is made principally from sheep and goats. The chief sheep-breeding areas were Thessaly, Bœotia, the Corinthian Isthmus, and the hill country behind the Anatolian coast.

6. *Modern Greek Land-tenure*

The mode of husbandry which has just been outlined survives with very little modification among the Greek peasantry

to-day. For this reason it will not be out of place to give some attention to modern Greek land-tenure, especially to the older forms that linger on in the more backward districts.[50]

A large portion of the peasantry is now in America, driven from home by poverty, as they were in Solon's day. Of those that remain many have as little as two acres to live on. In many districts the holdings are intersected and discontinuous, which shows that they had once been organised in strips. The peasants live together in villages, not on separate estates. In cases of intestacy the holding is divided equally among the children or other next-of-kin, and the testator may not dispose of more than the amount which after equal division would be due to each of the direct heirs. Division among the heirs is optional. They often decide to hold the estate jointly. This system of joint family holdings has almost disappeared to-day, but it was still flourishing in the last century, and we possess a valuable account of it in Ansted's monograph on the Ionian Islands (1863). On the father's death the sons and daughters inherited equal shares in the estate, but as a rule they did not divide it. If they were young, they continued to live together till they were taken away by marriage or other employment. When the sisters married, they received a dowry equivalent to their share of the inheritance. Some of the brothers might go away and earn a livelihood from other sources, but they continued to pay the whole of their incomes, from whatever source they were derived, into the family fund based on the paternal estate. It often happened that one of them remained at home in charge of the farm, while a second set up as factor for the estate in the nearest town. Others might become schoolteachers or lawyers. But their incomes were united, and a close account was kept of all transactions. When one of them died, his share passed to his children, and, when his daughters grew up and married, they were dowered with the share due to them out of the joint fund without regard to their father's income.[51]

[50] This subject needs to be studied in connection with Byzantine land-tenure, on which see Ashburner FL, especially 32. 70.

[51] Ansted 199–201. It is not likely, of course, that this type of household is directly descended from the οἶκος, though it is none the less illuminating for that; it is probably related to the Yugoslav *zadruga*: Lodge 92–111.

This is the system that Ansted found in Santa Mavra (Leukas) and to a lesser extent in Kephallenia and Zante (Zakynthos). It is remarkably like the ancient Athenian *oîkos* (pp. 109–12). The only important difference is that in antiquity joint ownership terminated at the fourth generation.

7. *The Open-field system in Ancient Greece*

The joint family of modern Greece is only an isolated pre-capitalist survival, but the ancient *oîkos* was an integral unit in the social life of the period. The city-state was a community of *oîkoi*. The family estate was owned by right of descent from one of the founders of the city, and carried with it the rights of citizenship. In commercialised cities like Athens these ancient tenures had for the most part disappeared, but at Sparta the original estates were never forgotten,[52] and they must have been remembered in many of the colonies overseas. Even at Athens, when citizenship was granted to a foreigner, it was the practice to enrol him in a particular tribe, phratry, and deme,[53] and sometimes to endow him with a house and land.[54] Only in that way did he become a full member of the community. In the Athenian law-courts we hear of persons laying claim to an estate on the plea that an ancestor lies buried there,[55] but never of disputes about land turning on evidence of sale or purchase:

> The line of argument always leads to the proof of near kinship, by blood or adoption, to the previous owner, and the right of inheritance seems taken for granted as following incontrovertibly the establishment of the required relationship.[56]

Of course this does not mean that estates were never bought or sold, but that even at Athens, under a monetary economy, deeds of transfer were not formally recognised as overriding

[52] Hcld. Pont. *RP.* 2. 7.

[53] *SIG.* 162, 175, 40, 226. 16, 310. 21, 312. 30, 353. 5, 531. 30, 543.

[54] Lolling IH 60, cf. *IG.*² 53, D. 18. 91 etc.

[55] D. 55. 13–4, cf. Arist. *Ath.* 55. 3. Conversely, the possession of Zeus Herkeios, i.e. a house and land, was proof of citizenship: Poll. 8. 85, Harp. Ἑρκεῖος Ζεύς, cf. Nilsson NIS 290.

[56] H. E. Seebohm 83.

the claims of kinship. In other cities the alienation of the original estates was actually illegal.[57]

The city-state had thus arisen as a union of joint families, each of which possessed in perpetuity a holding of land inherited from one of the founders. The holding had been created at the same time as the family. It may have been subsequently divided, but then so was the family that owned it. The family was bound to the soil on which it lived. That being so, it is incumbent on us to determine so far as we can the manner in which the holdings were distributed.

We have already made some progress in this direction. It has been shown that the Attic demes began as clan settlements of the same type as the Anglo-Saxon 'ings' and 'hams' (pp. 112–3); and that the rule of succession to the *oîkos* corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon law of gavelkind. We must also, of course, remember that the Old English land system was by no means peculiar to this country. It occurs in analogous forms in all parts of Europe, India, China, Central and South America.[58] It is in fact characteristic of the primitive village community;[59] and if we are to approach Greek land-tenure with anything in our minds at all, this is the institution we should keep before us and not the boundary squabbles of twentieth-century gentleman-farmers.

At Athens under the democracy it was a regular policy to relieve unemployment and at the same time to secure strategical points by settling poor citizens overseas on conquered territory.[60] The land selected was divided equally into as many holdings as there were citizens enlisted under the scheme, and the holdings were then distributed by lot. The settlers were required to reside within the territory, but as a rule they did not work the land themselves. That was done by the native proprietors, who were left in occupation subject to the payment of an annual rent. The best-known of these *klerouchíai* or 'lot-holdings', as they were called, is the plantation of Lesbos in 427–426 B.C. In the previous year the people of this island, with the exception of Methymna, had revolted against Athenian

[57] Arist. *Pol.* 1319a. 9, Hcld. Pont. *RP.* 2. 7.

[58] F. Seebohm EVC 186–206, 214–62, 336–88, Skene 3. 139, Kovalevsky 162–70, Wittfogel 348–409, Bancroft 2. 226, Thompson 49.

[59] H. E. Seebohm 88. [60] Grundy 177–8, 201.

rule. The leaders were executed, and the island was saddled with a plantation, which Thucydides describes in the following words:

> They divided the land, except Methymna, into 3000 allotments, of which 300 were set apart and consecrated to the gods and the remainder settled with lot-holders from Athens. The Lesbians continued to till the soil, subject to an annual rent of 2 *mnai* on each allotment.[61]

These allotments were equal in size. That was inherent in the nature of the scheme, and is proved by the uniformity of the rent. The natives remained in occupation. How then was the land divided among the Athenian lot-holders? If, as has been generally assumed, the island had previously been cultivated in separate estates, enclosed and consolidated like modern capitalist farms, their size would have varied indefinitely. It would consequently have been impossible to divide them into equal lots without drastically reorganising the native tenures. But according to Thucydides that was not done. Another course would have been to graduate the rent according to the size of the farm and divide the income among the lot-holders. But again that was not done. The only conditions that meet the requirements of the case are those of the primitive village community. With a unit of division ready to hand in the strip, it would have been possible to combine or divide holdings of different sizes into equal lots without disturbing the existing tenures. Each village area would be assessed for so many lots, and the work of sharing out the liability could be left to the villagers themselves, as in India.

This conclusion is so far-reaching in its implications that it would be unwise to insist on it beyond inviting the attention of historians to a problem that has apparently escaped them; but there are one or two considerations arising from the present issue that may conveniently be mentioned here. There is no reason to suppose that the procedure at Lesbos was abnormal. We have another instance in the plantation of Chalkis (Euboia) eighty years earlier (506 B.C.).[62] In this case the number of lots was 4000. At the time in question the landed nobility of Euboia were still in power, and it was these landowners, not the cultivators, that the Athenians displaced. They had been more

[61] Th. 3. 50, cf. *SIG.* 1. 76. [62] Hdt. 5. 77. 2.

successful in maintaining themselves than the Attic landowners because in Euboia the struggle for the land had been relieved by colonial expansion. This shows that, granted the possibility of colonisation, there is no inherent difficulty in supposing a primitive land system to have coexisted with rapid commercial development. At Lesbos, it is true, the democratic movement began much earlier, but on the other hand it was arrested in the sixth century by the Persian conquest.[63]

The farmers of Lesbos were reduced by the plantation to the status of a rent-paying peasantry. A similar problem arises in regard to other Greek states, which had been founded on a tributary peasantry from the start. When the Dorians conquered Sparta, they did not dispossess the natives of the country, who continued to live in their ancient villages.[64] Nevertheless they divided the land among themselves into inalienable family estates, cultivated for them by the natives, who were forced to surrender fifty per cent of their produce.[65] And these estates were equal, that is to say, their size was adjusted at the foundation to the needs of the proprietors, who had to provide from them their contributions to the common meals.[66] It is clear, however, that, whatever may have been the case in Lesbos in the fifth century, there cannot have been any extensive appropriation of the land at Sparta in the eleventh. Here again, therefore, the fact that the natives remained in occupation is a sign that the new holdings were distributed on the basis of the strip system. Stabilised at this early date by the act of conquest, the Spartan aristocracy was exceptionally successful in resisting change. A further proof of its primitive character is furnished by the configuration of the city itself. Even in the time of Thucydides it was not properly speaking a city at all, but a group of adjacent villages.[67] It is in keeping with the general probabilities of the case that this rudimentary degree of urbanisation was combined with the survival in tributary form of the primitive village commune.

[63] We have several inscriptions from Lesbos (Roman period) giving lists of farms with the acreage under corn, olive, vine, and grass, and the size of the farms varies indefinitely: *IG.* 12. 2. 33–7.

[64] Liv. 34. 27, cf. p. 393.

[65] Hcld. Pont. *RP.* 2. 7. Arist. *Pol.* 1270a, Tyrt. 5.

[66] Plu. *Lyc.* 8, Plb. 6. 45. 3. [67] Th. 1. 10. 2.

The origin of the science of geometry is explained by Herodotus:

> King Sesostris divided the land of Egypt among the people so that each received a square allotment of equal size, and from these holdings the king drew his revenue by an annual impost. If part of a holding was swept away by the Nile floods, the proprietor informed the king, who would then send his overseers to measure the loss and the tax was reduced accordingly. This, in my opinion, was the source from which the Greeks acquired the art of measuring land (*geometría*).[68]

The Greeks may not have been indebted to Egypt so directly as Herodotus supposes, but his main point is proved by the word itself. The starting-point of geometry was the need to divide the land.

We have seen how the land measures of western Europe—the acre, *journel*, and *Morgen*—were based on the dimensions of the strip. There is an analogous term in Greek, which will help us to reconstruct the dimensions of the Greek strip.

The word *gýes*, used in Homer as a land measure,[69] means properly 'plough-tree'. It was also applied to the primitive type of plough, consisting simply of a forked bough, such as may still be seen in parts of the country. We may infer, with Ridgeway, that as a measure the *gýes* denoted originally a plough-acre, that is, the amount of land that could be ploughed in a given period. The period was probably a day, because one of the Homeric words for 'evening' is *boulytós*, the time for 'unyoking the oxen'.[70]

The ancient commentators inform us that the *gýes* was equivalent to one *pléthron*.[71] This was a long measure equal to 100 feet.[72] So the *gýes* was a plough-acre which measured 100 feet along one of its sides. Which side was this? There is another Homeric land measure, the *oûron*. We read of an '*oûron* of oxen' and an '*oûron* of mules', the latter being the longer.[73] The word is probably a heteroclite form of *oûros* 'boundary', which again is connected with *oureús* 'mule' and Latin *urvum* 'plough-tail'.[74] The *oûron* of mules is explained by the commentators as 'the amount of land that a mule can

[68] Hdt. 2. 109, cf. 1. 66. 2. [69] *Il.* 9. 579, *Od.* 7. 113, 18. 374.
[70] *Il.* 16. 779, *Od.* 9. 58. [71] *Il.* 9. 579 sch. [72] *Il.* 21. 407, *Od.* 11. 577.
[73] *Il.* 10. 351–3, *Od.* 8. 124–5. [74] Boisacq *s.vv.*

plough at one effort, that is, a *pléthron*'.[75] From this we see that the *gýes* and the *oûron* are identical. They are the plough-acre, which measured 100 feet across the furrows, the length of the furrow being given,

For the length of the furrow we have only one clue. Remembering that in all countries units of long measure are commonly based on tillage, we note that in Greek 6 *pléthra* make 1 *stádion*, that is, 600 feet. The *stádion* was the standard long measure, which yielded the word stadium or racecourse. The racecourses at Olympia and elsewhere all measured 600 feet in length.[76] Now, in Argive Doric the form of the word is not *stádion* but *spádion*. These are not phonetic variants. They are different words. And both are apt designations for the length of the furrow, for *sta* means 'stand' and *spa* means 'pull', referring to the distance the plough is drawn by the ox or mule before it is halted and turned. The Greek *stádion* is therefore a unit of the same origin as the English furlong. This hypothesis is confirmed when we find that the breadth of the Greek racecourse was generally about 100 feet.[77] The original racecourse *was* a strip.

And now after this long but not unprofitable digression let us return to the passage in Homer with which we began:

> Like two men with measures in their hands quarrelling over boundaries in a common ploughland, contending for equal shares in a small space of ground; so the two sides were parted by the battlements, over which the warriors slashed at one another's shields as they fought.[78]

As the breadth of the strip, the *oûron* was the distance from balk to balk. The Greek balk was a row of stones (*oûroi*) such as are still to be seen in Palestine, as they were when the children of Israel were warned not to remove their neighbour's landmark.[79] The connection between *oûron*, the width of the strip, and *oûros*, the row of stones which separated one strip from another,

[75] *Il.* 10. 351 sch. AV.

[76] Pauly-Wissowa 2. 5. 1969.

[77] Pauly-Wissowa *l.c.* It seems probable that the strip was the unit underlying the ζυγόν, a land-measure attested for Amorgos in the fourth century (*SIG.* 963). In Byzantine Greek the ζεῦγος was the amount of land that could be ploughed by a pair of oxen in a day: *Cod. Just.* 10. 27. 2. The modern στρέμμα seems to be based on a Turkish unit of the same nature.

[78] *Il.* 12. 421–5.

[79] *Il.* 21. 403–5, *Deut.* 19. 14.

is explained. And this row of stones answers to the embattled parapet over which the Greeks and Trojans are locked in combat. The comparison is apt. The two men in the simile are marking out the shares that have been allotted them in one of the open fields. The field is not a large one—perhaps it has already been encroached on by private enclosures; and so each of them is bent on getting his full share. But they are not the owners. They are dividing it merely for use. Perhaps some day it will be redistributed. And so it is described as 'common' in the not uncommon sense of being owned in common by the village commune to which these survivors of primitive communism belong.

8. *Redistribution of the Land*

It is quite possible that, at the time when the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were put into their final shape, the custom of periodical redistribution was becoming obsolete; but Homer does not set out to tell us everything, and before drawing any conclusions we shall do well to review the evidence.

Early in the sixth century, when the Attic countryside was seething with unrest, Solon introduced a number of agrarian reforms, which tided over the crisis but failed to satisfy the peasantry, because they had demanded a 'redistribution of the land'.[80] A procedure of this kind was actually carried out at Kyrene, a Greek colony on the coast of Libya. Some time in the sixth century new settlers from the mother-country were invited to participate in a 'redistribution of the land'. The whole people, including the newcomers, was divided into three tribes, and on this basis, after special estates had been set aside for the king in his capacity as chief priest, the soil was reallotted.[81]

The demand of the Attic peasants was not, as usually interpreted, a revolutionary one—a subversive challenge to the sacred rights of private property. It was counter-revolutionary—a protest against the appropriation of the land, which was

[80] Arist. *Ath.* 11. 2. A redivision of the soil was demanded at Leontinoi in the fifth century B.C.: Th. 5. 4. 2.

[81] Hdt. 4. 159–61, cf. Th. 8. 21.

violating the sanctity of the old communal rights. It was an appeal to the past, not the future. As we see from the case of Kyrene, the principle of redistribution was still alive. It only remains to show that it had once been periodical.

The Greeks were well acquainted with this practice. Strabo says that the Dalmatians reallotted the soil every eight years,[82] and among the Vaccæi of Spain, according to Diodoros, it was done annually:

> The Vaccæi divide the land every year, each receiving a portion of the fruits, which are common property. Appropriation is punished by death.[83]

Early in the sixth century a band of Dorians from Rhodes and Knidos set sail for Sicily. Their intention was to plant a colony at Lilybaion, but they were driven off by Phœnicians. Then they sailed to the Liparai Islands, where they joined forces with the natives. The rest of the story may be told in the words of Diodoros:

> Being well received at Lipara, the settlers agreed to share the land with the inhabitants. . . . In course of time, owing to the depredations of Etruscan pirates, they built a fleet and divided their occupations. Some of them continued the collective tillage of the soil, while the remainder organised themselves for defence against the pirates. They held their property in common and ate at common meals. After leading this communal life for some time, they divided Lipara itself, where the town was, but continued to cultivate the other islands collectively. Eventually they divided all the islands for periods of twenty years, reallotting the land at the end of each period. At sea they won a number of victories over the Etruscans, and from the spoils sent many memorable tithes to Delphi.[84]

Diodoros has given us more than we asked for. Besides recording a system of periodical redistribution in a Greek city-state, he takes us back to a still earlier stage in which the land had been owned and cultivated by the village communes without even a temporary division.

The reader will ask how modern historians, especially Toutain, whose condemnation of the slave-minded Esmein is still fresh in our minds, have succeeded in interpreting this passage otherwise. Toutain takes the liberty of not mentioning it at all. So does the writer in the *Cambridge Ancient History* who assures us that the Greeks had long outlived the stage

[82] Str. 315. [83] D.S. 5. 34, cf. Nic. Dam. 126. [84] D.S. 5. 9.

which Diodoros describes. Presumably they were both satisfied that the question had been settled once and for all by Guiraud in his *La propriété foncière en Grèce*, still the standard work on the subject, to whose 'vigour and clarity' Toutain repeatedly appeals. Let us sample this 'vigour and clarity':

> We have no reason to question the veracity of Diodoros in regard to the existence of agrarian collectivism in the Liparai Islands. The only doubtful point in his account is the motive assigned for the adoption of the system. Théodore Reinach has recently shown from a passage in Livy that, like the Etruscans, the Liparai islanders were pirates. That being so, it is not difficult to perceive that so far from being a relic of the past their communism was an artificial regime created for a specific purpose. No political or social principle is here involved. These islanders simply adopted the institutions most appropriate to a band of brigands. . . . Furthermore, a breach was soon forced in the system by the love of private property, so potent in mankind. In the course of the fifth century at latest they began to divide the main island, which was doubtless the only one fortified and inhabited. The others remained undivided.[85]

Before getting down to 'political and social principles' let us make sure of the facts. Diodoros assigns no motive for the system. It is Guiraud who has done that. There is nothing to show at what date the main island was divided. Diodoros evidently believed that some at least of the other islands were inhabited, and Strabo, our only other authority, agrees with him. He names eight islands in all and describes only two of them as uninhabited.[86] Guiraud's interpretation of the passage is thus contradicted by the passage itself. It is true that Livy describes the islanders as pirates, and no doubt they were. Guiraud does not quote his actual words, but he who runs may read. *Mos erat civitatis velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere.*[87] 'Their custom was to divide the spoils, which were acquired by a sort of collective brigandage.' These Greek communists were at least consistent. After piously dedicating a tithe to the gods, they shared the rest among themselves. All property, personal and real, acquired and inherited, was collective. The picture of primitive communism is complete.

Having rescued the facts, we may enquire into the principles. Being no better than robbers abroad, these islanders had naturally failed to develop at home that respect for private

[85] Guiraud 13–4. [86] Str. 275–7. [87] Liv. 5. 28. 3.

property which Guiraud, like Sir John Sinclair, regarded as the hallmark of civilisation. But it is rash to assume that their institutions involve no 'political or social principle'. If these unprincipled islanders were pirates, so, whenever they had the chance, were the Etruscans, Carthaginians, Phœnicians, Carians,[88] and all the seafaring peoples of antiquity, including the Greeks themselves.[89] The Achæan heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were pirates, and proud of it,[90] and, as we shall see shortly, they shared out their ill-gotten gains in the same way.[91] The civilised Greeks, whose political and social principles have been held up by Guiraud and others as a model for mankind, saw nothing in privateering that was incompatible with the honour of a gentleman, and in numerous treaties they made express provision for the exercise of piratical rights.[92] After all, there is no difference in principle between sea-raiding and land-raiding. All pirates, all raiders, all conquerors, all empire-builders, no matter how fervently they bow down before the sacred presence of private property, once they have got it into their own hands, begin, like the men of Lipara, by stealing it. If Guiraud had allowed this train of thought to roll on uninterrupted, he would have found himself face to face with the political and social principle that his own civilisation rests on robbery. *La propriété c'est le vol.*[93]

Having 'interpreted otherwise' all the evidence for common ownership that has been drawn from this and other Greek sources, Guiraud concludes:

> One needs to have a singularly biased mind to attach the least value to them. There is not in the whole of ancient literature a single passage which, sanely interpreted, confirms such an assertion.[94]

If sanity is freedom from bias, we are all to some extent defective. It is a matter of degree. But at least there is one social and political principle that this vigorous historian has succeeded in establishing. He has demonstrated with disarming clarity that the love of private property in the modern bour-

[88] D.S. 5. 9, Plb. 3. 24. 4, Th. 1. 4, 7–8, *Od.* 15. 415–84.
[89] Hdt. 1. 166, 6. 17, Th. 1. 5, D. 50. 17, Lycurg. *Leo.* 18.
[90] *Il.* 11. 625, *Od.* 4. 81–90, 9. 40–2, 14. 229–34.
[91] See p. 329.
[92] Hasebroek 117–21.
[93] Engels UFPS 127.
[94] Guiraud 21–2.

geoisie is a force so potent that they cannot imagine life without it:

> Was ihr nicht fasst, das fehlt euch ganz und gar,
> Was ihr nicht rechnet, glaubt ihr, sei nicht wahr.

9. *The Method of Distribution*

Let us return to the *klerouchía*. After the number of settlers had been fixed, the land to be settled was divided into the same number of lots. How the settlers were chosen we are not told, but it must have happened sometimes that the number of applicants was in excess of the available land, and, since sortition is known to have been used extensively under the democracy, it may be assumed that the applicants drew lots. We must also suppose that the holdings were subject to the same rules of inheritance as prevailed in the home country. Each lot-holder became the founder of an *oîkos*, a family estate of the normal type, except that being new it was unencumbered with hereditary claims and so easier to alienate. We know that in many cases, contrary to the regulations, the lot-holders sold out and returned home.[95]

The *klerouchía* differed from a colony of the ordinary kind (*apoikía*) in that its members retained all their rights as Athenian citizens.[96] The colony was a new city-state, bound to the metropolis by religious ties but politically independent. Apart from this, the mode of organisation was the same. Kyrene was colonised from Thera in the seventh century at a time when that island was suffering from a famine. One of every pair of brothers throughout the island was chosen by lot.[97] A similar procedure was adopted by the ancestors of the Etruscans when they left Lydia. In this case too there was a famine. The king divided the people into two equal portions and cast lots between them.[98] It was evidently a traditional practice for the founders of a colony to be selected by lot.

In the middle of the fifth century an Athenian colony was founded at Brea on the Thracian coast. The decree regulating the procedure has survived. One of the provisions is that 'ten men, one from each tribe, shall be elected as land-sharers, and

[95] Grote 6. 37–8. [96] E. M. Walker in CAH 4. 161.
[97] Hdt. 4. 153, cf. Parth. 5. [98] Hdt. 1. 94. 5.

these shall allot the land'.[99] The land-sharer (*geonómos*) distributed the holdings, as distinct from the land-measurer (*geométres*) who marked them out. From this we gather that the holdings were distributed by lot, and that they were co-ordinated in some way with the tribal system. The latter point is confirmed by Plato's regulations for the foundation of his ideal state. In this case of course the situation is imaginary, but it is generally recognised that he modelled his procedure on actual practice:

> In the first place, the city is to be located as nearly as possible in the centre of the territory. . . . Next, the whole area, including the city, is to be divided into twelve portions, starting from an enclosed sanctuary of Hestia, Zeus, and Athena, which shall be called the Acropolis. These portions are to be equal and adjusted in extent to the quality of the soil. Altogether 5040 holdings are to be described, and each of them is to be divided into two parts, one in the city, the other at a distance. . . . The citizens themselves shall then be divided into twelve groups and a full inventory made of all their personal property so that this too may be divided as evenly as possible among the groups. Finally, each group is to set apart an estate for one of the Twelve Gods, and it shall be called a tribe.[100]

Plato's total of holdings is reached by the same sort of mystical progression as Plutarch's formula for cat and kittens (p. 214): $1\times2\times3\times4\times5\times6\times7=5040$. But even this is founded on fact. It is just over half of what was regarded as a suitable total.[101] The Athenian colony at Amphipolis was divided into 10,000 holdings, and the Syracusans fixed the same number for their colony at Aitna.[102]

Plato's lot-holders were heads of families. That is clear from other passages in the *Laws*. But these families are treated as components of a larger unit, the tribe. This too is confirmed from other sources. In early Rhodes there were three settlements—Lindos, Ialysos, Kameiros.[103] They corresponded, as

[99] Tod 88–90. [100] Pl. *Leg.* 745.

[101] Arist. *Pol.* 1267b. 3. [102] Th. 1. 100, D.S. 11. 49.

[103] *Il.* 2. 655–6, Pi. *O.* 7. 73–4, *SIG.* 339 n. 2. According to the *Iliad* the founder was Tlepolemos from Ephyra, probably the Thessalian Ephyra, cf. D.S. 5. 58; but in Pindar the island is settled by the three sons of Helios, and in yet another version by Althaimenes from Crete: Apld. 3. 2. 1–2. There were in fact several successive settlements: Str. 653–4. We have a list of Rhodian clans grouped in phratries, and some of them have the Aeolic termination -eioi: *IG.* 12. 1. 695.

we learn from the *Iliad*, to the three tribes of the immigrants. Further, they were assigned by lot. This is implied by Pindar's account of them; for in the same poem he relates how the gods had cast lots for the division of the world. The Sun-god, he says, happened to be absent at the time, and so was left without a portion. The omission was rectified by assigning him the island of Rhodes, then beneath the sea, which he had descried rising to the surface, and this arrangement was ratified by Lachesis, the goddess of Allotment.[104] The allotment of the newly-conquered world among the Sons of Kronos is presented as a divine precedent for the allotment of the newly-conquered island among the Sons of Helios, the founders of the three tribal settlements that bore their names.

So far we have found no mention of the clan. It is not hard to see why. In the mature city-state the tribe persisted as a military and political unit long after the phratry had dwindled into a purely religious union and the clan had dissolved into families. The clan survived to some extent among the aristocracy, but in general the colonies were recruited from the lower classes—from men who wanted land.[105] And this was the section of society in which clan ties had most completely disappeared. If we want to find traces of the clan, we must go back to the prehistoric period.

We have seen that the Athenian *klerouchia* conformed in principle to the mode of organisation that had been followed in the great period of colonial expansion, from the eighth to the sixth century. This was the movement that scattered the Greeks over the whole of the Mediterranean. And now, arguing still further back, we can see that, since these colonies reproduced the structure of their mother-cities, they were a continuation of those still earlier movements that had established the mother-cities themselves in Greece and the Ægean.

The Greeks recognised the continuity. They remembered how, in the days before the Trojan War, Tlepolemos, the founder of Rhodes, 'effected an equitable partition of the land'; how, earlier still, Makareus had 'divided the soil' of

[104] Pi. *O.* 7. 54–76, cf. Apld. 2. 8. 4, Paus. 8. 4. 3.

[105] In the Brea decree (l. 41) it is stipulated that the colonists are to be recruited from the poorest classes, cf. Pl. *Leg.* 735–6, Iso. 4. 182.

Lesbos; how Kydrolaos had 'settled in Samos and divided the land into allotments'; and how Tenedos, the eponym of that island, had allotted the soil among his people and received for himself a special estate (*témenos*) in which he was worshipped after death as a hero.[106] Clearly, these prehistoric settlements were not city-states at all but tribal federations. In them therefore we should expect the clan to have been more prominent. And so it was. The Ionian colony of Teos, founded after the Dorian invasion, was divided into *pýrgoi* or demes, and as late as the fifth century several of these were still inhabited by the clans after which they were named (p. 169). The three territories of Rhodes were also divided into demes. One of these was Netteia of the Nettidai, another was Hippoteia of the Hippotadai.[107] This evidence confirms the conclusion drawn from our examination of the Attic demes (pp. 112–3). In Attica, it is true, we know of only one clan—the Boutadai (p. 108)—which continued to reside in its ancestral deme. This is because the country had been transformed by the social upheaval of the sixth century. But even in Attica the old ties, though they had been severed, were not forgotten. Kimon of the Philaidai belonged to Lakiadai between Athens and Eleusis; but he must have known—otherwise we should not—that his forefathers had come from Philaidai near Brauron, where Philaios first set foot on Attic soil (p. 121). And there was a tradition that, when King Theseus was reorganising the country, he made a tour of the rural districts, 'visiting the demes and clans'.[108] The implication is that in those early days the two units were identical. This conclusion has already been argued in Chapter IV (pp. 112–3) and final confirmation is forthcoming from the word itself. In Homer *dêmos* denotes both a tract of cultivated land and the people inhabiting it.[109] It is properly a 'division', being cognate with *dasmós*, which was the word

[106] D.S. 5. 59, 81–3.

[107] *SIG.* 932. 24, 33, 118. 5, 695. 21.

[108] Plu. *Thes.* 24.

[109] *Il.* 5. 710, 20. 166 etc., cf. κλᾶρος (1) 'estate' (2) 'heirs to the estate', Arabic *hayy* 'tribe' or 'tribal territory' (Robertson Smith KMEA 39), Anglo-Saxon *hid* 'household' or 'household estate' (Vinogradoff GM 141), Ramsay 85–6, Skene 3. 137–7.

regularly used for the division or distribution of the soil.[110] In origin, therefore, the deme was a unit both territorial and social—a clan settlement, like the English Woking, Tooting, Epping, the French Aubigny, Corbigny, Pontigny, the German Geislingen, Göttingen, Tübingen,[111] and the Hebrew 'families' or clans which settled in the Promised Land:

> Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them, When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you. . . . And ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance among your families; and to the more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye shall give the less inheritance; every man's inheritance shall be in the place where his lot falleth; according to the tribes of your fathers ye shall inherit.[112]
>
> And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, How long are ye slack to go to possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers hath given you? Give out from among you three men from each tribe; and I will send them, and they shall rise and go through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them; and they shall come again to me. . . . Ye shall therefore describe the land into seven parts, and bring the description hither to me, that I may cast lots for you here before the Lord our God.[113]

10. *The Growth of Privilege*

The Greek for a holding is *klêros*, a 'lot'. In poetry *moîra* 'share' and *láchos* 'portion' are used in the same sense. All these words are Indo-European. The primary meaning of *klêros* was a 'piece of wood', like the Irish *clár*, 'board' or 'beam', showing that chips of wood had been used for casting lots. The base *kla* recurs in the Greek *kládos* 'branch' and *kláo* 'break', also in the Gothic *hlauts*, which is cognate and synonymous with the English 'lot'. As these etymologies show, the use of the lot was an ancient feature of Indo-European culture. It rested on the

[110] Boisacq *s.v.* δῆμος. Modern scholars, having neglected to analyse the structure of tribal society, are necessarily blind to this inherent connection between clan and village. Thus, following Gardner (p. 106), F. E. Adcock excludes the clan altogether from his remarks on the origin of the πόλις ('the clan, the *génos*, which is a reflection of aristocracy, is yet in the future'); and consequently, faced with the fact that the tribesmen lived in villages, he can only remark that they did so 'as by instinct' (in CAH 3. 688).

[111] F. Seebohm EVC 355–67.

[112] *Num.* 33. 51–4.

[113] *Josh.* 18. 3–6.

principle that every member of the community was entitled to an equal share in the product of its labour.[114]

In early Greece this principle had already been limited by the custom of reserving portions of land for the special benefit of priests, chiefs, and kings. In the plantation of Lesbos a



FIG. 50. *Casting lots: Attic vase*

tithe of the holdings was 'set aside' for the gods (p. 315). The settlers at Brea were granted the whole of the land with the exception of certain estates 'set aside' for the priesthood.[115] Similar estates were 'set aside' at Kyrene for the king.[116] In the *Odyssey*, when King Nausithoos led the Phæacians to their new home, he fortified a city for them, divided the ploughlands, and built temples for the gods.[117] The Homeric poems make it clear that, while various privileges were in the gift of the king, the land was controlled by the people. Bellerophon was rewarded by the King of Lycia with royal honours, but his estate of rich arable land was bestowed on him by the people.[118] Æneas was warned by Achilles, whom he had come to fight, that, even if he should win, he could not hope for honours from Priam, who had sons of his own to provide for, nor for an

[114] In Greece, the lot remained in use for elections, determining priority of approach to the Delphic Oracle, and the appointment of clan chiefs: A. *E.* 32, Toepffer AG 21, 125, Paton 137.

[115] Tod 88–90, cf. A *E.* 403–5. [116] Hdt. 4. 161. 3.

[117] *Od.* 6. 9–10. [118] *Il.* 6. 193–5.

estate from the people.[119] The elders of Aitolia, presumably the clan chiefs, tried to induce Meleagros to fight for them by offering him an estate in the most fertile part of the country.[120] These reservations are called *teménea*, estates 'cut off' (*témno*) or 'set aside' (*exairéo*) from the remainder of the land, which was divided among the people. The *témenos* is the germ of private property emerging within the tribal system.

The same combination of communal with individualistic principles appears in the sharing of booty. The process of distribution is the same—a *dasmós* effected by lot; and just as the king is granted a special holding of land, so in the division of spoils he receives a special 'privilege' (*géras*) or 'reward' (*timḗ*) reserved from the general allotment.[121] The disguised Odysseus boasts of having led nine raids, from each of which he received generous gifts over and above his share in the distribution.[122] After plundering the town of Thebe, the Achæans 'divided the spoils and set aside the daughter of Chryses for Agamemnon'.[123] Later on, forced to restore the girl, Agamemnon demanded compensation, but, as Achilles reminded him, it was too late:

> How can the Achæans give you a *géras*? The spoils we took have already been divided, and it would not be right for the people to bring them together again. Let the girl go, and if ever Zeus grants to us the sack of Troy, you shall be repaid threefold and fourfold.[124]

This principle that acquired wealth was subject to popular distribution was very tenacious, and not only in remote corners like the Liparai Islands (pp. 320–1). As late as 484 B.C. the Athenians proposed to share out a surplus from the silver-mines among

[119] *Il.* 20. 178–86.

[120] *Il.* 9. 574–80. The elders were presumably the clan chiefs: Glotz SF 12. The *témenos* must have included slaves to work it: Jeanmaire 75, cf. *Il.* 9. 154–6. The conditions of tenure are doubtful; probably it went with the chieftaincy.

[121] *Il.* 1. 166–7, 368–9, 2. 226–8, cf. A.*A.* 945, E. *Tr.* 248, 273, cf. Bancroft 2. 225, Baden-Powell 195, Robertson Smith KMEA 65.

[122] *Od.* 14. 229–33. In the Ægean, as late as the end of the eighteenth century A.D., when a ship returned from a cruise, mercantile or piratical, the proceeds were divided into two portions, one of which went to the shareholders of the ship, while the other was divided equally among the crew: Melas 35.

[123] *Il.* 1. 368–9. [124] *Il.* 1. 123–9.

the whole citizen body. Themistokles persuaded them to spend it on building a fleet instead.[125] The old tribal custom was incompatible with the growing interests of the state.

As with booty, so with food. In early times, so Plutarch writes, when meals were administered by Moira or Lachesis on the principle of equality, everything had been decently and liberally arranged; and in support of this contention he points out that the old word for a feast meant properly a 'division'.[126] His etymology is correct: *daís* is cognate with *dasmós*. The *moîrai* of meat were divided equally. When the disguised Odysseus entered his home, the meat was being served for the evening meal, and Telemachos insisted that the beggar was to receive a portion 'equal to those which had been allotted to the suitors'.[127] In the Homeric Hymn to Hermes the meat offering for the Twelve Gods is cut into twelve portions, which are distributed by lot.[128]

On the other hand, the chine, which was the choicest portion, was reserved as a *géras* for the chief presiding at the meal. When Menelaos invited his guests to sit down to table, he handed them the chine which his servants had placed before him.[129] The swineherd paid the same compliment to the disguised Odysseus—a dramatic touch, because he gives his lord the lordly portion without knowing who he is.[130] When Œdipus was served by his sons with the haunch instead of the shoulder, he cursed them.[131] At the shrine of Amphiaraos at Oropos it was the rule that, whenever a victim was sacrificed, the priest was entitled to the shoulder.[132] The prerogatives enjoyed by the Spartan kings were almost entirely of this kind.

[125] Hdt. 7. 144.

[126] Plu. *M.* 644a, cf. *Od.* 8. 470, Hes. *Th.* 544, Thgn. 677–8. On the public feasts of ancient Greece, which were a modified survival of the primitive communal meal, see Fustel de Coulanges 179, Nilsson HGR 254–5, Robertson Smith RS 282.

[127] *Od.* 20. 279–82. [128] Hom. *H.* 4. 128–9.

[129] *Od.* 4. 65–6, cf. *Il.* 7. 321, Hom. *H.* 4. 122.

[130] *Od.* 14. 433–8. [131] S. *OC.* 1375 sch.

[132] *SIG.* 1004. 30–1. In Kos special portions of meat offerings were reserved for particular clans: Paton 88–90, cf. *SIG.* 271, 589, Plu. *M.* 294c, D.S. 5. 28. For modern examples see Krige 55–6, Junod 1. 329, Earthy 37, 159, Roscoe B (1923) 165, Hutton 75, Gurdon 48, Ivens MSE 408.

Both of them had a royal estate and a priesthood. At the opening of a campaign they sacrificed as many sheep and goats as they pleased and kept the chines and hides for themselves. At all common meals, whenever present, they were presented by the company with two quarts of barley meal and half a pint of wine.[133] As Thucydides remarks, the Greek kingship rested on 'defined prerogatives'.[134] And the conditions on which they were enjoyed are stated in a famous passage of the Iliad:

> Why have the people of Lycia conferred on us the highest honours—pride of place and precedence in food and drink? They look on us as gods, and they have bestowed on us a *témenos* of rich ploughland. Therefore we must be foremost in the fray, that the people may say, These kings of ours, who feed on our fat herds and quaff our choicest wine, can fight.[135]

Royal honours were bestowed by the people in recognition of military service.

The Greek for 'prerogative' is *géras*; the Greek for 'old age' is *gêras*. The origin of the privileges accorded to the tribal elders was discussed in Chapter I (p. 45). In a hunting economy they took the form of exemptions from dietary taboos and prescriptive shares of game. In the course of ages, as these elders evolved into magicians, chiefs, priests or priestesses, kings or queens, their rising status was continuously accommodated to the traditional forms. The *géras* of meat, the *géras* of booty, and the *géras* or *témenos* of land, reflect through hunting, warfare, and tillage the emergence of social inequalities out of primitive communism.

The use of the lot was a guarantee of equality. The distribution was made impartial by placing it beyond human control. And being beyond human control it was regarded as magical—as an appeal to the Moirai or 'Portions', the goddesses who determined each man's lot. In origin these figures are simply mythical projections of the practice of casting lots. How then did these equalitarian spirits of the lot become the three Fates—Moirai in Greek—the stern divinities who sit and spin the thread of human destiny, ordaining for every man at birth all the events of his life, and especially the last? This will be the subject of the next chapter.

[133] Hdt. 6. 56, X. *RL.* 15. 3. In Kos there was a priesthood with the title γεραφόρος βασιλέων: Paton xxxv. On the royal privileges of the Kodridai at Ephesos see below p. 545.

[134] Th. 1. 13. 1. [135] *Il.* 12. 310–21, cf. 17. 250.

same reason: in seeking to raise the dead he had trespassed on the *moîra* of Hades.[15]

According to Herodotus, it was Homer and Hesiod who 'created the Greek theogony' and 'gave the gods their titles, distinguished their privileges and crafts, and fixed their form'.[16] Invading tribes had overrun the Ægean, and so the Sons of Kronos had conquered the world. The invaders had divided the land by lot, and so the Sons of Kronos divided the world. The kings of these tribes owed their position to military service, and so did the King of Olympus. In the same way the mythical division of labour among the gods reflects the system of occupational clans, a system in which a man's vocation—his portion in life, his birthright—had been determined for him by the clan into which he was born.

2. *The Moirai as Spinners*

How did these Moirai—'portions' of wealth or 'divisions' of labour—become the three spinners of destiny? In looking for the answer, we must try and do better than Wilamowitz, who treated the idea as 'a mere poetical invention', as though poetical inventions were either self-explanatory or inexplicable.[17]

Three was a magical number, associated, among other things, with the three lunar phases.[18] As divider of time and an object of women's worship, the moon was doubly connected with the Moirai, who are always female. Their names are Klotho, Atropos, and Lachesis. Klotho is simply spinning personified, and the oldest of the three. Homer speaks of them collectively as Klothes, but does not mention the other two.[19] Atropos

[15] A. *A.* 1004–14.

[16] Hdt. 2. 53.

[17] Wilamowitz GH 1. 359. Krause 152 attributes it to 'speculation.' W. Drexler (in Roscher LGRM 1. 2715) argued that the Moirai were goddesses of clouds and mists, which primitive man imagined as 'a sort of spinning' as he watched them floating in wisps across the summer sky.

[18] Briffault 2. 603–6.

[19] *Od.* 7. 197. The trinity first appears in Hes. *Th.* 218. The generalised use of ἐπικλώθω (*Il.* 24. 525, *Od.* 1. 17) shows that the concept of Κλῶθες was already ancient in the Homeric period. Another stereotyped expression of the same kind is θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται (*Il.* 17. 514, *Od.* 1. 267) referring to the unworked wool lying on the spinner's knees: Onians KG.

appears in later literature as goddess of the abhorred shears who 'slits the thin-spun life'. This image is apparently based on cutting the web from the loom: 'I have rolled up like a weaver my life; he will cut me off from the loom.'[20] But it is not found in early Greek literature,[21] nor does it follow from the traditional interpretation of the name—she who cannot be turned back, whose thread cannot be unspun.[22] And even this interpretation, which goes back to Æschylus, seems to be in the nature of an afterthought. It is not hard for the spinner to unwind what she has spun or for the weaver to unravel what she has woven: Penelope is a standing instance to the contrary. Perhaps therefore it is a false etymology. The word is based on the idea of turning (*trépo*)—of that there is no doubt; it may be, however, that the prefix is not privative but intensive. In that case Atropos is just a by-form of *átraktos*, with interchange of *p* and *k*—not 'she who cannot be turned' but the Turner—a personification of the spindle. As for Lachesis, the goddess of the *láchos* or allotted portion, her place beside the other two suggests that she again must have carried some connotation germane to the art of spinning—either the allotment of the unworked wool among the spinners, or, what comes to the same thing, the amount of wool required to fill the spindle.[23]

How then did this trinity become spinners of fate? The answer must be sought in their human prototypes. We must also observe—the tradition is insistent on this point—that a man's destiny is spun for him at the moment of his birth.[24] This brings them into relation with Eileithyia, who was also pictured as a spinner.[25] From this point of view the Moirai are the midwives, the elder kinswomen in attendance.[26] What

[20] *Isaiah* 38. 12.

[21] I have not succeeded in tracing this idea in ancient literature at all, though it seems to be implied in Verg. *A.* 10. 814.

[22] A. *E.* 335–6 (see my note), Pl. *R.* 620e, Call. *LP.* 103, Nonn. *D.* 25. 365, 40. 1, Luc. *JTr.* 18, E. fr. 491, Jo. Diac. ad Hes. *Sc.* 236.

[23] Orph. t. 70, *AP.* 7. 5, Erinn. 23.

[24] *Il.* 20. 127–8, *Od.* 7. 197–8, A. *E.* 348, E. *Hel.* 212, *IT.* 203, *Ba.* 99, cf. Plu. *M.* 637f.

[25] Paus. 8. 21. 3, cf. Pi. *O.* 6. 42.

[26] Cf. Earthy 69, Roscoe B (1911) 51, BB (1923) 242, BTUP 24, Hutton 233.

then were these women engaged in spinning at the birth of a child? To this question I can see only one answer. They were making its clothes.

The primary function of clothes, which, at least in the colder climates, is to protect the body, is everywhere encrusted with magical practices founded on the notion that a man's clothes are somehow bound up with his life. This explains the custom of decorating the body with magical devices, painted or tattooed, and the wearing of ornaments, such as necklaces, bracelets, and rings.[27] In Greece the new-born child was wrapped in swaddling-bands and adorned with amulets. Such articles were known collectively as *gnorîsmata*, 'tokens', because they were sufficiently distinctive to identify the wearer.[28] When an unwanted child was exposed, its tokens were exposed with it. This was done even when, so far from hoping it might survive, the parents were determined it should perish. When the infant Cyrus was handed over to a shepherd to be abandoned for wild beasts to devour, it was attired in richly embroidered linen and ornaments of gold; and when the compassionate shepherd substituted for it his own still-born child, he transferred the tokens from the one to the other.[29] The custom of exposing the tokens cannot therefore in general have been prompted by the hope of subsequent recovery, though that may have been a secondary motive in particular cases. It was a ritual act, inspired by the belief that the child's soul was partly contained in its clothes, which bore the marks of its origin.

The Arabs brand their cattle with a distinctive sign called *wasm*, which originally, according to Robertson Smith, was a clan emblem, like those employed by the Bantus to mark both

[27] Robertson Smith RS 335, Karsten 1–197, Hollis NLF 27.

[28] Roman children wore round the neck a little box containing a phallus, the boys until they assumed the *toga virilis*, the girls probably till marriage: Daremberg-Saglio *s.v.* Bulla. What happened to the Greek tokens is not so clear, but in the case of Orestes they were carefully preserved, and in another instance they were dedicated by a girl at marriage: Longus 4. 37, cf. p. 248. At Athens the swaddling-bands were commonly made from the clothes, kept for the purpose, in which the parents had been initiated at Eleusis: Ar. *Pl.* 845 sch.

[29] Hdt. 1. 111. 3, 113. 2, cf. Hom. *H.* 3. 121–2.

the clan cattle and the clansmen.[30] The word *wasm* is cognate with *ism*, the Arabic for 'name'. The same equation—'mark', 'name', 'know', 'kin'—is found in the Indo-European languages (p. 46). The Theban Spartoi had two emblems, a snake and a spear. The story was that every member of the clan was marked with a spear from birth. But birthmarks are not hereditary, and it has been plausibly suggested that the spear was really a tattoo.[31] It served the same purpose as the snake necklace with which the daughter of Erechtheus adorned her child in memory of her ancestor, the snake-man (p. 116). When Orestes returned home, he proved his identity to his sister, who had not seen him since he was a child, by showing him a garment she had woven for him—probably his swaddling-bands.[32] It was embroidered with animal designs. Throughout antiquity animals were a traditional motive in the metal ornaments and embroidered linen in which infants were attired. There are several instances in Menander. Syriskos is examining the tokens of a foundling: 'Here's an iron ring plated with gold, and on the seal is carved —is it a bull or a goat?' Again: 'Go and fetch the casket with the embroideries in it—you know, the one I gave you to keep. . . . Isn't this a he-goat or an ox or some such beast? . . . That's the attire they found me in as a child.'[33] The *gnorismata* were survivals from the time when children had been marked with the clan totem. They signified that, as a reincarnation of the clan ancestor, the child had inherited by right of birth the ancestral duties and privileges—the *moira*—of his clan. And hence, as projections of the women who wove the embroidered swaddling-bands, the Moirai stood for the authority of ancestral custom, which determined each man's birthright.

The same conclusion is reached by another line of argument. The *daimon* of the Orphics and Pythagoreans was the *genius* or guardian spirit who took charge of a man at birth and decided all the crucial issues of his life. This is the Egyptian *ka*, the

[30] Robertson Smith KMEA 213, Hollis MLF 290, NLF 22.

[31] Arist. *Poet.* 1454b, D. Chr. 1. 149R, Hyg. *F.* 72, Plu. *M.* 563a; Harrison T 435, cf. Cook Z 2. 122.

[32] A. *C.* 230 sch.

[33] Men. *Epit.* 170–4, *PK.* 631–60. In Philost. *Im.* 1. 26 the Horai scatter flowers on the swaddling-bands of the infant Hermes 'in order that they may not lack markings.'

Mexican *nagual*, the Amerindian *manitoo*[34]—individual totems formed by analogy from the clan totem, with which in many cases they are combined.[35] And even in Greek, besides this individual *daímon*, we hear of a hereditary *daímon* belonging to the clan.[36] Moreover, this word was constantly used in such a way as to be virtually interchangeable with *moîra*. The Greek for 'trying your luck' was alternatively 'to put your *daímon* to the proof' or 'to ascertain your *moîra*'.[37] Empedokles says there are two kinds of *daímones* or *moîrai* that inaugurate a man's life.[38] Iphigeneia cries out in the same breath against the unlucky *daímon* that brought her from the womb and the Moirai who delivered her mother of a child so miserable.[39] And, to clinch the matter, *daímon* is cognate with *daís*, 'meal', and *dasmós*, 'division'. It is the ancestral spirit who determines each man's *moîra*.

The Moirai were also active at initiation, marriage, and death. At Athens, when a man returned home after being reported dead and duly lamented by his kin, he was readmitted to the community by a ceremony consisting of a mimic birth, and he was described as a *deuterópotmos*,[40] one who had received a second *pótmos*—*pótmos* being synonymous with *moîra* in the sense of that which 'falls' to one's lot (Latin *casus*). In myth, it was the Moirai who attended the bridal bed of Zeus and Hera.[41] In cult, the bride offered a lock of her hair to Artemis and the Moirai.[42] Of the bridal night it was said, 'This night inaugurates a new *pótmos*, a new *daímon*'.[43] And phrases like *moîra thanátou*, 'portion of death',[44] show that

[34] T. E. Peet in CAH 1. 334, Budge GE 1. 163, Moret 8, 145, Meek 202–7, Bancroft 2. 277, Schoolcraft 196.

[35] Webster 154.

[36] A. *A.* 1478, 1568.

[37] A. *Th.* 493, *C.* 511.

[38] Emp. 122=Plu. *M.* 474b.

[39] E. *IT.* 203–7, cf. *Hcl.* 212–4, *Il.* 3. 182. The δαίμων γενέθλιος of Pi. *O.* 13. 105 is the πότμος συγγενής of *N.* 5. 40.

[40] Plu. *M.* 265a, Hsch. δευτερόποτμος. Among the Hindus a man who returns from abroad has to be 'born again': Frazer GB–TPS 113.

[41] Ar. *Av.* 1731–43, Pi. fr. 30.

[42] Poll. 3. 38.

[43] Antipho Soph. fr. 49.

[44] A. *Pr.* 919, *A.* 1463, cf. *Il.* 16. 457, 23. 9.

man had his allotted portion in the life beyond the grave. The key to this complex of ideas is that birth, initiation, marriage, death—the normal divisions or *moîrai* of human life—are treated in primitive thought as events of the same nature.

The Moirai originated as impersonations of ancestral custom, as symbols of the economic and social functions of primitive communism—the sharing of game, the sharing of booty, the sharing of land, the sharing of labour between the clans; that is to say, they grew out of the neolithic mother-goddesses, who, emanating from the female elders of the matriarchal clan, symbolised the collective authority of countless generations of ancestresses who had held undisputed sway over the lives of men ever since they had lived in clans. Æschylus remembered that in the beginning of the world the Moirai had been supreme.[45]

3. *The Horai and Charites*

Having identified the Moirai, we have little trouble in interpreting the Horai and Charites, who figure in English poetry as the Hours and Graces.

The names of the Horai—Eunomia, Eirene, Dike[46]—belong to class society. Eunomia, Law and Order, speaks for herself; Eirene, Peace, was an idea that took shape with the city-states;[47] and, as we shall see immediately, Dike is a post-Homeric substitute for Moira. But they are older than their names. Their primitive character is revealed in their collective name, referring to the divisions of the year, and in their worship as spirits of fecundity.[48] Besides ordaining the times and seasons of labour on the land,[49] besides filling their baskets with flowers, sheaves, and fruits,[50] they assisted at the wedding of Semele,[51] and swaddled the new-born Hermes, dandling him on their knees.[52] The Charites are Euphrosyne (Mirth), Thaleia

[45] A. *Pr.* 531–4. [46] Hes. *Th.* 901–2. [47] Hasebroek 118.
[48] Philoch. 18, 171, cf. Ar. *Pa.* 308. [49] Hes. *Th.* 903, Paus. 1. 40. 4.
[50] Eus. *PE.* 3. 11. 38, cf. *AP.* 6. 98.
[51] Nonn. *D.* 8. 4–5, cf. Mosch. *Id.* 2. 164.
[52] Pi. *P.* 9. 59–62, Philost. *Im.* 1. 26, cf. E. *Ba.* 418–20, Paus. 2. 13. 3. They were also goddesses of childbirth: Nonn. *D.* 3. 381–2, 9. 12–6, 16. 396–8, 48. 801.

(Revelry), and Aglaia (Radiance).[53] They danced at the wedding of Kadmos,[54] danced at the wedding of Peleus,[55] danced with Aphrodite,[56] danced with the Horai at Olympian feasts,[57] danced with the Horai and Moirai at the birth of Persephone.[58]

It is evident that these three trinities are really one. They

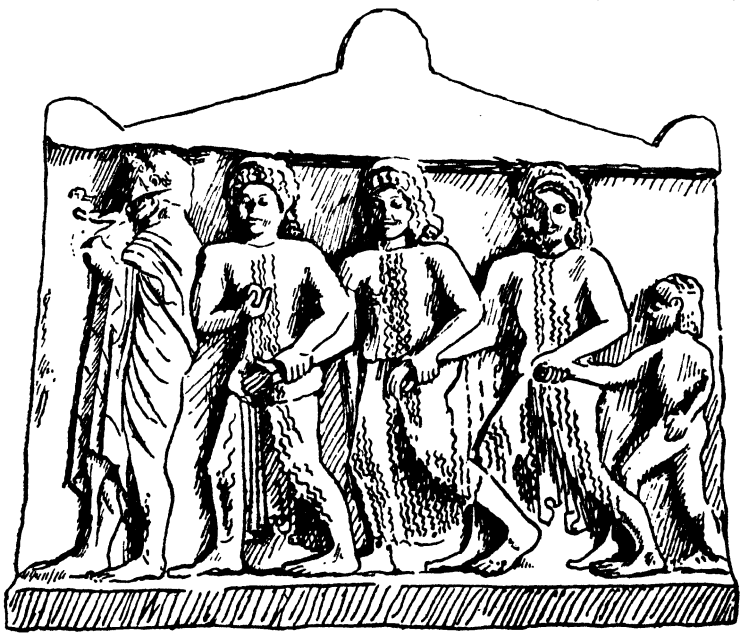


FIG. 51. *Charites: Attic relief*

are all simply the anonymous plurality of ancestresses as distinct from the individualised mother-goddesses who emerged out of them with the rise of the archaic matriarchal state. Again and again they appear as a sort of chorus with one or other of the mother-goddesses as coryphæus. Artemis was worshipped in conjunction with the Moirai.[59] Demeter bore the title of Bringer of the Horai.[60] The Argive Hera had a

[53] Hes. *Th.* 907–9. [54] Thgn. 15–6. [55] Q.S. 4. 140.
[56] *Od.* 18. 193–5, cf. 8. 362–6, *Il.* 5. 338. [57] Hom. *H.* 3. 194–6.
[58] Orph. *H.* 43. [59] *CIG.* 1444.
[60] Hom. *H.* 2. 54, 192, 492, cf. Call. *Cer.* 122–4, Nonn. *D.* 11. 501–4, *IG.* 12. 5. 893 Ἀπόλλων Ὡρομέδων, cf. Call. *Ap.* 87, Paus. 3. 18. 10, 8. 31. 3.

crown adorned with figures of the Horai and Charites.[61] In the *Odyssey* the dance-leader of the Charites is Aphrodite.[62] In Attic tradition the same goddess was described as the eldest of the Moirai.[63] Really she was one of the youngest.

4. *The Erinyes*

The Erinyes are at first sight entirely different:

> Maidens abominable, children grey with years,
> With whom no god consorts nor man nor beast,
> Abhorred alike in heaven and on earth,
> For evil born, even as the darkness where
> They dwell is evil, the abyss of Tartarus.[64]

Their special concern was to punish the homicide of a kinsman, perjury, unfilial conduct, and inhospitality. The first of these offences has been discussed in Chapter IV. The others correspond to the three 'unwritten laws' of the Eleusinian and Orphic Mysteries: Honour the gods, honour thy parents, honour the stranger.[65] The penalties they applied were insanity, famine, sterility, pestilence. Originally they were believed to act immediately, causing the offender's death. That explains their part in the ordeal by oath, which was said to have been instituted by Rhadamanthys, the legendary lawgiver of Minoan Crete.[66] The accused uttered a conditional curse on himself—he prayed that, if guilty, he might perish together with his clan (p. 134). Accordingly, when the oath ceased to be an actual test of guilt and came to be simply a means of reinforcing the evidence by intimidating the witness,[67] the Erinyes withdrew into the other world, where they tormented the souls of the damned as infernal ministers of Persephone.

Their connection with the unwritten laws is already apparent in the Homeric poems, but these laws are not primitive. The ordeal by oath is found only in the higher stages of tribalism. Filial obedience presupposes the family. The sanctity attaching to suppliants and strangers was designed to meet the shortage of man-power on the land (p. 133) and later the interests of trade. This, together with the references to Rhadamanthys

[61] Paus. 2. 17. 4. [62] *Od.* 18. 193–5. [63] Paus. 1. 19. 2. [64] A. *E.* 68–73.
[65] G. Thomson AO 1. 51–2, 2. 269–72. [66] Pl. *Lg.* 948. [67] Diamond 52.

and Persephone, suggests that the unwritten laws were a legacy from Minoan Crete.[68]

The Erinyes figure prominently in the myth of Œdipus, who belonged to the House of Kadmos. From his father Laios he and his sons after him inherited a curse, embodied in the Erinys, which eventually destroyed the dynasty.[69] That was the Delphic tradition.[70] In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the Fury who afflicts Œdipus is not his father's but his mother's,[71] and there are other indications, besides their sex, that these spirits belonged originally to the female line.[72] They were invoked by Althaia against her son, Meleagros, for the murder of her brother, and the crime for which they persecuted Orestes and Alkmaion was matricide.[73] These were all cases of murder within the kin—the most terrible sin that a tribesman can commit. Consequently, when we find the Erinyes described as 'curses'[74] and imagined as snakes, we can see in them at bottom a particular aspect of those same matriarchal ancestresses whose malediction upheld the inviolability of tribal custom.

The Erinyes too were associated with goddesses, but only with Demeter and Persephone. In Homer they share with Persephone the duty of punishing the souls of perjurers.[75] The Arcadian Demeter Erinys bore their name,[76] and Demeter was everywhere associated with the snake (pp. 118, 253). The Erinyes are the Moirai of Minoan Crete.

5. *The Indo-European Origin of the Moirai*

Several attempts have been made to find an Indo-European etymology for the word *erinýs*, but without success. In dealing

[68] The ordeal by oath is more prominent in the Laws of Gortyna than in any other primitive code: Diamond 364–5. The Dorian conquerors of Crete took over many institutions from the older population, who continued to observe the laws of Minos: Arist. *Pol.* 1271b.

[69] Pi. *O.* 2. 42–6, A. *Th.* 710–2, 751–2, 770–2, 776, S. *OC.* 1434.

[70] Hdt. 4. 149.

[71] *Od.* 11. 279–80.

[72] Like the Moirai, they were worshipped exclusively by women: E. *Mel. Capt.* 18–21.

[73] *Il.* 9. 565–72, Apld. 1. 8. 3, 3. 7. 5. [74] See p. 136.

[75] *Il.* 9. 454–7. [76] Paus. 8. 25. 4.

with Greek, which includes a large element derived from alien languages for the most part unknown, something more than a bare linguistic possibility is needed to establish an Indo-European etymology, because from the nature of the case we are unable to estimate alternative possibilities on the other side. All that can be said in the present instance is that the word connotes 'madness', as shown by the Latin *Furia* and the Greek *erinýo* 'rage'.[77] This idea is radical, and no Indo-European origin has been found to cover it.

Moîra, on the other hand, is definitely Indo-European, and this point enables us to press our analysis a step further. Being associated with mother-right, the Moirai must go very far back into Indo-European prehistory. The same conclusion follows from their part in the sharing of meat, which takes us back ultimately to a hunting economy. That being so, we expect to find cognate concepts in other branches of Indo-European culture. The subject is too wide to be investigated here, but a few words may be said about the Roman Parcæ, the Celtic Matres Deæ, and the Germanic Norns.

The Parcæ do not help much. As spirits of childbirth, they are no doubt of the same ultimate origin, but their presentation as a trinity of spinners is due to Greek influence, and apart from this there is little to distinguish them from the host of good and evil spirits, personifications and abstractions, out of which the Roman pontiffs elaborated an all-embracing system of spells and incantations designed to keep the populace in permanent fear of the wrath to come.[78] If the idea of Moira survived at all in Latin, it is rather to be looked for in such words as *caro* 'flesh' (Umbrian *karu* 'portion'), *sors* 'lot' (*sero* 'plait'), and *casus* (cf. Gk. *pótmos*).[79]

The Matres Deæ appear on hundreds of votive reliefs and plaques, dating mostly from the second century A.D., which have been found in northern Italy, France, Spain, Britain, and Germany west of the Rhine.[80] One of the types is a trinity of seated women with baskets of fruit in their laps; another is a

[77] Paus. 8. 25. 6.
[78] Roscher LGRM *s.v.* Indigitamenta, cf. Plb. 6. 56. 6–12.
[79] Buck CGGL 49, Ernout–Meillet *s.vv.*
[80] M. Ihm in Roscher LGRM 2. 2464–79: fig. 52.

chorus of women dancing with joined hands. In some of the seated groups one of the figures holds a cornucopia—the Greek horn of Amaltheia.[81] The last feature is of special interest, because it recalls the Venus of Laussel—a palæolithic rock-carving of a naked woman holding a bison's horn.[82] The



FIG. 52. *Matres Deae: relief from Avigliano*

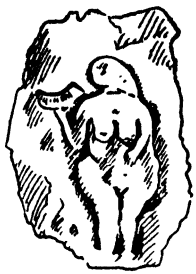


FIG. 53. *Venus of Laussel: palæolithic carving*

Matres Deæ may be regarded as a fusion of the Celtic mother-goddesses with older cults associated with the female figurine.

The Norns have left no cult monuments, but they figure prominently in myth, and their resemblance to the Moirai is very close. They too are goddesses of birth, marriage, and death; they too are spinners of fate.[83] Greek influence can be ruled out. It could only have come through Rome, and the Roman concept of the Parcæ as spinners, being merely a literary borrowing, was confined to the educated classes. If it had made any impression on popular thought, it would have left its mark on the Matres Deæ, but, though the finds are plentiful, there appears to be only one in which these are identified with the Parcæ and none in which they are spinning. It seems clear that the Norns and the Moirai belong to a common Indo-European heritage.

[81] See p. 250 n. 10.

[82] CAH Plates 1. 8: fig. 53.

[83] Paul 3. 282, Mannhardt GM 576, 609, cf. Chadwick GL 1. 208, 218, 646. Whether the concept of Moira occurs in other IE languages is more than I can say, but it is worth noting that Gk μοῖρα (1) 'share' (2) 'esteem' (3) 'fate' corresponds to the Irish (1) *cion* (a) 'share' (b) 'affection' (2) *cinneamhaint* 'fate'.

6. *The Transformation of Moira*

The Moirai and Erinyes are closely related in Greek mythology. Æschylus says that the world was governed in the beginning by 'the threefold Moirai and the unforgetting Erinyes', who were then more powerful than Zeus.[84] The women of Œdipus cry out against 'Moira, giver of evil, and the ghost of Œdipus, the black Erinys'.[85] When Agamemnon repents of having robbed Achilles of his *géras*, he attributes his blunder to the malice of Zeus, Moira, and Erinys.[86] When Zeus warns Poseidon not to trespass beyond his *moîra*, he reminds him that the eldest brother's portion is protected by the Erinyes.[87]

In post-Homeric poetry Moira is often replaced by Dike. When Agamemnon and Menelaos refused the right of burial—the *moîra* of the dead—to Ajax, the dead man's brother cursed them in the names of Zeus, Erinys, and Dike 'who brings fulfilment' (*telesphóros*).[88] This was a traditional epithet of Moira. In the *Oresteia* parents struck down by their children appeal to Dike and the Erinyes, and in the same way Herakleitos declared that, if the Sun were to transgress his appointed 'measures' (*métra*), he would be found out by the Erinyes, ministers of Dike.[89] The idea of *métron* was a post-Homeric development of *moîra*.[90] These passages show that Dike has taken over the functions of Moira,[91] and that both are related to the Erinyes. The nature of the relationship seems to be that, whereas Moira is offended by transgression of the limits set to human conduct, the actual chastisement of the offender is left to the Erinyes. The Moirai decree, the Erinyes execute.[92] And this traditional co-operation corresponds to the fusion of cultures underlying Greek civilisation, the dominance of the Indo-European element being reflected in the superior authority of the Moirai.

[84] A. *Pr.* 531–4. [85] A. *Th.* 962–4. [86] *Il.* 19. 86–7. [87] *Il.* 15. 204.
[88] S. *Aj.* 1389–92, cf. 1326–7, *An.* 1070–5, A. *Pr.* 527.
[89] A. *E.* 514–5, Heraclit. 94. [90] G. Thomson AA 78.
[91] Cf. Pi. *P.* 4. 145–6 with Pl. *Leg.* 943e, Hes. *Op.* 256–62. So the Homeric κατὰ μοῖραν 'appropriately' anticipates the later κατὰ δίκην: *Il.* 1. 286, Hdt. 7. 35. 2 etc.
[92] That is why it is the Erinyes who silence the horse of Achilles after it has said all that it is fated to say: *Il.* 19. 418.

In excusing his blunder Agamemnon coupled with Moira and Erinys the name of Zeus. How did Zeus stand to the Moirai? We turn to the evolution of the kingship. As a specialised occupation, it became eventually hereditary,[93] but for a long time the succession remained subject to popular ratification. When the sons of Temenos murdered their father in order to secure the succession, the people intervened and gave it to the son-in-law.[94] Telemachos aspired to his father's kingdom, but all he claimed as his by right was the inheritance of his property.[95] Similarly, when Agamemnon was accused of taking more than his share of the spoils,[96] we can see that the king was beginning to claim as a right what was properly a gift from his people. So with Zeus. In the beginning, according to Æschylus, he had been powerless to override the Moirai.[97] When his son Sarpedon was about to fall in battle, he was tempted to save him, but Hera deterred him with the warning that, if he violated the decrees of fate, other gods would follow his example.[98] On the other hand, such expressions as *moîra theôn* and *epeklósanto theoí* are signs that the Moirai are surrendering their authority,[99] and their eventual subordination is revealed at a later date in the cult-title *moiragétes*, applied to the Olympian Zeus and the Delphic Apollo.[100] The new gods have conquered. The tribe has been superseded by the state.

Spinning was the woman's task. The significance of Moira from this point of view may be contrasted with another element in Greek thought, which had its origin in the work of the men. The notion of pasture underlies a word which in social importance was eventually to eclipse Moira. The word *nómos* denoted originally, like *moîra* itself, a 'division' or 'portion', but it differed in two respects. It had no connection with the lot, and it was applied only to pasture.[101] Long after the *moîra* of the clan had been broken up into family holdings,

[93] Cf. Roscoe B (1911) 13, Radin 16. [94] Apld. 2. 8. 5; see p. 166.
[95] *Od.* 1. 389–98. [96] *Il.* 9. 330–4, 367–8. [97] A. *Pr.* 534.
[98] *Il.* 16. 433–49. [99] *Od.* 11. 292, 22. 413, 1.17, *Il.* 24. 525.
[100] Paus. 5. 15. 5, 8. 37. 1, 10. 24. 4, cf. 1. 40. 4, E. fr. 260, *El.* 1247–8, Mel. fr. adesp. 5, Orph. *H.* 59. 11–4, fr. 248. 4.
[101] Cornford RP 27–31.

the pastures remained common, their use being regulated by customary rights. In this way *nómos* developed the sense of a common usage, an accepted custom, and so custom as by law established.[102] Both had their roots in tribal life, but, whereas at the opening of the historical era Moira was already on the wane, Nomos only matured in the démocratic city-state. The decline of Moira and the rise of Nomos mark the transition from the matriarchal tribe to the patriarchal state.

With the growth of class inequalities, the use of the lot for the distribution of wealth became more and more restricted, with the result that the Moirai, who had asserted the birthright of all men to the fruits of their labour, were transformed into inexorable Fates whose authority was used to reconcile men with their lot, however meagre, in the new social order, in which the majority had been dispossessed; and consequently, robbed of their birthright in the real world—their share in 'the fatness of the earth and plenty of corn and wine'—they were driven to console themselves with the mystical hope of recovering their lost heritage in an illusory world beyond the grave. The birthright became a deathright.

[102] Cf. ἦθος (1) 'habitat' (2) 'habit', 'custom'.

X

THE FORMATION OF TOWNS

1. *Thucydides on Primitive Greece*

IN his exposition of the origin and growth of the Greek *pólis* Thucydides reveals himself as a materialist historian of the first rank:

It is apparent that the country now called Hellas was in early times insecurely occupied and subject to frequent movements of population as each community found itself dispossessed by ever more powerful invaders. In the absence of trade and free intercourse by land or sea every community depended on its own territory for the necessities of life. There was no superfluity of wealth, and no cultivation of fruits, because they never knew when they might be dislodged from their unfortified habitations; nor were they reluctant to move, being confident of obtaining anywhere the means to satisfy their immediate needs; and hence their towns were not distinguished by size or other marks of power. Such migrations were always most frequent where the best soil was to be had—in Thessaly, Bœotia, the greater part of the Peloponnese, excepting Arcadia, and other fertile districts. The fruitfulness of these regions favoured the accumulation of wealth, which promoted in turn destructive civil factions, thereby inviting foreign attack. Attica, on the other hand, preserved from discord by the poverty of her soil, remained in uninterrupted possession of the same people. . . .

It is clear that before the Trojan War the country had never joined in any common enterprise or even possessed a common appellation. The name Hellas dates only from Hellen. Before his time there had been separate names for the several nations, of which the most considerable was the Pelasgian. . . . At that time the various peoples of common speech that came eventually to be called Hellenes were too weak and scattered to act in concert, and it was only after making progress in maritime communication that they engaged in the Trojan War.

The earliest ruler known to have possessed a fleet was Minos. He made himself master of the Greek waters and subjugated the Cyclades by expelling the Carians and establishing his sons in control of the new settlements founded in their place; and naturally, for the safe conveyance of his revenues, he did all he could to suppress piracy. The early Greeks, like the barbarians of the islands and coasts, had taken to piracy as soon as they learnt to sail the seas. Commanded by capable leaders, for the sake of personal gain and the relief of their poor, they raided and ravaged the unfortified groups of village communities, gaining the greater part of their livelihood in this way.

In those days, so far from being discreditable, the occupation was rather a source of honour, as it still is, subject to the observance of certain decencies, among some peoples of the mainland; and that is how it was regarded by the early poets, who represent mariners as being asked on landing whether they are pirates, implying that the truth would not be denied and that there was no reproach in the question. Forays were also undertaken by land, as is still done by the Lokroi Ozolai, Aitoloi, Akarnanes, and other Greek peoples. . . .

In regard to towns, those founded in the later period and possessed of some surplus wealth were all fortified and situated by the sea on narrow necks of land in order to facilitate trade and strengthen their hold on their neighbours; but the earlier foundations, being exposed to the attacks of pirates, were located at a distance from the sea.[1]

Such unstable conditions placed a premium on pastoral wealth, which had the advantage that, when the people were forced to move, they could take their flocks and herds with them. The Homeric poems contain many allusions to cattle-raids,[2] and the marauding expeditions described by Thucydides were no doubt largely of this character. The same conditions had a contrary effect on tillage. Vines and olives in particular were a long-term investment requiring irrigation (p. 310) and in early times they were precluded for this reason. The instability of the settlements did not permit of a permanent attachment to the soil. And so in the more backward areas agriculture was restricted to cereals, which yielded a quick return. The state of the country was therefore favourable to migratory agriculture, providing for periodical redistribution of the arable.[3]

Thucydides applies the term *pólis* to both types of settlement—the unfortified group of villages and the fortified town. This comprehensive use of the word argues an unbroken development from the primitive village community to the imperial city whose downfall he lived to see.

2. *Formation of Towns in the Historical Period*

The difference in cultural development between town and country is a familiar feature of modern capitalism, in which the

[1] Th. 1. 2–5, 7. [2] *Il.* 1. 154, 11. 672, 20. 91, *Od.* 21. 16–9.

[3] Cf. Das 445, writing of the Kuki tribes of the Manipur Hills: 'Shifting cultivation does not help the accumulation of wealth in individual hands and the consequent growth of rank; on the other hand, it has bred an extreme democratic spirit in their social and political life.'

interests of the countryside are subordinated systematically to those of the town. The industrial town is the residential unit characteristic of capitalist production; the village is a remnant of feudalism.

In ancient Greece a similar difference was apparent, but, in keeping with the lower level of society as a whole, it manifested itself as a contrast between civilisation and barbarism. The city-state was a recognised mark of civilised life as opposed to the barbarous or semi-barbarous custom of living in open villages. Strabo repeatedly draws attention to the village life of the barbarians:

> Some writers state that the Iberians of Spain have over a thousand towns, but I think they must be referring to their large villages. Whether it is poverty of soil, or the great distances, or the wildness of the country, the natural conditions do not permit of many towns, and, apart from the southern and eastern coasts, the life and manners of the people suggest nothing of the kind. The majority of the Iberians are village-dwellers, and as such they are uncivilised.[4]

He is well aware that the Greeks themselves had once lived in the same way:

> In Homer's time the present city of Elis had not been founded; the people lived in villages. . . . It was not till after the Persian Wars that the city came into being, formed by the federation of several demes. The same is true of nearly all the Peloponnesian settlements, with the few exceptions that the poet names. They were not cities but regional groups of demes, from which the cities we know afterwards arose. Mantineia, for example, was a combination of five demes, Tegea and Heraia of eight, Patrai of seven, Dyme of eight.[5]

Similarly, the territory of Megara had consisted of five districts, each comprising several villages, which were eventually united under the city of that name.[6] In many cases the urbanisation was effected by stages—the combination of villages into a town, the combination of towns into a city. In Roman times, for example, the island of Keos contained two towns, Ioulis and Karthaia, but previously there had been four.[7] The unification of Rhodes dated from 508 B.C. The new capital, named after the island, drew its population from the

[4] Str. 163, cf. 186, 218, 241, 250, D.S. 5. 6, Hdt. 1. 96.
[5] Str. 336–7, cf. Plb. 4. 73. 7.
[6] Plu. *M.* 295b, Th. 4. 70.
[7] Str. 486, cf. 657, Paton xxvii.

three ancient towns of Lindos, Ialysos, and Kameiros; and since each of these contained a number of demes, it is clear that they too had evolved from groups of adjacent villages.[8]

These examples show that the making of city-states went on all through Greek history. In Thucydides' day the Greeks of Aitolia and Akarnania were still living in open settlements,[9] and even Sparta was only a group of villages 'after the old Hellenic fashion'.[10] A generation or so later two events provided as it were a practical demonstration of the city-state's anatomy. In 386 B.C. the Spartans forced the citizens of Mantineia to demolish their city and scatter themselves among the villages out of which it had been formed.[11] They were trying to put the clock back. Twenty years later, when Spartan rule had been overthrown, the *disjecta membra* of Mantineia were reunited, and in addition a new city was founded at Megalopolis, incorporating all the towns and villages for miles around.[12] We see what Aristotle meant when he defined the *pólis* as 'a union of several villages'.[13]

3. *From Tribal Camp to City-state*

In Chapter VIII it was argued that the Attic *dêmos* originated as a village community of a familiar type—the territorial unit corresponding to the clan. The current Greek for 'village' was *kóme*. Aristotle says expressly that *kóme* (*kóma*) was the Doric equivalent of the Attic *dêmos*; and just as Plutarch couples deme and clan together, implying that they had once been co-extensive (p. 326), so in another passage Aristotle describes the city-state (*pólis*) as 'a union of clans (*géne*) and villages (*kômai*)'.[14] The typical Greek village was in origin a clan settlement.

The history of the *pólis* is imbedded in its name. The uppermost stratum in the meaning of the word is 'city-state' in the

[8] Str. 653–4, *SIG.* 339 n. 2, 570 n. 4. [9] Th. 3. 94. 4.

[10] Th. 1. 10. 2. [11] X. *Hell.* 5. 2. 5–7. [12] Paus. 8. 27, D.S. 15. 72.

[13] Arist. *Pol.* 1252b. In *SIG.* 344 (Hellenistic period, Teos) we have a decree for rebuilding the town with the object of absorbing the population of Lebedos, who are to be known henceforward as Teioi, thus losing their separate identity, except that they will have a cemetery of their own.

[14] Arist. *Poet.* 1448a, *Pol.* 1281a. 14.

abstract—the organisational form characteristic of civilised society. Beneath this lies the concrete application to the city itself, including its satellite villages. At this level a distinction emerges between the citadel and the lower town, the *akrópolis* and the *ásty*. The former term, universal in later Greek, occurs twice in the *Odyssey*, but in the *Iliad* we find only the disjunctive form *ákre pólis*, and in several passages the citadel is simply the *pólis* without qualification.[15] This brings us down to the basic meaning of the word—a natural stronghold, such as would have been a good site for a village settlement in the troubled times described by Thucydides.

Let us now try to sketch the growth of these Greek villages, guided by the general considerations advanced in the preceding chapters and availing ourselves where possible of additional evidence bearing on points of detail. Our picture will necessarily be over-simplified, but it will give us a working hypothesis which we can then proceed to test.

The earliest Greek tribal settlements were temporary. They may have been occupied for a year, for several years, for a generation, but sooner or later the tribe was forced to move. It is clear that a shifting settlement of this kind must have reproduced the plan of the nomadic tribal camp, because, except to the extent that it has become fixed, it is nothing but a camp.

The evidence relating to tribal camps is plentiful, though it has never been collected. I will cite some typical examples. The Australian Arunta arrange their camp in a circle, which is divided into two semicircles, one for each moiety, and four quarters, one for each phratry. Members of a phratry are at liberty to pitch their windbreaks anywhere within the allotted quarter, except that a patch of ground is reserved as a meeting-place.[16] The Amerindian camps are planned on the same principle. The Kansas tribe, for example, is divided into two phratries of eight clans each, and their camp takes the form of a circle bisected by the line of march, each phratry being accommodated in one of the semicircles. One way of stating the rule of exogamy is to say that a man must take a wife from

[15] *Od.* 8. 494, 504, *Il.* 6. 88, 257, 297, 317, 22. 383 etc.; *Il.* 6. 86, 17. 144, *Od.* 14. 472–3.

[16] Spencer A 501–4.

the far side of the circle.[17] The tribal camp is thus a diagram of the tribal system. So, when the tribe has ceased to be nomadic, the village settlements reproduce the same pattern. Each clan resides in its own village or ward.[18] In Mexico the land was divided among the clans (*calpulli*) subject to annual reallotment, and the townships in which the people resided were divided into as many wards as there were clans.[19]

We have seen that in Rhodes the three ancient townships corresponded to the three tribes (pp. 324–5) and were surrounded by villages corresponding to the clans (p. 326). Early Rhodes was thus a typical tribal settlement. Similarly, the Aitoloi, who in the fifth century were still living in open villages, were divided into three tribes—the Apodotoi, the Eurytanes, and the Ophioneis.[20] The people of Malis were also divided into three, and the island of Zakynthos was a *tetrápolis* or confederacy of four towns.[21] A similar origin may be postulated for the ancient Attic *tetrápolis* of Marathon, Oinoe, Probalinthos, and Trikorythos, which was maintained as a religious union.[22] These are all tribal confederacies at different stages of growth or decay.

Let us try to envisage the manner in which such settlements were formed. This means going back to the neolithic village community. To simplify the argument I shall assume that the settlers are already patriarchal, although in neolithic Greece this would have been the exception rather than the rule.

The territory to be occupied by the tribe and the subdivisions allotted to the clans are chosen with regard to the nature of the soil, the accessibility of water, and perhaps also the needs of defence. Each clan centres its village so far as possible on some rocky height or natural place of vantage. The best site is assigned to the clan of the tribal chief. If it is large enough, the whole village is built on it; if not, the chief and his family establish themselves on the chosen centre, with the other households clustered round and ready in time of danger to take refuge in his compound. Or it may happen that the

[17] Dorsey 230–2, cf. 216–21, 233, Hale 184, Haeckel 457–60.
[18] Gatschet 1. 154, Bourke 229. [19] Bancroft 2. 226–7.
[20] Th. 3. 94. 4–5. [21] Th. 3. 92, 2. 30.
[22] *SIG.* 541 n. 1. Its founders may have been the Lapithai (p. 264).

whole village is surrounded with a palisade or rampart, and it may then serve as a refuge for the other villages.[23]

Within the village each household has its own residence, with an enclosed garden attached, and somewhere within the area, perhaps in front of the chief's house, there is an open space—the ancient *agorá*, the modern *plateía*, our own village green. The village tree in the middle of this space, surrounded it may be by a stone bench for the elders, is still a familiar sight in Greece.[24] This is where the clansmen assemble. The heads of households enjoy the right to meet, eat and deliberate in the chief's house. As head of the principal household, the chief is in a special sense the representative of the clan ancestor, and so his hearth is invested with a special sanctity. It is the ancestral hearth of the clan, recalling the time when, not yet divided into families, the clan had gathered round a single camp fire. Outside the village, but within its territory, lie the ploughed fields and beyond them the grazing land and waste. Tillage and pasturage are controlled by the village assembly under the direction of the elders. The arable is distributed among the families in small open holdings and redistributed at regular intervals. The pasture is undivided. The only well-established division of labour is between the sexes.

So much for the internal organisation of the village. The relations between the villages are regulated on the same principles. Just as the house of the clan chief is the best-protected in the village, so the village of the tribal chief is the best-protected in the territory. Just as the clan chief presides at the ancestral hearth of the clan, so the tribal chief presides at the ancestral hearth of the tribe. Just as the clan chief entertains the other heads of households, the elders of the clan, so the tribal chief entertains the other clan chiefs, the elders of the tribe. Just as each village has a meeting-place for the clansmen, so the tribesmen of all clans meet in the principal village to determine, under the direction of the tribal chief and elders, major issues affecting the whole community, such as peace and war, migration, and the reception of strangers.

[23] Tritsch SA 70, cf. Baden-Powell 67.

[24] Hdt. 4. 15. 4, cf. Baden-Powell 23, Gurdon 33, Chadwick GL 1. 324. On the relation of the *agorá* to the king's house see Tritsch AE, Wycherley 21–2.

So far we have treated the community as a self-contained unit. It may have relations with other similar communities, but these are not such as to disturb its structure as a whole, based on neolithic self-sufficiency. A new stage is reached with the introduction of metals. Metal tools are far more efficient than tools of wood or stone. They may be produced locally, or they may be brought in by itinerant smiths. In either case the effect is to raise the productivity of labour to a level at which it becomes possible to support a number of specialists—the smith, the mason, the tanner, and so on; and of course these new divisions of labour open the way in their turn for further improvements in the technique of production. In each community there now dwell, in addition to the chiefs and cultivators, a number of artisans—*demiourgoi* in Greek, men who 'work for the community', implying that they are remunerated by the community with payments in kind.[25]

The development of these new techniques requires, not merely that there should be some surplus available from agriculture, but that this surplus, which has been scattered hitherto in small fragments among the individual cultivators, should be concentrated so as to make it effective. This is done by placing it in the hands of the chiefs. The chiefs become the recipients of regular tribute in the form of tithes or labour services. Such payments are given freely by the clansmen as a due return for benefits received, whether these benefits be real, such as protection from marauders or successful leadership in war, or imaginary, such as a plentiful harvest or some other good fortune attributed to the magical powers of the chief. But the underlying factor is economic. Only in this way can sufficient capital be accumulated for the new technical developments. Even so metal remains scarce. The chiefs tend to reserve the available supply for their own use. Working with copper or bronze, the artisans invent for them a new implement, the sword, with which they appropriate forcibly the surplus of neighbouring communities.[26] Warfare becomes an industry. How the lion's share of land and loot goes to the chiefs has been described in Chapter VIII. Each of them has now his *témenos*, tilled for him by slaves taken in war, and his surplus

[25] *Od.* 3. 432–5, 17. 383–5, 19. 135. [26] Cf. Childe SBS 48.

is now so ample that he can engage in the production of articles for exchange.

The exchange of commodities grew imperceptibly out of intertribal hospitality. The laws of social intercourse evolved within the tribal circle of kith and kin had at first been restricted to that circle. Outside all men were strangers, enemies, to be killed or robbed at will.[27] And hence, when peaceful relations came to be established between tribes, the stranger was admitted into the circle of kindred by the symbolical act of sharing food with him. 'Those who sit and eat together', Robertson Smith remarks, 'are united for all social effects; those who do not eat together are aliens to one another without fellowship in religion and without reciprocal social duties.'[28] The stranger who has been entertained to a meal is a stranger no longer. The enemy has become a guest (Latin *hostis*). When Odysseus arrived as a suppliant at the court of Phæacia, the first thing the king did was to give him a seat at table.[29] In the same way, when the guest departs, he takes with him a gift from his host as a pledge of their new relationship. And so the exchange of gifts comes to be recognised as a guarantee of friendship. Each parting gift constitutes a claim on the recipient to be honoured at some future date. When Athena, disguised as a sea-captain, says goodbye to Telemachos, he presents her with an heirloom, which she promises to repay on her return with a gift of greater value.[30] During the Trojan War, Euneos called at the Greek camp from Lemnos with a cargo of wine. After presenting a thousand measures to Agamemnon and Menelaos he offered the remainder to all and sundry in exchange for metals, oxen, hides, and slaves.[31] Here we have a straightforward act of barter, but preceded by a formal presentation. Acceptance of this is a pledge of security for the transaction that follows. It is at the same time a perquisite for the kings—an impost on trade.

[27] Hence γνωτός (1) 'known' (2) 'kin', cf. Eng. 'kith and kin'.

[28] Robertson Smith RS 269. [29] *Od.* 7. 167–71.

[30] *Od.* 1. 309–18, cf. *Il.* 6. 230–1; Bancroft 1. 192: 'Even their system of presents is a species of trade, the full value of each gift being confidently expected in a return present at the next festive occasion.'

[31] *Il.* 7. 467–75, cf. the Sumerian *nigba*: Langdon in CAH 1. 378.

This explains why barter develops under the chief's control. When the community has reached the stage of absolute surplus production, the meeting-place in the central village becomes a market-place, where the local chiefs barter their surplus for the surplus of other communities. The same course is followed by the artisans. So long as their productive capacity is exhausted by the needs of their fellow clansmen, their operations are confined to their own village; but when improved technique enables them to produce more than the village requires, they too take the surplus to market. And the result is that all social relationships are transformed. The owner of the *témenos*, the recipient of tithes, can no longer pretend that his privileges are a return for services rendered, because he is now using them to make a further profit, and this gives him the power and the incentive to intensify the rate of exploitation. So with the artisans. Once embarked on commodity production, they find it pays to deal with their fellow villagers too on a commercial basis. They cease to be 'workers for the community' and become workers for themselves. The upshot is that sooner or later both chiefs and artisans quit their villages and set up house near the market. The central village becomes a market town. The village handicrafts do not entirely disappear, but the village is no longer self-sufficient. It becomes increasingly dependent on the skilled labour of the town. And in taking this step they sever their clan ties. The chiefs have ceased to represent the separate interests of their clans. They are becoming a landed aristocracy united against the poorer clansmen by a common interest of class against class. The artisans on their part organise themselves in guilds formed on the pattern of the clan; but, so long as the economy remains agrarian, they are not in a position to dispute the supremacy of the landowners.

As for the smallholders, the country cousins, they pursue with their more limited resources the same objective. The very existence of the *témenos* is proof of its economic superiority. Not being liable to redistribution, it can be permanently enclosed, with better protection for the crops, and labour can be put into it as a long-term investment. As the open fields become exhausted, tillage pushes out into the waste, and instead of falling under communal control the land thus reclaimed

becomes individual property. Meanwhile increase of population is reducing the size of the lots in the open fields at each redivision, and so the practice of redivision is abandoned, And, when the holdings have become fixed, their discontinuous distribution in strips, having lost its function, becomes an unmitigated nuisance—an added handicap to the small man in the struggle for the land.

Lastly, this revolution in the economic basis of society transformed the cultural life of the community. When the clan chiefs came to town, they brought their clan cults with them; and, when they had sunk their clan differences in common class interest, the cults were reorganised as state festivals under their joint control (pp. 123–7) with the object of providing a divine sanction for the new social order.

Such in general was the process that converted the tribal settlement, divided by lot into equal shares for all according to their needs, into the city-state, a town governed by a landed nobility and surrounded by a poverty-stricken peasantry in dependent villages. The new unit was the expression of a new division of labour, agrarian and industrial, which, once established, promoted further divisions of labour and thereby raised human life to new levels of complexity on a slave basis.

Although the process continued in different parts of the country throughout antiquity, its specific form was determined in each case, not only by local conditions, which were of course infinitely varied, but by the general level of society at the period in question. The later its date, the more pronounced was its class character. This enables us to interpret what happened at Mantineia in the fourth century (p. 351). The Spartans, who ordered the dissolution of the city, were acting, as they always did, in the interests of the big landowners. Yet, according to our account of the *pólis*, these were the interests that had brought it into being. Yes, but times had changed. During the sixth century the development of commodity production precipitated, in all the advanced city-states, a further revolution—the overthrow of the landed aristocracy by the merchant class. In the fourth century, it was only in backward areas like Arcadia that the landowners were still in power. In these areas, therefore, the impetus to urbanisation

did not come from them; it came from the merchants and artisans and was carried forward as part of the struggle against them. Their aim was to arrest the process or, if possible, to reverse it, as they did for a time at Mantineia.

The same consideration gives us the key to a curious feature of Greek political terminology. At Athens the term *archon* denoted both a clan chief (p. 114) and one of the annually elected officers of state. The former usage was the old one; the latter had grown out of it with the growth of the city-state. It was the clan chiefs who had constituted, at the inception of aristocratic rule, the governing body of the city. At the democratic revolution these offices were brought under popular control, but the old title was retained. In other states, younger than Athens, these annual magistrates were termed *demiourgoi*, 'artisans'.[32] The new term reflects the shift that had taken place in the balance of class forces.

4. *Phœacia and Pylos*

The island of Scheria, where Odysseus was entertained by the Phæacians on the last stage of his travels, was identified with Kerkyra, the modern Corfu.[33] The inhabitants are described as emigrants from Hypereia (not located), from which they had been driven by the depredations of their savage neighbours, the Kyklopes.[34] They were expert navigators. On one occasion they conveyed Rhadamanthys from Crete to Euboia and back in a day.[35] The Homeric account of them is largely fabulous, but their service to Rhadamanthys recalls the Minoan thalassocracy, and

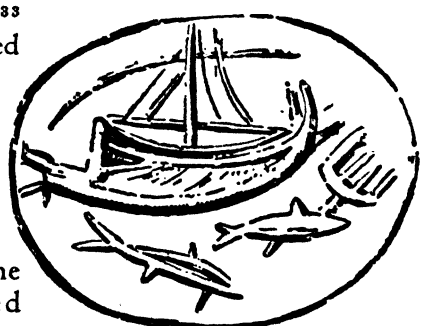


FIG. 54. *Minoan ship: seal*

[32] Th. 5. 47. 9, Hsch. δημιουργός, *SIG.* 183 etc.

[33] Hell. 45, Str. 44, 269, 299, cf. Th. 3. 70. 4.

[34] It was variously located in Sicily or Argos (*Od.* 6. 4 sch., St. B. Ἄργος) but these are merely deductions from the myth of the Kyklopes, which seems to have originated in Anatolia: Roscher LGRM 2. 1688.

[35] *Od.* 7. 321–4.

it is worth noting that settlements of Leleges are recorded in Leukas and Akarnania on the same stretch of coast (p. 170).

What Thucydides says of the towns founded after Minos had suppressed piracy—all fortified and situated down by the sea—answers exactly to the position of Scheria as described in the *Odyssey*. The town lies on a peninsula, with which it is co-extensive. It is approached over a narrow isthmus, with a harbour on either side.[36] Between the harbours is the market-place, an open space paved with stones, with a shrine of Poseidon in the middle.[37] Here are benches of polished stone reserved for the king and his counsellors.[38] On the landward side the approach is barred immediately beyond the market-place by a wall running across the isthmus. The fields and pastures, including the royal *témenos*, which adjoins a grove of Athena, all lie on the mainland.[39] The *témenos* is said to be as far from the town as a man's shout can be heard.[40] This was evidently a recognised measure of distance, being mentioned several times in the *Odyssey*, and if we may judge from the Hindu *kos* it represents about a mile and a half. The *kos* is a standard measure in India, and is based on the old rule that the village territory extends as far from the centre as a man can make his voice heard.[41]

The king's palace is in the town, and the garden attached to it contains the spring where the townspeople draw their water.[42] It is, however, a little misleading to describe the leader of this community as a king. At least he is not a monarch. Alkinoos is a *basileús*, but only one of thirteen.[43] These thirteen chiefs constitute the council of elders (*boulé*). They meet in the royal palace to eat and deliberate, and preside in a body over the assemblies in the market-place.[44] On the morning after the stranger's arrival Alkinoos leads them to their seats in the reserved enclosure, and meanwhile his herald—the town-crier—is summoning the people. The business before the meeting is to make arrangements for entertaining the stranger and

[36] *Od.* 6. 262–5. [37] *Od.* 6. 266–7.
[38] *Od.* 8. 5–7, cf. *Il.* 18. 503–4; Tritsch AE 83, 87, 99.
[39] *Od.* 6. 259, 291–3. [40] *Od.* 6. 294, cf. 5. 400, 9. 473, 12. 181.
[41] Baden-Powell 12. [42] *Od.* 7. 112–31. [43] *Od.* 8. 390–1.
[44] *Od.* 7. 136–7, 185–227, 8. 40–5, 4–7.

conveying him home. Alkinoos invites the other chiefs to a feast at his house, and meanwhile a ship is to be fitted out and manned by fifty-two young men selected from the townspeople.[45] After the feast the company is entertained by the king's minstrel and then returns to the market-place, where they witness a programme of sports and dancing. Then gifts are prepared for the stranger. Each of the chiefs presents him with a cloak and tunic and a talent of gold.[46] At the end of the day the chiefs return to the palace for supper, after which Odysseus reveals his identity and relates his adventures. Enchanted by his story, Alkinoos proposes, and his colleagues agree, that in addition to the presents already arranged each of them shall give a cauldron and tripod, the cost to be defrayed by the people.[47]

In keeping with the aristocratic spirit of Greek epic there are only incidental allusions to the common people. From these we gather that Scheria is a community of a single town. There are no outlying villages. This seems at first inconsistent with our hypothetical picture, but we must remember that it has not grown up on its present site. It has been founded by emigrants in a position favourable for seaborne trade. And when we look more closely into its constitution, we can detect signs of an antecedent stage in which it had conformed to type. The number of the crew which is to take Odysseus home seems to have been fixed with reference to the chiefs. Each chief provides four men. This implies that the town is divided into thirteen wards. And again, when the chiefs agree to present the stranger with a cauldron and tripod each, we are given to understand that the levy falls on the ward. In these wards, or *dêmoi* as they would have been called in Attic, we recognise the separate villages of the original settlement which for the sake of security and trade have now been concentrated on the one site.

When Telemachos landed at Pylos, he found the people gathered on the beach. This was not their normal place of assembly. Outside the palace of Nestor, which was some way from the shore, there was a bench of wrought stone, on which

[45] *Od.* 8. 35–6. [46] *Od.* 8. 390–3.
[47] *Od.* 13. 13–5, cf. 19. 196–8.

Nestor used to sit as his father had done before him.[48] It may be inferred that, when the people met in the ordinary way, they met there. The present occasion is a special one. They are sacrificing bulls to the sea-god Poseidon, who is also the divine ancestor of the House of Nestor. On the beach are nine *hédrai*, with 500 men and nine bulls at each.[49] It is clear from the large numbers involved that these *hédrai* are not 'seats' in the sense of benches or chairs but separate areas marked out for the nine groups into which the people are divided. This is confirmed by other passages in Homer, which show that the market-place was normally divided in this way.[50] And just as the people are marshalled on the beach in nine groups, so, as we learn from the *Iliad*, Nestor's kingdom comprises nine territories. Further, just as each group contributes nine bulls to the sacrifice, so Nestor led to Troy a contingent of ninety vessels, ten from each territory.[51] His kingdom was organised on a tribal basis.

5. *Early Athens*

We pass on to the greatest of all city-states, whose formation is described by Thucydides with the acumen of a trained archæologist:

> From the reign of Kekrops and the earliest kings down to Theseus Attica was inhabited in several townships, each with its own *árchon* and its own *prytaneîon*. Except in time of danger the *árchontes* did not meet in council with the king but administered their affairs independently through their local councils. Sometimes they even went to war with one another, as when the Eleusinians supported Eumolpos against Erechtheus. Theseus, however, a strong and far-sighted king, reconstituted the country by dissolving all these local councils and authorities and removing them to Athens, where he set up a single central council and *prytaneîon*. He did not interfere with their property, but merely compelled them to become members of the one city, which, reinforced from all sides, grew rapidly, and thus enlarged was handed on to his successors. The Athenians have kept ever since a public festival, the

[48] *Od.* 3. 406–12. The Trojan market-place was in front of the palace: *Il.* 2. 788–9. The Olympians assembled on the summit of Olympus, i.e. their acropolis: *Il.* 8. 2–3. See further Tritsch AE 104.

[49] *Od.* 3. 5–8. [50] *Il.* 2. 99, 211, *Od.* 3. 31, 8. 16.

[51] *Il.* 2. 591–602, cf. *Od.* 3. 7. sch.; Glotz CG 44. These figures have been carefully calculated: the total of 4500 (9 × 500) men on the beach corresponds to the personnel of the contingent (90 × 50); cf. p. 423.

Synoikia, in commemoration of the event. Before that time the city had consisted simply of the Acropolis with the ground below it to the south. This is proved by the fact that nearly all the ancient shrines are either on the south side or on the Acropolis itself. . . . Again, the well now known as Nine Springs, which, before it was rebuilt under the tyrants, had been an open spring called Kallirrhoe, was in early times more frequented than any other because of its accessibility; and the custom still survives of using its water for pre-nuptial rites and other sacred purposes. Lastly, it is the ancient use of the Acropolis as a place of residence that explains its present name: Athenians still call it the City (*pólis*).[52]

The *prytaneîon*—a universal feature of the city-state[53]—was the town-hall, the building that housed the civic hearth, an ever-burning fire.[54] When a colony was to be founded, the emigrants took with them burning faggots from the hearth to inaugurate the new *prytaneîon* overseas.[55] This was the building in which distinguished strangers and foreign envoys were publicly entertained, also citizens who had deserved well of the community by exploits in battle or at the panhellenic games.[56] Etymologically the *prytaneîon* is the house of the *prýtanis* or 'president'. This shows that, when the historian speaks of each town having its own *árchon* and *prytaneîon*, he is referring to the house in which the principal chief had entertained the others when they met under his presidency as a council of elders at the sacred hearth of the community. And so the town-hall leads back by a long but unbroken line of descent to the first camp fire.

Further particulars of Theseus are supplied by Aristotle. He divided the people into three classes—Eupatridai, Geomoroi, Demiourgoi.[57] The Eupatridai were the families of the chiefs who enjoyed the hereditary right of serving on the central city council; and their title, 'sons of well-born fathers', suggests that their consolidation as an aristocratic caste coincided with the official recognition of patrilineal succession.

[52] Th. 2. 15.

[53] Aristid. *Pan.* 103. 16 sch., Liv. 41. 20.

[54] Pi. *N.* 11. 1 sch., Paus. 5. 15. 9. In some public oaths Hestia took precedence over Zeus: *SIG.* 527. 10, cf. Pl. *Leg.* 745b, 848d, Paus. 5. 14. 4.

[55] *EM.* πρυτανεῖα.

[56] Daremberg-Saglio *s.v.* Prytaneion. On the πρυτανεῖον of Olympia see Gardner 167–9.

[57] Arist, fr. 385, Plu. *Thes.* 25.

The Geomoroi were the smallholders, who continued to reside in the country. The Demiourgoi—the artisans—had already, we may suppose, begun to concentrate in the city. In the historical era one section of them, the potters, had their own quarter in the Kerameikos, which was one of the urban wards or demes, and they had probably been settled there from very early times.[58] If we could follow the history of these wards, we should probably find that, though reconstituted from time to time as the city expanded, they had grown out of the villages which clustered round the Acropolis when that natural stronghold had been a *pólis* in the original sense of the word.

The substance of what Thucydides and Aristotle say on this subject was doubtless drawn from oral tradition, and in all essentials it may be accepted as correct. The only doubts that arise concern the manner in which the changes were effected and their attachment to the name of Theseus. The final unification attributed to him must in the nature of the case have been preceded by similar movements on a smaller scale. According to Strabo, what he did was to centralise a confederacy of twelve towns already founded by Kekrops.[59] Athens was one of the twelve; another was the *tetrápolis* of N.E. Attica to which I have referred above (p. 353). From this we see that even the confederacy of Kekrops was not the first of its kind. In the same way, the subsequent rise of the Eupatridai must have kept pace with the decline of the kingship, which we know was a gradual process. After the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese the royal office became hereditary in the Medontidai, a branch of the Neleidai, whom the Dorians had driven from Pylos. The first limitation on its powers seems to have been the creation of a separate war chief (*polémarchos*) elected by and from the Eupatridai.[60] In the middle of the eighth century, while still hereditary in the Medontidai, it was made elective, with a tenure of ten years, and early in the next century it was superseded by nine annual magistracies (*árchontes*) open to all members of the Eupatridai. Even then it did not disappear. The Council continued to meet in the King's Porch under the presidency of the *árchon basileús*, the 'king archon',[61] and the

[58] Philoch. 72, Menecl. 3=*FHG.* 4. 449.
[59] Str. 397.
[60] Paus. 1. 3. 1, Just. 2. 7; Grote 3. 48.
[61] Arist. *Ath.* 57.

Medontidai preserved to the last one remnant of their royal prerogatives. They owned a piece of ground at the foot of the Acropolis—their ancient *témenos*.[62]

Lastly, there is the problem of Theseus himself. There are grounds for believing that he came originally from N.E. Attica and was elevated to the status of national hero in the latter part of the sixth century (p. 264). It follows that his part in the unification of Attica must have been invented for him in that period. In the fifth century he was represented as the founder of Athenian democracy, who, after forcing the reluctant gentry to exchange their rustic seats for the amenities of town, crowned a life of service by laying down his office and leaving the people to govern themselves.[63] We may be excused from accepting this gratifying tale, which, as Schefold has recently argued,[64] was probably invented by Kleisthenes, the founder of Athenian democracy. The idea that the local chiefs were reluctant to move corresponds to the conditions of the fifth century when the Attic yeomen were notorious for their attachment to their homesteads.[65] The Eupatridai, on the other hand, had nothing to lose and everything to gain by residing in the city. They kept their property and increased their power. They needed no external inducement to pursue their own interests, and the regime they set up in place of the kingship became ultimately so intolerable that the people revolted, threw the grandees out of the country, and divided their spacious parks among themselves. The most that can be said for this part of the story is that the authority of the early kings was undoubtedly limited by a still vigorous sense of tribal equality, which, even after it had been shattered, left deep down in the minds of the people a heritage of democratic ideals which neither time nor adversity could efface; and it may well have been the stirring of these ancient memories in the new democracy of the fifth century that inspired the tradition as we have it.

[62] *IG.* 1. 497.
[63] Plu. *Thes.* 25.
[64] Schefold 65–7.
[65] Th. 2. 16. 2, Ar. *Eq.* 805–7.

Part Four

THE HEROIC AGE

My wealth is my spear, sword, and shield; with these I plough and reap and tread wine from the grape, with these I make my serfs call me lord.

HYBRIAS

Brothers shall fight and fell each other, and sisters' sons shall kinship stain.

Völuspá

XI

THE MYCENEAN DYNASTIES

1. *The Traditional Chronology*

FROM the fourth century onwards Greek historians reckoned years in Olympiads, the periods corresponding to the Olympic Games, which were quadrennial. Local events continued to be dated by the names of annual magistrates. For earlier times historians had to base their calculations on the traditional genealogies. The first attempt to work out a comprehensive chronology is embodied in the Parian Marble, a long inscription dating from 264–263 B.C. Some years later a second attempt was made by Eratosthenes, whose results do not differ greatly from the Parian Marble. He assigns the fall of Troy, for example, to the year 1183 B.C., as compared with 1209 B.C.

Modern archæology has opened up an entirely new approach. Minoan objects have been excavated on Egyptian sites, and Egyptian on Minoan. By this means Greek prehistory has been synchronised at many points with Egyptian annals, which in turn have been dated astronomically by the Egyptian calendar. This method gives promise of exact determinations, but many difficulties remain.

Archæology has put an end to the academic scepticism of many nineteenth-century scholars, who dismissed the heroes and heroines of Greek legend as wholly unhistorical. It is now acknowledged that, however encrusted with fabulous accretions, these traditions contain in most cases a kernel of fact. Indeed, some modern historians have gone to the other extreme. Bury, for example, accepted such figures as Perseus, Herakles, Minos, Theseus, and Jason as real persons. He pointed out that the Greeks themselves believed in their reality, and that the pedigrees preserved in Homer are remarkably consistent.[1] But the Greeks believed no less firmly in the reality of Hellen, their progenitor, whom they assigned to

[1] J. B. Bury in CAH 2. 478, cf. Myres WWG 340–6.

Table XII

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ERATOSTHENES

B.C.	
1313.	Foundation of Thebes by Kadmos.
1261.	Birth of Herakles.
1225.	Voyage of the Argonauts.
1213.	War of the Seven against Thebes.
1200.	Accession of Agamemnon at Mycenæ.
1183.	Fall of Troy.
1176.	Achæan settlement at Salamis (Cyprus).
1124.	Thessaly occupied by the Thessaloi.
1104.	Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese.
1053.	Æolian settlement of Lesbos.
1044.	Ionian migration.

1521 B.C., and of Prometheus, the creator of mankind, whose floruit they fixed at 1600 B.C. Hellen and Prometheus, at least, are pure myth; yet they differ from the others only in degree. And the consistency of the Homeric pedigrees is open to a different interpretation. It is rather a sign of artificiality. In them a mass of originally independent traditions has been reduced to a unified system, which involved arbitrary adaptation and distortion. This is how Nilsson regards them,[2] and his view is supported by the fact that at several points they are flatly contradicted by archæology.

Minos was assigned to the third generation before the Trojan War—that is, on Eratosthenes' dating, to the generation of 1260 B.C. He was the Cretan king who cleared the Carian pirates out of the Ægean (p. 170). The power of Knossos had been broken in the fifteenth century—probably by the Achæans. Bury accordingly accepted him, together with his date, as an Achæan ruler of Crete.[3] But in that case he cannot have put down piracy, because in the thirteenth century, as we learn from Egyptian sources, the Ægean was thrown into chaos by the tumultuous irruption of various peoples, including the Achæans themselves, whose conception of legitimate seafaring may be judged from what we read of them in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[4] The date of this tradition can only be preserved by sacrificing its substance. It is much more

[2] Nilsson HM 58. [3] Bury 2. 475. [4] See p. 322 n. 90.

reasonable to accept the substance and let the date go. The tradition of the Minoan thalassocracy is authentic but it refers to the period before the fall of Knossos.[5]

Similar considerations apply with remarkable uniformity to all the prehistoric figures for whom there is any recognisable place in the archæological background. They are all postdated. These early generations have been foreshortened by their distance in time from the chroniclers who formulated the tradition. That being so, we cannot accept without reserve the reality of the figures themselves. They must be treated as popular symbols of remote but impressive events like changes of dynasty, invasions, wars, and migrations.

2. *The Archæological Framework*

Shortly before 1600 B.C. there arose at Mycenæ a powerful dynasty whose kings and queens lie buried in the Shaft Graves.[6] The earliest of these graves shows little sign of Minoan influence, but in the later ones it is very pronounced—a wealth of gold and silver cups and diadems, ornamented bronze swords, daggers inlaid with realistic hunting scenes. Of particular interest is a silver rhyton engraved with a battle scene under the walls of a beleaguered city. The attacking force wear horse-tail crests, which remind us of the Carians and Lycians (p. 290). These kings fortified Mycenæ and Tiryns and controlled the country as far as the Corinthian Isthmus, through which they maintained contact with the early dynasts of Thebes and Orchomenos.

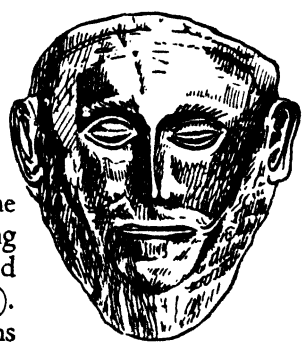


FIG. 55. *Gold death mask of the Shaft Grave Dynasty*

About 1500 B.C. they were succeeded by the Tholos Tomb

[5] Hall CGBA 265–6. According to the Parian Marble (11, 19) there were two kings of the name Minos, one in the fifteenth and the other in the thirteenth century B.C., cf. Plu. *Thes.* 20, D.S. 4. 60. Very likely, the name was a royal title, like Pharaoh or Cæsar.

[6] In these remarks on the Mycenean dynasties I have followed Wace.

Dynasty. Tombs of this type have been excavated in Messenia and Laconia. Under this dynasty the power of Mycenæ made itself felt all over the Peloponnese; intercourse with Thebes

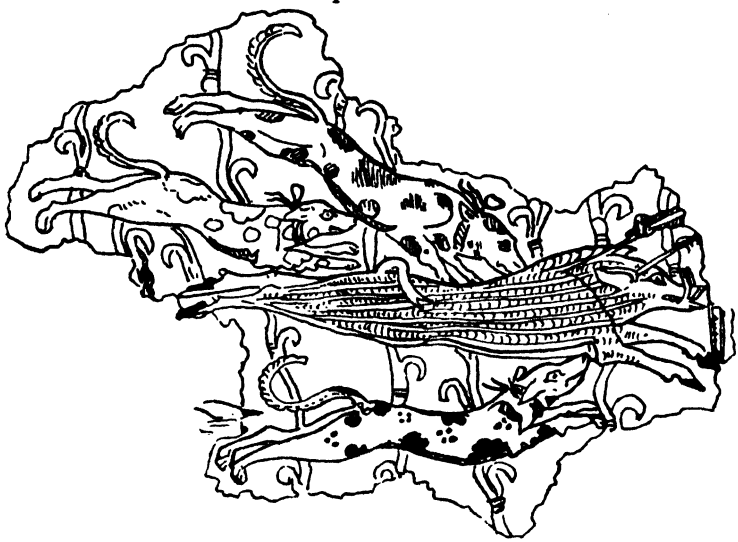


FIG. 56. *Mycenean boar-hunt: fresco from Tiryns*

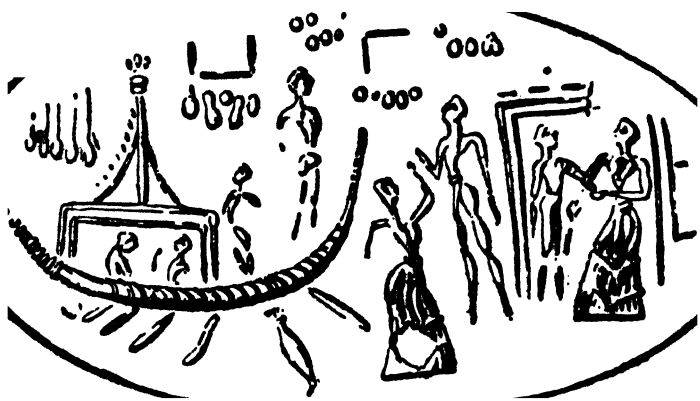


FIG. 57. *Embarkation scene: signet from Tiryns*

and Orchomenos became closer; and through them Mycenean culture penetrated into southern Thessaly.

Some time between 1450 and 1400 B.C. all the cities of

Crete, including Knossos, were destroyed by fire and sword. Since there is nothing in the later remains to suggest the intrusion of aliens, we must suppose that the invaders had assimilated Minoan culture before they came.[7] The hypothesis that they were Achæans cannot be proved from the archæological side, but on other grounds, as we shall see later, there is something to be said for it.

After the fall of Knossos Mycenæ became the political and

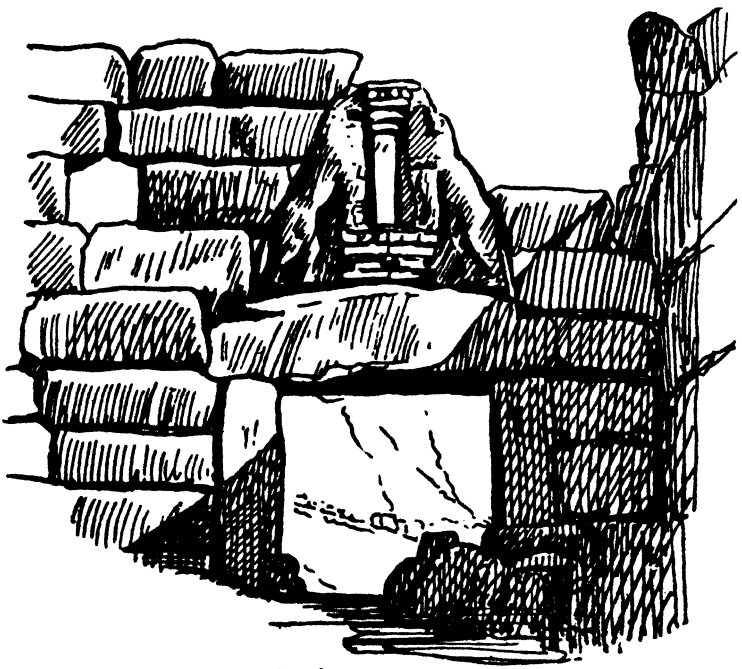


FIG. 58. *The Lion Gate of Mycenæ*

cultural centre of the Ægean world. At the beginning of the fourteenth century there arose a new king who rebuilt the city. The centre of the citadel was occupied by the palace, surrounded by the dwellings of the court officials and storehouses for the royal revenues of grain and oil. The city wall was built of immense blocks of stone with a thickness of ten feet or more. The main entrance was the famous Lion Gate, surmounted by a slab carved in relief with two rampant lions

[7] Wace in CAH 1. 594, Pendlebury 281.

confronting one another on either side of a sacred pillar. Just inside the gate a stone circle was constructed to enclose the cemetery of the Shaft Grave Dynasty, and on a ridge beyond, built perhaps by this same king, was the domed tomb known as the Treasury of Atreus. The commonpeople of Mycenæ probably lived in hamlets scattered round the citadel.[8]

Later in the same century a new and larger palace was erected at Tiryns. In this case, apart from the palace, the citadel was not inhabited, but it was strongly fortified and used as a refuge for the people of the town, which lay all round it. It may be presumed that the rulers of Tiryns owed allegiance to the Mycenean kings, who controlled directly the whole country as far as Corinth. At Korakou, east of Lechaion, they had a port, from which their ships traded down the Corinthian Gulf and across to Thisbe, the road-head leading to Thebes and Orchomenos.[9]

Mycenean objects have been found in abundance all over the Ægean and far beyond it. In the west they penetrated to Sicily and Spain. In the east there was close and continuous intercourse with Troy, Cyprus, Syria, and Egypt. These relations were not always peaceful, and in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries the carriers of Mycenean culture seem to have been marauders and uprooted bands of migrants rather than regular traders.

Finally, although its Minoan inspiration is at all times apparent, Mycenean culture has several non-Minoan features. The most distinctive are the 'megaron' type of house, the short-sleeved tunic, the safety-pin, and the use of amber. All these appear to have come from the north.[10]

3. *The Traditional Dynasties*

How far can the legends of Mycenæ, Tiryns, Thebes, and Orchomenos be fitted into this framework? An approach to this problem has been made in Chapter V, and we may begin by resuming the conclusions suggested there. It was proposed to identify Early Cycladic and Helladic with the Carians and Leleges (p. 168), while the culture characterised by 'Minyan

[8] Wace in CAH 2. 456–8. [9] *Ib.* 2. 457–60. [10] Nilsson HM 72–82.

ware' was assigned to the Pelasgoi (p. 193). The first of these equations, which seems quite straightforward, calls for no further comment, but the second is more complicated. Minyan ware has been found in the Cyclades but not in Crete; the Pelasgoi, on the other hand, can be traced in Crete but not in the Cyclades. If our hypothesis is to hold, this discrepancy must be explained. It is probable that, like other Cretan peoples, the Pelasgoi reached Crete from Anatolia, where they can be traced as far south as Tralles in the plain of the Maiandros.[11] In that case they may well have split off from the main body, which passed from the Troad through Macedonia into Thessaly, before the distinctive features of Minyan ware had been developed. Even so, their absence from the Cyclades shows that the southward expansion of Minyan ware must have involved some other factor. Here we may invoke the Tyroidai and Lapithai. These two stocks are first heard of in Thessaly, where they have been tentatively identified with the Dimini culture (p. 197). Both were drawn into the orbit of Orchomenos, and both expanded into southern Greece. The Tyroidai can be traced in Corinth, Elis, and Messenia; the Lapithai in Attica, Corinth, Elis, Arcadia, Argolis, and also in the Cyclades. Phorbas and Triopas, who appear in the Argive pedigrees and again at Rhodes, are Lapith names.[12] Magnes, whose sons Diktys and Polydektes settled in Seriphos, was certainly a Thessalian and possibly a Lapith.[13] For these reasons it may be conjectured that in southern Greece Minyan ware was diffused by the Pelasgoi with the assistance of the Tyroidai and Lapithai, who had absorbed it from them in Thessaly or Bœotia.

The pedigree of Orchomenos is mere shreds and tatters. Apart from its Thessalian connections, which have been examined in Chapter V, the Minyai may be regarded as Minoanised Pelasgoi with a palace cult of Demeter, and the architectural exploits of Trophonios and Agamedes were doubtless inspired by the Late Mycenean constructional works which have been excavated in the Kopais basin. That is all we can say.

Poseidon and Libya had two sons, Belos and Agenor. Belos

[11] St. B. Νινόη. [12] Paus. 2. 16. 1, Hyg. *Ast.* 2. 14. [13] Apld. 1. 9. 6.

became king of Egypt. Agenor settled in Phœnicia, and had four children—Europa, Phoinix, Kilix, and Kadmos. Disguised as a bull, Zeus carried Europa off to Crete, where she gave birth to Minos. Leaving home in search of her, Kilix settled in Cilicia, while Kadmos made his way to Rhodes, Thasos, and eventually Delphi. There, advised by the Oracle, he abandoned the search and followed a cow to the spot where it sat down. On this spot he built the city of Thebes.[14]

What are we to make of this tradition? It cannot be just dismissed. The Kadmeioi survived in various parts of Greece down to the sixth century at least, and were always regarded as Phœnicians.[15] On the other hand, the Phœnicians have left no traces in the Ægean earlier than the ninth century. One view is that the legend of Kadmos rests on a verbal confusion. The word *phoînix* means both 'Phœnician' and 'redskin', and Kadmos, it is suggested, was a Phœnician only in the sense of being a 'redskinned' Minoan from Crete.[16] That the Kadmeioi were in some sense Minoan is clear from the story of Europa and from their cult of Demeter, which has been examined in Chapter IV (pp. 123–4). But there is no evidence that the Minoans were, or were likely to have been, distinguished as 'redskins'. I believe that the clue to this problem lies in the recent excavations at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) near the mouth of the Orontes in Syria. From very early times this town was an entrepôt for trade between Mesopotamia, Egypt, Anatolia, and Crete. Many Minoan and Mycenean objects have been found there, the oldest dating from the seventeenth century.[17] It has even been suggested by Woolley that Middle Minoan culture may have been directly indebted to this region for some of its characteristic features.[18] In the second millennium B.C. no less than seven different languages are known to have been in use there, including Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, and Proto-Phœnician, the parent of Phœnician and Hebrew.[19] It is therefore quite possible that the Kadmeioi were Phœnicians who reached Greece by way of Crete some time in the Middle

[14] Apld. 3. 1. 1, 3. 4. 1. [15] Hdt. 2. 49, 5. 58 etc.
[16] See Nilsson HM 131. [17] Gaster RS, Schaeffer 3. [18] Woolley 132.
[19] Schaeffer 39. On the affinities between the Phœnician and Ugaritic languages see Albright PI.

Minoan period. Indeed, it is more than possible, for the cuneiform texts of Ugarit record a Phœnician myth in which the bull god El and the mother goddess Asherat present a close analogy to Zeus and Europa.[20] Once again we find ancient tradition confirmed unexpectedly by modern archæology, and in this case, as will appear in a later volume, the implications are very far-reaching.

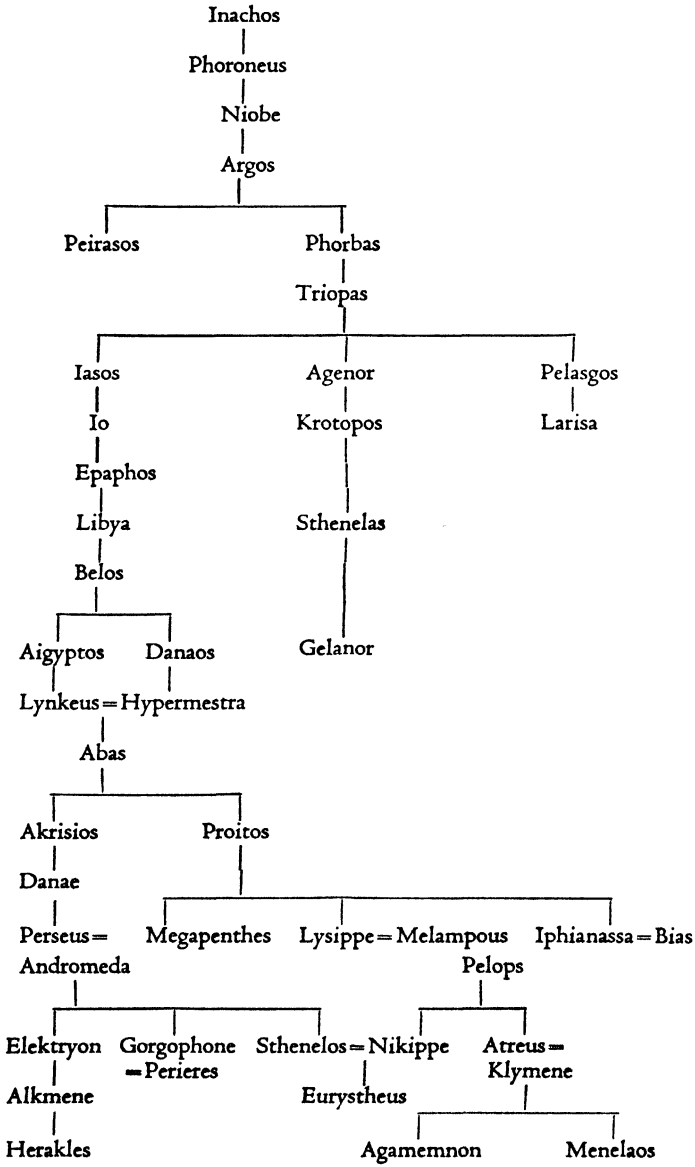
The Argive pedigree stretches back seventeen or eighteen generations before the Trojan War. It is the longest we have, but its contents are disappointing. It shows every sign of having been arbitrarily reconstructed in the interests of Argos, whose supremacy over Mycenæ and Tiryns dated only from the Dorian conquest. It is set out in Table XIII in the form given by Pausanias, who based his account of it on local tradition.[21] Some of the names mean almost nothing to us, and in the remarks that follow I shall confine myself to those from which something positive can be extracted.

At the head of the tree stands Phoroneus, begotten of Inachos, the stream that flows past the city. Phoroneus is described as 'the first man', who taught the nomads how to live in towns.[22] He turns up again at Megara as the father of Kar, the Carian (p. 170). This suggests that he stands for the Early Helladic settlers. In the third and fourth generations after him we meet the first signs of intruders from the north. Phorbas and Triopas are Lapith names (p. 375) and Pelasgos speaks for himself. The Argive acropolis was known as Larisa, which is an authentic Pelasgian place-name (p. 172); and it was believed to have been so called after a daughter of this Pelasgos. There was a tomb in the city reputed to be his, and near it was a shrine of Demeter Pelasgis.[23] Iasos, a brother of his, is given by Pausanias as the father of Io; in Hesiod he is replaced by Peiren, in Æschylus by Inachos.[24] These discrepancies do not mean much, because Io is a purely ritual figure symbolising the priestesses of Hera (p. 285). She went, as we have seen, to Egypt, and her descendant Danaos returned to Argos and became king in place of Agenor, who abdicated in his favour.[25]

[20] Schaeffer 61. [21] Paus. 2. 15–6, cf. Apld. 2. 1–4. [22] Paus. 2. 15. 5.
[23] Paus. 2. 24. 1, 2. 22. 1; see p. 128.
[24] Apld. 2. 1.3, A. *Pr.* 614–5. [25] Apld. 2. 1. 4.

Table XIII

THE ARGIVE PEDIGREE



Danaos is an important figure from several points of view. Like Kadmos, he came from the Levant. Like Kadmos, he left a settlement in Rhodes. Like Kadmos, he brought Demeter to Greece. To this we may add that Europa, the sister of Kadmos, is given as Danaos' wife.[26] The parallel is very close, and the Greeks themselves must have been conscious of it. This is shown by the appearance of Libya and Belos in the Argive pedigree, where they do not fit. The line from Iasos to Danaos covers five generations; the line from Agenor to Gelanor covers only three. Libya and Belos have been taken over from the Kadmeioi (pp. 375–6). The idea was prompted by the parallels just noted and the interest of Argive antiquaries in proving that their city was older than Thebes.

As Kadmos came from Phœnicia, so Danaos came from Egypt. Was this another afterthought? The answer depends on what we make of Io. As a woman transformed into a cow, she was identified with Isis, whose sacred animal was the cow.[27] It would be easy to argue that this equation was no older than the seventh century. Her son, Epaphos, who became king of Egypt, resided at either Kanobos or Memphis.[28] Kanobos lies on one of the Nile mouths—the one that leads past Naukratis and Sais up to Memphis. Naukratis was a Greek trading station, founded about 650 B.C. Sais was the seat of the XXVIth Dynasty, which was then in power. This dynasty was also associated with Memphis.[29] If this evidence stood alone, there would be little doubt that the story of Io's journey to Egypt was invented by the Greeks of Naukratis.

But there was another tradition, inconsistent with this. When Herodotus visited Chemmis, a town far up the Nile in the nome of Thebes, he was shown round a temple of Perseus with a Greek cult attached to it, including an athletic contest—a practice foreign to the Egyptians. The priests assured him that the contest was founded by Perseus, who was on his way to Libya in quest of the Gorgon's head, in commemoration of the fact that his ancestor Danaos was a native of Chemmis and set sail from there on his journey to Argos.[30] This tradition

[26] Apld. 2. 1. 5. [27] See p. 284 n. 172. [28] A. *Pr.* 872–8, Apld. 2. 1. 4.
[29] H. R. Hall in CAH 3. 276, 285. [30] Hdt. 2. 91.

cannot be assigned to the seventh century; for it is very unlikely that the Greeks of that time, who had only just begun operations in the Delta, were familiar with the nome of Thebes.

The same problem is raised by two passages in Homer, where the Egyptian Thebes is described as the wealthiest city



FIG. 59. *Perseus and the Gorgon: Attic vase*

in the world.[31] In the seventh century Thebes was of no importance at all; for it was destroyed by the Assyrians in 677 B.C., and never recovered. The Homeric tradition must refer to it as it was before its destruction. But throughout the eighth century and as far back as the twelfth the Greeks had no dealings with Egypt and knew very little about it, as we can see from the ignorance displayed in the *Odyssey*.[32] Going back to the thirteenth century, we find that Ægean marauders were harrying the Delta, but, since they were routed there, they are not likely to have got anywhere near Thebes.[33] We are thus driven back to the fourteenth century at latest. At that time Thebes was undoubtedly one of the wealthiest cities in the world. It was the capital of the XVIIIth Dynasty. And this was the time when the Tholos Tomb Dynasty was reigning at Mycenæ.

[31] *Il.* 9. 381–2, *Od.* 4. 126–7.

[32] *Od.* 3. 321–2, 4. 355–7; Nilsson HM 136. [33] See p. 401.

This solution of the Homeric problem, which is due to Lorimer and Nilsson,[84] solves our problem too. Ægean envoys can still be seen in the tomb paintings of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

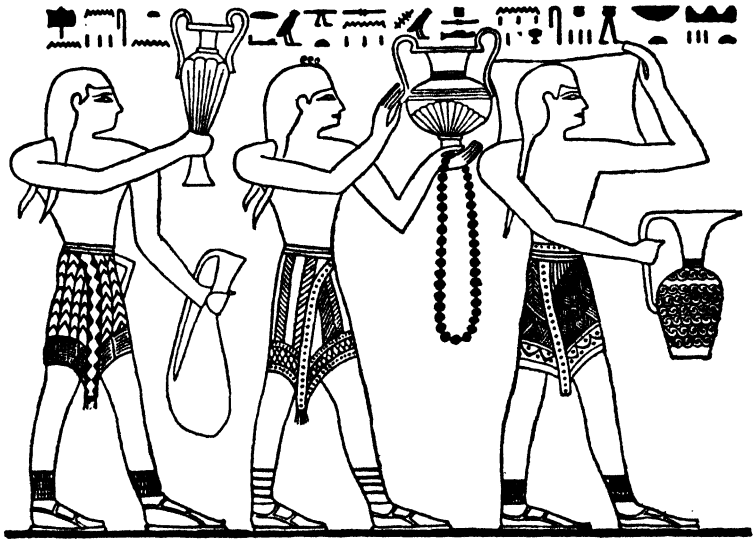


FIG. 60. *Minoans in Egypt: Egyptian painting*

If Ionian traders settled at Naukratis in the seventh century, there is no reason why Mycenean traders should not have settled at Chemmis in the fifteenth; and, if the Myceneans had already established there a cult of Perseus, that would have given the Ionians a precedent for seeking an Egyptian home for Io. The myth of Io and Danaos is what, after a lapse of many centuries, Greek folk-memory made of the close relations that had existed between Egypt and Mycenæ in the time of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty.

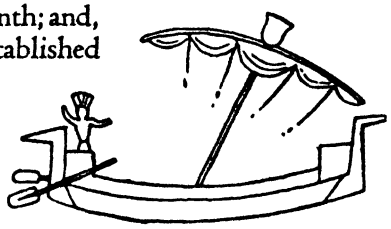


FIG. 61. *Ægean ship: Egyptian painting*

Danaos was succeeded by Lynkeus, his nephew and son-in-law, and he in turn by Abas, whose name connects him with

[84] Lorimer HUP 153, Nilsson HM 157–8.

the Abantes of Euboia,[35] where there was a local form of the Io myth (p. 284). Proitos and Akrisios, the two sons of Abas, quarrelled over the succession. Proitos fled to Lycia, returned with a Lycian army, and fortified Tiryns.[36] He gave his daughters to Melampous and Bias of the Tyroidai (p. 196); and it was he who despatched Bellerophon, another northerner, to Lycia (p. 164). To Akrisios it was prophesied that he would be killed by the son born to his daughter Danae. So he shut her up in a bronze chamber under ground, but Zeus descended through the roof in a shower of gold, and she gave birth to Perseus. Mother and child were then cast out to sea in a chest, which was washed up on the island of Seriphos. There Perseus grew to manhood and set out for Libya to fetch the Gorgon's head. On his way through Palestine he rescued Andromeda from a sea-monster, and, returning to Seriphos, he proceeded with her and his mother to Argos. Remembering the prophecy, his father fled to the Thessalian Larisa.[37] Perseus followed him and killed him by accident at a game of quoits. Deterred by this misfortune from claiming his patrimony, he effected an exchange with Megapenthes, who had succeeded Proitos at Tiryns. Megapenthes became king of Argos, and Perseus, after fortifying Mideia and Mycenæ, settled at Tiryns. Of his sons, Elektryon, who succeeded him, begot Alkmene, the mother of Herakles, and Sthenelos was the father of Eurystheus, who succeeded Elektryon. At this point some more newcomers appear on the scene. The mother of Eurystheus is a daughter of Pelops, and his successor is her brother, Atreus.[38] There seems to be a dislocation here, caused by some difficulty in combining the Perseid and Pelopid pedigrees. We are told rather mysteriously that Atreus was 'sent for' by Sthenelos, who gave him Mideia, and after Eurystheus' death he was again 'sent for' by the people of Mycenæ.[39] Atreus' wife is a daughter of Katreus and granddaughter of Minos. It was while Menelaos was away in Crete at the funeral of Katreus that Paris stole his wife.[40]

[35] Apld. 2. 2. 1, Pi. *P.* 8. 73 sch., St. B. 'Αβαντίς. [36] Apld. 2. 2. 1.

[37] Apld. 2. 4. 4. This point in the saga was probably designed to support the Argive claim that the Argive Larisa was older than the Thessalian: A.R. 1. 40 sch.

[38] Apld. 2. 4. 6. [39] Apld. 2. 4. 6, *Epit.* 2. 11. [40] Apld. *Epit.* 3. 3.

There is not much history to be gleaned from all this. The references to Lycia in the reign of Proitos are remarkably explicit, but here evidence fails us on the archæological side. Danae's subterranean prison seems to be a faint memory of the Shaft Graves, confused with the custom of secluding girls at puberty. If Perseus is the founder of a new line, as he seems to be, he may be taken to represent vaguely the Tholos Tomb Dynasty. Herakles is in the main a cult figure (pp. 287–92) and only one of his exploits calls for mention here. He was sent by Eurystheus to fetch the Cretan Bull.[41] This beast, which belonged to Minos, is only another version of the Minotaur, the bull-headed monster of Knossos (p. 285). In Athenian tradition the Minotaur was slain by Theseus,[42] who was placed in the same generation as Herakles. In these two legends we may recognise a genuine, though faint, recollection of the fall of Knossos, and it is significant that this event is placed immediately before the accession of Atreus. Who was Atreus, and where had he come from? This question is bound up with one of the crucial problems of Greek prehistory, which has proved so perplexing that it has been called 'the Achæan mystery'.[43]

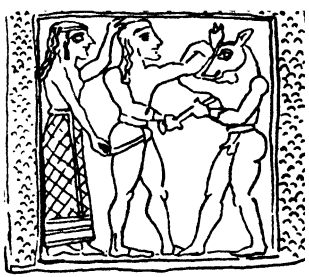


FIG. 62. *Ariadne, Theseus and the Minotaur: gold ornament*

Two final points remain to be cleared up. Seeing that this pedigree covers the whole Mycenean period, we are surprised to find no mention of Mycenæ before the time of Perseus and only two allusions to Crete. The first point is explained, as I have already suggested, by the later supremacy of Argos. We are led to suspect that, had it not been for the Homeric tradition, which preserved the memory of Mycenæ as the seat of Agamemnon, that city might have dropped out altogether.[44] Whether the kings before Perseus are to be regarded as belonging properly to Argos or as having been transferred from Mycenæ

[41] Apld. 2. 5. 7. [42] Apld. *Epit.* 1. 7–9. [43] Buck GD 7.

[44] In the *Oresteia*, produced just after an alliance had been concluded with the Argives, Æschylus replaced Mycenæ by Argos, but Sophokles and Euripides restored it.

under Argive influence is a question I cannot answer. The second point is one that concerns both the Argive and Theban pedigrees. If the worship of Demeter, which Kadmos and Danaos brought by different routes to Greece, was of Minoan origin, why is it that there is in the one case only an indirect connection with Crete and in the other none at all? The explanation lies, I think, in later history. After the Dorian catastrophe Crete was cut off from Greece, and, when the Eastern Mediterranean was reopened, the Greeks traded direct with Egypt and the Levant without touching Crete. The result was that, when the broken threads were picked up, they reintegrated the Phœnician and Egyptian traditions of Kadmos and Perseus in new versions which paid little regard to the faded glory of Minos.

XII

THE ACHÆANS

1. *Distribution of the Achæans*

IN the Homeric poems the men who fought under Agamemnon are described indifferently as Argeioi, Danaoi, or Achaioi. The Argeioi were properly the people of Argos or Argolis; the Danaoi were named after Danaos. Under the overlordship of Mycenæ these terms were extended to all those who owed allegiance to the ruling dynasty of the Argive plain. The third term seems to have developed in the same way; for in one or two passages it is used, contrary to the general practice, in a specific ethnical sense. And this was the usage that survived. When later writers speak of the Achæans, they always mean, except where they are consciously following the Homeric tradition, an actual people inhabiting a definite locality. Our first task, then, is to identify the Achæans of historical times.

These were, in the first place, the inhabitants of Achaia. There were two territories of this name. One was Achaia Phthiotis in S.E. Thessaly, which for convenience I am going to call the Thessalian Achaia. The Achæans of this district were subject to the Thessaloi, who overran Thessaly in the same period as the Dorians overran the Peloponnese. The other Achaia was a league of twelve towns strung along the southern shore of the Gulf of Corinth. Their names were Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Boura, Helike, Aigion, Patrai, Pharai, Tritaia, Rhypes, Olenos, and Dyme.[1] This is the Peloponnesian Achaia.

In addition, there were smaller Achæan settlements scattered all over the Eastern Mediterranean. The islanders of Zakynthos, whom Homer calls Kephallenes,[2] are described by Thucydides as Achæans from the Peloponnese.[3] These were doubtless fugitives from the Dorians. In the extreme south of

[1] Hdt. 1. 145, Paus. 7. 6. 1. [2] *Il.* 2. 631.
[3] Th. 2. 66. 1. They came from Arcadia: Paus. 8. 24. 3.

Laconia, just below the acropolis of Kyparissia, Pausanias saw the ruins of a town which had belonged to the Achaioi Parakyparissioi.[4] The acropolis of Ialysos, one of the three towns of Rhodes, was known as Achaia, and Achæans from here took part in the foundation of Soloi in Cilicia.[5] The Cilicians (Kilikes) had been known in early times as Hypachaioi, Mixed Achæans.[6] There was another settlement of Kilikes near Troy.[7] These claimed kin with their southern namesakes,[8] and some of them migrated to the southern Cilicia after the Trojan War.[9] Another Cilician town, Olbe, was founded by Aias son of Teukros, whose descendants reigned there as priest-kings.[10] This Teukros was a native of Salamis. Driven from home by his father Telamon at the end of the Trojan War, he sailed to Cyprus, where he landed at Achaion Akte, the Achæan Shore, and founded the Cyprian Salamis, which as late as the fourth century was still ruled by his descendants.[11] Still further afield, the Greek settlement of Archandrou Polis in the Delta preserved the name of a grandson of Achaios and a leader of the Achaioi.[12]

Returning to the north Ægean, we are told that Skione, on the Macedonian coast, was founded by Achæans from the Peloponnese who were driven ashore there by a storm on their way home from Troy.[13] At Troy itself the place where the Greeks had encamped was known as the Achæan Plain.[14] Close by were two villages, Killa and Chryse. Killa marked the grave of Killos, the charioteer of Pelops.[15] Chryse was the home of Chryses, the priest whose daughter caused so much trouble in the *Iliad*.[16] It was founded by emigrants from Crete called Teukroi. This tradition can be traced back to the eighth century,[17] but in Attica there was another version. The deme

[4] Paus. 3. 22. 9. [5] Ath. 360e, Str. 671.

[6] Hdt. 7. 91; Kretschmer H, NHA. [7] *Il.* 6. 396–7, 415–6, cf. 1. 366.

[8] Str. 676. [9] Hdt. 7. 91, Str. 668. [10] Str. 672.

[11] Str. 682 (cf. Hdt. 7. 90), Iso. 9. 17–8.

[12] Hdt. 2. 98. Other settlements in Cyprus which may be identified as Achæan are Kourion (Hdt. 5. 113. 1), Lapathos (Str. 682), and Golgoi (Paus. 8. 5. 2).

[13] Th. 4. 120. 1. [14] Str. 596. [15] Theop. 339, Str. 612–3.

[16] *Il.* 1. 37–8. [17] Callin. 7=Str. 604.

of Xypete, which lay on the coast opposite Salamis, had formerly been known as Troon Demos or Troia,[18] and the story was that a man from this deme named Teukros—not the son of Telamon but an ancestor of his—had founded the Trojan Chryse.[19] This Attic tradition refers to an expedition against Troy, previous to the Trojan War, in which Telamon had taken part. After capturing the city, he married a sister of Priam.[20] Some of his companions, instead of returning to Greece, went east and settled in the Caucasus. From them were descended the Heniochoi and Zygioi, actual Caucasian peoples that survived throughout antiquity and never forgot their Achæan origin.[21]

These traditions are obviously confused, but that is no reason for discrediting them; on the contrary it testifies to their independence. There must have been a genuine affinity between these scattered Teukroi of Troy, Attica, Salamis, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Crete. In Cilicia, Cyprus, and the Caucasus they are directly associated with the Achæan name, and it may be added that the *Odyssey* mentions the Achæans as inhabitants of Crete.[22]

2. *The Aiakidai*

If the Achæans were in Crete when the *Odyssey* was composed, they are likely to have been there before the Dorian conquest; and in that case it may have been they who introduced Greek speech. It is known that Greek was spoken in Crete before the Dorians.[23]

The followers of Achilles at Troy came from the kingdom of his father Peleus in the Thessalian Achaia. They are described as Myrmidons, Achæans, and Hellenes, with settlements at Halos, Alope, Trachis, Phthia, and Hellas.[24] The name Myrmidon was a generic one applied to all the inhabitants of

[18] Str. 604; Roscher LGRM 5. 1231. [19] Str. 604. [20] Apld. 2. 6. 4.

[21] Str. 416 (cf. 129, 496, *FHG.* 3. 639), Amm. Marc. 22. 8. 25, D.H. 1. 89. 4; Kretschmer H 241–3.

[22] *Od.* 19. 175. [23] See p. 399.

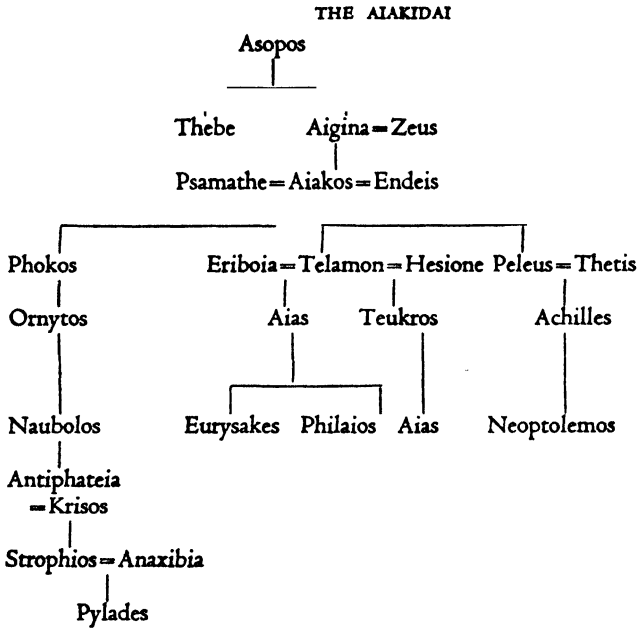
[24] *Il.* 2. 681–5. It is not clear how far the domain of Peleus extended south of the Spercheios: Str. 431–3; Allen HCS 109–14.

the kingdom.[25] The people were divided into five groups, each with its own chief.[26] These groups correspond to the five settlements just mentioned. It appears then that the Myrmidons were a tribal league composed of Achæans and Hellenes.

Aiakos, the grandfather of Achilles, was born to Zeus by

Table XIV

THE AIAKIDAI



Aigina in the island of that name.[27] He had three sons—Peleus, Telamon, and Phokos. The first two were born to him by a daughter of Skiron, who was a native of Corinth and a

[25] *Il.* 1. 180, 16. 200, 266–9, 18. 69. Possibly the name Myrmidon belonged originally to the pre-Achæan inhabitants, just as the Danaoi were properly the pre-Achæan inhabitants of Argos (p. 385). Eurytion, whom Peleus succeeded by marrying his daughter (see n. 32), was descended from Myrmidon: Apld. 1. 7. 3, 1. 8. 2.

[26] *Il.* 16. 168–97.

[27] Apld. 3. 12. 6, D.S. 4. 72. 1–5, Paus. 2. 5. 1–2, 5. 22. 6. Aiakos requires a fuller treatment than I have given him.

son of Poseidon or Pelops.[28] The mother of Phokos was Psamathe, one of the Nereids (sea-nymphs).[29] Phokos, the 'seal', was the eponym of Phokis and the ancestor of Strophios and Pylades, whose traditional friendship with Agamemnon and Orestes is a well-known incident in the history of the Pelopidai.[30]

In the lifetime of Aiakos Greece was afflicted with a drought following a murder committed by Pelops in Arcadia. It was brought to an end when Aiakos prayed to his father for rain on Mount Panhellenion in Aigina. In the next generation, Phokos was killed by his half-brothers, who accordingly were banished.[31] Peleus went to Phthia, where he married Thetis, another Nereid, by whom he had Achilles.[32] Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles, migrated to the highlands of Dodona.[33] Telamon went to Salamis, where he married a granddaughter of Pelops, by whom he had Aias (Ajax). By Hesione, a sister of Priam, he had a second son, Teukros, founder of the Cyprian Salamis.[34]

Such is the story of the Aiakidai. There were several variants, one of which domiciled Aiakos in Thessaly.[35] This agrees with the Homeric tradition, in which the only son mentioned is Peleus.[36] His connection with Phokos is confirmed indirectly by the fact that Aiakidas appears as a personal name among the Delphic nobility.[37] His ties with Aigina, too,

[28] Apld. 3. 12. 6, *Epit.* 1. 1. In another version Telamon is given as a son of Aktaios by Glauke, daughter of Kychreus (pp. 117–8): Pher. 15. This points to intermarriage between the Aiakidai and earlier (Minoan?) settlers on the Attic seaboard.

[29] Hes. *Th.* 1003–4, Pi. *N.* 5. 7–13. She tried to elude Aiakos by changing into a seal (E. *And.* 687 sch.)— a totemic metamorphosis, cf. p. 276.

[30] Paus. 2. 29. 4, E. *Or.* 33 sch.

[31] Apld. 3. 12. 6, Paus. 2. 29–30, D.S. 4. 72. 6–7.

[32] *Il.* 18. 85–7, 432–4. It was said that Peleus' first wife was a daughter of his predecessor Eurytion (see n. 25): Apld. 3. 13. 1. This tradition was known to Homer: *Il.* 16. 173–8. It looks as if Thetis was intrusive. She resisted her wooer in the same way as Psamathe: Apld. 3. 13. 5; see n. 29.

[33] Apld. *Epit.* 6. 12, Plu. *Pyrrh.* 1, Procl. *Chr.* 1. 3. From him were descended the kings of the Molossoi: Str. 326.

[34] Apld. 3. 12. 7, cf. Pi. *I.* 6. 45.

[35] St. B. Αἴα, Serv. *ad* Verg. *A.* 4. 402.

[36] *Il.* 16. 15 etc. [37] *Supp. Epig. Gr.* 2. 298. 14–5 etc.

though not mentioned in Homer, must have some foundation in fact, because the Aiakidai were still flourishing there in the fifth century.[38] The most probable conclusion is that the Aiakidai were an Achæan clan which expanded from Thessaly into Phokis and down the coast to Salamis and Aigina. That enables us to explain why, when the pedigrees were finally systematised, the home of Aiakos was fixed in Aigina rather than in Thessaly. After her brilliant prehistory, Thessaly became and remained for centuries a cultural backwater, whereas Aigina was one of the first states to be drawn into the flow of maritime trade when it revived after the Dorian invasion.

3. *The Ionians*

We turn next to the Peloponnesian Achaia. A band of Achæans from Thessaly, led by Archandros, grandson of Achaios, or by Pelops, and accompanied by a detachment of Boiotoi, took possession of Argolis and Laconia, and remained there till the Dorians drove them out.[39] Under the leadership of a son of Orestes they then moved to the north coast of the Peloponnese, from which they expelled the former inhabitants, the Ionians, and the district was renamed Achaia.[40] The Ionians fled to Attica, and from there they crossed over to Anatolia, where they founded the Panionic League of twelve cities, corresponding to the number which their ancestors had occupied in the Peloponnese.[41]

The historical Ionians were the Greeks of Ionia and Attica, who spoke closely related dialects. But, as Herodotus remarks, the Athenians and the Asiatic Ionians not included in the League were inclined to repudiate the title,[42] which suggests that its basis was not very secure. This is confirmed by the circumstances of the migration. The founders of Ionia are described as a motley crowd of Minyai from Orchomenos,

[38] Pi. *N.* 4. 11, 7. 9–10, *O.* 13. 109.

[39] Paus. 7. 1. 7 (cf. 2. 6. 5, Hdt. 2. 98), Str. 365.

[40] Str. 383–4.

[41] Hdt. 1. 145, 8. 73, Str. 365, 383, 385–6. The League was consecrated to Poseidon Helikonios (Hdt. 1. 148), which can only refer to Mount Helikon (Bœotia), not to Helike.

[42] Hdt. 1. 143. 3.

Kadmeioi from Thebes, Abantes from Euboia, Neleidai from Attica, Arcadian Pelasgoi, Dorians from Epidauros, and many others.[43] Such being their composition, the Ionic dialect, as we know it, cannot have taken shape before the fusion of these elements in their new home.[44] The Homeric poems point to the same conclusion. Nowhere do they give any hint of Ionians in the Peloponnese at the time of the Trojan War. The only Ionians mentioned are the Athenian followers of Menestheus.[45] This agrees with the tradition that Ionia was an old name for Attica,[46] and with Herodotus' statement that the 'noblest' of the Ionian colonists were those who had set out from the Athenian town-hall.[47]

This conclusion is admittedly at variance with the tradition of the three sons of Hellen—Aiolos, Doros, and Xouthos, father of Ion—who were placed at the head of the whole national pedigree.[48] But none of these figures has any real roots in the past. They represent the final stage in the systematisation of the national traditions—the finishing touch, the keystone of the arch. In prehistoric times the Greeks had been scattered, disunited, with no common name and therefore no consciousness of common origin (p. 348). It was only at the beginning of the historical era that they developed the national self-consciousness which the story of Hellen and his sons was invented to express. The choice of Hellen as first ancestor will be explained in the course of the present chapter. He is unknown to Homer, and so are his sons, except Aiolos. Aiolos was the first to emerge, because the Æolic-speaking Greeks of the Asiatic coast were the first to develop the epic tradition. Doros, the nominal ancestor of the Dorians, has no life-story

[43] Hdt. 1. 146. 2.

[44] This conclusion will be re-examined from the standpoint of linguistics below pp. 518-26.

[45] *Il.* 13. 685, cf. 690, 2. 546–52. [46] Str. 392.

[47] Hdt. 1. 146. 2. Herodotus himself implies a close affinity between the Ionians and Achæans: Hdt. 9. 26. 3. He says that before the time of Ion they had been called Pelasgoi Aigialees (7. 94). I take this to mean, not that the Pelasgoi were Ionians (Kretschmer GDD), which seems to me quite impossible, but that this part of the Peloponnese had been occupied previously by Pelasgoi.

[48] Apld. 1. 7. 3.

and no recorded offspring; and the Dorian chiefs paid him the strange compliment of tracing their lineage to Herakles (p. 102). Similarly, if Achaios had any roots in the past, he would not have been ignored by Homer, who tells us so much about the Achæans. As for Ion, he was affiliated through his mother to the Erechtheidai and worshipped as the father of the eponymous ancestors of the four Attic-Ionian tribes. When the Neleidai fled to Attica, the Athenian tribal system was reconstituted in order to admit them. The myth of Ion marked the formal commemoration of this event. As a grandson of Erechtheus, he is parallel to Boutes, the brother of Erechtheus (p. 186): both are myths of affiliation or adoption.[49]

If there were no Ionians before the Neleidai settled in Attica, what are we to make of the story that they had been expelled from the Peloponnese by the Achæans? This point is met by the simple hypothesis that these Ionians and Achæans were identical. The Ionian Greeks extended their name retrospectively to all of their forefathers who had come from the Peloponnese. The myth itself hints as much when it represents Ion and Achaios as brothers, implying that they were closer to one another than either was to Aiolos or Doros. The same conclusion is implicit in the constitution of the Panionic League, which contained the same number of towns as the Achæan League that survived in the Peloponnese.[50] It was quite natural that the Ionians should have reproduced their traditional *dodekápolis* in their new home overseas, but why should their system have been adopted by the Achæans who drove them out? The continuity of organisation argues a continuity of population. There had never been any Ionians in the Peloponnese. That was simply the name given in later times by the Ionians of Ionia to their Achæan ancestors.

4. *The Peloponnesian Achæans*

Prior to the Dorian invasion, the areas occupied by the Peloponnesian Achæans were Argolis and Laconia. Apart from

[49] The view adopted here regarding Ion and the Ionians has been anticipated by Meyer GA 3. 397–403.

[50] Plb. 2. 417–8.

this tradition, recording the bare fact, they have left no traces in Argolis,[51] but in Laconia, besides the settlement of Achaioi Parakyparissioi (p. 386), we find all manner of traditional ties with Bœotia and Thessaly, and many, if not most, of these must be put down to the Achæans.

In the first century B.C. the serf population, recently liberated from Spartan rule, established a confederacy of eighteen towns, which they called the League of Free Laconians (Eleutherolakones). Among them were the Achaioi Parakyparissioi. There is no need to enumerate all the eighteen towns, but the following should be noted: Gytheion, Teuthrone, Akriai, Leuktra, Charadra, Thalamai, Las, Oitylos, Gerenia, Brasiai, Asopos.[52]

At Gytheion there was a tradition that Orestes had been cured there of his madness.[53] Teuthrone was associated with Teuthras, another son of Agamemnon;[54] Akriai with Akrias, a rival of Pelops for the hand of Hippodameia.[55] Leuktra, Charadra, and Thalamai were believed to have been founded by Pelops.[56] These were all local traditions going back to the days when the Pelopidai had been a power in the Peloponnese.

In *Iliad* IX, anxious to placate Achilles, Agamemnon offers him seven towns in the south of the Peloponnese—Kardamyle, Enope, Hire, Pharai, Antheia, Aipeia, and Pedasos.[57] Enope was identified as Gerenia, one of the Free Laconian towns.[58] Pharai has the same name as a member of the Achæan League. In *Iliad* II the seven towns are not included in Agamemnon's own domain, but several towns in this part of the Peloponnese, among them Las and Oitylos, are assigned to his brother Menelaos.[59] Agamemnon's domain, as defined in the *Iliad*,

[51] Herodotus says that the pre-Doric dialect of Kynouria had been Ionic (Hdt. 8. 73, cf. Paus. 2. 37. 3). I take this to be the pre-Achæan dialect: see p. 523 n. 73.

[52] Paus. 3. 21. 6–7. [53] Paus. 3. 22. 1.

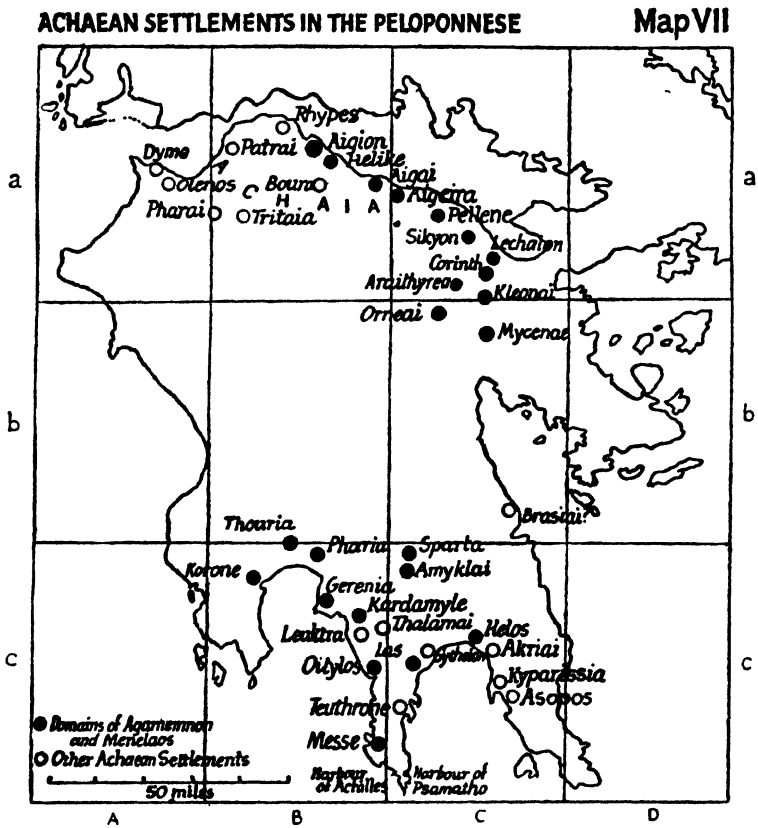
[54] *Il.* 5. 705 sch. A. [55] Paus. 6. 21. 10.

[56] Str. 360, cf. Ath. 625e. Epidauros and Letrinoi were said to have been founded by sons of Pelops: Paus. 2. 26. 2, 6. 22. 8.

[57] *Il.* 9. 149–52. Aipeia is identified by Pausanias (4. 34. 5) with Korone, named after the Bœotian Koroneia. [58] Paus. 3. 26. 8.

[59] *Il.* 2. 581–6. The Pelopidai had acquired this district by marriage with the native dynasty of Laconia and Messenia: see p. 430.

consists, from east to west, of Mycenæ, Corinth, Kleonai, Orneai, Sikyon, Hyperesia, Gonoessa, Pellene, Aigion, Aigialos, and Helike.[60] This region, if we exclude its south-easterly extension from the Isthmus to Mycenæ, coincides with the



Peloponnesian Achaia. Aigion, Helike, and Hyperesia (the later Aigeira)[61] were actually members of the League. Thus, when the son of Orestes led the Achæans from Laconia to the Peloponnesian Achaia, he was seeking refuge in one of his

[60] *Il.* 2. 569–77. The rule of Agamemnon was remembered at Sikyon: Paus. 2. 6. 7.

[61] Paus. 7. 26. 1–4.

ancestral domains, which had already been occupied by Achæans in his grandfather's time.

The Achæans whom Pelops led from Thessaly into the Peloponnese were accompanied, according to tradition, by a band of Boiotoi (p. 390). These too left their mark. Leuktra, one of the Free Laconian towns, and founded by Pelops, was a colony of the other Leuktra in Bœotia, and it had a local cult of Ino, daughter of Kadmos.[62] Ino was also worshipped at Brasiai and Thalamai, and the latter was known in later times as Boiotoi.[63] Another Free Laconian town, Asopos, has the same name as two rivers, one of them in Bœotia, the other in the Peloponnesian Achaia.[64] Gytheion had a cult of the Praxidikai, a local form of the Erinyes.[65] The Praxidikai were also worshipped at Haliartos in Bœotia, and so far as we know nowhere else.[66] At Gerenia there was a cult of Asklepios Trikkaios, brought from the Thessalian Trikka.[67] South of Teuthrone there were two harbours, one named after Achilles and the other after Psamatho or Psamathe, the mother of Phokos.[68] The people of Las were descended from a man of that name killed by Achilles when he visited Sparta as one of Helen's suitors.[69] At Kardamyle there was a shrine of the Nereids, who came ashore there to greet Neoptolemos when he was in Sparta for his wedding with the daughter of Menelaos.[70] These traditions all point to Bœotia or Thessaly, some of them referring specifically to the Boiotoi, others to the Achæans.

5. *The Origin of the Achæans*

Let us return to the north. In the Thessalian Achaia we found the Achæans federated with the Hellenes under Peleus (pp. 387–8), and now we have seen that they were closely associated with the Boiotoi. Who were these peoples? The hypothesis I am going to put forward is that they were branches of a single stock, which had once inhabited the highlands of Epeiros.

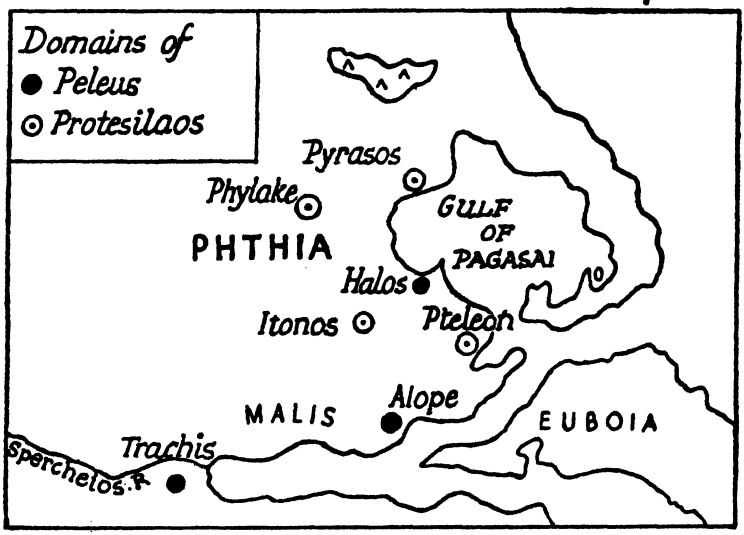
Hellas is the name given in the Catalogue of Ships to one of

[62] Str. 360, Paus. 3. 26. 4.
[63] Paus. 3. 24. 4, 3. 26. 1, Str. 360.
[64] Paus. 2. 5. 2, 2. 6. 1.
[65] Paus. 3. 22. 2.
[66] Paus. 9. 33. 3.
[67] Str. 360, Paus. 3. 26. 9.
[68] Paus. 3. 25. 4.
[69] Paus. 3. 24. 10.
[70] Paus. 3. 26. 7.

the settlements in the Thessalian Achaia (p. 387). Elsewhere in the *Iliad* it is applied generally to the whole country stretching from Phthia to the southern borders of Bœotia.[71] This extended usage becomes intelligible if we suppose that the Achæans, Boiotoi, and Hellenes were virtually the same people.

The Boiotoi, who gave their name to Bœotia, came from Thessaly. Thucydides says that their occupation of Bœotia began before the Trojan War and was completed sixty years

THE THESSALIAN ACHAIA **Map VIII**



later.[72] In the Catalogue the whole country is already in their possession excepting Orchomenos and Aspledon, which are still ruled by the Minyai (p. 188). They must therefore have moved south in two stages. The first may be identified with the movement that brought them and the Achæans into the Peloponnese. The second came when, as Thucydides says, those of them who had remained in Thessaly were driven south by the Thessaloi. This may be identified with the Æolian migration—the movement that established Greek speech in N.W. Anatolia.

[71] *Il.* 2. 683, 9. 447, 478, 2. 683 sch. BL, Str. 431–2; see p. 171 n. 89.

[72] Th. 1. 12. 3. It was the Boiotoi who expelled the Gephyraioi from Tanagra (p. 123): Hdt. 5. 57.

Strabo says that the main body of these emigrants was drawn from the Boiotoi.[73]

The Boiotoi claimed kinship with the people of Aigina, which they expressed by saying that Thebe, the eponym of Thebes, was a sister of Aigina, ancestress of the Aiakidai.[74] Their father was Asopos, a name we have just encountered among the Peloponnesian Achæans. Boiotos, the eponymous ancestor, was a son of Itonos, and the national cult was dedicated to Athena Itonia.[75] This cult had come from Itonos in the Thessalian Achaia (p. 259). In the *Iliad* Itonos is assigned, along with Phylake and other settlements, to Protesilaos, who was a native of Phylake and was still worshipped there in the fifth century.[76] So we see that Peleus was not the sole ruler of the Thessalian Achaia. Protesilaos is not actually described as his kinsman, but, as a glance at the map will show, the two domains are so intermingled that they could not have been ruled without close co-operation. Protesilaos and his followers may therefore be regarded as a section of the Boiotoi still domiciled in Thessaly, where they were intimately associated with the Achæans.[77]

In Book XVI of the *Iliad*, when Patroklos has gone to fight his last fight, Achilles utters a prayer for his safe return:

> O Zeus, Pelasgian Lord of Dodona, who dwellest afar, ruler of wintry Dodona, the dwelling-place of thy interpreters the Selloi, who have unwashed feet and sleep on the ground. . . .[78]

The reason why at this solemn moment Achilles addresses the lord of distant Dodona must surely be that, being himself a descendant of Zeus, he is appealing to the god of his ancestral

[73] Str. 402. [74] Hdt. 5. 80.

[75] D.S. 4. 67, Paus. 9. 1. 1, 9. 34. 1, Str. 411.

[76] *Il.* 2. 695–701, Pi. *I.* 1. 58–9, cf. Arr. *An.* 1. 11. 5. The Achæans who settled at Skione (p. 386) are described as followers of Protesilaos: Apld. *Epit.* 6. 15b. It seems safe to assume that all the Thessalian chiefs mentioned in the Catalogue, excepting only Euenos, Gouneus, and Prothoos, were Achæans in the strict sense of the term.

[77] That a considerable number of Boiotoi stayed behind in Thessaly is implied in the tradition that the Thessalian serfs included those Bœotian inhabitants of Arne who had submitted rather than leave their homes: *FHG.* 4. 314.

[78] *Il.* 16. 233–5.

home. And in the same way, when his son Neoptolemos settled in this region after the war, he was returning to the land of his fathers. Further, it is agreed that the Selloi or Helloi are no other than the Hellenes. They are described here as 'interpreters', that is, priests who expounded the meaning of the signs sent by the god to those who consulted the oracle.

Aristotle says that the Hellenes came from the country round Dodona, where they had been known as Graikoi.[79] This of course explains the name under which they became known to the Romans, whose first contact with them was naturally across the Adriatic. One of the Bœotian settlements mentioned in the Catalogue is Graia, and Aristotle identifies it as the later Oropos.[80] If we suppose that the Boiotoi had brought this name with them from Dodona, we are able to understand how the Hellenes became known there as Graikoi. And it is an easy supposition to make, because the name Oropos can be explained in the same way. It has already been noted that Protesilaos was a native of Phylake in the Thessalian Achaia. There was another Phylake a few miles south of Dodona, and it lay on a river called the Oropos.[81]

These somewhat tenuous links are clinched by a bond that endured throughout antiquity. The Bœotians sent a pilgrimage to Dodona every year, and they enjoyed there a special privilege. The oracular responses were normally delivered by priestesses, but the Bœotians had the right to receive theirs through male interpreters.[82] We recognise the Selloi. The privilege was a memorial of ancient kinship.

If the Achæans and Boiotoi had a common Hellenic origin, they must have played an important role in the diffusion of Greek speech. Let us see how their migrations appear in the light of the linguistic data.

In the preceding chapters it has been argued from several points of view that Greek was first introduced into the Peloponnese by the Neleidai and Lapithai (pp. 165, 183–4, 197, 265–6). The former settled along the west coast of Messenia, the latter

[79] Arist. *Mete.* 1. 14, cf. St. B. Γραικός.

[80] *Il.* 2. 498, St. B. Ὠρωπός=*FHG.* 2. 415.

[81] Liv. 45. 26, St. B. Ὠρωπός. Similarly, the Thessalian Arne reappears in Bœotia: *Il.* 2. 507, Str. 413.

[82] Eph. 30=Str. 402.

in Argolis, Arcadia, Elis, and the neighbourhood of the Isthmus.[83] There is nothing to show what dialect was spoken by the Neleidai, but it was presumably similar to that of the Lapithai, of whom something will be said when we come to the problem of Homeric Greek.

The historical dialects of Argolis, Messenia, and Laconia were Doric. The people of Elis and Achaia spoke North-West Greek, akin to Doric, and introduced at the same time. The speech of Arcadia, however, was neither Doric nor North-West Greek, but akin to Æolic. Whose dialect was this?

The Doric of Argolis and Laconia contains certain forms which have been identified as Arcadic. This shows that Arcadic had once had a wider range, and, since Argolis and Laconia were the two areas occupied by the Achæans, there is a case for associating these Arcadic elements with them. Similar elements have been found underlying the Doric of Crete, Rhodes, and Pamphylia. In all these areas the Dorians had been preceded by the Achæans. Further, the Greek of Cyprus, which the Dorians did not reach, resembles Arcadic so closely as to be virtually the same dialect.[84] It is clear, therefore, that this was the speech of the Achæans—an offshoot of Thessalian Æolic. When the Dorians broke into Argolis and Laconia, the Achæan dialect was carried by refugees to Arcadia and Achaia.

The dialect of Bœotia was basically Æolic, overlaid with North-West Greek. Buck has suggested that the Æolic basis was the speech of the Minyai, and that the North-West element was introduced by the Boiotoi.[85] This view cannot be reconciled with the facts. The Æolic of the Anatolian coast (Aiolis) differs from that of Thessaly and Bœotia in being uncontaminated with North-West Greek.[86] It must therefore have been carried across the Ægean before the intrusion of

[83] In Elis the Lapithai ruled over the Epeioi (*Il.* 2. 620–4, D.S. 4, 69) who were probably Carians: Paus. 5. 1. 5, Jo. Ant. 11=*FHG*, 4. 546. Hsch. Ἐνθυμίωνα Κᾶρα. Another Lapith settlement in this region was Doulichion: *Il.* 2. 625–9, Paus. 5. 1. 10.

[84] Buck GD 6–7, Nilsson HM 86–7.

[85] Buck GD 3. It is possible, as he suggests, that the Boiotoi got their name from Mount Boion, but it does not follow that they spoke North-West Greek.

[86] Buck GD 5–6.

North-West Greek into Thessaly and Bœotia. But the Boiotoi were already in Thessaly and Bœotia before the Trojan War, and moreover the migration to Aiolis was largely recruited from them—so largely that their new home was sometimes called Boiotike.[87] It follows that their speech was not North-West Greek but Æolic. The close relationship for which I have argued between them and the Achæans is thus confirmed by the affinity between Æolic and Arcadic.

The name of Zeus is Indo-European (p. 286). For Poseidon no satisfactory etymology has been found, but he may well be a parallel form of the old Indo-European rain-god.[88] If it was the Achæans who brought Zeus to Dodona, they may be supposed to have come down along the Adriatic coast; and then, after crossing the Pindos watershed, they followed the Peneios into the Thessalian plain. There they had been preceded by the Tyroidai and Lapithai, who had taken the eastern route down the Axios and along the coast to Petra, where they established a cult of Poseidon. Dodona and Petra may thus be said to mark the first intrusion of Indo-European speech at the two main entrances to Greece.

The extension of the Achæan name as a generic term in the Mycenean period is now explained by the expansion of the Achæans under the suzerainty of the ruling dynasty at Mycenæ, while the common Hellenic origin of the Achæans and Boiotoi, who, after absorbing the splendid culture of Mycenæ, Thebes, and Orchomenos, carried it with them to Aiolis and Ionia, the cradle of Greek epic, enables us to see how the Hellenic name was destined for an even more glorious future.

6. *The Pelopidai*

Looking back over the expansion of the Achæans, we observe that the great majority of their settlements are close to the sea. Not for nothing was Achilles the son of a sea-nymph and Phokos named after the seal. After reaching Thessaly, they took to the sea. We may suppose that, like the Tyroidai, they learnt to sail in the Gulf of Pagasai. The Tyroidai must have had close relations with them, because one of their branches

[87] Str. 402, cf. Th. 3. 2. 3, 7. 57. 5, 8. 100. 3. [88] Cook ZJO 174–5.

was still established at Pherai and Iolkos in the period of the Trojan War.[89]

It is now more than twenty years since Forrer announced that he had deciphered the names of some Greek princes in the Hittite documents from Hattusas. Most of his identifications have been hotly contested, and there is only one of them that I shall make use of here. Several Hittite kings, beginning with Mursil (*c.* 1350–1320 B.C.), were in communication with the rulers of a country called Ahhiyava. It is agreed that these are the Achæans. They were not, however, the Achæans of the Greek mainland. The location of Ahhiyava is not yet clear, but it appears to have been somewhere on the south or west coast of Anatolia. Their king exchanges presents with Muvatallu, the son of Mursil (*c.* 1300 B.C.) and a generation later they are allied with the king of Assuva (unidentified) in opposition to the Hittites. In 1240 B.C. their king, Attarisyas, invades Cyprus.[90] We also hear of princes from Ahhiyava at the Hittite court, where they learn to drive the horse and chariot.[91]

The Achæans were equally familiar to the Egyptians. In 1288 B.C. Ramses II was routed by the Hittites at Kadesh. Among the allies of the latter were the Luka (Lycians), Iliunna (Trojans?), and Kalikisha (Kilikes).[92] Forty years later, in the reign of Merneptah, Egypt was again threatened by a concerted onslaught of Libyans from the west together with 'hordes of northerners from all lands'. Among these were the Luka, Shardina, Tursha, and Akaiwasha. The Shardina are either the people of Sardeis or the ancestors of the Sardinians: they might even be both.[93] The Tursha are the Tyrsenoi or Tyrrhenoi, and the Akaiwasha are the Achæans. Later still, in 1194 B.C., a similar horde of northerners was defeated by Ramses III in the Delta. It may have been stragglers from the receding tide of this *Völkerwanderung* that founded Archandrou Polis (p. 386).

It is clear then that the Achæans were active on the coasts of Anatolia as far back as the fourteenth century, when they were

[89] *Il.* 2. 711–5. [90] Cavaignac 41–2, 50, 58–9, 86, 92–5.

[91] Cavaignac 42. [92] Hall KPS and in CAH 2. 275–6, 281–3.

[93] The Sardinians have been traced to the Caucasus (Kretschmer H 225); on the Ægean affinities of the Bronze Age culture of Sardinia see Childe DEC 242–6.

in contact with the Hittite Empire. This is the context in which we must study the Pelopidai.

Many scholars have held that the Pelopidai belonged to the same stock as their Achæan followers. This view is quite plausible in itself, and is supported by one ancient authority. Autesion, a writer otherwise unknown to us, is reported to have described Pelops as an Achæan from Olenos.[94] It is of course very likely that as rulers of the Achæans they had become to some extent Achæanised, but there are reasons for doubting their Achæan origin.

If Pelops, who led the Achæans from Thessaly into the Peloponnese, was himself an Achæan, he might be expected to have left traces in the quarter from which they had come. But he has not. Before leaving Bœotia he gave his sister Niobe in marriage to Amphion of Thebes, to whom she bore Chloris, the wife of Neleus.[95] This is interesting as a sign of ancient ties between the dynasties of Thebes, Mycenæ, and Pylos. After establishing himself in the Peloponnese he entertained Laios of the House of Kadmos.[96] At Chaironeia his sceptre was preserved as a sacred relic. It had been brought there from Phokis, and to Phokis from Mycenæ by Agamemnon's daughter Elektra when she married Pylades.[97] That is all. Pelops has three ties with Bœotia, one of which leads back to Mycenæ, and in Thessaly there is no trace of him at all. Moreover, apart from Autesion, who is an unknown quantity, all ancient writers are unanimous in asserting that he was a native of Anatolia—a Lydian, a Paphlagonian, or a Phrygian.[98] Let us hear his biography, which is an instructive example of the way in which scraps of history were blended with ritual *débris* into a typical Greek myth.

His father, Tantalos, a son of Zeus, was born on Mount Sipylos in Lydia.[99] He had two brothers, Broteas and Daskylos,

[94] Pi. *O.* 1. 37 sch.

[95] Str. 360 (cf. Nic. Dam. 17), *Od.* 11. 281–3, Apld. 1. 9. 9.

[96] Apld. 3. 5. 5, Ath. 602–3, E. *Ph.* 1760 sch.

[97] Paus. 9. 40. 11–2.

[98] Th. 1. 9, Pi. *O.* 1. 24, B. 7. 53, Hdt. 7. 8γ, 7. 11. 4, Pi. *O.* 1. 37 sch., A.R. 2. 790.

[99] Paus. 2. 22. 3, Hyg. *F.* 82, Apld. 3. 5. 6.

and a sister Niobe.[100] Tantalos used to eat with the gods, and on one occasion he served them with the flesh of Pelops, then a boy, whom he had cut up and boiled in a pot. When Zeus discovered the nature of the dish, he directed that it should be put back into the pot and so restored to life. This was done, and the child was lifted out by Klotho,[101] intact save for a bite out of one shoulder which had already been taken by Demeter or Thetis. The missing part was replaced by an ivory splint, with the result that the Pelopidai were distinguished ever afterwards by a white birthmark on the shoulder.[102] Tantalos was blasted with the thunderbolt.

When Pelops grew up, he received from Poseidon a winged chariot, which could cross the sea without getting wet.[103] Setting out for Greece, he was held up in Lesbos by the death of his charioteer, named Killos, whom he buried in Lesbos or at Killa in the Troad.[104] Resuming his voyage, he came to Pisa, near Olympia, which was then ruled by Oinomaos, a son of Ares and Harpina.[105] Oinomaos had a beautiful daughter, Hippodameia, who was much sought after; but, either because he had been warned that her son would kill him or because he was in love with her himself, he was reluctant to let her marry. He compelled every candidate for her hand to compete with him in a chariot-race. The course was a long one, from Pisa to the Corinthian Isthmus. The suitor drove off in one chariot with his prospective bride beside him. He was pursued by her father in another, and if overtaken he was put to death.[106] Thirteen suitors had been disposed of already in this way, but Pelops was more fortunate. The girl had fallen in love with him, and she persuaded her father's charioteer, whose name was Myrtilos, to remove one of the linch-pins from his wheels. The result was that Oinomaos crashed, and was either killed in the fall or speared by Pelops.[107]

Meanwhile Myrtilos had become enamoured of the bride.

[100] Paus. 3. 22. 4, A. R. 2. 358 sch. [101] Pi. *O.* 1. 23–51.
[102] Pi. *O.* 1. 37 sch., Hyg. *F.* 83. [103] Pi. *O.* 1. 75–8, 87, Apld. *Epit.* 2. 3.
[104] Theop. 339, Str. 613.
[105] Pi. *O.* 1. 65–88, Paus. 5. 22. 6, A.R. 1. 752 sch., cf. Paus. 6. 21. 8.
[106] Apld. *Epit.* 2. 4, D.S. 4. 73.
[107] Pi. *O.* 1. 127 sch., Paus. 6. 21. 7, Apld. *Epit.* 2. 6–7.

While they were crossing the Ægean (it is not clear what had brought them there) Pelops left the chariot to fetch a drink, and during his absence Myrtilos attempted to rape her. Pelops came back and pitched him into the sea.[108] Returning to Greece after these adventures, he conquered the Peloponnese (we are not told how) and named it after himself. Hitherto it had been called Apis or Pelasgiotis.[109] He succeeded his father-in-law at Pisa, and had many sons, of whom Atreus and Thyestes, after residing for a while at Makistos (Triphylia), removed to Mycenæ and Tiryns.[110] His bones were preserved in a *témenos* dedicated to him at Olympia.[111] As for his sister Niobe, whom he gave in marriage to Amphion, she bore several children of whom she was so proud that she declared herself happier than Leto, whereupon all her children save Chloris were slain by Apollo and Artemis. She returned home to Sipylos stricken with grief, and was turned to stone.[112]

The boiling of Pelops is a myth of initiation.[113] Klotho is already familiar to us as a goddess of birth (pp. 334–6); here she is a goddess of rebirth. The race for Hippodameia is based on the *svayamvara* or pre-nuptial contest—a matriarchal development of the initiatory ordeal imposed on youths before marriage.[114] What concerns us at present is not this ritual nucleus but the residue of historical fact.

If Pelops gave his sister away in Bœotia, he cannot have come straight from Sipylos to Pisa. This discrepancy shows that we have to do with two distinct traditions. The first, which mentions Thessaly but not Sipylos or Pisa, is the Achæan version; the second, which ignores Thessaly and the Achæans, belongs to Pisa.

If Pelops conquered the Peloponnese, it is strange that he chose Pisa as his capital rather than Mycenæ or some other town of known eminence at this period. Pisa was of no importance at any period, except that for a time it had controlled the Olympic Games, which did not acquire their panhellenic character till the eighth century. If Pisa had ever been the seat of

[108] Apld. *Epit.* 2. 8–9, *Il.* 2. 104 sch. A.
[109] Apld. *Epit.* 2. 9. [110] E. *Or.* 5 sch. [111] Paus. 6. 22. 1.
[112] *Il.* 24. 602–17, D.S. 4. 74, Apld. 3. 5. 6.
[113] See my AA 113–8. [114] Briffault 2. 199–208.

the Pelopidai, it might be expected to figure in the *Iliad* as one of Agamemnon's domains, but it is not mentioned. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the connection with Pisa is an accretion to the myth.

Shortly after the Dorian invasion a band of Achæans under one Agorios migrated from Helike in the Peloponnesian Achaia and settled in Elis. Agorios was a great-grandson of Orestes.[115] This gives the clue. The cult of Pelops was brought to Elis at this late date by a branch of the Pelopidai, and there it found a home at Olympia with the goodwill of the festival authorities, who had an obvious interest in appropriating so illustrious a tradition.

Other signs point in the same direction. Hippodameia was buried at Olympia, but her bones had been brought there from Mideia, whither she had retired after quarrelling with her husband.[116] Oinomaos hardly exists except in relation to Pelops. He had no known predecessor at Pisa, and why did he fix the goal of the race at the Corinthian Isthmus? The reason seems to be that he was himself an importation from that quarter; for his mother's father was the river Asopos.[117] Helike, Mideia, Corinth, and the Asopos all lie within the territory which is assigned in Homer to the Pelopidai of Mycenæ. On these grounds I believe that it was here, in the north-east corner of the Peloponnese, that the myth of Pelops was first planted on Greek soil. But it does not follow that Pelops himself had once reigned at Mycenæ. On the contrary, there are signs that he never reached Greece at all. There was a tradition that his bones were fashioned into the image of the Trojan Athena.[118] His charioteer died before leaving Anatolia, and this tradition suggests that he did the same. It is supported, moreover, by another, which says, in striking contrast to the Olympian version, that Oinomaos was king of Lesbos.[119] The chariot-race, like the boiling, was simply an ancestral

[115] Paus. 5. 4. 3. [116] Paus. 5. 20. 7, 6. 20. 7.

[117] Paus. 5. 22. 6, 6. 21. 8. Pelops' chariot was preserved at Phleious: Paus. 2. 14. 4.

[118] Dion. Rhod. 5=Clem. *Pr.* 4. 14, *Il.* 4. 92 sch., Tz. *ad.* Lyc. 53, 911, Paus. 5. 13. 4–5.

[119] E. *Or.* 990 sch.: for Νῆσσαν (Dindorf 2. 250. 5) read Ἴσσαν (Str. 60).

legend which the Pelopidai brought with them from Anatolia.

Sipylos is the mountain overlooking the Hermos valley between Sardeis and the sea. Here Niobe 'all tears' was turned to stone. Here was a rock known as the Throne of Pelops. Here was an ancient sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, built by his brother Broteas. Not far from here, in one of the tributary valleys, was the town of Thyateira, originally called Pelopeia.[120] The Hermos was the main avenue by which Hittite culture reached the Ægean. The figure of Niobe, the Throne of Pelops, the shrine built by Broteas—all these refer to the Hittite monuments still visible on the heights of Sipylos. Not only so, but the third brother, Daskylos, is a namesake of the father of Gyges, the first of the Mermnadai (p. 174); and the charioteer Myrtilos is a namesake of Myrsilos, the last of the Lydian Herakleidai, and also of Mursil, the Hittite king who recorded at Hattusas his dealings with the princes of Ahhiyava. There was evidently real substance in the tradition that Pelops was a Lydian.

He was also a Paphlagonian and a Phrygian. Paphlagonia lay immediately to the north of Hattusas, and it was the country of the Leukosyroi, who have been identified as Hittites. The Phrygians were an Indo-European-speaking people, akin to the Thracians, who crossed the Hellespont and overran the Hittite Empire. Like the Achæan conquerors of Knossos, they fell under the spell of the older culture. The Phrygian Kybele was the Hittite mother-goddess in a new form, and many extant Phrygian monuments, if not actually of Hittite workmanship, are at least inspired by Hittite originals. Among them are the

[120] Paus. 5. 13. 7, 3. 22. 4, St. B. Θυάτειρα. There are many other Anatolian connections. The *kordax* dance, associated at Olympia with Artemis, came from Sipylos: Paus. 6. 22. 1. The shrine of Artemis Mounychia at Pygela was reputed to have been founded by Agamemnon: Str. 639. Among the previous suitors of Hippodameia were Mermnes, Hippothoos, Alkathoos, and Pelops of Lokris Opountia: Paus. 6. 21. 10, Pi. *O.* 1. 127 sch. Mermnes is the eponym of the Mermnadai (p. 174). Hippothoos was a grandson of Teutamos: *Il.* 2. 840–2; see p. 260. Alkathoos is given by Hesiod as a son of Porthaon from Pleuron (Paus. 6. 21. 10) but in Homer he is a brother-in-law of Aineias and his wife is Hippodameia (*Il.* 13. 428–9): the early inhabitants of Pleuron were Leleges from N.W. Anatolia (p. 427). On the Trojan connections of Lokris see p. 259.

lion tombs of Ayazzin and Dimerli.[121] The entrance to both these tombs is surmounted by a stone slab on which is carved a pair of rampant lions facing one another, with an upright column between them. As Garstang points out, this was a characteristic Hittite conception. We have already met it at Mycenæ (p. 373).

The Greeks had no direct knowledge of the Hittites as distinct from the later peoples that inherited their culture. Hence, when they described Pelops as a Lydian, Paphlagonian, or Phrygian, that was as near as they could have got to saying he was a Hittite.

The collapse of the Hittite Empire must have been complete 1200 B.C., and Cavaignac assigns the Phrygian invasion to the same period.[122] If this is right, it seems to follow that Troy was already occupied by the invaders at the time of the Trojan War. In the post-Homeric tradition Hecuba is a Pelasgian from Thrace (p. 260) but in Homer her father is Dymas, a king of the Phrygians.[123] Priam himself is not a Phrygian, but the Trojan pedigree is so confused that this discrepancy does not count for much; and on one occasion he recalls a campaign in the Sangarios valley which he had fought in alliance with the Phrygians against the Amazons.[124] This seems to indicate that they were already in contact with the Hittites before the Trojan War; and it is worth noting, though hard to explain, that in this campaign their king was Otreus, which is the Æolic form of Atreus.[125]

One feature inherited by Kybele from the Hittite goddess was her lion-drawn chariot.[126] The Hittites were famous for their chariots, and perhaps the same origin may be postulated for the vehicle that figures in the career of Pelops. In Cappadocia the goddess became known as Ma, with her centre at Komana, an important town in Hittite days, and here, right down to Roman times, there survived a hieratic clan called the

[121] Garstang 16, cf. 85. Perhaps he goes too far in deriving the tombs directly from a Hittite original; and of course they are much later in date than the Lion Gate at Mycenæ, but that does not conflict with the hypothesis of a common Anatolian prototype.

[122] Cavaignac 152. [123] *Il.* 16. 718. [124] *Il.* 3. 185–9.

[125] *Il.* 3. 186, Hom. *H.* 5. 111, 146, *EM.* Ὀτρεύς.

[126] Garstang 114, cf. A. J. Evans RN 33–7.

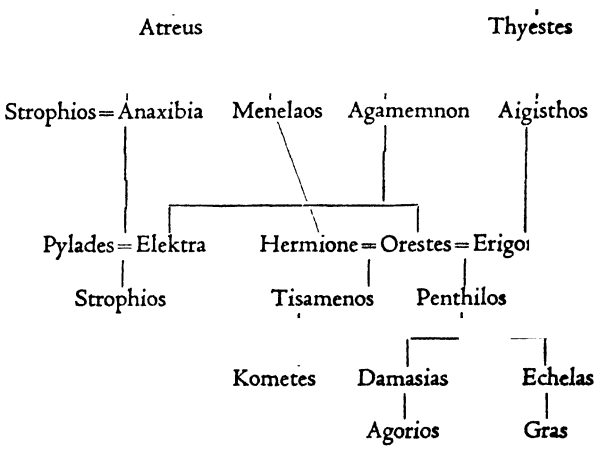
Agamemnoneion Genos or Orestiadai, who claimed to have in their keeping the image of Artemis brought from Tauris by Orestes.[127]

Who then were the Pelopidai? The Greek tradition points to the Hittites. But in the annals of Hattusas there is no hint that Hittite rule ever extended to Greece proper. Perhaps they were an Anatolian branch of the Achæans who had assimilated Hittite culture. In the present state of our knowledge it would be unwise to press for a more definite conclusion.

Their pedigree, as given in Homer, covers four generations:

Table XV

THE PELOPIDAI



(1) Pelops; (2) Atreus and Thyestes; (3) Agamemnon and Menelaos, sons of Atreus, and Aigisthos, son of Thyestes; (4) Orestes, son of Agamemnon. The fifth generation, represented by Tisamenos and Penthilos, the sons of Orestes, is ignored, because it is subsequent to the period to which the poems refer. This pedigree was presumably derived from the

[127] D.C. 36. 13, Str. 353, *CIG.* 4769.

family tradition of the Penthilidai, who were kings of Lesbos at the time when the poems were composed.[128]

The mainland Greeks preserved a different version. In Hesiod the father of Agamemnon and Menelaos is not Atreus but a son of his named Pleisthenes.[129] Pleisthenes is a puzzle. No motive can be discerned either for inserting him or for removing him. In either case he proves that the number of generations was not always remembered correctly.

Tisamenos and Penthilos were contemporary with the Dorian conquest. Expelled from Laconia, Tisamenos fled to Helike, where he died and was buried.[130] His son, Kometes, had already emigrated to Anatolia.[131] Penthilos, who founded the Æolic colony in Lesbos, left two sons in the Peloponnese, one of whom, Damasias, was the father of Agorios.[132] It was this Agorios who led a band of Achæans into Elis (p. 405), where, according to the local tradition, he was welcomed by a chief called Oxylos. Here we can lay our finger on another weak spot in the traditional chronology.

Eratosthenes fixed the average length of a generation at forty years. This estimate goes at least as far back as Thucydides, who dated the Dorian invasion eighty years after the fall of Troy, corresponding to the two generations between Agamemnon and his grandsons, whom the Dorians expelled.[133] As Burn has pointed out, it is far too long.[134] The difficulty is not met, however, by his expedient, which is simply to scale down the dates of Eratosthenes. That is to assume that the number of generations is correct, but it seems to me their number is no more reliable than their length. Pleisthenes is one case in point, and Oxylos is another. In the Elian tradition he is a grandson of Thoas and a native of Aitolia. Acting in concert with the Dorians, he occupied Elis with a band of Aitoloi.[135] This agrees with the Homeric Catalogue, where

[128] Arist. *Pol.* 1311b. 19, Str. 402, 447, 582, Paus. 3. 2. 1.

[129] Hes. fr. 98, cf. Stes. 15, A. *A.* 1568.

[130] Paus. 2. 18. 8, 2. 38. 1, 7. 1. 7–8. [131] Paus. 7. 6. 2.

[132] Paus. 3. 2. 1, 5. 4. 3. [133] Th. 1. 12. 3, cf. Hdt. 1. 7. 4, 2. 142. 2.

[134] Burn DEGH, cf. Chadwick GL 1. 193, 198. Possibly the source of the error was the late marriages customary at Athens in the fifth century.

[135] Paus. 5. 3. 6. This was the migration that brought the North-West dialect to Elis.

Thoas is mentioned as a chief of the Aitoloi at the siege of Troy.[186] It also agrees with the assumption that the Dorian invasion took place two generations after the war. But it does not agree with the pedigree of Agorios, who is assigned to the fourth generation after the war. They might of course have been contemporary in spite of this discrepancy, because the length of a generation varies; but that only shakes our faith in the traditional chronology, which made the pedigrees commensurable by postulating the same number of generations for different families in a given period. It is much more probable that one or other of these pedigrees has been tampered with. And which is the more reliable—the one that obeys the artificially coherent system of Eratosthenes, or the local variant that asserts its independence?

In view of these considerations there is no reason to regard Pelops as more than a symbol of the Anatolian origin of the dynasty. Once established at Mycenæ, these kings had no interest in preserving the full record of their Asiatic forbears. No doubt their own names were preserved, probably in writing, so long as they remained in power; but, when the dynasty was overthrown, their tradition split, like themselves, into two branches. The Penthilidai of Lesbos retained their royal status, but, as their name implies, the functional value of their traditions was limited to proving descent from a son of Orestes, from whom their status was inherited. The earlier generations, remote in place and time, tended to drift into the realm of myth. Meanwhile the other branch of the family, headed by Agorios, survived in the Peloponnese, but only after a social upheaval in which the family tradition must have suffered almost as much as the family fortune; and what remained of it when they settled at Elis was modified in the interests of the Olympic priesthood.

The Argives agreed with Homer in placing Agamemnon's tomb at Mycenæ, but the Spartans showed his tomb at Amyklai.[187]

[186] *Il.* 2. 638.

[187] Paus. 2. 16. 6, 3. 19. 6. Amyklai remained in Achæan hands for some time after the Dorian conquest: Paus. 3. 2. 6. The tradition of Agamemnon's domicile at Sparta seems to have been known to the poets of the *Odyssey*: Allen HCS 66–9.

If, as I believe, Agamemnon is not to be regarded as a definite historical individual, we are absolved from the necessity of choosing between these alternatives. It is enough for us to say that, when the Spartan branch of the dynasty, represented by Menelaos, established themselves on the Eurotas, they took their ancestral cult with them and maintained it in their new cemetery, which, deserted by them, was remembered long afterwards by the Achæans as the burial place of their ancient kings, of whom the greatest was Agamemnon. The same sort of thing happened all over Laconia. The Pelopid tradition survived, but in decadent forms, localised, incoherent, representing all that the downtrodden serfs were able or willing to recall of the days of their greatness.

The upshot of my argument is to suggest that, after leading an army of Achæans, some of them perhaps from Anatolia, in a devastating onslaught on the centre of the Minoan Empire, the Pelopidai were invited, or invited themselves, to Mycenæ, where they built the Lion Gate and the Treasury of Atreus. As the problem stands, this seems to me the most probable solution, but of course it is far from certain. The Achæan mystery is not so deep as it was, but we have not got to the bottom of it.

XIII

THE CLASH OF CULTURES

1. *The Social Character of the Achæans*

AFTER all that has been said the actual history of the Greek matriarchate still remains to be written. It is proved to have had all the salient features of mother-right revealed by our general study of the subject, but we have not been able to display it in detail as a going concern or to identify its phases of growth and decay. That must wait until we can read the Minoan script. In the meantime we can say this. Between the first and last of the nine Minoan epochs there lies a process of continuous change, involving the development of property at the expense of kinship rights and a gradual shifting of the balance in the social relations of the sexes. But this shift took place within the matriarchal framework, which maintained itself, with deepening contradictions, down to the period we have now reached. If Greece had been less accessible to the outer world and more easily centralised, the old system might have lasted as long as it did in Egypt; it might have absorbed the successive shocks of barbarian incursions, as Egypt did the Hyksos; but in the Achæan age this pressure from outside, combined with its internal contradictions, precipitated a crisis, which produced Greek civilisation as we know it—a class society founded on private property and animated in its early stages by a conscious struggle to transform or suppress the institutions and traditions of the matriarchal past.

The general characteristics of Achæan society as portrayed in Homer have been analysed by Chadwick, who has pointed to many illuminating analogies between this and other 'heroic' ages.[1] Rude but vigorous invaders subjugate and assimilate a superior culture, thereby bringing about an economic and social upheaval marked by the accumulation of wealth in the

[1] Chadwick HA, GL.

hands of an energetic military caste, which, torn by internecine conflicts of succession and inheritance, breaks loose from its tribal bonds into a career of violent, self-assertive individualism —a career as brief as it is brilliant, because their gains have been won by the sword and not by any development of the productive forces.

The wealth of these Achæan chiefs consists first and foremost in their flocks and herds. 'Why should I fight the Trojans?' Achilles shouts at Agamemnon. 'They haven't raided *my* cattle.'[2] To their own livestock must be added tributes in kind from the peoples they have conquered. In offering Achilles the seven Messenian townlands Agamemnon assures him that the inhabitants will 'honour him with gifts like a god',[3] meaning that they will pay him a percentage on their holdings. Female captives are valued for their skill at the loom, and they are priced in terms of cattle.[4] For the rest, these rapacious adventurers covet gold and silver vessels, bronze tripods, cauldrons, goblets, any *objêt d'art* of Minoan craftsmanship they can lay hands on. Their scale of values may be seen in the prizes awarded at their games. Chariot-race: first prize, a skilled woman and a tripod, capacity 22 measures; second prize, a six-year-old mare in foal; third prize, a cauldron, capacity 4 measures, brand-new; fourth prize, 2 gold talents; fifth prize, a cup.[5] Boxing: a six-year-old mule, not broken in, and a two-handled cup.[6] Wrestling: a tripod valued at 12 oxen and a woman valued at 4 oxen.[7] Foot-race: first prize, a silver mixing-bowl from Sidon, capacity 6 measures; second prize, an ox; third prize, half a gold talent.[8]

Their moral values, their personal ideals, and their attitude to the common-people, are mirrored in the stories told to them by their minstrels about the gods. Zeus dwells on the cloud-capped peak of Olympus.[9] In the beginning, as cloud-gatherer and thunderer, he had dwelt alone, the other gods residing elsewhere—Hera in Argos, Aphrodite in Paphos, Athena in the House of Erechtheus; but now they have been gathered together in a single celestial stronghold—Zeus in the

[2] *Il.* 1. 154. [3] *Il.* 9. 154–5. [4] *Il.* 23. 703, 885, *Od.* 1. 431.
[5] *Il.* 23. 262–70. [6] *Il.* 23. 653–6. [7] *Il.* 23. 702–5.
[8] *Il.* 23. 741–51. [9] Nilsson HM 267.

central palace, the others in the surrounding mansions built for them by Hephaistos. The supremacy of Zeus is acknowledged, but it is often challenged, especially by his wife. He summons his peers to councils, at which the fate of mankind is decided, and entertains them to meat, wine, and music. These gods are selfish, unscrupulous, covetous, intensely alive to all delights of the senses. In one thing only are they divided from their worshippers—they can never die; and of this privilege they are passionately jealous. Man must not aspire above his mortal station, or he will be blasted by the thunderbolt. As the common people are to their chiefs, so is man to the gods.[10] The Achæan Olympus is the mirror of social reality.

Stripped of their heroic glamour, there is little in these men to command our admiration except their boundless vitality. Listen to the disguised Odysseus at pains to make a good impression:

> My father was a rich man of Crete. He had many sons by his lawful wife, but my own mother was a concubine, though he loved me none the less for that. Kastor son of Hylax was his name, a man of wealth and fortune, the happy father of fine sons. When he died, they cast lots for the inheritance among themselves—all they gave me was a meagre portion and a house. However, I married a woman of good family with many shares of land—thanks to my manly spirit, for I was no weakling and not afraid of war. It's all gone now—I've had my full share of trouble since those days—you must judge the crop from the stubble. Ah, what a bold and battling heart was mine, leading a band of stalwarts in an ambuscade, with never a thought of death in my head—I was always the first to pounce on the hindmost when the enemy took to their heels and to strip him of his arms. But husbandry and housekeeping and bringing up a family were things I could never abide. What I enjoyed was the sea and war—ships, spears, arrows—they make other men shudder, but I loved them. That was the nature God gave me—every man to his taste. Already, before the Achæans sailed to Troy, I had led nine raids on foreign shores and got plenty of loot, gifts of honour as well as my share of the lots, so my affairs prospered and I was respected and feared in Crete. But then Zeus ordained that accursed expedition that has laid so many low, and they chose me and Idomeneus to lead our ships to Troy. There was no help for it. The stern voice of the people called me, and I had to go.[11]

Phoinix, when we meet him in the *Iliad*, is a grave, god-fearing old man, but he too has had a stormy past:

[10] Nilsson HGR 158–9. [11] *Od.* 14. 199–239.

I left home after a quarrel with my father, Ormenos son of Amyntor. He had fallen in love with a concubine, which was a disgrace to my mother, his lawful wife. She begged me to have the girl first so as to make her dislike the old man, and I did as she asked. When he found out, he cursed me—he prayed to the Erinyes that no child of mine might ever sit on my knees, and that prayer has been fulfilled. I was going to kill him, but some god held me back and warned me of the accusing voice of the people if I should be named a parricide. I couldn't bear the thought of living under one roof with that raging father, but my cousins and kinsmen came and entreated me and tried to keep me by force. Nine nights they spent in the house, slaughtering sheep and oxen, roasting pigs at the fire, and swilling the old man's wine. They kept watch on me by turns, with a fire always burning, one in the courtyard and another in the porch outside the bedroom door; but on the tenth night I broke through the door, scaled the courtyard wall unseen, and fled. I made my way through Hellas to Peleus in Phthia, who welcomed me and loved me as though I were his long-awaited one and only son; he made me rich too and gave me a fine people to rule—I became king of the Dolopes on the distant frontiers of Phthia.[12]

In view of passages like these, it is a little disconcerting to read in the polite pages of Homeric scholarship that the Achæans were 'a gentle and generous race' with 'a pure and tender conception of conjugal affection'.[13]

The 'cousins and kinsmen' who consumed so much meat and liquor were evidently present in numbers far transcending the limits of a family. We have here caught an Achæan in the very act of breaking away from the restraints imposed by his clan; and after making good his escape he attaches himself to a stranger in a purely individual relationship—the bond of personal allegiance between a vassal and his lord. The lawful wife's part is equally interesting. In enjoying as many women as sword could win and cattle buy, Ormenos may have been true to the custom of his northern ancestors; but his wife objected, and, like Clytemnestra, she hit back. These newcomers married into the native nobility, who had their own ideas about the dignity of womanhood. That is why so many of these 'heroic' tales turn on quarrels about wives and concubines. Helen herself, the fairest of them all, had chosen her husband for herself from the Achæans competing for her hand; and, having chosen freely in the first instance, she was free to change her mind. In this case it was the husband that objected,

[12] *Il.* 9. 447–84. [13] Jebb 53–4.

and the Achæans rallied to his side. It took more than Helen's face to launch the thousand ships. Paris stole goods as well.[14] The wealth went with the woman. The fights about fair ladies were fights about hard cash.

2. *The Homeric Treatment of the Matriarchate*

The Homeric poets were well aware that the world in which their heroes had fought their way to glory was very different from their own, and there were several distinctions on which they were careful to insist. In their day, bronze had been superseded by iron, and the Dorians were supreme in the Peloponnese; in the poems iron is a rarity and the Dorians are ignored. In these matters they delineated consciously an idealised picture of the past. In regard to the growth of property and the consolidation of the patriarchal family the picture is much more subjective, and hence lacking in clarity. They knew, however, that the status of women had undergone a change, and if we scrutinise the poems from this point of view the truth can be recovered from their own words.

Most readers of the *Iliad* will agree that the scenes in Troy have an un-Greek air about them. In contrast to Agamemnon and his peers, who are marshals of men, good at the war-cry, matchless in sword-thrust and spear-throw, Priam is a mild and gentle ruler, anything but warlike. Hector, it is true, might pass for an Achæan, but Paris, who seems to be an older figure in the saga,[15] is notoriously unmanly. Similarly, while the status of Andromache as Hector's wife is not very different from Penelope's, Helen is free to go about the streets, thrilling the onlookers with her beauty, and Hecuba is a personage of great dignity and influence. It is she, not the King, who directs the act of intercession for the safety of the city:

> Hecuba went into the palace and ordered her ladies-in-waiting to gather the old women together from all parts of the city. Then she entered her bedchamber, where she stored her embroidered robes, woven by the women of Sidon that Paris had brought back with him on the voyage on which he had fetched Helen; and one of these, the largest and most richly adorned, lying at the bottom of the pile like a cluster of brilliant stars, she picked out

[14] *Il.* 3. 72, 7. 362–4. [15] Scott UH 205–6.

as a gift for Athena. The old women thronged after her to the shrine in the citadel, and the door was opened to them by Theano, daughter of Kisseus and wife of Antenor, whom the Trojans had chosen to be priestess. They all lifted up their hands with cries of Alleluia! and Theano took the robe and laid it on the goddess's lap.[16]

The same goddess was of course served by priestesses at Athens and elsewhere throughout her history; but in later times all her public services—sacrifices, processions, games—were controlled by the state officials, who were men. This Trojan Athena is what the Athenian Athena ceased to be.

Priam's palace was arranged as follows:

In it were fifty bedchambers of polished stone, where his sons slept with their wives beside them; and on the other side of the court were twelve more, built close together of polished stone, where his daughters slept with his sons-in-law.[17]

This menage has been characterised as a patriarchal joint household,[18] but a little reflection shows that such an interpretation is impossible. The patriarchal joint household consists of the *paterfamilias*, his wife, sons, unmarried daughters, and daughters-in-law. It does not include the married daughters or the sons-in-law, because they live in other households. An establishment like Priam's must from the nature of the case have been exceptional, because the married children cannot have lived in two houses at once. It is exceptional because it is royal. It is constituted on the principle of matriarchal endogamy, which enables the sons to secure the succession by marrying their sisters. That this had once been the rule in Priam's city is proved by the arrangement of his palace. The Homeric poets have described it without understanding it. But they were acquainted with the practice. Aiolos, the king of the winds, lived on a magic island in a palace encompassed with a wall of bronze:

Here twelve children were born to him, six sons and six daughters, and he gave his daughters in marriage to his sons. All day long they feasted with their father and mother on the abundance of good things that were set before them, while the smoke curled up and the courtyard rang, and at night they slept under counterpanes with their wives beside them.[19]

[16] *Il.* 6. 286–303.

[17] *Il.* 6. 243–50. Nestor's palace at Pylos was of the same type: *Od.* 3 387, 451.

[18] Erdmann 126.

[19] *Od.* 10. 3–12.

In the world of myth the incestuous customs of the banished past survive, because, being divorced from reality, they are innocuous.

We have already been introduced to the marvellous kingdom of Phæacia. Although mythical, it is compounded of materials drawn from the real world, and we have only to look into it to see what that world is. It is the vanished world of Minoan Greece. The royal gardens, watered by fountains, in which the grapes are being pressed in one corner while a fresh crop blossoms in another; the palace itself with its bronze gates and friezes of cyanus, guarded at the entrance by hounds of gold and silver; the flashing feet of the boy dancers, the purple ball thrown into the air and caught at a leap in time with the music, while the minstrel sings of the amours of Ares and Aphrodite, languorous and seductive; and the free, independent bearing of the women—these might be scenes from frescoes on the walls of the Palace of Minos.

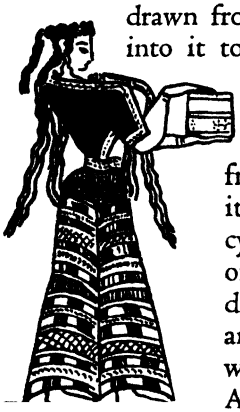


FIG. 63. *Mycenean lady: fresco from Tiryns*

Nausikaa gives Odysseus careful instructions how to approach her parents:

> When you enter the palace, walk straight across to my mother. You will find her by the fire spinning sea-purple wool, with her chair against the pillar and her serving-women at her side. My father will be sitting there too, sipping his wine like an immortal, but pass him by and clasp my mother's knees—then, however far away, you may be sure of a safe journey home.[20]

The king is only a decorative figure. The queen will decide. This queen is a remarkable woman. In the streets Odysseus meets a girl with a pitcher, who shows him the way to the palace and gives some information about the royal family:

> Alkinoos took her to wife, and he honours her as no other woman is honoured by the husband for whom she keeps house in all the world to-day; and not only he but her children and the whole people—they look on her as a goddess when they salute her as she passes through the streets. So shrewd and sensible is she that she even composes disputes among the men. If you win *her* heart, you will have good hope of returning to your own country and setting eyes once more on your kith and kin.[21]

[20] *Od.* 6. 303–15. [21] *Od.* 7. 66–77.

So far all is of a piece, but when Odysseus reaches his destination things turn out quite differently:

Odysseus walked through the house, invisible in the mist in which Athena wrapped him, till he came to King Alkinoos and Queen Arete. Just as he clasped the Queen's knees, the mist lifted, and everyone looked at him in amazement. 'Arete', he cried, 'daughter of Rhexenor, here at your feet I beseech you, after all my sufferings, you and your guests, on whom may Zeus bestow health and wealth while they live and children to inherit their possessions and the prerogatives they have received from the people—after all I have endured on my wanderings, grant me safe-conduct back to my native land!' With these words he sat down in the cinders on the hearth, and still the company was silent. At last Echeneus, the oldest of the Phæacians, a man with an eloquent tongue and a head full of ancient wisdom, spoke to the King and said: 'Alkinoos, why do you keep the stranger sitting in the cinders? We are all waiting for a word from you. Raise him up and lead him to a chair; order the serving-men to mix the wine so that we may offer a grace to Zeus who walks in the suppliant's footsteps, and tell the housekeeper to give him supper.' Alkinoos then took the stranger's hand and led him to the chair next his own, which Laodamas, his favourite son, had vacated for him.[22]

Odysseus has addressed his petition to the Queen, as he was told to do, but she does not answer. It is the King who decides after all.

What we have here are two renderings of the same theme. In one, the suppliant places himself at the queen's feet and clasps her knees—a symbolic gesture of birth, rebirth, adoption, supplication. In the other, he sits down at the hearth—the centre of family life—and is led by the king to a place at table and thereby accepted as a kinsman. Both are rites of supplication, but the one is matriarchal, the other patriarchal, and the poets who put the *Odyssey* in its final shape hesitated between the two.

When we enquire into the antecedents of this royal pair, a further anomaly is brought to light. Again it is the girl with the pitcher speaking:

The first person you will meet when you enter the palace will be the mistress of the house, Arete, born of the same parents as Alkinoos. Poseidon had a son, Nausithoos, by Periboia, the youngest daughter of Eurymedon, King of the Giants. The Giants were a foolish people and perished king and all. Nausithoos reigned over the Phæacians and begot two sons, Rhexenor and Alkinoos. Rhexenor was slain soon after marriage by Apollo, leaving an only child, Arete, whom Alkinoos took to wife.[23]

[22] *Od.* 7. 139–71. [23] *Od.* 7. 53 66: see Roscher LGRM 3. 2206–7, J. A. K. Thomson 168, Kagarov PPK 37.

At the end of this passage we are told that Arete is a daughter of her husband's brother. This is patriarchal endogamy, corresponding to the Attic law of the heiress (p. 139). Arete was an only child, so she was married to her father's next-of-kin. And this is only a few lines after we have read that Alkinoos and Arete were 'born of the same parents'. Scholars have tried to save the situation by rendering the word for 'parents' as 'ancestors', but this only brings them into conflict with Hesiod, who described the couple as brother and sister.[24]

Here, if anywhere, Homer nods. He has been caught *in flagrante delicto*. A pedigree conforming to the familiar and respectable law of the heiress has been invented as an alternative to the rule of matriarchal endogamy, which the Greek poets did not understand and did not wish to understand. A mere slip of the tongue has betrayed them. There can be no doubt about the verdict, and its implications are disquieting. How many other pedigrees have they tampered with for similar motives but with greater skill? Even in this case, palpable though it is, they have got away with it for nearly three millennia. That is because, in matters affecting the social status of the sexes, their modern editors, for all their scholarly detachment, also nod.

3. *The Kingdom of Odysseus*

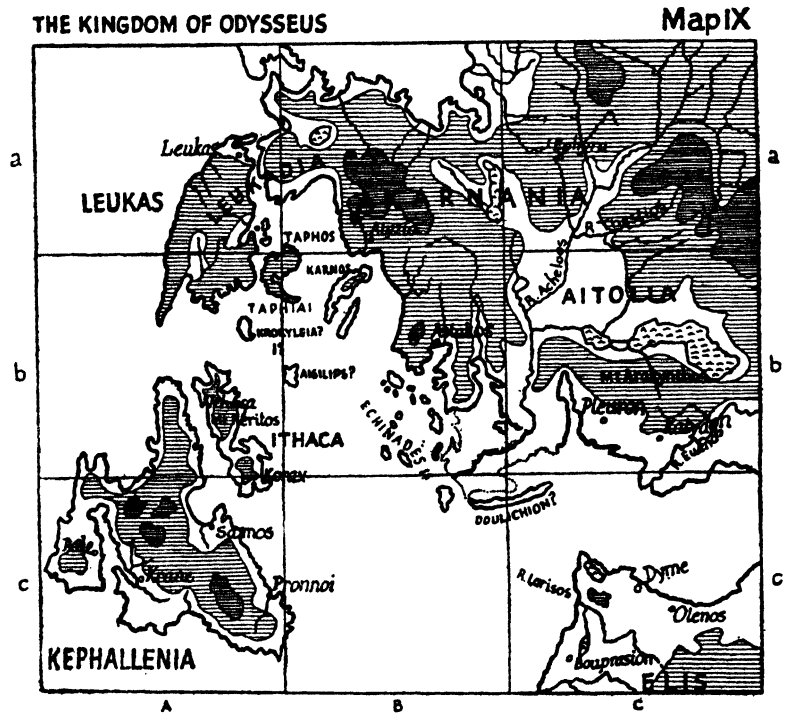
Having lifted a corner of the veil, we can discern in outline the whole picture shining through. If we follow Odysseus back to Ithaca, we shall see the confusion that resulted when the hard-headed Achæan corsairs broke into this exotic matriarchal world.

The obscurities and inconsistencies in the Homeric account of life in Ithaca are due partly to the poets, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the state of society enshrined in the tradition, but some of them must be put down to the conditions themselves, which were full of transitional anomalies arising from the collision and combination of two different cultures.

The kingdom of Odysseus, inhabited by the Kephallenes, is

[24] Hes. fr. 95=*Od.* 7. 54 sch. The discrepancy was pointed out by Burrows 217.

defined as the three islands of Ithaca, Samos (the later Kephallenia) and Zakynthos, together with Krokyleia and Aigilips, which were either townlands on the coast of Akarnania or islets in the bay.[25] Ithaca is described as rugged, thickly wooded, with only rough pasturage, unsuitable for horse-breeding.[26] The wealth of Odysseus consists mainly of livestock, most of which is on the mainland. The inventory is as follows. On the



mainland he has 12 herds of oxen, 12 flocks of sheep, 12 droves of swine, and 12 herds of goats. On the island, despite the gluttony of the suitors, he has 11 herds of goats, 600 sows and 360 boars, and a *témenos* of cornland.[27] All these are tended for him by an unspecified number of slaves, one of whom, Eumaios, figures prominently in the story. He is a son of

[25] *Il.* 2. 631–5, Str. 452–3. [26] *Od.* 4. 601–8, 13. 242–7.
[27] *Od.* 14. 13–20, 100–4, 17. 299.

a king of Syros, one of the Cyclades. Kidnapped in early childhood by Phœnician pirates, he was purchased from them by Odysseus' father, Laertes, and brought up with the family.[28] Before the war Odysseus had intended to give him a house, a holding, and a wife—in other words, to settle him as an independent cultivator.[29] There are also a number of female slaves—twelve employed in grinding corn and over fifty in the palace.[30] One of the latter, Aktoris, was part of Penelope's dowry.[31] The housekeeper, Eurykleia, who had nursed Odysseus, was bought by Laertes for twenty oxen. Laertes was in love with her but abstained from sexual relations out of respect for his wife.[32]

Odysseus' mother, who came from Phokis, is dead, but Laertes is still alive. In Book XXIV, which is generally regarded as one of the latest, the old man recalls how he had once led a raid against the mainland and speaks of himself as having been king at the time.[33] But there is no mention of this in the rest of the poem, nor are we told why, if he had been king, he had abdicated. The uncertainty on this point suggests that Odysseus may have become king by some other means than succession to his father.

Laertes does not live in the palace, nor is it said that he had ever done so. He lives at some distance on a country estate, including a house, a threshing-floor, and a garden.[34] In Book XXIV it is described as his own property acquired with much labour—that is, an assart or clearing which he had made for himself in the waste.[35] The old man spends his time pottering round the garden, the land being worked for him by Dolios and his family.[36] This Dolios is a slave given to Penelope by her father, Ikarios, when she married and came to Ithaca.[37] Like Aktoris, he was part of her dowry. In Book IV she tells her serving-women to go and fetch 'old Dolios, my slave, who was given to me when I came here by my father and keeps my garden'. To whom does this garden belong? Again we see that

[28] *Od.* 15. 403–84, 363–70.

[29] *Od.* 14. 62–4, cf. 17. 320–3; Vinogradoff GM 202, 230, Bloch 239.

[30] *Od.* 20. 105–8, 22. 421–3. [31] *Od.* 23. 228. [32] *Od.* 1. 429–35.

[33] *Od.* 24. 377–8. [34] *Od.* 1. 189–93, 23. 359–60. [35] *Od.* 24. 205–7.

[36] *Od.* 24. 220–5, 387–90, 497. [37] *Od.* 4. 735–7.

Book XXIV is out of step with the rest of the poem. From Book IV it appears that the dowry had included the land itself as well as the slave that worked it.

Odysseus sailed to Troy with a contingent of twelve ships. From incidental allusions it can be calculated that their complement amounted to 624 men—that is to say, each vessel was manned by a captain, coxswain, and fifty oarsmen.[38] The population has thus been seriously depleted. Not only is the king himself abroad, but he has taken with him what must have been a substantial portion of the adult males. And that was twenty years ago. During all these years there has been no acknowledged ruler, no council of elders, no meeting of the assembly.[39] And meanwhile a new generation has sprung up, including a large number of ambitious young men who like Telemachos have never known their fathers. They are free from the restraints which in normal times would have been imposed on them by their elders, and not unnaturally, assuming that Odysseus is dead, they are impatient to cut their losses and appoint a new king.

It is from these young men that the suitors are drawn. There are 108 of them—12 from Ithaca, 24 from Samos, 20 from Zakynthos, and 52 from Doulichion.[40] For three years they have been pestering Penelope,[41] feeding and idling in the house at Telemachos' expense. Their intrusion seems to rest on some undefined claim to the hospitality of the royal table, such as would have been accorded in normal times to the elders.[42] They enjoy at least the passive support of the people,[43] and refuse to leave till Penelope marries one of them. Telemachos cannot get rid of them; he can only insist on his right to inherit

[38] *Il.* 2. 637, *Od.* 9. 60–1, 159–60, 195, 289, 311, 10. 116, 128–34, 203–8.

[39] *Od.* 2. 26–7.

[40] *Od.* 16. 247–51. Where Doulichion was is not clear. Ancient authorities identified it with Kephallenia (Str. 456); in recent times it has been equated with Leukas (Allen *HCS* 83–7) and with the islands between Ithaca and the mainland (Rodd 78–97). Its inhabitants are described as Taphioi: E. *IA.* 283–7. In the *Iliad* it belongs to Meges, whose father had come from Elis (2. 625–9) but in the *Odyssey* it is ruled by Akastos, of unknown parentage, and Meges is not mentioned (14. 335–6).

[41] *Od.* 13. 377–8. [42] Glotz CG 55. [43] *Od.* 2. 239–41, cf. 16. 375.

his father's house and property.[44] This they acknowledge. One of their motives in plotting his death, which would mean the extinction of the family, is the hope of dividing his patrimony among themselves.[45] On the other hand, Telemachos pointedly refrains from claiming the succession to the kingship. He admits that there are other princes in the islands who may succeed his father.[46] What then do the suitors hope to gain by marrying Penelope? The answer to this question, on which the whole story turns, is nowhere definitely stated. It is just taken for granted. But the situation is such as to allow of only one answer, which slips out incidentally in Book XV. Telemachos says that the aim of the suitors is 'to marry my mother and possess my father's prerogative (*géras*)'.[47] Whoever wins Penelope will succeed Odysseus. The kingship is not hereditary in the male line; it goes with the hand of the queen.

The moment selected by Odysseus for his attack on the suitors is when they are engaged in the archery contest. Two rows of axes have been set up in the hall, and Penelope has promised that whoever succeeds in stringing her husband's bow and shooting an arrow between the lines of axes shall have her to wife. This is another example of the pre-nuptial contest (p. 404), and it may be noted that in a post-Homeric tradition Odysseus himself won the hand of Penelope by beating his rivals in a foot-race arranged by her father.[48] In Book II the suitors urge Telemachos to send Penelope home to her father, who will arrange a second match for her.[49] In Book XV Ikarios himself and her brothers are pressing her to marry Eurymachos, one of the leading suitors.[50] We are not told where her father lives, but it seems from this passage that he cannot be far away. In later literature he was domiciled at Sparta, but that cannot have been intended in the *Odyssey*, or we should have heard about him when Telemachos went there. The silence of the *Odyssey* on this point can be supplemented from a tradition cited by Strabo from the later epics. Ikarios and Tyndareos were brothers, born and bred at Sparta. In early manhood they had to fly the country, and they took refuge with Thestios, the king of Pleuron, which lies at the

[44] *Od.* 1. 397–8. [45] *Od.* 2. 335–6, 368. [46] *Od.* 1. 394–6.
[47] *Od.* 15. 518–22. [48] Paus. 3. 12. 1. [49] *Od.* 2. 113–4. [50] *Od.* 15. 518–22.

entrance to the Gulf of Corinth. Tyndareos eventually returned to Sparta, where he became king, but Ikarios remained in the north and received the kingdom of Akarnania, which he ruled jointly with his sons, Alyzeus and Leukadios.[51] These, then, are the brothers of Penelope mentioned in the *Odyssey*. Alyzeus stands for Alyzia, a town in Akarnania, and Leukadios for Leukas. Since these are close to the territory of Odysseus as defined in the *Odyssey*, we are led to conclude that he ruled as a vassal of Ikarios by right of marriage to his daughter.

There is another version of the marriage of Odysseus—a local tradition from Sparta. After the wedding Ikarios begged him to make his home with him, but Odysseus declined, and, when the couple left for Ithaca, the importunate father-in-law followed them. Eventually Odysseus turned to his bride and told her to take her choice—to go with him to his own home or return to her father's without him.[52] This is a clear folk-memory of the transition from matrilocal to patrilocal marriage. It will be recalled how, after living with his wives' people for twenty years, fourteen of which he spent in service to them, Jacob ran away with them to his father's house, pursued by the indignant Laban, who realised that he was losing control of his daughters' property.[53] So with Penelope: she chose to leave her parents and cleave unto her husband.

We see then that the *Odyssey* is full of vague memories of the tensions and contradictions that marked the transition from mother-right to father-right; and this raises the question, how far can the persons and peoples of the story be identified with the ethnical groups known to have been active in this formative period of Greek history?

4. *The Leleges of Western Greece*

In upbringing, behaviour, and outlook the Homeric Odysseus is indistinguishable from the Homeric Achilles. Whether he was an Achæan in the strict sense cannot be positively decided. His grandfather, Arkeisios, is mentioned in the poem, but with no clue to his origin.[54] His family seems to be

[51] Str. 452, 461.
[52] Paus. 3. 20. 10.
[53] *Gen.* 31. 1–43, cf. E. fr. 318.
[54] *Od.* 13. 182, 16. 118.

somewhat isolated in the islands, with no blood relatives outside its own circle. Even Mentor, whom he left in charge of his domestic affairs when he went to the war, is only an old friend of the family.[55] The only person, apart from his immediate relatives, to whom he refers as a kinsman, is Eurylochos, the second-in-command of his contingent.[56] According to the ancient commentators Eurylochos was the husband of his sister Ktimene, whose marriage is mentioned in the poem as having brought the family a substantial bride-price.[57]

There are some traditions relating to the Kephallenes which, though not mentioned in the *Odyssey*, agree with what we are told there and have an important bearing on Ikarios. The people of Ithaca used to draw water from a well just outside the town. It lay in a sacred grove of poplars near a wayside shrine of the nymphs. It was built by Polyktor, Neritos, and Ithakos. This information is given in the *Odyssey*.[58] The trio were evidently local heroes. Polyktor is otherwise unknown to us, except that a man of the same name was the father of one of the suitors, implying that his descendants were still in the islands.[59] Neritos is the eponym of the mountain in the middle of Ithaca, Ithakos of the island itself. It seems that the poets of the *Odyssey* knew more about these ancient figures than they have recorded in the poem. From other sources we learn that Neritos and Ithakos were brothers, born in Kephallenia. Their father was Pterelaos, who had two other sons, Taphios and Teleboas.[60] The Taphioi and Teleboai were brigands in occupation of the small islands scattered between Leukas and the Gulf of Corinth. The former are mentioned several times in the *Odyssey*; the latter, according to Apollodoros, were visited on one occasion by a punitive expedition from Mycenæ.[61] Both came from Akarnania, and were treated by some authorities as one and the same people.[62] The Taphioi

[55] *Od.* 2. 225–7. [56] *Od.* 10. 205, 441. [57] *Od.* 10. 441 sch., 15. 363–7.
[58] *Od.* 17. 204–11. [59] *Od.* 18. 299.
[60] Acus. 30, A.R. 1. 747 sch. The pedigree is confused: see Roscher LGRM 3. 3261–2.
[61] *Od.* 1. 105, 181, 419, 14. 452, 15. 427, 16. 426, Apld. 2. 4. 6.
[62] Str. 461, A.R. 1. 747 sch., Hsch. Τηλεβόαι. Telebois was the old name of Akarnania (St. B. Τηλεβοΐς) and Teleboai of the Taphioi (Str. 459).

were also described as Phœnicians or Leleges.[63] A Phœnician origin can be ruled out. There is no sign of it in the *Odyssey*, and it may have been suggested by a passage in Book XV, where they are said to have raided the coast of Phœnicia.[64] The alternative has the support of a tradition preserved by Aristotle. In this Taphios and Teleboas are sons of Hippothoe by Poseidon. Hippothoe is given by Apollodoros as a granddaughter of Perseus, but according to Aristotle her father was a 'son of the soil' from Leukas and his name was Lelex.[65] The two versions are not incompatible. Perseus came from the Cyclades; the pirates expelled from the Cyclades by Minos were Carians and Leleges. The inference is that the Taphioi and Teleboai, and with them the Kephallenes, were Leleges who after being driven from the Ægean to the Adriatic hovered like hornets round the approaches to the Gulf of Corinth.

This conclusion is confirmed by topography. Apart from Ithake (Ithaca) and Astakos on the coast of Akarnania, place-names in *-ake* and *-akos* do not occur in Greece at all; in Anatolia they are common.[66] The river Euenos, which reaches the sea near Pleuron, has a namesake near Troy.[67] Samos, the Homeric name for Kephallenia, corresponds to the Ægean Samos, which was one of the oldest settlements of the Leleges (p. 166); and one of the sons of Ankaios, who ruled the Leleges of the Ægean Samos, was Alitherses, which is the name of the old prophet of Ithaca in the *Odyssey*.[68]

I have told the story of Ikarios. Born at Sparta, he fled with his brother to Pleuron, where he was received by Thestios and became king of Akarnania. That was one version, but there

[63] *EM.* 748. 40. [64] *Od.* 15. 425–7. [65] Apld. 2. 4. 5, Arist. fr. 546.

[66] I exclude Phylake, which is a Greek word. Examples: Artake, Rhyndakos, Chabake, on the Black Sea; Idakos, Andriake, in Thrace; Acharake in Lydia; Mazaka in Cappadocia; Symbake in Armenia. The personal names Assarakos and Hyrtakos are also Anatolian.

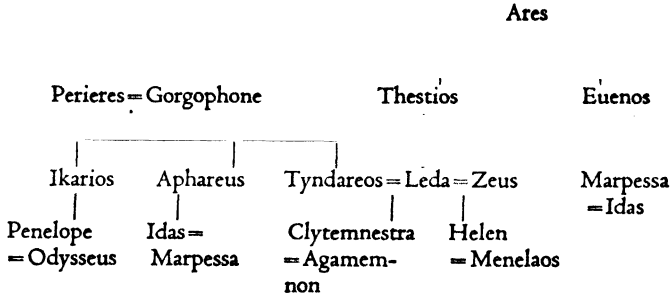
[67] Str. 327, 614.

[68] Paus. 7. 4. 1, *Od.* 2. 157–9. Heurtley found an abundance of Early Helladic pottery among the ruins of Pelikata, which he identified as the palace of Odysseus, and inferred that 'in Ithaca Minyan and Mycenean influences were only thinly spread over an earlier civilisation, which continued to survive': SPO 414.

were two others. The Spartans denied that the brothers had ever left Sparta. One of their kings, Perieres, married a daughter of Perseus, and had four sons—Ikarios, Tyndareos, Hippokoon, and Oibalos. When he died they disputed the succession. Supported by Ikarios, Hippokoon expelled Tyndareos, who fled to Pellana a few miles higher up the Eurotas.

Table XVI

PERIERES AND THESTIOS



Then Hippokoon was slain by Herakles, and Tyndareos was restored. He became king and married Leda, a daughter of Thestios.[69] It may be doubted, however, whether, at least in early times, the Spartans regarded Thestios as king of Pleuron beyond the Corinthian Gulf, because they remembered him as the founder of a village called Thestia on the banks of their own Eurotas.[70] The Messenian version was different again. They said that Tyndareos fled to Aphareus, another brother, who installed him at Thalamai, where he married Leda. We are not told where Leda had come from, but Idas, a son of Aphareus, carried off the lovely Marpessa, whose father was Euenos, a brother of Thestios and a native of Pleuron.[71]

It is meaningless to ask which of these versions is the correct

[69] Paus. 3. 1. 4–5.

[70] Cedr. *Hist. Comp.* 212 = Migne 121. Mal. *Chron.* 82 = Migne 97. 164.

[71] Apld. 1. 7. 7–8. An indication of matrilineal succession survives in the saga of Meleagros, who killed his mother's brothers, the sons of Thestios, because they took from him the hide of the Calydonian boar, which he wanted to give to Atalanta (a hypostasis of Artemis), on the ground that if he was not going to keep it for himself it belonged to them 'by right of birth': Apld. 1. 8. 2–3.

one. They are all fictions. Yet they convey a historical truth, which manifests itself through their contradictions. If this myth had been systematised, as so many were, its meaning would very likely have been irrecoverable. As it stands, it is self-revealing. We have it in three versions belonging to three localities, and so the problem is to identify its provenance in such a way as to account for its distribution.

Besides their settlements in Leukas and Akarnania the Leleges had another further up the Gulf in Lokris Ozolis and yet another at its head. Lelex was one of the early kings of Megara. His grandson, Pylas, led a band of Leleges from there into Messenia, where he founded Pylos. Expelled from thence by the Neleidai, they moved up the coast and founded the other Pylos in Triphylia.[72] Lelex was also the first king of Sparta, whose earliest inhabitants were Leleges. One of the town wards, which shared in the worship of Artemis Orthia, was Pitana. This is the only settlement in metropolitan Greece named after an Amazon—the same who founded Pitana (Pitane) in Aiolis.[73] In Chapter VII we traced the cult of Artemis Orthia to Ephesos, whence it was brought to the Peloponnese by Carians and Leleges.

Leda had two daughters, Clytemnestra and Helen. Clytemnestra's father was Tyndareos, but Helen sprang from an egg laid or found by Leda after she had been visited by Zeus in the guise of a swan.[74] This totemic myth is the kernel of the whole tradition. The name Tyndareos is not Indo-European. The combination *-nd-* is alien to Greek except as the result of composition or contraction. It is specially common in Caria—Lindos, Myndos, Karyanda, Alabanda, etc. And who is Leda—Lada in Doric—but another form of Leto, *lada*, the Carian 'woman' (p. 294)?[75]

[72] Paus. 4. 36. 1. [73] Paus. 3. 16. 9, D.S. 3. 54, Hcld. Pont. 34.

[74] E. *Hel.* 16–22, Sapph. 105, Apld. 3. 10. 7.

[75] Krappe 363. Leda's association with the swan reminds us that waterfowl figured in the cults of Artemis Limnaia at Sparta and Stymphalos: Harrison T 114, Imhoof-Blumer NCP 99. Penelope bears the name of a water-bird (πηνέλοψ). She is said to have been buried at Mantineia (Paus. 8. 12. 5) and to have been the mother of the Arcadian god Pan: Pi. fr. 422, Hdt. 2. 145. 4, cf. Paus. 8. 14. 4–5. This Arcadian Penelope derives from cults of Artemis Limnaia (J. A. K. Thomson 48–50) introduced by Carians and Leleges (p. 273).

Clytemnestra and Helen, the wives of Agamemnon and Menelaos, bring us back to the Pelopidai. The domains of this dynasty were three—the district between Mycenæ and the Isthmus, the Peloponnesian Achaia, and Laconia with southern Messenia. The first was the old Mycenean kingdom of the Perseidai. Their occupation of Achaia was perhaps dictated by the need to keep the Gulf clear of pirates. The third was ruled from the palace of Menelaos at Therapne near Sparta, and Therapne was a daughter of Lelex.[76] For these reasons we may suppose that Menelaos secured Laconia by marrying into the reigning dynasty of Leleges, just as Odysseus married the daughter of Ikarios.

5. *The Superiority of the Achæans*

Behind the work of the humane poets who composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* lies an age of brutality and violence, in which the bold pioneers of private property had ransacked the opulent, hieratic, sophisticated civilisation of the Minoan matriarchate. The old world of Phæacia is doomed; the future lies with rugged Ithaca. The poets transmuted Odysseus, but for all that he remains, like Achilles, the ideal of heroic manhood. Restless, cunning, enterprising, he has spent ten years at the wars, and ten more travelling, trading, plundering, piling up riches, refreshing himself in the arms of a Circe or a Calypso; and meanwhile, besieged by self-seeking suitors, Penelope has turned a deaf ear on them all, slaving away at her loom and *waiting submissively for her lord's return:*

> Go to your room and mind your own business, your loom and distaff, and tell your maids to get on with their work. Talking is men's business, and mine above all, because I am master of the house.[77]

She is not so well placed as Arete was. Penelope is the pattern of heroic womanhood, consciously contrasted with Clytemnestra, who fought back and died rather than give in. After ten years Agamemnon returns with a concubine, and nobody has a word to say against him. Clytemnestra has consoled herself with a paramour, but that is a different matter. The heroine of the old order is the criminal of the new. Æschylus,

[76] Paus. 3. 19. 9. [77] *Od.* 1. 356–9.

the great poet of the new order, justified the subjection of woman, but there was something in him, inherited perhaps from his ancient family traditions, that rebelled; and this, driven down into his subconscious, re-emerged as an imaginative symbol of the conflict in the magnificent figure that dominates the masterpiece of Greek poetry.[78]

The basic unit of mature Greek society, in which succession passed from father to son, in which the wife was bound to one man while the husband was free, had been imposed after a protracted struggle on an entirely different system, in which succession had followed the female line, in which there had been no formal matrimony, and the woman had mated as she pleased. And this struggle had been carried through by the people who forged, as one of their most effective instruments for consolidating the new patriarchal ideology, the epic tradition embodied in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is this historical factor that gives the poems their dynamic vitality.

The decline and fall of Minoan civilisation has been compared to the decline and fall of Rome. In both an advanced but effete society collapsed under the impact of barbarian invasions; in both the conquerors absorbed the culture of the conquered and evolved a specific form of poetry, the epic; in both the eventual result was to produce a new society of a higher type. But of course there were fundamental differences, and one of these has never been explained. The Germanic nations that settled in the Roman provinces adopted the Latin language; the Achæans not only preserved their own language but imposed it on the conquered. In this respect their achievement has more in common with the Aryan conquest of India, which spread the speech of the invaders step by step with the break-up of the pre-Aryan matriarchal cultures.[79] One of the

[78] The murder of Agamemnon has the same social significance as the crimes of the Lemnian women (p. 175) and the Danaids (see my AA 299). Among the Panwar-Rajputs, the bride-to-be receives a formal homily in verse from her mother, who concludes by instructing her, if she cannot persuade the bridegroom to reside with her according to the matriarchal rule, to poison him (Russell 4. 344). This is now treated as a joke, but at one time, as Ehrenfels remarks (142), it was 'by no means mere irony but practical life.'

[79] Ehrenfels 138.

major factors enabling the Achæans to impose Greek speech was their form of social organisation, which, being adapted to the growth of private property, was charged with immense historical potentialities, and at the same time, being patriarchal, it turned the scales, wherever Greek was brought by intermarriage into collision with the old vernaculars, in favour of the men and the language of the men.

To what extent they had succeeded in this task before the coming of the Dorians, who completed it, we do not know, because it is impossible to say how far the Homeric portrait of them has been coloured retrospectively; but the fate of Orestes suggests that in the days of the Pelopidai the paternal title was still insecure. And what is more, when his sons and grandsons fled across the Ægean, they found themselves back again in the old matriarchal world. The struggle had to be fought out afresh. Transplanted to Aiolis and Ionia, the Achæan art of minstrelsy entered on a new phase of growth and slowly ripened into epic.

Greek civilisation did not descend on peaceful valleys like Iris from Olympus. It was the fruit of struggle, fought for in innumerable raids and battles amidst the smoke of burning cities and the groans of homeless captives. The force that drove it forward was the class-struggle. To overlook this is a poor compliment to the Greeks and a disservice to ourselves.

Part Five

HOMER

The relation between formal music and speech will yet become the subject of science, not less than the occasion of artistic discovery.

YEATS

XIV

THE ART OF POETRY

1. *Speech and Magic*

THE subject of this chapter is the origin and nature of poetry, and it will be treated as a scientific problem. To those who are content to enjoy poetry for its own sake this approach may seem inappropriate or unattractive; but studied scientifically poetry is more, not less, enjoyable. To enjoy it fully we must understand what it is, and to understand what it is we must enquire how it has come into being and grown up.

Our object in raising this problem is to seek light on the prehistory of Greek poetry, but it can only be solved by collating material from as wide a field as we can. Accordingly, our examples will not be confined to Greek poetry. I shall draw freely on English poetry, which is useful because it is the most familiar, and on Irish poetry, which illustrates an earlier stage in the development of modern European poetry, and also on the songs and dances of primitive peoples.

One of the most striking differences between Greek and modern English poetry is that in ancient Greece poetry was wedded to music. There was no purely instrumental music, and much of the finest poetry was composed for musical accompaniment. In Irish too there is a close union between poetry and music, and here it is not just a matter of inference. It is still a living reality. I shall never forget the first time I heard some of the Irish poems I had long known in print sung by an accomplished peasant singer in the traditional style. It was an entirely new experience to me. I had never heard anything like it, in poetry or music.

Irish poetry has another characteristic. To most English people English poetry is a closed book. They neither know nor care about it. And even the few that take an interest in it—there are not many even of these of whom it can be said that poetry enters largely or deeply into their daily lives. Among

the Irish-speaking peasantry it is different. For them poetry has nothing to do with books at all. Most of them are, or were till recently, illiterate. It lives on their lips. Everybody knows it. Everybody loves it. It is constantly bubbling up in everyday conversation. And it is still creative. Whenever a notable event occurs, a song is composed to celebrate it. I say composed, but the word is hardly applicable. These songs are not composed in our sense of the word. They are improvised. In many Irish villages there was till recently a trained traditional poet, who had the gift of producing poems, often in elaborate verse forms—far more elaborate than ours in modern English—on the inspiration of the moment. In the village I knew best there was a famous poet, who died about forty years ago. His poems were nearly all improvised and occasional. I remember being told by his family how on the night he died he lay in bed with his head propped on his elbow pouring out a continuous stream of poetry.

This man was of course exceptionally gifted. He was a professional poet, who had learnt his craft under some poet of the preceding generation. But I soon found that no sharp line could be drawn between the professional poet and the rest of the community. It was only a matter of degree. To some extent they were all poets. Their conversation is always tending to burst into poetry. Just as extant poetry is more widely known than it is in our society, so the ordinary person is something of a poet. Let me give an example.

One evening, strolling through this village perched high up over the Atlantic, I came to the village well. There I met a friend of mine, an old peasant woman. She had just filled her buckets and stood looking out over the sea. Her husband was dead, and her seven sons had all been 'gathered away', as she expressed it, to Springfield, Massachusetts. A few days before a letter had arrived from one of them, urging her to follow them, so that she could end her days in comfort, and promising to send the passage money if only she would agree. All this she told me in detail, and described her life—the trudge to the turf stack in the hills, the loss of her hens, the dark, smoky cabin; then she spoke of America as she imagined it to be—an Eldorado where you could pick up the gold on the

pavements—and the railway journey to Cork, and the transatlantic crossing, and her longing that her bones might rest in Irish soil. As she spoke, she grew excited, her language became more fluent, more highly-coloured, rhythmical, melodious, and her body swayed in a dreamy, cradle-like accompaniment. Then she picked up her buckets with a laugh, wished me good night, and went home.

This unpremeditated outburst from an illiterate old woman with no artistic pretensions had all the characteristics of poetry. It was inspired. What do we mean when we speak of a poet as inspired?

To answer this question we must turn to primitive poetry as it still lives on the lips of savages at the present day. But we cannot understand the poetry of these peoples unless we know something about their society. Further, poetry is a special form of speech. If we are to study the origin of poetry, we must study the origin of speech. And this means the origin of man himself, because speech is one of his distinctive characteristics. We must go right back to the beginning.

We are still a long way from understanding fully how man came into existence, but there is one fundamental point on which scientists are agreed. Man is distinguished from the animals by two main characters—tools and speech.

The primates differ from the lower vertebrates in being able to stand upright and use their forefeet as hands. This development, involving a progressive refinement of the motor organs of the brain, arose from the special conditions of their environment. They were forest animals, and life in trees demands close co-ordination of sight and touch and delicate muscular control. And once developed the hands presented the brain with new problems, new possibilities. Thus, from the beginning there was an integral connection between hand and brain.[1]

Man differs from the anthropoid apes, the next highest of the primates, in being able to walk as well as stand. It has been suggested that he learnt to walk as a result of deforestation, which forced him to the ground. Be that as it may, in him the division of function between hands and feet was completed. His toes lost their prehensility; his fingers attained a degree of

[1] Elliot Smith 17–46, Clark 1–6.

dexterity unknown among the apes. Apes can manipulate sticks and stones, but only human hands can fashion them into tools.

This step was decisive. It opened up a new mode of life. Equipped with tools, man produced his food instead of merely appropriating it. He used his tools to control nature. And in struggling to control it he became conscious of it as something governed by its own laws, independent of his will. He learnt how things happen, and so how to make them happen. As he came to recognise the objective necessity of natural laws, he acquired the power of operating them for his own ends. He ceased to be their slave and became their master.[2] On the other hand, in so far as he failed to recognise the objective necessity of natural laws, he treated the world around him as though it could be changed by a mere assertion of his will. This, as explained in Chapter I (p. 38), is the basis of magic.

In its initial stages the labour of production was collective. Many hands worked together. In these conditions the use of tools promoted a new mode of communication. The cries of animals are severely limited in scope. In man they became articulate. They were elaborated and systematised as a means of co-ordinating the actions of the group. And so in inventing tools man invented speech.[3] Again we see the connection between hand and brain. Speech emerged as part of the actual technique of production. It assisted the muscular movements of the body by prefiguring the labour process; and being indispensable to that process it appeared subjectively as its cause—in other words, it was magical. In primitive thought the spoken word is universally invested with a magical power.[4]

As technique improved, the vocal accompaniment ceased to be a physical necessity. The workers became capable of working individually. But the collective apparatus did not disappear. It survived in the form of a rehearsal, which they performed before beginning the real task—a dance in which they reproduced the collective movements previously inseparable

[2] Engels DN 279–96, Lenin 11. 247–51.
[3] Malinowski PMLP 310, CGM 2. 235.
[4] Briffault 1. 14–23, cf. Malinowski CGM 2. 232.

from the task itself. This is the mimetic dance as still practised by savages to-day.

Meanwhile speech developed. Starting as a directive accompaniment to the use of tools, it became language as we understand it—a fully articulate, fully conscious mode of communication between individuals. In the mimetic dance, however, where it survived as the spoken part, it retained its magical function. And so we find in all languages two modes of speech—common speech, the normal, everyday means of communication between individuals, and poetical speech, a medium more intense, appropriate to collective acts of ritual, fantastic, rhythmical, magical.

If this account is correct, it means that the language of poetry is essentially more primitive than common speech, because it preserves in a higher degree the qualities of rhythm, melody and fantasy inherent in speech as such. Of course it is only a hypothesis, but it is supported by what we know of primitive languages. In them the differentiation between poetical speech and common speech is relatively incomplete.

The common speech of savages has a strongly marked rhythm and a lilting melodic accent. In some languages the accent is so musical, and so vital to the meaning, that when a song is composed the tune is largely dictated by the natural melody of the spoken words.[5] And further, the speaker is always liable to break into quasi-poetical flights of fantasy, like that Irish peasant woman. The first two of these characteristics cannot be illustrated here, but the last one can.

A Swiss missionary was once camping in Zululand close to the Umbosi railway. For the natives the Umbosi railway signifies the journey to Durban, Ladysmith, Johannesburg—the journey made year after year by the boys of the kraal, driven from home by the poll-tax to wear out their youth in the mines, and by the girls too, who suffer many of them an even worse fate in the back-street brothels. One of the servants was in the camp cleaning the pots, when a train approached, and he was overheard muttering these words:

[5] Schapera BT 282–3, 286, 401–2, Rattray A 245–7, cf. Pl. *R.* 398d.

> The one who roars in the distance,
> The one who crushes the young men and smashes them,
> The one who debauches our wives.
> They desert us, they go to the town to live bad lives.
> The ravisher! And we are left alone.[6]

Here is another artless soliloquy. It is only an old black servant mumbling to himself, and yet it is poetry. The train catches his attention. He forgets the pots. Then he forgets the train. It ceases to be a train and becomes a symbol for the force that is destroying all he holds most dear. The dumb resentment of his subconscious being finds a voice. Then the roar of the train dies away, and he returns to his pots.

Thus, the common speech of these savages is rhythmical, melodic, fantastic to a degree which we associate only with poetry. And if their common speech is poetical, their poetry is magical. The only poetry they know is song, and their singing is nearly always accompanied by some bodily action, designed to effect some change in the external world—to impose illusion on reality.

The Maoris have a potato dance. The young crop is liable to be blasted by east winds, so the girls go into the fields and dance, simulating with their bodies the rush of wind and rain and the sprouting and blossoming of the crop; and as they dance they sing, calling on the crop to follow their example.[7] They enact in fantasy the fulfilment of the desired reality. That is magic, an illusory technique supplementary to the real technique. But though illusory it is not futile. The dance cannot have any direct effect on the potatoes, but it can and does have an appreciable effect on the girls themselves. Inspired by the dance in the belief that it will save the crop, they proceed to the task of tending it with greater confidence and so with greater energy than before. And so it does have an effect on the crop after all. It changes their subjective attitude to reality, and so indirectly it changes reality.

The Maoris are Polynesians. So are the islanders of the New Hebrides. These have a traditional song-form consisting of two

[6] Junod LSAT 2. 196–7.

[7] Bücher 409–10. The potato in question is the Spanish potato (*Batatas edulis*).

alternating stanzas in different rhythms. The first is termed the 'leaf', the second the 'fruit'.[8] In Tikopia, another Polynesian island, there is a song-form of three stanzas. The term for the first means properly the 'base of the tree'; for the second, the 'intermediate words'; for the third, the 'bunch of fruit'.[9]



FIG. 64. *Dancers: Attic vase*

The terminology shows that these song-forms have evolved out of mimetic dances like the dance of the Maori girls. Poetry has grown out of magic.

Let us carry the argument further. This is one of the incantations collected by Malinowski in the Trobriand Islands:

> It passes, it passes,
> The breaking pain in the thighbone passes,
> The ulceration of the skin passes,
> The big black evil of the abdomen passes,
> It passes, it passes.[10]

The subject of this poem is not what we should call poetical, but the form is. As Malinowski remarks, the language of these

[8] Layard 315. [9] Firth 285. [10] Malinowski CGM 2. 236–7.

incantations is distinguished 'by its richness of phonetic, rhythmical, metaphorical and alliterative effects, by its weird cadences and repetitions'.[11] By asserting the truth of what you wish to be true, you make it come true; and the assertion is couched in language that echoes the ecstatic music of the mimetic dance, in which you enacted in fantasy the fulfilment of the desired reality.

Here is a song from the New Hebrides, addressed to two women who were said to live in a stone:

> The song sings, the song cries,
> The song cries, Let her be my wife!
> The woman who is there,
> The two women, they two
> Who are in the sacred stone,
> Who sit inside, who live in the stone,
> The song cries, Let both come out![12]

Here instead of a statement confusing fact with fancy we have a command. But the command is not addressed directly to the persons concerned. It is conveyed through the compelling magic of the song. The song is externalised as a supernatural force.

The next example is a German foresters' song:

> Klinge du, klinge du, Waldung,
> Schalle du, schalle du, Halde,
> Halle wider, halle wider, Hainlein,
> Töne wider, grosse Laubwald,
> Wider meine gute Stimme,
> Wider meine goldne Kehle,
> Wider mein Lied, das lieblichste!
>
> Wo die Stimme zu verstehen ist,
> Werden bald die Büsche brechen,
> Schichten sich von selbst die Stämme,
> Stapeln sich von selbst die Scheiter,
> Fügen sich zum Hof die Klafter,
> Häufen sich im Hof die Schober
> Ohne junger Männer Zutun,
> Ohne die geschärften Aexte.[13]

The foresters call on the trees to fall to the ground, break up into logs, roll out of the forest and stack themselves in the

[11] *Ib.* 2. 213, cf. 222, Codrington 334, Layard 285, Driberg 245.
[12] Layard 142. [13] Bücher 473.

yard in answer to their singing. They know very well that all this is not going to happen, but they like to fancy that it will, because it helps them in their work. Poetry has grown out of magic.

My next is from an Old Irish mantic poem:

> Good tidings: sea fruitful, wave-washed strand, smiling woods; witchcraft flees, orchards blossom, cornfields ripen, bees swarm, a cheerful world, peace and plenty, happy summer.[14]

It was chanted by a prophet as an augury of a good season. The desired future is described as though already present.

And so by almost imperceptible degrees we reach a type of poetry with which we are all familiar:

> Sumer is icumen in,
> Lhude sing cuccu!
> Groweth sed and bloweth med
> And springth the wude nu—
> Sing cuccu!

The statement here is a statement of fact, but even here it is accompanied by a command. These seasonal songs, which have deep roots in the life of the European peasantry, were composed to celebrate the realisation of communal desires. But the celebration still carries with it the echoes of an incantation. Poetry has grown out of magic.

'Bright star, would I were stedfast as thou art!' *Den lieb' ich, der Unmögliches begehrt.* Why do poets crave for the impossible? Because that is the essential function of poetry, which it has inherited from magic. In the wild transport of the mimetic dance the hungry, frightened savages express their weakness in the face of nature by a hysterical act of extreme mental and physical intensity, in which they lose consciousness of the external world, the world as it really is, and plunge into the subconscious, the inner world of fantasy, the world as they long for it to be. By a supreme effort of will they strive to impose illusion on reality. In this they fail, but the effort is not wasted. Thereby the psychical conflict between them and their environment is resolved. Equilibrium is restored. And so, when they return to reality, they are actually more fit to grapple with it than they were before.

[14] Jackson 170.

Keats was twenty-four, on his way to Italy in a last effort to recover his health. He had seen Fanny Brawne for the last time. Down the Channel his ship was driven by bad weather into Lulworth Cove, where he went ashore—his last walk on English soil. He returned to the ship in the evening, and it was then he composed this sonnet and wrote it out in a copy of Shakespeare's poems. Four months later he died in Italy of consumption.

Bright star, would I were stedfast as thou art!

That is a conscious wish—the wish of a dying man. But already it is charged with poetical memories:

But I am constant as the northern star
Of whose true-fix'd and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament.

This sets his own fantasy in motion. He identifies himself with the star, and then with the moon, which, as we saw in an earlier chapter, has been worshipped from the earliest times as a symbol of everlasting life. And from the moon, still faintly conscious of the ship rocking gently in the swell running into the Cove, he looks down on the movement of the tides creeping to and fro across the contours of this planet:

Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,
And watching with eternal lids apart,
Like nature's patient, sleepless Eremite,
The moving waters at their priestlike task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,
Or gazing on the soft new-fallen mask
Of snow upon the mountains and the moors—

Then, having withdrawn thus into infinity, still responsive to the drowsy swaying of the ship, he descends, immortalised, to earth:

No, yet still stedfast, still unchangeable,
Pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast,
To feel for ever its soft fall and swell,
Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,
Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,
And so live ever—

But it is impossible. There could be no love without death, and so his prayer for immortality turns into its opposite:

And so live ever, or else swoon to death.

He wakes up. It is like a dream stirred by the rocking of the boat—a dream in which the white breast of his sleeping love is symbolised in the moving waters and the snow on the mountains. But through the dream he has thrown off what was oppressing him. He has recovered his peace of mind. The world is still objectively the same—the world

> Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies—

but his subjective attitude to it has changed. And so for him it is not the same. That is the dialectics of poetry, as of magic.

2. *Rhythm and Labour*

Rhythm may be defined in its broadest sense as a series of sounds arranged in regular sequences of pitch and time. Its ultimate origin is of course physiological, but at that level it is something that man shares with the animals. We are not concerned here with the physical basis of rhythm, but with what man has made of it. I am going to argue that human rhythm originated from the use of tools.

We all know that, when children are learning to write, they often roll the tongue in time with the hand, or even pronounce the words aloud—not because there is anyone to listen but to help the fingers guide the pen. What actually happens is that there is a 'spread' from the motor organs of the hand to the adjacent area of the brain, which controls the tongue. As the child improves with practice, the spread is eliminated.

Similarly, when a man is doing heavy work, such as lifting a log or stone, he pauses before the height of each muscular effort for an intake of breath, which he holds by closing the glottis; then, as he relaxes after the effort, the glottis is forced open by the pent-up air, causing a vibration of the vocal chords—an inarticulate grunt.

Savages, like children, gesticulate when they talk. The function of gesticulation is not merely to help others to understand. They gesticulate just as much when talking to themselves. It is instinctive, like the other movements just described. The movement of the vocal organs overlaps, as it were, with the other muscular movements. For us, speech is primary,

gesticulation secondary, but it does not follow that this was so with our earliest ancestors. The inherent interdependence of speech and gesture in primitive psychology is an attested fact.[15]

On the strength of these considerations it was argued half a century ago by Bücher that speech evolved from reflex actions of the vocal organs incidental to the muscular efforts involved in the use of tools.[16] As the hands became more finely articulated, so did the vocal organs, until the awakening consciousness seized on these reflex actions and elaborated them into a socially recognised system of communication.

In working out his hypothesis Bücher made an extensive study of labour songs. The function of these songs is to expedite the labour of production by imparting to it a rhythmical, hypnotic character. The spinner sings in the belief that her song will help the spinning-wheel to go round, and since it helps her to turn it, it does help the spinning-wheel to go round. This is very near to magic. In particular instances it can be shown that these songs originated as incantations.[17]



FIG. 65. *Baking to music: Bœotian terracotta*

Labour songs abound at all stages of culture all over the world—except where they have been silenced by the hum of machinery. They spring spontaneously to the lips of savages whenever they are engaged in manual work, providing, especially among the women, an irrepressible continuo to the routine of daily life.[18] And they have a special importance for the

[15] Gray FL 155, R. B. Smyth 2. 412, Rattray A 247. Many savage peoples have elaborate 'deaf-and-dumb' languages which they use to circumvent taboos of silence: Spencer A 433, 600–8, Howitt NTSEA (1904) 723–35, R. B. Smyth 2. 4, 308.

[16] Bücher 395. Cf. Cic. *TD.* 2. 23. 56 profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur venitque plaga vehementior. Since Bücher a somewhat similar hypothesis, worked out more fully on the physiological side but showing less insight into the other aspects of the problem, has been advanced by Paget.

[17] Chadwick GL 3. 783.

[18] Bücher 63–243, cf. Chadwick GL 3. 583, 648, 783, Schapera 285, Orde Brown 167, Krige 338, Junod LSAT 2. 207–9.

origin of poetry, because in them, with certain significant modifications, the original relationship between language and labour has been preserved. This was perceived by Bücher, whose main conclusion, that the rhythm of human speech is derived from the labour process, is undoubtedly sound. He attempted to support it by identifying particular rhythms with particular processes.[19] This part of his argument was mistaken, and I have abandoned it. The clearest proof of his conclusion lies in an analysis of the principles of song structure, and for this I am responsible.

The work of rowing a boat involves a simple muscular operation, repeated at regular intervals without variation. The time is marked for the oarsmen by a repeated cry, which in its simplest form is disyllabic: *O—op!* The second syllable marks the moment of exertion; the first is a preparatory signal.

Hauling a boat is heavier work than rowing. The moments of exertion are more intense and so are spaced at longer intervals. This leaves room for expansion of the preparatory syllable, as in the Irish hauling cry: *Ho—li—bo—hup!* Sometimes the cry ends with a syllable of relaxation, as in the Russian hauling cry: *E—úch—nyem!* And in many cases it has become partly or wholly articulate: *Heave—o—ho! Haul away!*

These two elements, variable and constant, which constitute the simple, disyllabic labour cry, can be recognised in the arsis and thesis of prosody, which denote properly the raising and lowering of the hand or foot in the dance.[20] And so the ictus or beat of rhythm is rooted in the primitive labour process—the successive pulls at the log, or the strokes of the tool on stick or stone. It goes back to the very beginning of human life, to the moment when man became man. That is why it stirs us so deeply.

The following ditty was recorded by Junod, the Swiss missionary mentioned above (p. 439), from a Thonga boy, who sang it extempore at the roadside while breaking stones for his European employers:

Ba hi shani-sa, ehé!
Ba ku hi hlupha, ehé!
Ba nwa makhofi, ehé!
Ba nga hi nyiki, ehé!

[19] Bücher 407. [20] *Ib.* 25, 402.

They treat us badly, ehé!
They are hard on us, ehé!
They drink their coffee, ehé!
And give us none, ehé![21]

The repeated *ehé!* is the labour cry, marking the hammer-strokes. This is the constant. Each time it is prefaced with a few articulate words improvised to express the worker's subjective attitude to his task. The song has grown out of the cry, just as the cry has grown out of the work itself.

Heave on, cut deep!
How leaps my fluttering heart
At the gleam that flashes from thine eyes,
O Puhi-huia!
Heave on, cut deep![22]

That is a Maori rowing song. The boatswain uses the cries intermittently, and between them he improvises a compliment to the chief's daughter travelling in the boat. During the improvisation the time is marked by the rhythm of the words. The cry is still functional, but it is on the way to becoming a refrain.

My next example is the Volga Boat Song:

E-uch-nyem! e-uch-nyem! Yeshcho razik! yeshcho da raz!
Razovyom my beryozu, razovyom my kudryavu!
Aida da, aida! razovyom! aida da, aida! kudryavu!
E-uch-nyem! e-uch-nyem! Yeshcho razik! yeshcho da raz![23]

Here an improvised exhortation to the task is prefaced and concluded with the hauling cry, which contains it and defines it.

The labour song was developed by expanding the improvised variable between the moments of exertion. The workers ran over dreamily scraps of traditional lore or passed desultory comments on current events—whatever was uppermost in their minds. We possess an ancient Greek milling song—'Grind, mill, grind'—interspersed with allusions to the tyrant Pittakos;[24] and there is another with the same refrain in modern

[21] Junod LSAT 2. 284. [22] Andersen 373.
[23] Bücher 235. There are many versions, because the middle of the stanza is still improvised.
[24] *Carm. Pop.* 30.

Greek, improvised by a woman forced to grind barley for a police squad searching for her husband.[25] The constant, tied to the task in hand, tends to remain unchanged; the variable varies indefinitely from day to day. Many of the obscurities in our folk-songs probably arise from our ignorance of the circumstances that inspired the particular form in which they survive. Other examples of the same type will be found among the negro spirituals, which inculcate Bible teaching at the same time as they soothe the labourers at their task,[26] and in the English sea-shanties, like this one from the end of the eighteenth century:

> Louis was the King of France afore the Revolution,
> Away, haul away, boys, haul away together!
> Louis had his head cut off, which spoilt his constitution,
> Away, haul away, boys, haul away together![27]

Meanwhile the art of song had broken away from the labour process. Songs were improvised at leisure, when the body was at rest. But they conformed to the traditional pattern. This is from Central Africa, where it was sung one evening round the camp fire by the porters attached to a white man's caravan:

> The wicked white man goes from the shore—puti, puti!
> We will follow the wicked white man—puti, puti!
> As long as he gives us food—puti, puti!
> We will cross the hills and streams—puti, puti!
> With this great merchant's caravan—puti, puti![28]

And so on, one after another round the fire, till they all fell asleep. The improvisations were rendered in turn by individuals, while the repeated *puti* (which is said to mean 'grub') was sung by all in unison. This gives us the familiar, universal structure of solo and chorus.[29] The labour cry is now nothing but a refrain.

Severed from the labour process, the constant too is expanded. It becomes fully articulate, and is varied so as to diversify the rhythmical pattern, but without destroying the

[25] Polites E no. 234. [26] Bücher 263–73.
[27] *Ib.* 239. [28] Burton 361–2.
[29] Basedow 376, Codrington 335, Layard 315, 611, Orde Brown 167, P.A. Talbot 808, Driberg 127, 129, 245, Chadwick GL 3. 353, 355–6, 581, Entwhistle 19, 35.

sense of regular repetition, on which the unity of the whole depends.

Why does your brand sae drop wi' blude,
Edward, Edward?
Why does your brand sae drop wi' blude,
And why sae sad gang ye, O?
O, I hae kill'd my hawk sae gude,
Mither, mither,
O, I hae kill'd my hawk sae gude,
And I had nae mair but he, O.

And so we reach the ballad quatrain, in which the refrain has disappeared as such, but is still embedded in the rhythmical structure, which rests on a continual alternation of thesis and antithesis, announcement and responsion:

There liv'd a lass in yonder dale,
And down in yonder glen O,
And Kathrine Jaffray was her name,
Well known by many men O.[30]

In the ballad measure, the stanza is a musical 'sentence', the couplet a musical 'phrase', the verse a musical 'figure', There are two figures in each phrase, two phrases in each sentence. The members of each pair are complementary, similar yet different. This is what musicologists call binary form: AB.

This musical anatomy of the ballad measure is not merely an analogy. It is the only proper method of analysis. The prosody of our textbooks is as remote from the living history of poetry as conventional grammar is from the living history of language. The ballad was originally a dance, as it still is in some parts of Europe, like this one from the Faroe Islands:

> The precentor sings the ballad and the rhythm is stamped with the feet. The dancers pay close attention to his words, which must come clearly, since the characteristics of the narrative are brought out by the mime. Hands are tightly clasped in the turmoil of battle; a jubilant leap expresses victory. All the dancers join in the chorus at the end of each stanza, but the stanza itself is sung only by one or two persons of special repute.[31]

The analytical principles of musicology belong to the study of rhythm as such, that is, to the common foundation of poetry, music and dancing.

[30] Gummere 169, 263. [31] Entwhistle 35.

Most of our folk-songs are in binary form, but some are more elaborate. In the Volga Boat Song, for instance, the stanza consists of an improvised passage preceded and followed by the verse containing the traditional hauling cry. In musical terminology, the first subject is followed by a second, and then the first is repeated or resumed. This is ternary form: ABA. In skilful hands A2 becomes something more than a repetition of A1: it is A1 in a new form conditioned by B. And so ternary form is more organic, more dialectical than binary. That is why it has been so highly cultivated in modern music.[32] Both forms were used by the Greeks. The melody of Greek music has perished; but since most of their poetry, apart from epic and dramatic dialogue, was composed for singing, its rhythm can be recovered from the words. I have discussed this in my *Greek Lyric Metre*, where the Greek strophe is shown to be an organism of exactly the same type as the modern stanza. We shall return to this subject in the next chapter.

To resume. The three arts of dancing, music and poetry began as one. Their source was the rhythmical movement of human bodies engaged in collective labour. This movement had two components, corporal and oral. The first was the germ of dancing, the second of language. Starting from inarticulate cries marking the rhythm, language was differentiated into poetical speech and common speech. Discarded by the voice and reproduced by percussion with the tools, the inarticulate cries became the nucleus of instrumental music.

The first step towards poetry properly so called was the elimination of the dance. This gives us song. In song, the poetry is the content of the music, the music is the form of the poetry. Then these two diverged. The form of poetry unaccompanied by music is its rhythmical structure, which it has inherited from song but simplified so as to develop its logical content. Poetry tells a story, which has an internal coherence of its own, independent of its rhythmical form. And so later there emerged out of narrative poetry the prose romance and novel, in which poetical speech has been replaced by common speech and the rhythmical integument has been shed—except that the story itself is cast in a balanced, harmonious form.

[32] Macpherson 61–90.

Meanwhile there has grown up a type of music which is purely instrumental. The symphony is the antithesis of the novel. If the novel is speech without rhythm, the symphony is rhythm without speech. The novel derives its unity from the story it tells, taken from perceptual life; the symphony draws its material entirely from fantasy. It has no internal coherence apart from its form. Hence all those structural principles which have disappeared in the novel have been elaborated in music to an unprecedented degree. They have come to be regarded as the special province of music. We speak of them habitually as 'musical form'. Yet they can still be traced in poetry—in the arrangement of its subject matter, I mean, not merely in its metrical structure—if we study it with a sense of music. Let us examine two examples, which, besides illustrating the point at issue, will show once again how poetry is related to magic.

Sappho's Ode to Aphrodite is the oldest European lyric; and it is a lyric in the full sense—a song sung to the lyre. Sappho was head of a religious society of young ladies, dedicated to Aphrodite. One of these girls, to whom she is passionately devoted, has failed to reciprocate her love.

Aphrodite, goddess enthroned in splendour,
Child of Zeus Almighty, immortal, artful,
I beseech thee, break not my heart, O Queen, with sorrow and anguish!

Rather come, O come as I often saw thee,
Quick to hear my voice from afar, descending
From thy Father's mansion to mount thy golden chariot drawn by

Wings of sparrows fluttering down from heaven
Through the cloudless blue; and a smile was shining,
Blessed Lady, on thy immortal lips, as standing beside me

Thou didst ask: 'Well, what is it now? what is that
Frantic heart's desire? Do you need my magic?
Whom then must I lure to your arms? Who is it, Sappho, that wrongs you?

On she flies, yet soon she shall follow after;
Gifts she spurns, yet soon she shall be the giver;
Love she will not, yet, if it be your will, then surely she shall love'.

So come now, and free me from grief and trouble!
Bring it all to pass as my heart desires it!
Answer, come, and stand at my side in arms, O Queen, to defend me!

Sappho begins by stating her prayer. She goes on to recall how similar prayers had previously been answered. And then the prayer is repeated. This is ternary form, treated dynamically by a conscious artist. The prayer opens negatively, tentatively; it ends positively, confidently, as though, thanks to what has come in between, a favourable answer were assured.

What does come in between? She reminds Aphrodite of the past: 'If ever before . . . so now'. That was traditional. When you prayed to the gods, you reinforced your appeal by reminding them of previous occasions when you had received their help or earned their gratitude.[33] It was a ritual formula. And ritual takes us back to magic. In magic you enact in fantasy the fulfilment of the desired reality. And that is what Sappho does here, except that there is no action, no dancing, only a flight of the imagination. She beseeches the goddess to come; then envisages her as coming—sees her, hears her; and then, inspired by this imaginative effort to greater confidence, she repeats her prayer. It is magic transmuted into art.

In English poetry, being less close to music, such survivals of musical form are only sporadic, and so the literary critics, who are not interested in origins, have failed to notice them. And yet they are all familiar with this sonnet of Shakespeare's, which is as perfect an example of ternary form as any to be found in Greek:

When, in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
  I all alone beweep my outcast state,
And trouble deaf heaven with my bootless cries,
  And look upon myself, and curse my fate,
Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
  Featur'd like him, like him with friends possest,
Desiring this man's art and that man's scope,
  With what I most enjoy contented least,
Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising,
  Haply I think on thee, and then my state,
Like to the lark at break of day arising
  From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate;
For thy sweet love rememb'red such wealth brings
That then I scorn to change my state with kings.

[33] *Il.* 1. 39–42, 394–5, 453, 5. 116–7, 16. 236–8, *Od.* 4. 763–6, Pi. *O.* 1. 75–7, *I.* 6. 42–5, Ba. 11. 2–4, A. *A.* 149, 525, S. *OT.* 164–7. Ar. *Ach.* 405, *Eq.* 591–4, *Th.* 1157–8, *Nu.* 356–7, *V.* 556, A.R. 4. 757, Hdt. 1. 87. 1, etc.

Only one critic has explained the structure of this poem, and he was a musicologist.[34] In fourteen lines the poet revolutionises his attitude to the world. At the beginning he is an outcast, crying to deaf heaven; at the end a king, singing hymns at heaven's gate. And the revolution turns on the word *state*. At first it connotes despair—the minor key; but when it returns its tone is modulated, and so we are carried forward to the ringing triumph of the close.

A revolution in our attitude to the world. Arguing from the content of poetry—incantations, seasonal songs, that sonnet of Keats—we concluded that this was the essential function of poetry. The same conclusion has now been reached from our study of its form.

3. *Improvisation and Inspiration*

With us poetry is seldom, if ever, improvised. It is a matter of pen and paper. There must be many contemporary poets whose melodies are literally unheard. They have been written down by the poet, printed, published, and read in silence by individual purchasers. Our poetry is a written art, more difficult than common speech, demanding a higher degree of conscious deliberation.

It is important to remember that this feature of modern poetry is purely modern. In antiquity and the middle ages, and even to-day among the peasantry, the poet is not divided from his audience by the barrier of literacy. His language is different from common speech, but it is a spoken language, common to him and his audience. He is more fluent in it than they are, but that is only because he is more practised. To some extent they are all poets.[35] Hence the anonymity of most popular poetry. Generated spontaneously out of daily life, it passes, always changing, from mouth to mouth, from parents

[34] Hadow 10–2, cf. G. Thomson AO 1. 14.

[35] Chadwick GL 3. 65, 178, 659, Layard 314–5, Schapera 285. On improvisation see Chadwick GL. 1. 578, 3. 64–5, 152, 156, 174, 181–3, 187, 213, 412, 529, 583, 616, 647–8, 659–63, 868, Jeanroy 357, Schapera 405, Driberg 129, Junod BH 85, Orde Brown 167, Bonwick 29, W. Bateson 165–6, Layard 314–5, P. A. Talbot 808. Greek drama originated in improvisation (Arist. *Poet.* 4. 14): see below p. 467.

to children, until the faculty of improvisation decays. Only then does it become fixed, and even then it preserves a distinctive quality, which we describe by saying that, however perfect it may be in point of craftsmanship, it lacks the quality of conscious art. That is just what it does lack—the stamp of an individual personality; and inevitably so, because it is the product not of an individual but of a community. The primitive poet is not conscious of his medium as something different from common speech; and in fact, as we have seen, the difference is less. Hence he is able to improvise. As he succeeds in objectifying his medium, he loses the gift of improvisation, but at the same time acquires the power of adapting it to his own personality, and so becomes a conscious artist.

On the other hand, the effect of poetry is still, as it has always been, to withdraw the consciousness from the perceptual world into the world of fantasy. In comparing poetical speech with common speech we saw that it was more rhythmical, fantastic, hypnotic, magical. Now, in our conscious life, all the factors that make up our distinctive humanity—economic, social, cultural—are fully active: individual differences are at their maximum. Hence, just as the mental processes of conscious life reveal the greatest diversity between individuals, so common speech, which is their medium, is marked by the greatest freedom of individual expression. But when we fall asleep and dream, withdrawing from the perceptual world, our individuality becomes dormant, giving free play to those basic impulses and aspirations, common to all of us, which in conscious life are socially inhibited. Our dream world is less individualised, more uniform than waking life.

Poetry is a sort of dream world. Let me quote from Yeats:

> The purpose of rhythm is to prolong the moment of contemplation, the moment when we are both asleep and awake, which is the one moment of creation, by hushing us with an alluring monotony, while it holds us waking by variety, to keep us in that state of perhaps real trance, in which the mind liberated from pressure of the will is unfolded in symbols.[36]

One might quarrel with the word 'liberated', but that does not matter now. The language of poetry, being rhythmical, is hypnotic. Not so hypnotic as to send us to sleep altogether. If

[36] Yeats 195–6.

we analyse any metre in any language, we find in it precisely that combination of monotony and variety, that interplay of like and unlike, which, as Yeats perceived, is needed to hold the mind suspended in a sort of trance, the special spell of poetry, caught between sleep and waking in the realm of fantasy.

And so, when we say a poet is inspired, we mean that he is more at home than other men in this subconscious world of fantasy. He is exceptionally prone to psychical dissociation. And through this process his inner conflicts—the contradictions in his relationship to society—are discharged, relieved. The discords of reality are resolved in fantasy. But, since this world into which he retires is common to him and his fellow men, the poetry in which he formulates his experience of it evokes a general response, expressing what his fellows feel but cannot express for themselves, and so draws them all into a closer communion of imaginative sympathy:

> Und wenn der Mensch in seiner Qual verstummt,
> Gab mir ein Gott, zu sagen, wie ich leide.[87]

His fellows are tormented by unsatisfied longings which they cannot explain, cannot express. He too is unable to explain them, but thanks to the gift of inspiration he can at least express them. And when he expresses them they recognise his longings as their own. As they listen to his poetry they go through the same experience as he did in composing it. They are transported into the same world of fantasy, where they find the same release.

In the mimetic dance, directed by their leader, the savage huntsmen pre-enact the successful prosecution of the hunt, striving by an effort of will to impose illusion on reality. In fact all they do is to express their weakness in the face of nature, but by expressing it they succeed to some extent in overcoming it. When the dance is over, they are actually better huntsmen than they were before. In poetry we see the same process at a higher level. Civilised man has succeeded to a large extent in mastering nature, but only by complicating his social relations. Primitive society was simple, classless,

[87] Goethe *Tasso* 3432–3.

presenting a weak but united front against nature. Civilised society is more complex, richer, more powerful, but, as a necessary condition of all this, it has always hitherto been divided against itself. Hence the conflict between society and nature—the basis of magic—is overlaid by a conflict between the individual and society—the basis of poetry. The poet does for us what the dance-leader does for his fellow savages.

The primitive poet does not work alone. His audience collaborates. Without the stimulus of a listening crowd he cannot work at all. He does not write, he recites. He does not compose, he improvises. As the inspiration comes to him, it produces in his listeners an immediate response. They surrender to the illusion immediately and wholeheartedly. In these circumstances the making of poetry is a collective social act.

When we read a poem, or hear one being read, we may be deeply moved, but we are seldom completely 'carried away'. The reaction of a primitive audience is less sublimated. The whole company throw themselves into the world of make-believe: they forget themselves. I have seen this many times in the west of Ireland. Or listen to this account of a Russian minstrel reciting in a hut on one of the islands on Lake Onega:

> Utka coughed. Everybody became silent. He threw his head back and glanced round with a smile. Seeing their impatient, eager looks, he at once began to sing. Slowly the face of the old singer changed. All its cunning disappeared. It became childlike, naïve. Something inspired appeared in it. The dovelike eyes opened wide and began to shine. Two little tears sparkled in them; a flush overspread the swarthiness of his cheeks; his nervous throat twitched. He grieved with Ilya of Murom as he sat paralysed for thirty years, gloried with him in his triumph over Solovey the robber. All present lived with the hero of the ballad too. At times a cry of wonder escaped from one of them, or another's laughter rang through the room. From another fell tears, which he brushed involuntarily from his lashes. They all sat without winking an eye while the singing lasted. Every note of this monotonous but wonderfully gentle tune they loved.[38]

These people were illiterate; yet poetry meant something for them which it certainly does not mean for English people to-day. We have produced Shakespeare and Keats, it is true, and they were greater than Utka. But Utka was popular, and

[38] Quoted by Chadwick GL 2. 241.

that is more than can be said of Shakespeare or Keats in our country to-day.

Let us push on from Russia into Central Asia and see how, sixty years ago, the Turkmens listened to their poetry:

> When I was in Etrek, one of these minstrels had a tent close to ours, and as he visited us of an evening, bringing his instrument with him, there flocked around him the young men of the vicinity, whom he was constrained to entertain with his heroic lays. His singing consisted of forced guttural sounds, more like a rattle than a song, and accompanied at first with gentle touches on the strings. But as he became excited the strokes grew wilder. The hotter the battle, the fiercer the ardour of the singer and his youthful listeners; and really the scene assumed the appearance of a romance, as the young nomads, uttering deep groans, hurled their caps into the air and dashed their hands in a passion through their hair, as though they were furious to combat with themselves.[39]

These Turkmens, poet and listeners alike, were literally entranced.

Turning to ancient times, we may recall a Byzantine writer's visit to the court of Attila:

> When dusk fell, torches were lit, and two Huns came out in front of Attila and chanted songs in honour of his victories and martial prowess. The banqueters fixed their eyes on the singers, some of them enraptured, others greatly excited as they recalled the fighting, while those whom old age had condemned to inactivity were reduced to tears.[40]

This is the context in which we must study the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. How did the ancient Greeks react to Homer? We are apt to assume that they behaved just like ourselves, but this is a mistake. In one of Plato's dialogues a Homeric minstrel describes the effect of his recitals on himself and his audience:

> When I am narrating something pitiful, my eyes fill with tears; when something terrible or strange, my hair stands on end and my heart throbs. . . . And whenever I glance down from the platform at the audience, I see them weeping, with a wild look in their eyes, lost in rapture at the words they hear.[41]

When such poets are questioned about the nature of their art, they all give the same answer. They all claim to be inspired in the literal sense of the word—filled with the breath of God:

[39] Vambéry 322. [40] Prisc. 8=*FHG.* 4. 92. [41] Pl. *Io* 535.

A skilled minstrel of the Kirghiz can recite any theme he wants, any story that is desired, extempore, provided only that the course of events is clear to him. When I asked one of their most accomplished minstrels whether he could sing this or that song, he answered: 'I can sing any song whatever, for God has implanted this gift of song in my heart. He gives the words on my tongue without my having to seek them. I have learnt none of my songs. All springs from my inner self.'[42]

We remember Caedmon, inspired by an angel that visited him in dreams,[43] and Hesiod, who was taught by the Muses while tending his flocks on Helikon,[44] and Phemios and Demodokos, the minstrels of Ithaca and Phæacia: 'I am self-taught', says Phemios, 'for God has implanted all manner of songs in my heart'.[45]

For primitive peoples everywhere the poet is a prophet, who being inspired or possessed by a god speaks with the god's voice. For the ancient Greeks the connection between prophecy (*mantiké*) and madness (*manía*) was apparent in the words themselves. To them the magical origin of poetry and prophecy was self-evident, because the symptoms of both reminded them of the orgiastic dances that survived in their cults of Dionysus:

All good epic poets are able to compose not by art but because they are divinely inspired or possessed. It is the same with lyric poets. When composing they are no more sane than the Korybantes when they dance. As soon as they engage in rhythm and concord, they become distracted and possessed, like the Bacchants who in their madness draw milk and honey from the streams.[46]

These religious devotees were subject under the influence of music to hysterical seizures, which were explained by saying that they were *éntheoi*, that they had 'a god in them'.[47] At this level we can no longer speak of art. We have reached its roots in magic.

Inspiration and possession are the same thing. In primitive society mental disorders involving loss of consciousness and convulsions are attributed to possession by a god or animal or ancestral spirit.[48] This idea emanates from the ecstasy of the

[42] Radlov PV 5. xvii. [43] Bede *Eccl. Hist.* 4. 24. [44] Hes. *Th.* 22–3.
[45] *Od.* 22. 347–8, 8. 479–81. [46] Pl. *Io* 533e.
[47] G. Thomson AA 374, 377–8.
[48] Junod LSAT 2. 479–503, Smith & Dale 2. 136–52, Schapera BTSA 253, Roscoe B (1911) 274, 318, 320–2, Codrington 218, Chadwick GL 3. 449, 454, Czaplicka 307–25, Karsten 18, Earthy 199, Webster 151, 175, Fallaize in Hastings 10. 122.

mimetic dance, in which the performers lose consciousness of their identity as they impersonate the totemic animal—the symbol of the heightened common ego evoked by the dance.

Hysteria is a neurosis—a conflict between the individual and his environment which issues in a revolt of the subconscious. It is common among savages, not because they are more prone to such conflicts than we are, but because their consciousness is shallower, less resilient. It is treated by magic. When the first symptoms appear, a song is chanted over the patient. This facilitates the psychical dissociation, precipitates the fit.[49] Here, then, we have poetry at a purely magical level, or rather not poetry at all but the form of therapeutic magic out of which poetry evolved. For magic too is a revolt of the subconscious, cured in the same way. The difference is that in the mimetic dance this hysterical propensity is organised collectively—it is organised mass hysteria; whereas these individual seizures are sporadic. But the treatment is essentially the same. The patient is exorcised. The possessing spirit is evoked and expelled by the magic of the song. The exorcist who administers the treatment—the shaman, medicine-man or witch-doctor, as he is variously called—is usually himself a hysterical subject who has undergone a special training.[50] The relation of the exorcist to the patient is thus similar to that of the leader to his followers in the mimetic dance.

Prophecy is a development of possession. One of the commonest conditions of exorcising a patient is that the possessing spirit should be forced to reveal its name, and often, after revealing its name, it demands to be propitiated in return for releasing its victim. In this way the procedure becomes a means of proclaiming the will of the gods and so of predicting the future. The hysterical seizure assumes the form of a prophetic trance, in which the patient becomes a medium in the modern spiritualistic sense—a vehicle for the voice of a god or spirit.[51] In this condition he expresses fears, hopes, anticipations of the future, of which in his conscious life he is unaware. We still say that coming events cast their shadows before. They impinge on our subconscious, causing an indefinable

[49] Fallaize *l.c.*, Smith & Dale 2. 137–8.
[50] G. Thomson AA 375. [51] *Ib.* 376.

unrest, and in the prophet, whose subconscious, being abnormally active, is constantly liable to erupt, they rise to the surface.

And finally the prophet becomes a poet. In primitive thought there is no clear line between prophecy and poetry. The minstrels described in the Homeric poems are credited with second sight, and their persons are sacrosanct.[52] The poet is the prophet at a higher level of sublimation. The physical intensity of the trance has been mitigated, but it is a trance all the same. His psyche is precipitated into fantasy, in which his subconscious struggles and aspirations find an outlet. And just as the prophet's predictions command general acceptance, so the poet's utterance stirs all hearts.

In this way we are able, with Caudwell, to define the essential nature of art:

> Art changes the emotional content of man's consciousness so that he can react more subtly and deeply to the world. This penetration of inner reality, because it is achieved by men in association and has a complexity beyond the power of one man to achieve, also exposes the hearts of his fellow men and raises the whole communal feeling of society to a new plane of complexity. It makes possible new levels of conscious sympathy, understanding and affection between men, matching the new levels of material organisation achieved by economic production. Just as in the rhythmic introversion of the tribal dance each performer retired into his own heart, into the fountain of his instincts, to share with his fellows not a perceptual world but a world of instinct and blood-warm rhythm, so to-day the instinctive ego of art is the common man into which we retire to establish contact with our fellows.[53]

There is one other aspect of inspiration that may be mentioned here. Just as magic was for a long time the special province of women, so we find all over the world that inspiration in prophecy and poetry belongs especially to them.[54] The evidence is all the more striking because their part in primitive life is not nearly so well documented as the men's.[55]

[52] Hes. *Th.* 31–2, *Od.* 8. 479–81, 22. 345–6.

[53] Caudwell 155.

[54] Bücher 434–52, Briffault 2. 514–71, Chadwick GL 3. 186–8, 413, 663, 895–8. Of 1202 songs collected in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania 678 are women's songs, 355 are men's, and 169 are indeterminate (Bücher 450). The history of ballad poetry in southern and western Europe points to a similar conclusion: Entwhistle 37–8.

[55] See p. 241 and cf. Bücher 435–6, Chadwick GL 3. xxii.

I am not going to enlarge on this subject now. The reader may study it in the pages of Bücher, Briffault, and Chadwick. It was more than a poet's fancy that prompted Homer and Hesiod to invoke the aid of female deities. The woman's part in the origin of music is commemorated in the word itself.



FIG. 66. *Muses: Attic vase*

XV

THE RITUAL ORIGINS OF GREEK EPIC

1. *The Problem*

ART grows out of ritual. Stated in general terms, that is a proposition no serious student would deny. Many, it is true, dismiss it as irrelevant, but that is because, like magic, it is or can be a great force in the world, and they want to keep it tame. By despising the study of its origins they curtail their power to understand it and so to enjoy it. We must rescue it from them. They have no right to clip its wings.

The ritual ties of Greek poetry are for the most part self-evident. The Homeric Hymns, the Pindaric Odes, Attic drama, were all conscious acts of worship. Only in epic are they not apparent. The historical criticism of Greek epic has been directed along two main channels. For a hundred years and more a host of classical scholars have been debating the anatomy of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The controversy is not yet settled, but recently it has shown signs of flagging from sheer exhaustion. Meanwhile a new lead has been given by a professor of Anglo-Saxon. Applying the comparative method to the epics of different peoples, Chadwick has established a number of correlations which make it possible to refer this kind of poetry to a specific set of social and historical conditions. But the problem of its ritual origins remains.

The three main forms of Greek poetry were, in the order of their maturing, epic, lyric, and drama. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in the main, can hardly be later than the eighth century; Alkman, our earliest survivor from the wreckage of lyric, belongs to the seventh; Æschylus makes his *début* at the beginning of the fifth. This is the chronological order, but all it tells us is when each form reached the level of conscious art. If we look at them from the standpoint of their origins, the chronological order is reversed. Drama combines song, dance, and impersonation; it preserves the original unity of mimetic magic. Choral lyric

combines song and dance. Epic is merely recitation. Lyric is based on the strophe or stanza; in epic there is no trace of the strophe. Thus, the least differentiated of the three, and hence the most primitive, was the last to mature; the first to mature was the least primitive. But even this is not the whole truth. Drama includes recitation, and, though its structure is the most primitive in the sense of being the oldest, its technique is not, nor is its content. In these respects it marks the consummation of all three.

These complications have eluded the empiricists, with the result that a scientific history of Greek poetry has never been attempted. Yet they are not difficult to explain. These three art forms correspond to three successive phases in the growth of Greek society—the early monarchy, the landed aristocracy, democracy. Their mutual contradictions fall into place as soon as it is realised that they reflect the dialectics of the class-struggle.

The problem of the present chapter will be studied under three main heads: the structure of the strophe, the evolution of the chorus, and the relations of the sexes. The reader is doubtless wondering what bearing these questions can possibly have on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Well, we shall see.

2. *The Strophe*

Stanza and strophe are one and the same thing. The stanza is a 'stand' or 'pause'; the strophe is a 'turn', like the Latin *versus*. Both denote properly divisions in the movement of a dance.

In English poetry there are two principal types of ballad measure—the short couplet of eight stresses and the long couplet of fourteen.[1] In the latter the couplet is commonly subdivided, yielding the familiar ballad quatrain. In this there are four verses, with four and three stresses alternately. Its binary structure is marked by the rhyming, which is confined to the second and fourth verses, that is, to the end of each phrase. The rhymes thus coincide with the two pauses, minor and major, in the dance movement. They are as it were echoes of

[1] Gummere 307–9.

the decisive, final steps in each run of the dancers' feet. That is the origin of rhyme. It is derived from the vocal accompaniment to a co-ordinated bodily movement.

In the ballad quatrain the rhythmical structure has been reduced to the smallest compass compatible with the preservation of its organic unity. But the Greek strophe stands much nearer to its choral origin. All Greek lyric—that is, all poetry composed in strophic form—was accompanied by the lyre or flute, and, with the exception of the monody, it was danced by a chorus. Its structure is consequently ampler and more elaborate, reproducing the intricacies of the musical accompaniment and the evolutions of the dancers' hands and feet.

There are three types of strophic form—monostrophic, triadic, and antistrophic. In the monostrophic ode a single strophe is continuously repeated, exactly like the stanza in modern verse (AAA). The triad consists of a strophe followed first by an antistrophe, which is simply the strophe repeated, and then by an epode, a system composed of the same or similar rhythmical materials but differently arranged and serving as a coda (AAB); and this triad is continuously repeated (AAB AAB AAB). Antistrophic form is a series of pairs, strophe and antistrophe. The members of the pair are identical with one another, but each pair differs from the last (AA BB CC).

The earliest surviving odes—by Alkman (*c.* 660 B.C.), Alkaios and Sappho (630–580 B.C.) are all monostrophic. Many of the odes by Alkaios and Sappho are monodies, sung by a soloist without dancing. The triad is said to have been invented by Stesichoros, who belonged to the following generation. It was always choral, and became the dominant form of the later aristocratic convention. Nearly all Pindar's odes are triadic. Antistrophic form—also choral—is confined to drama. Such is the chronological order. Our problem is to reconstruct the development.

As soon as we set them in their historical context, we encounter some significant complications. Alkman lived at Sparta, whose aristocracy was then at the outset of its long career, but he was a native of Sardeis in Lydia. The Spartan poetry of this period was mainly the work of foreigners. We

hear also of Terpandros from Lesbos and Thaletas from Crete. Moreover, a metrical analysis of Alkman reveals affinities with Alkaios and Sappho so close that all three must be assigned to a common Græco-Anatolian tradition.

Alkaios and Sappho were natives of Lesbos. They belonged to the generation after Terpandros, and they remained at home. Both were aristocrats, but the Lesbos of their day was on the verge of a democratic revolution. Remembering this, we shall not be surprised to find that their work is more advanced than Alkman's.

Stesichoros was born at Himera, a colony in Sicily founded jointly by Dorians from Syracuse and Ionians from Chalkis. Like Alkman, he used the Doric dialect, but his technique was different. There is no reason to doubt that he invented the triad, but of course he did not invent it out of nothing. He was working on pre-existing material. The structure of the triad presupposes a chorus divided into two semi-choruses—the two sexes, two clans, two age-groups, or whatever they may have been—which chanted the strophe and antistrophe antiphonally and the epode in unison. But, so far as we know, none of the extant triadic odes was actually antiphonal. They were sung in unison. The practice of antiphony had been abandoned, but the structure remained. What Stesichoros did, then, was to divest this ritual form of its ritual function and establish it as an art form.

In our third type, antistrophic form, the repetition has been reduced to a minimum. That is its distinctive feature. It is the most flexible of the three, and therefore the most dramatic. Seeing that it is peculiar to drama, we may infer that the dramatists invented it.

If the epode of the triad was designed to be sung in unison, it was in origin a refrain. And if it had originally been appended to the strophe as well as the antistrophe (Ax Ax Ax), we are back at the primitive binary sequence of solo and chorus, improvisation and refrain. There are several reasons for thinking that this was in fact the case.

To begin with, if we examine antistrophic form, we reach the same result. In some of their odes the dramatists employ the epode, but only as a single, final coda marking the conclusion

of the whole (AA BB CC D). They also use another type of coda known as the *ephýmnion*. This is always in some simple, popular rhythm and it is appended to both members of the pair (Ax Ax Bx Bx). And this arrangement differs in only one particular—the disparity of the pairs, which we have just recognised as an innovation—from the original form of the triad as suggested above.

Tragedy, according to Aristotle, was descended from the dithyramb. This was a type of choral ode which is known to have been performed in early times by a leader and chorus. The leader delivered a series of improvised stanzas, while the chorus interpellated the refrains.[2] With this to guide us, the evolution of antistrophic form becomes plain. It began with the primitive sequence of solo and refrain. In the second stage, the soloist disappeared. The whole ode was sung by the chorus—a monostrophic ode with *ephýmnia*. In the third, the ode was made more flexible by dividing it into antistrophic pairs. And finally the *ephýmnia* were discarded, leaving us with the typical antistrophic ode.

Further, we must remember that the surviving specimens of Greek lyric are almost all masterpieces of conscious art. The odes employed in the everyday worship of the temples must have been less elaborate. We know little about these, but enough to show that in them the solo-and-chorus convention survived throughout antiquity. In the Christian liturgy it is still alive to-day. It survived in the dirge, in which the improvisations of the leaders were answered by inarticulate wails;[3] we find it again in the Cretan Hymn of the Kouretes,[4] and in the Hymn to Dionysus from Elis. The latter is quoted by Plutarch, who speaks of its refrain as an epode.[5]

Lastly, there is the word itself. What does *epoidós* mean? In reference to the third member of the triad it was explained as an 'after-song', a coda. But this was a technicality. In popular language it meant a 'charm', 'spell', or 'incantation', a song 'sung over' somebody, like the dirge over Hector's corpse, or the spell over the sick man to heal him, or the curse over the

[2] Archil. 77, cf. Pickard-Cambridge 19. On the Greek solo-and-chorus convention see H. W. Smyth xxi, xl, xlvi, xlviii, cxi, cxv, cxvi, cxxii, 503.

[3] *Il.* 24. 719–76. [4] Diehl 2. 279–81. [5] Plu. *M.* 299b.

criminal to damn him. This is undoubtedly the primary meaning of the word. The refrain was originally an incantation. In the *Oresteia* the Erinyes perform a magical dance with the object of spellbinding the fugitive.[6] The ode is antistrophic, with *ephýmnia*, and it is through these refrains, chanted as they dance round their victim, that the incantation operates. The *ephýmnion* is used in the same way in the *Suppliants*, where the daughters of Danaos curse their pursuers and call down a storm on them while they are making harbour.[7] These refrains take us straight back to the mimetic incantations of primitive magic.

There remains monostrophic form. Here we cannot point to any tangible relic of the refrain such as we have recognised in the epode and *ephýmnion*. In this case it has completely disappeared. But it was certainly there once. The proof lies in the internal structure of the strophe itself, to which I will now appeal.

In the preceding chapter it was argued on general grounds that the stanza or strophe is universally constructed on the musical principles derived from the improvisation and refrain of collective labour. I will now proceed to substantiate this proposition, in regard to Greek, by a detailed analysis of the strophe. I shall examine in turn the three oldest specimens that have survived. Alkman will be represented by his *parthéneion* or 'maidens' song', Alkaios and Sappho by the stanzas that bear their names. The discussion will necessarily be somewhat technical, but I will make it as simple as I can.

The *parthéneion* of Alkman is a long chorale composed for a chorus of girl dancers. It is monostrophic, and the strophe is constructed as follows:

A

ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις·	ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὅστις εὔφρων
⏑–⏑–⏑–	–⏑⏑–⏑–⏑
ἁμέραν διαπλέκει ἄκλαυτος.	ἐγὼν δ' ἀείδω
⏑–⏑–⏑–	–⏑⏑–⏑–⏑
Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς· ὁρῶ γ'	ὥτ' ἄλιον, ὄντιν' ἄμιν
⏑–⏑–⏑–	–⏑⏑–⏑–⏑
Ἀγιδὼ μαρτύρεται	φαίνην.—ἐμὲ δ' οὔτ' ἐπαινῆν
⏑–⏑–⏑–	–⏑⏑–⏑–⏑

[6] A. *E.* 307–99. [7] A. *Su.* 118–81.

B

οὔτε μεμῆσθαί νιν ἀ κλεννὰ χοραγὸς

⏑–⏑–

οὐδ' ἁμῶς ἦϝ· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἦμεν αὐτὰ
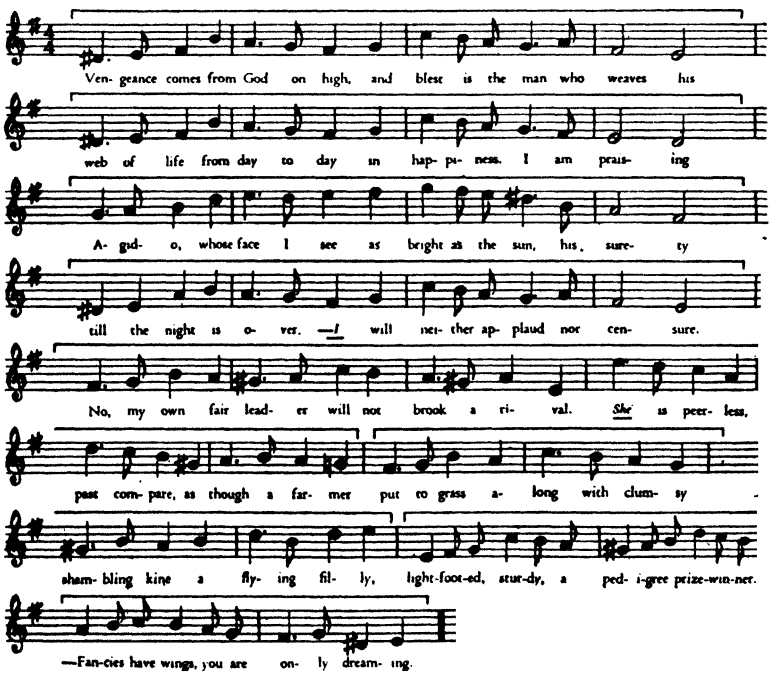
⏑–⏑–

ἐκπρεπὴς τὼς ὥσπερ αἴ τις ἐν βοτοῖς στᾶσειεν ἵππον

⏑–⏑–

παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα.—τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων.

⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑

For the sake of readers who cannot follow the Greek I give an English translation in a simple musical setting designed merely to bring out the rhythmical structure:



The strophe falls into two sentences (AB). The first sentence (A) contains four identical phrases. Each phrase is composed of two figures, announcement and responsion, one in triple measure (⏑–⏑–⏑–), the other in mixed triple and quadruple

measure (ū–uu–u–ū). The second sentence (B) also contains four phrases. The first three are in triple measure, based on the figure –u–ū. The fourth begins in quadruple measure (–uu–uu –uu–uu) and ends with a figure in which triple and quadruple are again mixed (–uu–uu–u–ū), recalling the second figures of the first sentence (ū–uu–u–ū). The binary structure of this composition is quite plain.

With one exception, all the figures used in this strophe recur in the other fragments of Alkman. They belong to the common stock of the convention in which he was working. The exception is the last figure (–uu–uu–u–ū). This is conditioned by its context. Its function is to carry the quadruple movement of the preceding figure into a reiteration of the close of the first sentence. It is, in other words, a cadence, serving exactly the same structural purpose as the rhyme in the ballad quatrain. What is a cadence? 'That strain again! It had a dying fall'. The cadence is a lingering echo of the lost refrain.

Let us now try to imagine what would have happened to this structure of Alkman's if it had been sung by a soloist without a dance accompaniment. In these conditions its compass would have been disproportionate to its function, which is now reduced to accompanying the voice alone. It would therefore have contracted into something like this:

A ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὄστις εὔφρων . . .

–u–ū–u– ū–uu–u–ū

'Αγιδὼ μαρτύρεται φαίνην. —ἐμὲ δ' οὔτ' ἐπαινῆν . . .

–u–ū–u– ū–uu–u–ū

B ἐκπρεπὴς τὼς ὥσπερ αἴ τις ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον . . .

–u–ū –u–ū –u–ū –u–ū

τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων.

–uu–uu–u–ū

We are reminded at once of the Alcaics we read at school:

A ἀσυννέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν·

ū–u–ū –uu–u–

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,

ū–u–ū –uu–u–

B τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ὃν τὸ μέσσον

– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

νᾶϊ φορήμεθα σὺν μελαίνᾳ.

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

The storm is raging, scattering all my wits;
The waves are sweeping past to the right and left.
Our anchor lost, our sail in tatters,
Helmless and helpless we drift to shipwreck.

The phrasing of the first sentence is slightly different, but the strophe falls into two sentences, as before. In the two-figure phrases of the first sentence triple measure is followed by mixed, as before. In the second sentence the triple measure is developed independently, as before. And the conclusion is the same. I have already remarked that this figure does not occur elsewhere in Alkman. Nor does it occur in Sappho, nor in Alkaios except in its present context as the conclusion of the Alcaic stanza.

These resemblances are too close to be fortuitous. They show that the Alcaic stanza is derived, not of course directly from Alkman's *parthéneion*—that is impossible—but from a common Græco-Anatolian prototype. Alkman has preserved this structure in its older, ampler form, because, as he uses it, it retains its original choral function. In the Alcaic monody, in which the dance has disappeared and the chorus has shrunk to a single individual, the structure has shrunk too, leaving a masterpiece in miniature.

The Sapphic stanza is of the same small dimensions as the Alcaic, and its phrasing is similar, but there is one important difference.

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,πότνια, θῦμον.

Aphrodite, goddess enthroned in splendour,
Child of Zeus Almighty, immortal, artful,
I beseech thee, break not my heart, O Queen, with sorrow and anguish!

The effect of this rhythm, which has always seemed to me one of the loveliest in poetry, is usually obscured by printing the last five syllables as a separate verse. It is true that in the Latin

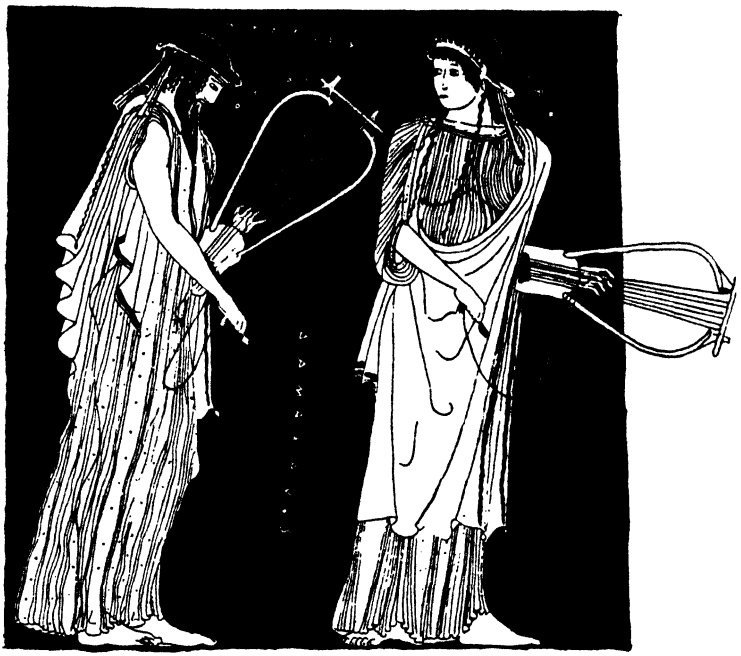


FIG. 67. *Alkaios and Sappho: Attic vase*

form of the Sapphic the final pentasyllable does constitute a separate verse. That is clear from the fact that it is often isolated by hiatus. But these Latin Sapphics were poems pure and simple, recited not sung, and we shall see in a moment that the isolation of the pentasyllable followed from the loss of a characteristic musical device. In the Greek Sapphic we never find a hiatus at this point. Moreover, while the first two verses always end with a word, the third, as usually printed, often runs over into the fourth. This proves that the pentasyllable is part of the third verse.

This point is certain, but it leaves us with an apparent anomaly. Alkman's strophe consists of two sentences, each containing four phrases. The Alcaic too consists of two sentences, each containing two phrases. The Sapphic opens with a sentence of two phrases, like the Alcaic, but in the second sentence, if we treat it as continuous, we seem to have only a single phrase.

One of the commonest figures in Greek lyric is the pherecratic (⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄ or ⏑̆⏑̆⏑⏑⏑̄). It was a favourite cadence. This point is fully illustrated in my *Greek Lyric Metre*. Here it will be enough to give two examples. The first is from Anakreon:[8]

γουνοῦμαί σ' ἐλαφηβόλε ξάνθη παῖ Διός, ἀγρίων δέσποιν' Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν.

⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄

The second is the refrain of the traditional wedding song:[9]

Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμεναῖ' Ὑμήν, Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμεναῖ' ὦ.

⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄

With this cadence in our ears we have no difficulty in analysing the Sapphic:

A ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδῖτα

⏑̄⏑̄ ⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄⏑̄

παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε,

⏑̄⏑⏑ ⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄⏑̄

B μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα, πότνια, θῦμον.

⏑̄⏑̄ ⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄

We begin with two identical phrases, as in the Alcaic. Each has two figures, triple and mixed, as in the Alcaic. The figures themselves are slightly different. The first (⏑̄⏑̄) has already been met with in Alkman. The second (⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄⏑̄) is all but identical with another of his (⏑̄⏑⏑⏑⏑̄⏑̄) and with the pherecratic (⏑̄⏑⏑⏑̄). The third phrase begins by repeating the first two and then concludes the whole by passing into the pherecratic cadence. Thus, the disyllable δάμνα has a double value. It completes the repetition and introduces the pherecratic. This is the device familiar to musicians under the name of overlap.

So the second sentence contains two phrases after all. And now we see that the Sapphic was evolved from the primitive sequence of solo and refrain by merging the second element, the refrain, into the first and so investing it with the value of a cadence. As I said before, the cadence is an echo of the lost

[8] Anac. 1.

[9] The refrain had many forms: Ar. *Av.* 1743, *Pa.* 1332, E. *Tr.* 314–31, Theoc. 18. 58.

refrain. It would be hard to find a more perfect example of a ritual form transmuted into art.[10]

3. *The Hexameter*

Our argument has now gone far enough to give us a lead on the origin of the metre of Greek epic, the dactylic hexameter.[11]

The nucleus of poetry was the verbal element in the undifferentiated complex of primitive song and dance. As the kernel grew, the shell decayed. First the dance was shed, and then the music. And the rhythmical form was simplified. We have seen the strophe contract. We shall now see it disappear.

The dactylic hexameter must be studied in conjunction with the trochaic tetrameter and the iambic trimeter. For the sake of brevity I shall refer to these three metres as the hexameter, tetrameter, and trimeter.

The tetrameter and trimeter first appear in the fragments of Archilochos, whose floruit may be placed in the latter part of the eighth century. They were both used by Solon. The tetrameter was adopted by the early dramatists as the medium of tragic dialogue, but later it was superseded by the trimeter, which according to Aristotle was nearer to the rhythm of common speech.[12]

The structure of these metres is as follows:

Hexameter: ⏑⏑–⏑⏑–/⏑/⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑̄

Tetrameter: ⏑–⏑̄–⏑–⏑̄/–⏑–⏑̄–⏑⏑̄

Trimeter: ⏑̄–⏑–⏑̄/–⏑/–⏑̄–⏑⏑̄

[10] I take this opportunity of drawing attention to what seems to me a major weakness in my GLM—my failure to discriminate between different periods and schools of lyric: (1) the Graeco-Anatolian school—Alkman, Sappho, Alkaios; (2) the western school—Stesichoros, Ibykos; (3) the mature convention of Simonides, Bakchylides, Pindar, and the dramatists. My distinction between 'Dorian', 'Aeolian', and 'Ionian' is fully applicable only to the last.

[11] On this subject I have reached by a different approach much the same conclusion as Bergk and Usener, whose theories are now generally abandoned. Bowra's view, that the source of the hexameter 'must be a primitive type of narrative poetry whose unit was not the stanza but the line' (TDI 61–2), simply shelves the problem.

[12] Arist. *Poet.* 4. 18–9, cf. Demetr. 43.

They are often treated simply as sequences of so many dactyls (¯UU), trochees (¯U) or iambs (U¯). This analysis indicates the time and the length of the verse, but it tells us nothing about its organic structure. That depends on the internal break in the words, or cæsura, which in the hexameter and trimeter always falls in the middle of a foot. The foot is an abstraction, with no organic value, like an isolated step in dancing or the isochronous bar in music. The organic unit is the figure, representing a series of steps or beats, which functions as a single unity and not as an aggregate of its parts.

Before we proceed, I must explain the tests we apply to a piece of Greek lyric in order to distinguish the figures and phrases of which it is composed.[13] There are three: the division of words, hiatus, and the use of irrational syllables. If we find a break in the words at the same point in the strophe each time it is repeated; if a word ending in a vowel is followed by one beginning with a vowel, with each vowel functioning independently in the metre; if a long syllable is substituted for a short or a short for a long: all these signs normally occur at the junction of two figures, which is of course in origin a musical rest, corresponding to a pause in the dance. Examples will be found in the strophe from Alkman quoted above.

With this in mind, we are able to see that the opening figure in that strophe is really a compound figure. This is shown by the quantity of the fourth syllable. In the first, second and third verses this syllable is short (¯U¯U¯U¯) but in the fourth it is long (¯U¯¯¯U¯). In other words, this figure is composed of two originally independent elements ¯U¯Ū and ¯U¯. The first is used separately in the second sentence of the same strophe (οὔτε μωμῆσθαί νιν ἀ κλεννὰ χοραγός) and in the Alcaic (ὃν τὸ μέσσον) and the Sapphic (ποικιλόθρον'). The second is common in the work of Alkman and other early poets:

Alcm. 2: Κάστωρ τε πώλων ὠκέων.

Alcm. 61: οὐδὲ τῶ Κνακάλω οὐδὲ τῶ Νυρσύλα.

Returning to our three metres, the first characteristic that distinguishes them from lyric is that they are monophrastic,

[13] The MS divisions date only from the Alexandrian period: in earlier times lyric poetry had been written continuously, like prose.

that is, they consist of a single verse continuously repeated. Secondly, they are isochronous. The hexameter is in quadruple time, the other two in triple time. There is no mixed time. Their structural uniformity was conditioned by the mode of delivery. The poems composed in these metres were recited. The whole attention was concentrated on the spoken word. That is why the metrical pattern is so simple. But this simplicity was not crudity. On the contrary, after being evened out in this way, the pattern was used as a keyboard for rhythmical subtleties of a new kind, which were precluded in the strophe by its structural diversity. It became possible to elaborate an endless variety of verse paragraphs conforming to the natural flow of common speech.

One of the salient features of Homeric Greek is its wealth of polysyllables. In later Greek, especially Attic, these were reduced by the contraction of contiguous vowels. The change had a marked effect on the rhythm of the language, as may be seen by translating a piece of Homer into Attic:

ὃ σφιν ἐὺ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν.

ὃ σφιν εὖ φρονῶν ἠγορήσατο καὶ μετεῖπεν.

The Homeric verse is dactylic; in Attic it becomes trochaic. This must have been a factor in the decline of the hexameter. As the language became less dactylic, this metre lost its vitality and gave place to others, closer to speech.

In the hexameter and trimeter, the cæsura, which always falls in the middle of a foot, has two alternative positions: in the former, before or after the second syllable of the third dactyl; in the latter, in the third or fourth foot. It is the movable cæsura that makes these metres so flexible. Not only is every verse broken up into two units conflicting with the time pattern of the whole, but each succeeding verse, though metrically identical with the last, can be made rhythmically different. This perpetual interplay of like and unlike is the life and soul of the metre.

The tetrameter lacks these advantages. The cæsura has only one place, and that is at the end of a foot. Since it always coincides with the time pattern, it makes the rhythm less flexible and so more obtrusive. It is, as Aristotle says, too 'dance-like'.

The dramatists abandoned it for that reason. They preferred the trimeter, which, with its triple time and its movable cæsura, was the nearest of the three to common speech.

What was the origin of the cæsura? We see that it is vital to the rhythmical effect, yet there is no reason to suppose that it was created in response to any inherent natural need. There are many metres, in Greek and other languages, that have no cæsura. Its origin must be historical.

The tetrameter, being the crudest of the three, is likely to be the most self-revealing in its structure.

ὦ βαθυζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη,
⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑ –⏑⏑–⏑–
μῆτερ ἡ Ξέρξου γεραιά, χαῖρε, Δαρείου γύναι.
⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑ –⏑⏑–⏑–

Observing the incidence of irrational syllables, we get the following formula ⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑/–⏑⏑–⏑–. This is a phrase of two figures, which differ from one another only in the ending, while the second is identical with the opening figure in Alkman's strophe (Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη—ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις). The cæsura was derived from the internal break in a two-figure phrase.

The trimeter has irrational syllables in the first and last places, also in the fifth and ninth. This gives us another two-figure phrase, divided at the commoner cæsura, ⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑/–⏑⏑–⏑–:

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων
φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος. . .

The second of these figures is the one we have just identified in the tetrameter (τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων—Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη—ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις). The first is the opening of the Alcaic (θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ—ἀσυννέτημι).

The second figure, as we have seen, is a compound one (–⏑⏑/–⏑–). The trimeter is thus constructed of three elements. All three are common in lyric, separately and in similar combinations:

Alcae. 65: δέξαι με κωμάζοντα, δέξαι, λίσσομαί σε, λίσσομαι.
Alcm. 2: Κάστωρ τε πώλων ὠκέων δματῆρες ἱππόται σοφοί.
Anac. 79: ἐρέω τε δηὖτε κοὐκ ἐρέω καὶ μαίνομαι κοὐ μαίνομαι.

Examples might easily be multiplied, but there is no need to labour the point. Seeing that the combinations ⏑̄⏑̄⏑̄/⏑̆– and –⏑̄⏑̄/⏑̆– are common in lyric from the earliest times, we cannot doubt that the trimeter, composed of the same elements, was a combination of the same kind.

One of the features of epic diction, which will be examined later, is the use of stock phrases. Many of these are very old. They are the stuff of which epic poetry was made. Most of them consist of a half-verse preceding or following the cæsura. One of the commonest types of Homeric verse is constructed of two such phrases, divided usually at the feminine cæsura:

τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος.
τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.
ὣς ἔφατ' οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη.

The formality of these set verses, used repeatedly and without variation wherever the subject requires them, stamps them as archaic, and suggests that the hexameter too arose from the combination of two figures, the break between them surviving in the cæsura. What the original figures were is a more difficult question. The hexameter is the oldest of Greek metres and its early history is lost. On the main point, however, we may claim with some confidence that it originated in a two-figure phrase of a type which is known to have dominated early Greek lyric and is based on the announcement and responsion of binary form.

This conclusion is confirmed by evidence of a different kind, which makes it certain that, whatever the intermediate stages may have been, the verse-form of Greek epic is descended from choral lyric.

In the historical period epic poetry was unaccompanied. The minstrel declaimed it, holding a staff in his hand. Hesiod alludes to the minstrel's staff, and there is a story that he was once defeated in a minstrelsy competition because he was unable to accompany himself on the lyre.[14] In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there are several descriptions of epic recitals, purporting to refer to the heroic age. In these the minstrel invariably

[14] Paus. 10. 7. 3. Cf. Murko 285.

sings the lay and plays as he sings on the lyre. The staff of later times was evidently a ritual substitute for the lyre.

We had no difficulty in tracing the trimeter and tetrameter back to the art of song, but we did not establish any direct connection with the dance. In epic it is clear.

When Telemachos arrives at Sparta in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, Menelaos is celebrating a wedding. A minstrel is singing to his lyre, and meanwhile two trick-dancers are spinning in and out of the crowd, singing as they go.[15] In Phæacia we witness an entertainment of the same kind:

> The herald went to fetch the minstrel's lyre from the palace. Meanwhile nine judges, appointed by the people to administer the competitions, got up and prepared a dancing ground, smooth and wide and level. Then the herald arrived with the lyre and handed it to Demodokos. He sat in the middle of the ground, while a group of young men, trained dancers in the first flower of manhood, took up their positions round him and began to dance divinely. Odysseus gazed in astonishment at their flashing feet, while the minstrel struck up with his lyre and sang of the amours of Ares and Aphrodite.[16]

Here we have the art of epic in its original setting.

The evolution of Greek poetry out of primitive ritual, in which song and dance were combined, has now been demonstrated by a concrete analysis of its metrical forms, and the result confirms the conclusions reached in Chapter XIV regarding the origin of poetry in general. Having established the history of the performance, we turn our attention to the performers. It can be shown that the epic poet stands in the same relation to the singing and dancing chorus as the epic hexameter to the complex of song and dance.

4. *The Chorus*

Greek state religion was founded on the clan cults of the big landed families which set themselves up in the *pólis* (p. 358). Each family fostered its own cult as a means of enhancing its prestige, while their collective monopoly of worship secured their position as the governing class. After the democratic revolution the cults were brought under state control, though in many cases their administration was left in the hands of

[15] *Od.* 4. 17–9. [16] *Od.* 8. 256–67.

their hereditary owners. Thus, with very few exceptions, the clan cults are known to us only to the extent that they became state cults, and of course in that process they were transformed. The clan cults that survived as such, being private, have left little trace in our records.

In spite of this we can discern at least the outline of the old clan ritual. It was the archetype of the choral ode. Choral lyric was as characteristic of the aristocracy as drama was of the democracy and epic of the heroic monarchy. Its technique was a heritage from tribal times, handed down through these conservative families with relatively little modification. Hence, although it only came to fruition after epic had passed its prime, it was structurally more archaic.

Its aristocratic character is apparent in even its latest manifestations. Pindar lived at a time when, except in Sparta, Elis, and Thessaly, the old nobility had been forced almost everywhere to come to terms with democracy. All his extant odes are composed for prizewinners at the athletic festivals. These gatherings attracted crowds of hucksters and holiday-makers, but the games themselves were aristocratic. Only the well-to-do had time for gymnastic training, and the most coveted of the prizes, for the chariot race, was in effect reserved for landed gentry with a tradition of horsemanship.

The ode was designed as an ovation for the victor on his return to his home town. It was composed by a professional poet, who took no further part in the proceedings, but its performers were a chorus of the victor's kinsmen, accompanied by an instrumentalist. It was an encomium, a song of praise for the prizewinner, and of course for his family as well. In the typical Pindaric ode the praise of the individual comes at the beginning and the end. The centre is reserved for a myth, which is taken in many cases from the actual traditions of the victor's family or clan. Such was the procedure in Pindar's day, but the employment of a professional poet was an innovation. For earlier times we must envisage a chorale composed as well as performed by the victor's kinsmen—a hymn of praise to the clan.

Pindar composed many other types of ode, all now lost—hymns, processionals, pæans, dithyrambs, dirges, *parthéneia*.

His dirges in particular would have been interesting. In Greece, as elsewhere, this ceremony was immemorially old, and like the athletic ode it was cultivated by the nobility for the sake of family prestige. In several states we hear of sumptuary laws limiting the size, duration, and expense of funerals.[17] At Athens they dated from Solon. Their object was not simply to discourage private extravagance. They were directed against the clans. When a man had been killed in a brawl, his whole clan followed his body to the clan cemetery, where they were worked up into a frenzy by the dirge performed at the graveside. The result was a vendetta. The explosive character of these occasions finds an echo in the *Oresteia*, where Agamemnon's children, standing at his tomb, pass from singing his praises to a furious clamour for revenge.[18]



FIG. 68. *Mycenean dancer: gem from Vapheio*

In its primitive, pre-artistic form the dirge was performed by women. That is why, in these sumptuary laws, only a specified number of women, within certain degrees of affinity, are permitted to enter the house of the dead, and various restrictions are placed on their behaviour at the graveside. The women, clinging tenaciously to the customs of the past, were the worst mischief-makers. Their inferior status in patriarchal society left them with a traditional disrespect for law and order.

The structure of the Pindaric dirge is unknown, but we have an earlier example in the lament for Hector at the end of the *Iliad*. He is addressed in turn by Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen, and after each has spoken cries are raised by the other women in attendance. The three speakers are the leaders, the others form the chorus.[19] The ritual features of the performance

[17] Plu. Sol. 12, D. 43. 62, SIG. 1218–9, GDI. 2561.

[18] A.C. 305–476.

[19] *Il.* 24. 719–76. There is a discrepancy in this passage. The three women are described as 'leading the dirge' (723, 747, 761) the other women supplying the refrain (746); but we have been told at the beginning that the leaders are male minstrels (720–2). I take it that the primitive female dirge has been confused with the later professional type, cf. Chadwick GL 3. 61.

are characteristically slurred over, but we know from other sources that it was commonly sung, not spoken, and accompanied with an ecstatic dance in which the women beat their breasts and tore their hair.[20] This is the world-wide form of the dirge at the present day.[21]

The loss of Pindar's *parthéneia* is compensated to some extent by the survival of one of Alkman's. This is the piece whose musical structure we examined in the last section. It contains some valuable information.

The occasion was probably the presentation of a new robe for the image of Artemis.[22] Annual investitures of this kind were common. In the *Iliad* we read of a brilliantly embroidered robe conveyed by a procession of women to the Trojan Athena.[23] At Athens, on the 21st of Thargelion (May-June), the image of Athena Polias was veiled, taken down, and washed.[24] It was then clothed in a new robe woven by the *arrhephóroi* (p. 222).[25] The proceedings were in charge of the clan Praxiergidai.[26] The day on which the image was dismantled was a *dies nefasta*, one of the blackest in the Attic calendar.[27] Some authorities have supposed that the day got its bad name from the ceremony,[28] but this cannot be, because the same day is a bad one in Hesiod's *Works and Days*.[29] It was bad because it fell properly in the period of the waning moon, and the ceremony associated with it was originally a monthly rite of purification.

Among the priestesses of Artemis at Ephesos was one called the *kosméteira*. Her office was hereditary, and her title implies that she was in charge of the investiture.[30] When this took place we do not know, but it was probably another rite of purification or regeneration. In the cult of the same goddess at

[20] *Il.* 18. 50–1, A.*C.*423–7, *Per.*123–8, 1039–77, *Su.* 126–8, cf. Th. 2. 34. 4.

[21] Bücher 442.

[22] I suspect that the robe was embroidered with stars, cf. *Il.* 6. 295, Orph. fr. 238. This would make 60–3 intelligible: 'The rising Pleiads vie with us as we bring to Orthia a robe like Sirius through the fragrant night', i.e. it outshines the Pleiads.

[23] *Il.* 6. 286–303. [24] Plu. *Alcib.* 34.

[25] Harp. *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν, Ar. *Av.* 826–7. [26] Plu. *Alcib.* 34, Hsch. Πραξιεργίδαι.

[27] Plu. *l.c.*, X. *Hell.* 1. 4. 12, Poll. 8. 141. [28] Deubner 22.

[29] Hes. *Op.* 803. [30] *SIG.* 1228, *CIG.* 2823.

Brauron the robe was made from the clothes of women in childbed.[31]

Alkman's *parthéneion* was performed by a chorus of ten or eleven unmarried girls. For them, as for their goddess, it was a rite of regeneration or initiation. Probably they formed an *agéla*. This was a sodality of candidates for initiation. It is known that girls as well as boys were organised in this way.[32] The members of the male *agéla* were all of common descent in the male line (p. 145); and in this ode the two leading girls are described as cousins. It seems clear therefore that the *agéla* was a kinship group within the clan, and, if so, the rite in which these young ladies are engaged is a clan cult.

The accompanist was Alkman himself. This appears from other fragments of his work in which he takes part in the singing—as for instance where he sings a playful apology to his chorus girls for being too old to join in the dancing.[33]

This *parthéneion* is the oldest choral ode we possess, but there is reason to believe that odes of this type had been cultivated for centuries before Alkman. The Greeks themselves recognised that there had been 'poets before Homer', and they mentioned names. Two at least of these must have some historical foundation.

The name of Pamphos, an Athenian, was preserved by a hereditary cult society of women, the Pamphides.[34] His work, which is said to have influenced Sappho, included hymns to Demeter, Persephone, and the Charites.[35]

Olen was a Lycian who settled in Delos, where he composed several hymns to Apollo.[36] One of these was danced by a double chorus of boys and girls who had just reached puberty.[37] Another was addressed to the goddess of childbirth. When Leto was in labour, seven songs were 'sung over her' by swans from Anatolia, while nymphs of Delos uttered the 'sacred chant of Eileithyia'.[38] Olen was also credited with a hymn to Hera and with the invention of the dactylic hexameter.[39]

[31] E. *IT.* 1450–67. For other similar investitures see Hyp. 4. 25, Paus. 3. 16. 2, 3. 19. 2, 5. 16, 7. 23. 5, *IG.* 5. 2. 265. 19.

[32] Pi. fr. 112. [33] Alcm. 94. [34] Hsch. Πομφίδες.

[35] Paus. 1. 38. 3, 1. 39. 1, 7. 21. 9, 8. 35. 8, 8. 37. 9, 9. 27. 2, 9. 29. 8, 9. 31. 9, 9. 35. 4.

[36] Hdt. 4. 35, Paus. 8. 21. 3, 9. 27. 2, Suid. Ὠλήν. [37] Call. *HDel.* 296–9.

[38] *Ib.* 249–57. [39] Paus. 2. 13. 3, 10. 5. 7.

The cults to which these hymns refer were all of matriarchal origin, and the hymns themselves seem to have been performed, like Alkman's, by a female chorus under a male leader. This point is confirmed by one of the most familiar of all Greek traditions. The arts of music, dancing, and poetry were under the patronage of Apollo and the Muses. Pindar tells how at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis the Muses danced in a chorus led by Apollo with his seven-stringed lyre.[40] Alkman invokes the Muses to sing for his girl dancers a new song.[41] An ode attributed to Terpandros begins with an appeal to the son of Leto, leader of the Muses.[42] In the *Iliad*, when the Olympians have fed and the wine is going round, Apollo plays his lyre while the Muses sing 'answering one another', that is, antiphonally.[43] In the Homeric Hymns they sing, again 'answering one another', of the deathless gifts of the gods and the sufferings of mankind, while the Horai and Charites dance hand in hand to the music of Apollo, who takes a turn himself in the dance.[44] This lyre-playing god with his chorus of goddesses is simply a celestial reflex of the prehistoric *parthéneion*.



FIG. 69. *Apollo and lyre: Attic vase*

On one occasion he is absent—at the funeral of Achilles:

> The Nereids stood round the body, weeping bitterly as they wrapt it in the winding-sheet, while the nine Muses, answering one another, sang the dirge.[45]

For the Greeks it was enough to say that the god of light and health could not have been present here because he was by nature incapable of lamentation. This was proverbial.[46] But in reality his incapacity was an effect and not a cause. He could

[40] Pi. *N.* 5. 22–5, cf. Hes. *Sc.* 201–6, Paus. 5. 18. 4. [41] Alcm. 7, cf. 68, 94.
[42] Terp. 3 Bergk. [43] *Il.* 1. 603–4.
[44] Hom. *H.* 3. 188–201. [45] *Od.* 24. 60–1, cf. *Il.* 18. 50–1.
[46] A.*A.* 1058–63, *Per.* 608, E.*Su.* 971–9, Stes. 22, Sa. 109.

not mourn because he stood for the male chorus-leader, and the prehistoric dirge had been performed exclusively by women.

In respect of divine patronage no distinction was drawn between choral lyric and epic. All the extant epics begin by invoking the Muses. When Odysseus wishes to compliment Demodokos, the minstrel of Phæacia, he says he must be inspired by Apollo or the Muses.[47] Further, at this level the poet merges into the priest. The minstrel's person was sacred. Being inspired by Apollo, possessed, he was a prophet as well as a poet. He claimed to know the future.[48] So with Apollo himself. He combined prophecy with music because in primitive society music is the vehicle for all forms of psychical dissociation, including the prophetic trance. He was at once poet, prophet, priest—the male priest of a female cult.

How old was this concept of Apollo and the Muses? It was certainly prehistoric; yet, if we press our analysis further, the divine chorus falls apart. The Muses came from the north—from Mount Helikon in Bœotia and from Pieria on the slopes of Olympus.[49] Their name probably means 'mad women'.[50] They resolve themselves into a female *thíasos* of the same type as the Bacchants, the ecstatic votaries of Dionysus, who also came from the north.[51] In historical times their main centre was Thespiai, where they were worshipped by a society named after Hesiod.[52] They were not prominent at Delphi, and at Delos their place was taken by the Deliades and Minoides.[53] Apollo came from the south—from Crete (pp. 293–4), where his distinctive instrument, the lyre of

[47] *Od.* 8. 487–8, cf. Hom. *H.* 25. 2–3.

[48] *Od.* 8. 479–81, 22. 345–6, Hes. *Th.* 31–2, *Il.* 1. 70.

[49] Hes. *Th.* 52–3, Str. 410, 471.

[50] Roscher LGRM 2. 3238.

[51] The Mousai actually figure as votaries of Dionysus in the Agriania at Orchomenos: Plu. *M.* 717a, cf. Erat. *Cat.* 24. 140.

[52] Paus. 9. 31. 4, *IGSept.* 1785, 4240, cf. 1735, 1760, 1763. The name Thespiai is properly a cult title of the Mousai (see p. 129), and it is possible that here and elsewhere in Bœotia they had replaced the Charites, whose worship was very ancient at Orchomenos (Paus. 9. 35. 1; Roscher LGRM 1. 877–8) and probably of Syrian origin: Gaster GSF.

[53] Evans PM 3. 74.

seven strings, can still be seen on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada.[54]

For these reasons it may be suggested that this concept crystallised on the Greek mainland, perhaps in Bœotia, under Minoan influence and in response to a definite stage in the decline of the matriarchate, marking the point at which cults previously reserved to women were brought under the control of a male priest.

If the leader of this female chorus was an intruder, how did he gain admittance? By disguising himself as a woman. That is what Pentheus did when he went to spy on the Bacchants.[55] It was a common thing at Dionysiac festivals for the men to dress in women's clothes.[56] The costume of the Lydian priesthood was properly a woman's.[57] This should not surprise us. Rather, we should look with a critical eye at the mitres, stoles, and frocks of our own clergy. All over the world the transfer of religious authority from the one sex to the other has been effected by dressing the priest as a priestess.[58] The motive was partly no doubt to make the change acceptable by pretending there had been no change at all, but there was more in it than that. The traditional costume was sacred, charged with magic, and therefore indispensable.

One of the frescoes at Knossos depicts a festival in an olive grove.[59] In the right foreground a chorus of fourteen women are dancing. They are moving towards the left with extended arms. Behind them is the audience. Immediately behind the dancing ground there are groups of women sitting on the grass and chatting. Behind these, separated by a barrier, is a crowd of men, closely packed, all standing, all intent on the performance. It seems that the men are mere spectators, while the women on the grass are participants who later on perhaps will take their turn at the dance. The left foreground, to which the dancers are pointing, is missing, but there is not much doubt what it contained. On a gold signet ring of the same period we see three women dancing in a field of lilies.[60] Two of them have their arms raised; a fourth, standing on a higher level, has

[54] Evans PM 2. 834–6: fig. 73. [55] E.*Ba.* 821–36. [56] Luc. *de cal.* 16.
[57] Ramsay 174. [58] Briffault 2. 531–6. [59] Evans PM 3. 67–8.
[60] *Ib.* 3. 68: fig. 71.

one hand on her hip and the other at her forehead (p. 243). Still higher is a fifth figure, also female, but dressed in an archaic costume and separated from the others by a broken wavy line. This, as Evans has shown, signifies the boundary between earth and heaven. In response to her votaries, a female



FIG. 70. *Ladies of Knossos: fresco (restored)*



FIG. 71. *Descent of the goddess: Minoan signet*

chorus with a female leader, the goddess descends to inspire them with the ecstasy of the dance.

Both fresco and ring are assigned by Evans to Middle

Minoan III. The type persisted. We meet it again in a Late Minoan terracotta model. Three women with outstretched arms are dancing in a ring, while a fourth sits in the middle and plays a lyre.[61] The Minoan chorus seems to have remained completely feminine—'a symptom', as Evans remarks, 'of the



FIG. 72. *Minoan chorus: terracotta*

matriarchal stage'.[62] Only in Late Minoan III can we detect signs of a change. The procession on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus includes a young male lyre-player—a budding Apollo. We know his sex by the colouring of his skin.[63] Otherwise we should certainly have taken him for a woman, because he is dressed in a long robe reaching to the ankles with a bodice open at the breast, exactly like the girl in front of him. He is dressed as a woman because he is performing a woman's task.

Starting with Alkman, we have argued back from the female chorus led by a male leader to a female chorus led by a female leader—from poet to priest and from priest to priestess. What was the minstrel's place in this development?

In the historical period the minstrel, or rhapsode as he was

[61] Evans PM 3. 73: fig. 72. [62] *Ib.* 3. 75. [63] *Ib.* 2. 836.



FIG. 73. *Minoan lyre-player: Hagia Triada Sarcophagus*

then called, was merely a professional reciter, not a musician or a creative poet. But in earlier times he had composed his own lays and provided his own accompaniment. This is the stage represented by the traditional figure of Homer, 'the blind bard of rugged Chios'. Homer sang of the past, but the minstrels he describes in his poems sing impromptu of contemporary events. And on one occasion, as we have already



FIG. 74. *Mixed chorus: Attic vase*

noted, the subject is non-heroic, a lay of Ares and Aphrodite, sung as an accompaniment to a dancing chorus. Thus, as we go back into the past, epic merges into choral lyric. But there is one link still missing. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the minstrel and his dancers are always male. Mixed dances are mentioned, but without a minstrel.[64] In order to meet this point we must take up the problem from another angle.

5. *The Epic Prelude*

Prizes for epic recitals were offered at all important festivals. Professional minstrels travelled from city to city, competing wherever they went.[65] Their great centre was Delos.[66] The Delian festival of Apollo was attended by crowds of both sexes and all ages, together with choruses entered by different cities for the musical events. Homer himself is said to have competed there.

The recitals were preceded by prefatory hymns (*prooimia*) of the type that survives in the collection known as the Homeric Hymns. Most of these can be dated to the seventh and sixth

[64] *Il.* 18. 567–72, 590–606.
[65] Pl. *R.* 600d, *Io* 541b, *Certamen* 55.
[66] See below p. 551.

centuries. They vary in length from less than a dozen verses to several hundred. They are addressed to various deities and were doubtless intended for different festivals. They are composed in the epic metre and the epic dialect. They differ from the epic poems proper only in the nature of their subjects. The epics deal with heroic themes—the 'glories of men', whereas these preludes are all devoted to legends of the gods. The distinction was traditional. In the Homeric Hymn to Helios, after praising the god, the minstrel concludes:

> O Lord, farewell! Grant of thy grace a life after my own heart, and now, having begun with thee, I will sing of the mortal race, the heroes, whose deeds the Muses have made known to man.[67]

Putting this evidence together, we can reconstruct the procedure. The competition opened with a prelude, a hymn to the deity of the occasion. Then the first candidate came forward, took the staff (*rhábdos*) in his hand, and began the *Iliad*. When he had finished the piece set for him, the next candidate took the staff and continued.

These competitions for reciters had been preceded by competitions for poets, composing as they competed. The tradition of such a contest between Homer and Hesiod survived in various forms, which, though apocryphal, are good evidence of procedure. In one of the Hesiodic fragments we read: 'Homer and I were the first minstrels to sing in Delos of Apollo son of Leto, stitching our song in new hymns'.[68] The rivals had improvised by turns, one chanting, the other silent, while the lyre or staff, as it passed between them, marked the ins and outs of what was in effect a continuous composition. Hence the term rhapsode (*rhapsoidós*), which means properly a 'song-stitcher'.[69]



FIG. 75. *A rhapsode: Attic vase*

In the procedure outlined above there is a clear-cut division between the sacred and secular stages, between the prelude and the epic proper, but there is reason to believe that in early times they had been continuous. In the Hymn to the Delian

[67] Hom *H.* 31. 17–9. [68] Hes. fr. 265. [69] Cf. Bowra TDI 41.

Apollo the author, doubtless one of the Homeridai, presents himself as Homer, and describes the festival as it had been in Homer's day:

> How marvellous they are, how memorable, the girls of Delos, Apollo's handmaids, who after uttering a hymn of praise to Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, recall in song the men and women of old.[70]

This seems to point to a time when the second stage had followed the first without a break. And here, somewhat unexpectedly, we are brought back once again to Alkman. His *parthéneion* is not complete, but nearly so. It begins with a myth—the fight between Herakles and the sons of Hippokoon; it goes on to the task in hand, the presentation of the robe, and the second part is taken up with a gay exchange of repartee between the dancers. We recognise the same structure—the divine exordium, the human sequel.

This sequence lies very deep in Greek poetry. It was a proverbial rule that the poet 'began with God'. 'O Hymns that sway the lyre', says Pindar, 'what god, what hero, what mortal shall we celebrate?'[71] Describing the Muses' wedding chant for Thetis, the same poet says that 'they began with Zeus and then sang of Thetis and Peleus'.[72] Alkman has the same formula: 'I will begin with Zeus and sing', and Terpandros had used it before him: 'O Zeus, beginning of all, leader of all, to thee I dedicate the beginning of this hymn'.[73] The earliest examples of all—from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—will be mentioned in a moment. The Pindaric ode is an apparent exception. It begins and ends with the victor. But the poet usually contrives to combine this scheme with an introductory appeal to the gods.[74]

We can now see how the procedure at Delos had grown up. The epic recitals were intrusive. They were established there during the expansion of the Homeridai. Previously there had been simply a choral hymn devoted successively to gods and mortals. The Homeric recitals did not altogether supplant the hymn, but they absorbed its secular portion, and so it shrank into a preface, a purely formal inauguration of the real business.

[70] Hom. *H.* 3. 156–61. [71] Pi. *O.* 2. 1–2, [72] Pi. *N.* 5. 25–6.
[73] Alcm. 9, Terp. 1, cf. Xenoph. 1. 13.
[74] Pi. *O.* 2. 1–5, 3. 1–4, 4. 1–10, 5. 1–3 etc.

Turning to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we find vestiges of the same sequence. Both begin with an appeal to the Muses. It is very brief—a mere formula for introducing the narrative.[75] But the fact that it is there at all raises a suspicion that the heroic lay itself had once begun with something in the nature of a hymn. This is confirmed by Hesiod.

The appeal prefaced to the *Works and Days* has an independent unity of its own—a miniature hymn to Zeus. And in the *Theogony* the exordium runs to more than a hundred lines, longer than most of the Homeric *prooimia*. In it we are told that the Muses sing first of the race of gods, then of Zeus, father of gods and men, and finally of the Giants and mankind. The body of the poem expounds the origin and history of the gods, but this is followed by an enumeration of the goddesses who mated with mortals, and the poem ends with these words: 'And now, Olympian Muses, daughters of Zeus, sing of the race of women'. The sequel, the so-called *Catalogue of Women*, survives only in fragments, but the conclusion of the *Theogony* shows that the two poems were designed to be taken together, expounding in turn the history of the gods and the history of human heroines. Thus the theme of the *Catalogue* is a heroic one, but concerned with heroines instead of heroes. Its material is pre-Homeric, dating from the prehistoric matriarchate. And with the *Theogony* it constitutes a hymn of the same structure as the one in which the girls of Delos celebrated first Apollo and Leto and then the men and women of the past. The Hesiodic school was less secular than the Homeric, and so the old structure survived.

Thus it appears that in content as well as form choral lyric and epic rest on a common ritual basis. The same thematic sequence has been found underlying both. We must now try to define more closely what this sequence is.

[75] The preface to the *Odyssey* ends (1. 10): 'Take up the story from thereabouts and tell it to *us*'. The suggestion intended is that it has been told by other minstrels many times before (hence the emphasis) and that the present rendering opens more or less at random, cf. 8. 500, 1. 492, 8. 493. The invocations prefaced to the Catalogue of Ships and the Exploits of Agamemnon (*Il.* 2. 484–92, 11. 218–20) are signs that these had been current as separate lays.

6. *Songs after Supper*

The minstrel performances described in the *Odyssey* fall into two classes, choral and non-choral. The choral examples were performed on special occasions—in the one case a wedding, in the other an entertainment for Odysseus. On the non-choral occasions the procedure was more uniform.

There are three of these non-choral lays, two by Demodokos and one by Phemios. The former sings of the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, and the Wooden Horse;[76] the latter of the return of the Achæans after the war.[77] All these themes are heroic, and they are all sung after the evening meal. This was the rule:

> What a fine thing it is to hear such a minstrel, with a voice like a god's! I know of no occupation more delightful than this—when the tables are loaded with good things and the wine just poured out, to sit listening to a minstrel's lay, while contentment possesses the people.[78]

The lay of the Wooden Horse is sung at Odysseus' request:

> 'I admire you above all men, Demodokos. Apollo must have been your teacher, or the Muses, daughters of Zeus. I have never heard such a rendering of the misfortunes of the Achæans, just as though you had been there. Now give us another—the story of the Wooden Horse. . . .' After starting from God the minstrel began the lay.[79]

'Starting from God'—the same formula, back in the heroic age. And the words seem to imply that it was not merely a formal opening but something distinct from the lay.

At the beginning of the *Odyssey* Telemachos is entertaining a stranger—really Athena in disguise. He is anxious to enquire after his lost father, but the presence of the suitors embarrasses him. He gets his chance after supper.

> When the meal was over, the suitors gave their minds to singing and dancing, for these are the delights of a feast. Phemios, the minstrel, who sang to them against his will, took his lyre from the herald and struck up a lay. Then Telemachos spoke to Athena, their heads close together, so that they should not be overheard.[80]

At the end of the conversation the stranger vanishes into the air, and Telemachos returns to the suitors, who are sitting quietly listening to the minstrel as he sings of the return of the

[76] *Od.* 8. 72–82, 485–95. [77] *Od.* 1. 325–7. [78] *Od.* 9. 3–10.
[79] *Od.* 8. 487–99. [80] *Od.* 1. 150–7.

Achæans.[81] But we were told before that they gave their minds to singing and dancing. How did this lay begin? It looks as though the solo—the heroic lay—had been preceded by a choral ode.

This is the sequence we found at Delos. There, a hymn to the gods followed by an epic recital; here, a choral ode followed by a heroic lay. The epics were intrusive at Delos—they had been brought there ready-made; but this heroic lay is in its original setting—the palace of an Achæan chief. It cannot be intrusive; it must have grown out of the ode. Taken together with its choral prelude, it follows the same pattern as the Hesiodic *Theogony* and *Catalogue* and the Delian hymn.

Songs after supper did not cease to be sung after they had given rise to the heroic lay. They were an established convention among the nobility throughout the historical period. This convention is worth examining, because, since it was maintained in its original setting, it may reveal features which the art of minstrelsy discarded. The best-known examples are the Attic drinking-songs.

After supper, when the wine was brought in, the company



FIG. 76. *Drinking party: Attic cup*

sang a pæan to Apollo while libations were poured to the gods, the heroes, and Zeus the Saviour.[82] Then the wine was served. A loving-cup was passed round together with a branch of myrtle or laurel (*alsakos*). Each guest took the cup and the

[81] *Od.* 1. 325–7.

[82] A.*A.* 257–8, X.*Sym.* 2. 1, Pl. *Sym.* 176a, Sch. Pl. 916a. 28.

branch in turn, and branch in hand he improvised a stanza, usually on some secular theme, political or aphoristic.[83]

In this branch we recognise the rod plucked by the Muses for Hesiod[84] and the staff of the Homeric rhapsodes. In the pæan we recognise the epic prelude (*prooímion*) and in the improvised stanzas the heroic lay.

This custom was no doubt indigenous in Attica, but it was developed under influences from Ionia. The Ionian convention owed its artistic form largely to Pythermos of Teos, who lived early in the sixth century. One fragment of his survives, showing that his stanza was the same as the Attic.[85] The Attic was as follows:

φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι', οὔ τί πω τέθνηκας,

–ū–uu– ū–u–ū

νήσοις δ' ἐν μακάρων σέ φασιν εἶναι,

–ū–uu– ū–u–ū

ἵνα περ ποδώκης Ἀχιλεύς

uu–u– –uu–

Τυδείδην τέ φασιν ἐσθλὸν Διομηδέα.

–uu–u–u– –uu–u–

The resemblance to the Alcaic is unmistakable. Again we have a stanza of four phrases, the first two being identical. The opening is in fact the same as the Alcaic, except that the order of the two figures is reversed and the trochee precedes the dactyl. The two stanzas belong to the same convention. And here it may be added that Alkaios himself was celebrated for his drinking-songs. Many, perhaps all, of his monodies belong

[83] Pl. *Go.* 451e, Ath. 694a, Ar. *Nu.* 1364 sch., Plu. M. 615b. It would be interesting to follow up the history of this convention, which still survives in Greece and is evidently very old. In Anglo-Saxon England, when the villagers met to drink in the evening, everyone took his turn at singing to the harp (Bede *Eccl. Hist.* 4. 24). In Ireland, early in the last century, the Limerick school of poets used to forgather in the same way, improvising stanzas on a fixed pattern which one has only to hear to recognise the origin of the limerick (Dinneen FM). In Cambridge during my student days similar symposia were held annually, but improvisation bred impropriety, and they have been banned.

[84] Hes. *Th.* 30–1. [85] Diehl 2. 60.

to this class, and several of those expressly assigned to it are in the Alcaic stanza.

In the Attic symposium the secular part of the programme was rendered by the whole company, singing a round of solos.



FIG. 77. *Dancing girl: Attic cup*

In the symposium of the heroic age it took the form of a single extended solo sung by a professional minstrel. That is the main difference between them, and it is readily explained by the special conditions of the heroic monarchy. The minstrels were court retainers, patronised and encouraged by the kings, and their art was a specialised occupation. The rude tribal chiefs from whom these kings were descended had joined in the singing themselves. Even in Homer the memory of this state of things is not entirely effaced. Achilles whiles away the tedious

hours by singing to his lyre of 'the glories of men'.[86] This does not mean he was a professional minstrel. In the rough country he came from the art was less specialised, more widely diffused, than it was at Mycenæ.

One more complication remains to be unravelled, and then our argument will be complete. Some of Alkaios' drinking-songs are in the Sapphic stanza.[87] Did Sappho write drinking-songs too?

The idea of a feminine symposium did not find favour with Victorian scholars, who dismissed it as a slur on the fair name of Greek womanhood.[88] They did not pause to reflect why there should have been any impropriety in women refreshing themselves after the same fashion as their husbands in a country where the worship of the wine-god was mainly their business and water is scarce. It is true that no such custom is recorded in democratic Athens, but Athens was not Greece, and democratic Athens was notorious for its peculiar attitude to women. The ancient authorities do not seem to have felt any qualms. Praxilla, a lady of Sikyon, is mentioned by them as a composer of drinking-songs, and so is Sappho.[89]

Sappho was in charge of a finishing school for the young ladies of Lesbos. I call it a finishing school, but it might be more aptly described as an initiation school, which is the same institution in a more primitive form. It was in fact a female cult society like the Spartan *agéla* for which Alkman composed his *parthéneion*.

The great moments in the life of this little coterie were the days when one of the pupils left to be married, with a wedding song composed for her by Sappho.[90] The girls participated in the civic cycle of women's festivals, and one of the most important of these was the feast of Adonis, for which Sappho composed dirges.[91] We are not informed how these young ladies spent their evenings, but they must have had their

[86] *Il.* 9. 186–9. [87] Alc. 77–8, 85, 92.

[88] Reitzenstein 18–9, H. W. Smyth cv. It was the custom in Illyria for women to be present at men's drinking-parties: Ael. *VH.* 3. 15. That a similar custom had prevailed in prehistoric Greece may be inferred from *Od.* 4. 219–34, A.*Ag.* 254–8. And of course it survived at Athens in respect of slave girls and courtesans: Pl. *Smp.* 176e.

[89] Ar. *V.* 1240 sch. [90] Sa. 115–33, cf. 96, 98. [91] Sa. 21, 107.

private vespers, at which they sang Sappho's hymns, and so it cannot be regarded as improbable that they sang songs after supper.

At the feast of Adonis in Samos the girls used to hold drinking parties, at which they propounded riddles.[92] It is not likely that this feature of the cult of Adonis was peculiar to Samos, because it is recorded of other cults. In Bœotia, at the Agriania, the women used to go out in search of the lost Dionysus, and after supper they spent the evening in asking riddles.[93]

The riddle, which is as universal as it is ancient, was in origin a vehicle for catechism in initiatory secrets.[94] In Greece, as in most parts of Europe, it degenerated eventually into a children's game of forfeits, but its magical import was remembered in the story of Kalchas, the soothsayer who died of vexation after failing to answer a riddle put to him by a rival.[95] Stories of this type are a commonplace of Indo-European mythology.[96] In Greece the riddle preserved its metrical form, which means that it was sung, or had been.

At these festivals, then, we have to envisage groups of women, sitting perhaps out of doors like the Minoan ladies on the fresco and conducting extempore a running musical catechism on themes appropriate to the occasion. The picture is incomplete, but the parallel with the men's supper parties is obvious. Both go back ultimately to the undulating series of solo and refrain circling endlessly in the twilight round the clan camp-fire.

At the outset of this study we saw how mimetic impersonations of the activities of the clan totem passed into dramatic dances commemorating the achievements of the clan ancestors, whose magical energies were thereby evoked to fertilise the sources of food-supply. We also saw how, with the growth of class inequality, these ancestral spirits became gods. Even the Greek gods preserved ancestral ties with their worshippers as progenitors of ruling clans. 'The race of gods', says Pindar, 'and the race of men are one.'[97] But in general, with the

[92] Ath. 451b. [93] Plu. *M.* 717a.
[94] Pauly-Wissowa *s.v.* Rätsel, Chadwick GL 3. 152–3, 834–6.
[95] Str. 642–3. [96] Chadwick GL 1. 474. [97] Pi. *N.* 6. 1.

consolidation of class society, the gods came to appear as a race apart, showing a parental regard for their worshippers but enjoying the privilege of everlasting life.

In the same way we followed the development of the totemic rite into a sacrifice, a feast shared with the god and attended with dance and song. This was the genesis of the choral ode, in which the human company, having enjoyed their meal, began by praising their gods and went on to recall the traditions of their heroic ancestors. At first, in conformity with the matriarchal structure of society, the parts had been taken by women, who sang the praises of goddesses and heroines; but in later times, with the extension of warfare and the accumulation of personal property in the hands of military chiefs, many of whom were patriarchal newcomers from the north, there arose a new type of choral ode—martial, masculine, personal, secular. The 'glories of women' faded. The 'glories of gods' retained their pride of place but were curtailed and recast to fit their new setting. Interest was concentrated in the 'glories of men'—the men actually present, listening to the minstrel. The male poet had dismissed his chorus of dancers, and it only remained for him to discard his lyre.

XVI

HOMERIC ARCHÆOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

1. *Datable Elements*

THE Attic tragedians presented their heroes on the stage in a more or less contemporary setting, drawing on the ideas and customs of their own time without regard for historical consistency. The epic tradition was quite different. Like heroic poetry in general, it was consciously archaistic. Mycenean civilisation is described in the poems as though it were still flourishing, while everything that had happened since is studiously ignored. There are no Dorians in the Peloponnese, no Ionians in Asia Minor; weapons are of bronze; gold and silver are plentiful. These poets lived in the past. There are of course discrepancies. From incidental allusions, let fall inadvertently, we see that they were well acquainted with the use of iron, and we have detected beneath the surface a good deal of confusion regarding the status of women (pp. 416–30). But the general accuracy of their antiquarian knowledge has been confirmed by archæology.

Homeric archæology is a comparative study. Its object is to interpret the poems in the light of the excavated remains and the remains in the light of the poems. There are elements in the poems—descriptions of material objects and social usages—which have been dated by archæologists to definite periods, early or late, from the fifteenth century to the seventh. They have been discussed many times. Here I shall select only the clearest instances, with the object of elucidating certain principles of Homeric criticism.

In Book XI of the *Iliad* Patroklos looks in at Nestor's tent and sees on the table a cup:

> It was studded with gold nails; it had four handles, with two gold doves on either side and two stems beneath them.[1]

[1] *Il.* 11. 632–5.

The last detail baffled Homeric scholars until there turned up in the fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenæ a chalice with curiously-shaped handles answering closely to this description.[2]



FIG. 78. *Gold cup from the Fourth Shaft Grave*

In Book X Meriones lends Odysseus his helmet:

> It was made of leather, held together on the inside by string and on the outside by boar's teeth studded all over it.[3]

This puzzle was solved by representations of helmets in Mycenean art, supplemented by the discovery in tombs of pieces of boar's tusk cut to shape and perforated at one end for attachment. The pieces were fitted into the leather cap and threaded together on the inside.[4]

These two objects have been dated to the fifteenth century, thus confirming the accepted view that the Homeric tradition goes back into the Mycenean age. But they do not prove that the passages in which they are described are as old as that, because in heroic poetry such antique descriptions are commonly preserved as traditional themes, told and re-told for generations. Only the content of the passages is dated.



FIG. 79. *Boar's-tusk helmet: Mycenean ivory*

In Book XI Agamemnon puts on his cuirass, which was a present from Cyprus:

> It had ten bands of cyanus, twelve of gold, twenty of tin, and three cyanus serpents circled like rainbows up to the neck.[5]

The snake was not used for decorative purposes at Mycenæ, but it was common in Phœnicia and in early Greek art of the oriental style.[6] This cuirass cannot be much older than the seventh century.

In Book XVII one of the Trojan allies, Euphorbos, is described as wearing his hair in 'plaits bound with gold and silver'.[7] Mycenean men did not wear plaits, but they were

[2] Nilsson HM 137–8: fig. 78. [3] *Il.* 10. 261–5. [4] Nilsson HM 138: fig. 79.
[5] *Il.* 11. 19–28. [6] Nilsson HM 125–6. [7] *Il.* 17. 52.

fashionable with both sexes in the sixth century.[8] Euphorbos' plaits are no older than Agamemnon's cuirass.

While the form of words in which an object is described may be later than the object, it cannot be earlier. If the cuirass and the coiffure belong to the early historical period, so do the passages themselves, and, since there must be others equally late which have not yet been detected, we conclude that the poems were still expanding in the seventh century.

For fixing the chronology of the poems as a whole isolated passages like these are not enough. We must look for elements so deeply imbedded or so pervasive that they cannot be explained as mere accretions. There are several of these, but most of them are still controversial. I shall confine myself to two—the mode of burial, and Helen.

2. *The Mode of Burial*

The Mycenean princes buried their dead. In the poems they are cremated. In later Greece the two practices existed side by side. This is one of the most-discussed contradictions of Homeric archæology. Let me begin with some remarks on burial customs in general.

Wherever interment is the rule, it has been, and still is, customary to deposit beside the corpse pots, tools, weapons, utensils of all kinds. This is explained by most authorities as a means of equipping the deceased for a future life, and the same reason is given in many instances by the peoples themselves. It is well known, however, that new motives are constantly invented to justify the continuance of practices that have ceased to serve their original purpose. In the present case the motive alleged involves serious difficulties. Not all the deposits have a utilitarian value. Some of them—figurines, phalli, amulets—are clearly magical. Moreover, the pots are often broken deliberately before they are thrown in.[9] These at least were not intended for use in the hereafter. It is much more likely, as Karsten has argued, that they were broken in order to release

[8] Nilsson HM 127–30.

[9] Karsten 244–5, 246, 251–3, Roscoe B (1923) 147. The practice still survives in Greece: Polites BVFR.

the magic inside them; and in that case the same may be presumed of the other articles as well.[10] As the dead man's personal effects, they retain something of his life, and so will be specially potent in restoring him. On this interpretation the practice falls into line with other burial customs equally widespread—placing the body in the antenatal posture, painting the bones with red ochre, scattering grain or leaves beside the corpse, planting flowers on the grave. The ceremony of interment is only a specialised rite of initiation. Its object is the renewal of life.

So with cremation. Since birth is death and death is birth, regeneration requires mortification. The old Adam must die before the new man can be raised up in him. One of the commonest initiation rites is the ordeal by fire, which is merely regeneration in its purificatory aspect. And that is its significance in the disposal of the dead. Interment and cremation are simply the positive and negative aspects of the same principle which with the disintegration of the principle have become distinct.

It has been suggested that cremation implies a more materialistic outlook than interment.[11] This too is a misconception. The belief that a corpse can be restored to life by contact with broken crockery is a typical piece of crude primitive materialism. In the ideology of cremation the dead man survives merely as a disembodied spirit. The Homeric concept of the soul as a ghost or shadow of the living person was a step on the road to Orphic mysticism, in which the soul was treated as immaterial and immortal.

Approaching the problem from this point of view, we find that the gulf between Mycenean practice and Homeric tradition is neither so wide nor so deep as has been supposed.

Many Mycenean tombs contain traces of fire, and an unrifled tomb at Dendra has revealed what the procedure was. The corpse was interred, but the personal effects were burnt in a shallow trench beside the grave. A second trench contained the charred remains of victims, human and animal, which had been slaughtered at the funeral.[12] At the funeral of Patroklos Achilles slaughters a number of dogs and horses together

[10] Karsten 244–5. [11] Lorimer PU 177. [12] Nilsson HM 155.

with twelve Trojan captives and flings their bodies on to the fire he has lit under the corpse.[13] Here the corpse itself is burnt. This incident is described as something out-of-the-way and horrible. The normal Homeric burial is much simpler. After a sacrifice of animal victims the corpse is burnt, the bones and ashes deposited in a box, and a mound heaped over them with a gravestone on the top.[14] Is this cremation or interment? It is surely both.

Simple interment was current in the eighth and seventh centuries,[15] so the Homeric poets must have been familiar with it. But they do not mention it. This must mean that they were adhering to what they believed to have been the heroic practice. As we have just seen, their tradition was inaccurate. In Mycenean times the body had been interred and the belongings burnt; in the poems the body is first burnt and then interred. The Homeric procedure is simpler, and surely it must be derived from the Mycenean: why else should the ashes be buried in the ground? If this was the rule among the Æolic and Ionic nobility descended from the dynasties of Mycenæ and Pylos, that would explain why the minstrels accepted it as valid for the heroic age; and, if we ask what induced these *émigrés* to depart from the practice of their forefathers, the answer is that in the reduced circumstances of their new homes they could not afford it.

This conclusion would carry little weight if it stood alone, because I am not an archæologist; but it is close to the result reached by Lorimer, who even considers it possible that the Achæans had been cremating their dead in Greece itself from an indefinitely remote past, only modifying the practice under Mycenean influence.[16] If they had simply burnt the body to ashes without inhuming the remains, there would be nothing for the archæologist to recover.

3. *Helen*

Helen, whose face it was that launched the thousand ships, is a myth—a myth of the eternal fragility of woman's beauty:

[13] *Il.* 23. 164–9.

[14] *Il.* 24. 788–801, 6. 418–9, *Od.* 1. 291, 2. 222, *Il.* 21. 320–1, 23. 91, 239, 252–3, *Od.* 24. 65–84.

[15] Lorimer PU 170–1. [16] *Ib.* 176.

Brightness falls from the air,
Queens have died young and fair,
Dust hath closed Helen's eye.

I shall try to show that a methodical enquiry into the genesis of this myth enhances our admiration for the poets who created it.

Her mythical origin is now generally recognised.[17] Begotten by Zeus disguised as a swan, born from the egg laid by the



FIG. 80. *Aphrodite and swan: Attic cup*

Carian 'woman' (p. 429), she is akin both to the Caro-Lelegian Artemis of the Marshes, who was represented in cult as a waterfowl,[18] and to the Phœnician Aphrodite-Astarte, who was hatched from an egg that fell from the moon.[19]

[17] Nilsson MOGM 74–5, 170–5.

[18] Harrison T 114, Imhoof-Blumer CTK 99.

[19] Hyg. *F.* 197. Helen's egg too was said to have fallen from the moon: Ath. 57f, Plu. *M.* 637b.

The story of her elopement was told in the *Kypria*, one of the lost Homeric epics known to us only in epitome. While Paris was at Sparta on a visit to Menelaos, his host was called away to Crete, and three days later Paris landed with Helen at Troy. The story is mentioned only once in the *Iliad*, and then incidentally, where Hecuba selects a robe for Athena:

> She went into her bedchamber, where she stored her embroidered robes, woven by women of Sidon whom Paris had brought back with him on the voyage on which he had fetched Helen.[20]

As Herodotus observed, this passage contradicts the *Kypria*.[21] Why did Paris return from Sparta to Troy by way of the capital of Phœnicia?

The wanderings of Menelaos after the fall of Troy are narrated in the *Odyssey*.[22] After quarrelling with Agamemnon, he embarked without him, being anxious to cross the Ægean before winter. Off Lesbos he came up with Nestor, also hurrying home, and the two sailed together as far as Sounion. There Menelaos was delayed by the death of his helmsman. Resuming his journey, he was making Cape Malea, when a storm carried him off to Crete and Egypt. It was seven years before he got home. He visited Cyprus, Phœnicia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Libya. While in Egypt, he neglected to perform a sacrifice demanded of him by the gods—its nature is not stated—and in consequence was held up by bad weather in the island of Pharos. There he met Proteus, the Old Man of the Sea, who foretold his destiny:

> It is not your fate, Menelaos, to die in Argos. You shall be taken by the immortals to the fields of Elysium, where Rhadamanthys is and life is easiest for man, a country without snow, rain, or storm, cooled perpetually by the west wind sent by Ocean to refresh mankind. This fate has been given to you because you are Helen's husband and son-in-law of Zeus.[23]

After that Menelaos returned to Egypt, performed the sacrifice, and made his way back to Sparta, where we meet him telling the story to Telemachos, with Helen busy over her work-basket in the firelight.

The remarkable thing about this story is that, with the

[20] *Il.* 6. 288–92.

[21] Hdt. 2. 117, cf. A.*A.* 696. The passage in the *Kypria* was subsequently rewritten so as to conform to the *Iliad*: Procl. *Chr.* p. 103, cf. Allen HOT 151.

[22] *Od.* 3. 130–69, 276–302, 4. 351–586. [23] *Od.* 4. 561–9.

single exception of the passage just quoted, it ignores Helen. It was for her that 'the princes orgulous, their high blood chaf'd', had vowed to ransack Troy; yet we are left to assume that she was restored to her husband after ten years of bloodshed and that she was his constant companion during his seven years' seafaring. All we learn of her part in his adventures is what we can infer from two passing allusions. Her workbasket is a present from the wife of Polybos, king of the Egyptian Thebes, and she also possesses a drug, an antidote to grief, which had been given her in Egypt by Polydamna, the wife of Thon.[24]

Helen went to Phœnicia before the war; she returned from Egypt after it. Had she ever been in Troy?

Stesichoros said no. Only her wraith went to Troy. The war was fought for a phantom. In an earlier poem Stesichoros had accepted the Homeric version; then he was struck blind and wrote his famous palinode: 'That story is untrue; thou didst not set foot on shipboard nor go to the towers of Troy.'[25] The recantation has sometimes been accepted at its face value, but it is hard to believe that a Greek poet would have dared to defy the *Iliad* unless he had some alternative authority to rely on. And it appears that Stesichoros had, for according to Tzetzes the idea of a phantom Helen had already been put forward by Hesiod.[26]

The problem is discussed by Herodotus, who with all his shortcomings as a historian was a shrewd literary critic. He refers to it in his account of the Egyptian kings:

> Pheros was succeeded by a native of Memphis, whose Greek name was Proteus. In Memphis there is a fine, well-appointed *témenos* consecrated to this king. It stands to the south of the temple of Hephaistos in a Phœnician settlement, the whole quarter being known as the Tyrian Camp. Within the *témenos* is a shrine of Aphrodite the Stranger, whom I take to be Helen, daughter of Tyndareos, because I know the story of her visit to Proteus, and there is no other shrine of Aphrodite with this title.[27]

[24] *Od.* 4. 125–32, 220–30.

[25] Stes. 11. The Homeridai had a tradition that Helen visited Homer in a dream and told him to compose a poem on 'the expedition to Troy': Iso. *Hel.* 64–5. For other stories of the same sort see Paus. 9. 23. 3, Pl. *Phdo* 60e, Plu. *M.* 543a.

[26] Hes. fr. 266=Lyc. 822 sch. [27] Hdt. 2. 12–13.

He goes on to repeat the story as he had heard it from the priests of the shrine. After the elopement Paris embarked for Troy, but he was carried out of his course and cast up in Egypt. There some of his servants informed the priests of what he had done to Menelaos, and Thonis, warden of the Nile mouth, reported the matter to Proteus. Paris was then arrested, and after taking Helen into his own custody Proteus ordered him to leave the country in three days.

> That is how Helen came to Proteus, according to the priests, and I think Homer must have been acquainted with this version and deliberately suppressed it as less suited to the spirit of epic. It is clear that he knew of it, because in the one passage in which he refers to the wanderings of Paris he tells how after being driven out of his course he travelled with Helen to Sidon in Phœnicia.[28]

Herodotus then quotes the passage about the robe, and after contrasting it with the version in the *Kypria* he relates how Helen was recovered:

> On his arrival in Egypt Menelaos went upstream to Memphis, where, after recounting his adventures, he was hospitably entertained and Helen was restored to him together with the property which Paris had stolen at the same time. Then, although the Egyptians had treated him so handsomely, he did them a bad turn. Being detained for a long time by storms, he took two Egyptian children and sacrificed them. When the crime became known, the angry people raised a hue and cry, and Menelaos took ship and fled to Libya.[29]

The recurrent names—Proteus, Pharos or Pheros, Thon or Thonis—show that the Herodotean version is connected in some way with the Homeric, but on the main issue it contradicts it. Helen never went to Troy, only to Egypt. How old was this story of Helen's stay in Egypt?

The island of Pharos lies just outside the Delta. In the *Odyssey* it is described as being a whole day's journey from the coast.[30] Such a miscalculation would have been impossible after 650 B.C., when the Greeks established a trading station in the Delta at Naukratis, and they must have been familiar with the approaches to the Nile for a good many years before that. Further, as Lorimer and Nilsson have pointed out, the allusion to the Egyptian Thebes implies that it was the royal

[28] Hdt. 2. 116. [29] Hdt. 2. 119. [30] *Od.* 4. 354–7.

capital. The city was completely destroyed by Ashurbanipal in 663 B.C., and it had not been the capital since the fifteenth century (p. 380).[31]

The antiquity of the Herodotean version is confirmed by another point. It supplies what is missing in the Homeric. The casual allusion in the *Odyssey* to the sacrifice is explained by what Herodotus was told at Memphis, which shows that Menelaos resorted to a rite of the same nature as his brother had done in a similar predicament. I refer to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

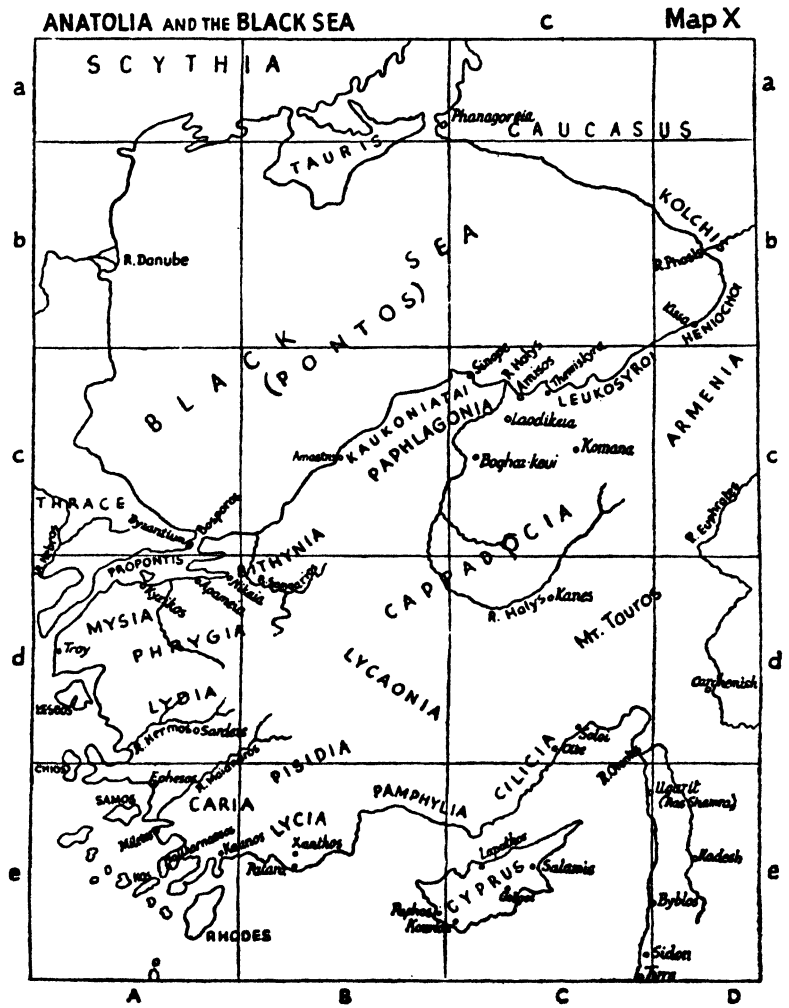
Herodotus' informants were the priests of Aphrodite in the Tyrian Camp. The tradition was therefore of Phœnician origin. And here we must notice yet another version, preserved by Dracontius.[32] Paris met Helen in a temple of Aphrodite in Cyprus, and embarked with her for Troy just as Menelaos arrived from Crete. Dracontius was a native of Carthage, and so he too was a Phœnician.

Herodotus and Dracontius agree in suggesting that Helen belonged properly to the Levant, where she was a hypostasis of Aphrodite-Astarte. This is what lies behind the Homeric allusion to the voyage to Sidon. It must have been the Homeridai who domiciled her at Sparta and sent her to Troy. They tried to forget her Levantine origin, but it slipped out inadvertently, to be eliminated later in the *Kypria*. It was remembered by the Hesiodic school, who tried to restore order by inventing a distinction between the real Helen and the phantom.

It may be objected that there were no Phœnician contacts with the Ægean before the ninth century. This is true. It is proved by Phœnician silver-ware excavated on Greek sites, copied from Egyptian and Assyrian models. These belong to the eighth century. Rather earlier, we have Egyptian scarabs and figurines, which were probably traded in Phœnician vessels. It was doubtless in this period that Aphrodite became known as the Cyprian and the Cytherean.[33] Cyprus was settled by Phœnicians about this time, and Kythera was one of their Ægean trading-stations.[34] Nilsson accordingly holds that

[31] Lorimer HUP 153, Nilsson HM 157–8.
[32] Drac. *Rapt. Hel.*
[33] *Il.* 5. 330, 8. 288, 18. 193, cf. Paus. 3. 23. 1.
[34] Hdt. 1. 105.

the Phœnicians cannot have entered the Ægean before the tenth century at earliest—200 years after the traditional date of the Trojan War.[35]



The stories of the Phœnicians told in the *Odyssey* imply the presence of Phœnician seafarers in Ægean waters, and must

[35] Nilsson HM 134.

therefore be assigned to the tenth century or later.[36] But the voyages of Paris and Menelaos imply the presence of Ægean seafarers in Phœnician waters. They hark back to the time when the Phœnicians were not yet in control of the Levant—when the Peoples of the Sea were pouring down into Syria and Palestine and harrying the Delta. Among these were the Achæans, who, as we learn from Hittite documents, had established themselves in Cyprus as early as 1240 B.C.[37] Pheros belongs to the same period; for he is identified by Egyptologists as a king of the XIXth Dynasty.[38] Can the Phœnician Aphrodite be traced so far back? It seems she can.

In Chapter XI, discussing the origin of Kadmos, we had occasion to mention the excavations recently carried out in northern Syria, which have revealed contacts with Minoan Crete and Mycenean Greece and suggest that some elements of Middle Minoan culture may have been derived from this area (p. 376). If so, there was a two-way movement—from Syria to Crete in the Middle Minoan period and from Mycenæ to Syria after the fall of Knossos (p. 374). The first explains why Kadmos, who brought Demeter from Crete to Greece (p. 124) was regarded as a Phœnician; the second suggests that the myth of Helen originated among the Achæan sea-raiders of the Levant.

As a dove-goddess, Aphrodite-Astarte is descended from the Kupapa of the Hittite hieroglyphs, the goddess of Carchemish;[39] and this Kupapa, with her consort Sandas, emanates from S.W. Anatolia, where we meet her as Kybebe.[40] She must also be related in some way to the Minoan dove-goddess (p. 251), one of the parents of the Greek Aphrodite. Thus, while the historical Aphrodite owed two of her titles to the Phœnician goddess introduced in the ninth and eighth centuries, this goddess herself had been fashioned under the influence of Ægean settlers in Syria. All this goes to show that the story of Helen told by the priests of Aphrodite the Stranger in the Tyrian Camp was an independent tradition which the Phœnicians had once shared with the Achæans.

[36] *Od.* 13. 271–86, 14. 288–91, 15. 415–84, cf. *Il.* 23. 740–7.
[37] Cavaignac 95.
[38] Wainwright 75.
[39] Cavaignac 168.
[40] Hdt. 5. 102, Hsch. Κυβήβη.

If Helen dissolves into a goddess, what becomes of Menelaos? He is more substantial than she is, yet even he is not entirely of this world. He was destined, as we have seen, for Elysium, and this unique privilege was conferred on him 'because he was the son-in-law of Zeus'.[41] Overlooking the Eurotas, about four miles from Sparta, stands the Mycenean site of Therapne. Here there was a sanctuary in which he and Helen were said to lie buried.[42] This does not contradict the legend of his immortality; rather, it explains it, because he was worshipped here with Helen as a god.[43] Was he a priest-king ruling by right of marriage to the local Helen-Aphrodite?



FIG. 81. *Dove-headed Aphrodite: Cyprian terracotta*

This is only a conjecture, but it is supported by an analogy. The Kinyradai, priest-kings of Cyprus, claimed descent in the male line from an Achæan chief, Teukros, who had married a daughter of Kinyras, the priest of Aphrodite.[44] Their Achæan connections were remembered in Homer: it was Kinyras who presented Agamemnon with his cuirass (p. 502). Their palace was at Paphos, Aphrodite's dwelling-place,[45] and here in historical times stood one of her greatest temples. The royal tombs lay in the precincts, and the priesthood was a prerogative of the family.[46] That they were regarded in some sense as consorts of the goddess is suggested by the tradition that Kypros, the eponym of the island, was a child of hers by Kinyras.[47]

This cult had reached Cyprus from northern Syria. At Lebanon there was a shrine of Aphrodite built by Kinyras.[48] At Byblos, which was sacred to Adonis, the beloved of Aphrodite, there was a palace of Kinyras.[49] Kinyras is even

[41] Kadmos and Rhadamanthys were also sent to the Elysian Fields, which are the Phœnician 'Fields of El': Schaeffer 61.

[42] Paus. 3. 19. 9, Hdt. 6. 61. 3. [43] Iso. *Hel.* 63.

[44] Paus 1. 3. 2, Pi. *P.* 2. 15–7. [45] *Od.* 8. 362–3.

[46] Tac. *H.* 2. 3, Paus. 2. 29. 4, Ptol. Meg. 1=*FHG.* 3. 66, *Supp. Ep. Gr.* 6. 820.

[47] St. B. *s.v.* Κύπρος, Philosteph. 11=*FHG.* 3. 30.

[48] Luc. *DSyr.* 9, Str. 755, cf. Hdt. 1. 105. 3.

[49] Str. 755, Luc. *DSyr.* 6; Hooke MR 82–3.

described as a king of Assyria.[50] All this hangs together. In myth, Ishtar and Tammuz, the Babylonian mother-goddess and her male partner, were transmitted through Syria and Cyprus to Greece as Aphrodite and Adonis; in ritual, the priest-king appears in Syria and Cyprus as Kinyras, in Sparta as Menelaos.

If this analogy is sound, it explains the central event in the life-story of our heroine—her elopement. That the rape of Helen is founded on ritual is generally agreed. There are many parallels, but the closest is in the cult we have just examined. Like the same goddess in Syria and Babylon, Aphrodite was served at Paphos by sacred harlots.[51] Herodotus says that the Cyprian form of the institution was similar to the Babylonian, which he describes in detail:

> Every woman is obliged once in her life to seat herself at the temple of Aphrodite and give herself to a stranger. They sit all together in the precinct with crowns of cord on their heads. Women are constantly coming and going, and passage ways are roped off through the crowd for the men to walk in and take their choice. Once she has taken her place, a woman never goes home till a stranger has had intercourse with her after putting money in her lap, and as he does so he says: 'I call on you in the name of Mylitta.' This is the Assyrian for Aphrodite.[52]

This custom underlies a story of the daughters of Kinyras. Aphrodite obliged them to cohabit with strangers, and then they fled to Egypt.[53] So did Helen.

If the old oriental Helen, who never went to Troy, survived in the Hesiodic tradition despite Homeric influence, the Homeric Helen must have been fashioned in Aiolis or Ionia after the coming of the Dorians. The woman whose beauty never ceased to take men's breath away through ten years of blood and tears was a creation of the poets who immortalised her:

> The old men, elders of the people, were sitting at the Scæan Gate. They were past fighting but good talkers, like cicadas murmuring softly in the woodland trees, and, as they saw Helen pass, one said to another: 'Small blame to the Trojans and Achæans for enduring so much for such a woman. She is terribly like the immortal goddesses to look at. Still, let her go, or she will be the death of us and our children.'[54]

[50] Hyg. *F.* 58, 242, 270.

[51] Hdt. 1. 199. 5, Clem. *Pr.* 2. 13, Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 5. 19.

[52] Hdt. 1. 199.

[53] Apld. 3. 14. 3; Frazer GB–AAO 36–41.

[54] *Il.* 3. 146–60.

Thus, while the roots of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* lie far back in the Mycenean age, the poems as a whole seem to have taken shape in Asia Minor during the tenth and ninth centuries, and they were still expanding in the seventh. This archæological result accords with the traditional date of Homer, who in the opinion of Thucydides lived 'long after the Trojan War', while Herodotus places him 'not more than 400 years ago', i.e. about 950 B.C.[55]

4. *The Epic Dialect*

The language of the poems differs from all the known dialects of Greek, spoken and literary. It is on the face of it a mixed dialect—mainly Æolic and Ionic, with a good deal of Arcado-Cyprian and a touch here and there of Attic. These poems are the earliest Greek documents we possess. Apart from some lyric fragments and a few short inscriptions of the seventh century, we have nothing else older than the sixth. The genesis of the epic dialect has to be reconstructed from the remains of a much later period. A simple illustration will indicate the nature of the problem. The Ionic for 'house' was οἶκος. In Æolic and Arcado-Cyprian it was ϝοῖκος. The latter form was the older, corresponding to the Latin *vicus* and the English *-wich*. Our text of Homer gives always οἶκος, without the digamma, but the word is usually so placed in the verse that the digamma is required by the metre, showing that the Homeric form had once been ϝοῖκος. Was this Æolic, Arcado-Cyprian, old Ionic, or simply proto-Greek?

Three hypotheses have been advanced to account for the mixture of Æolic and Ionic. They have been discussed many times and can be dealt with very briefly.

Wilamowitz and Allen maintained that Homeric Greek was founded on the local dialect of the middle region of the Asiatic coast, where Æolic and Ionic overlap.[56] This region includes Smyrna and Chios, both of which claimed to be Homer's birthplace. The dialect survives in inscriptions. It is Ionic with an admixture of Æolic, but its correspondences with Homeric Greek are not close enough to establish a direct

[55] Th. 1. 3. 3, Hdt. 2. 53. 2.

[56] Wilamowitz IW 61, Allen HOT 98–109.

connection. In particular, some of its characteristic Æolicisms are absent from Homeric Greek.[57] The epic medium may have originated here, but this evidence does not prove it.

Meyer contended that Homeric Greek represents the parent of Æolic and Ionic. This view rests on the assumption that these dialects were only differentiated after the colonisation of the Asiatic coast.[58] But Ionic is closer to Attic than to Æolic. It must have separated from Æolic before it separated from Attic, and its separation from Attic cannot be put later than the Ionian migration. Consequently, when the Greeks settled on the Asiatic coast, Æolic and Ionic were already distinct.

These two hypotheses start from the assumption that Homeric Greek originated in a particular form of the spoken language. Now, one of the salient features of the poems is their wealth of alternative forms with a different metrical value, e.g. πίσυρες and τέσσερες, 'four'. Doublets of this type cannot have been a stable feature of any spoken dialect. They point to an artificial combination of different dialects. Starting from this point of view, Fick and Bechtel argued that the poems were composed first in Æolic and then transmitted to Ionia, where the Æolic forms were Ionicised so far as the metre permitted.[59] They succeeded in showing that some of the Æolicisms are very ancient, and that many forms peculiar to epic are really Æolicisms in an Ionic dress; but their attempt to translate the poems back into Æolic was a failure. They were left with a number of Ionicisms protected by the metre, which they could only dismiss as interpolations. The Ionic element proved ineradicable.

If we admit the possibility that the epic dialect was from the beginning an artificial medium,[60] we are under no obligation to confine our search for its origins to the Asiatic coast. In fact, the archæological data reviewed in this chapter positively invite us to the mainland. From this point of view the Arcado-Cyprian element promises to be specially illuminating, but first let us dispose of the Attic.

Atticisms protected by the metre are few in number and

[57] Nilsson HM 168. [58] Meyer FAG 1. 132, GA 2. 75.
[59] Fick HO, IUS. [60] Meister HK.

rare.[61] The accepted view is that they were introduced by Attic minstrels after the institution of epic recitals at Athens in the sixth century.[62] Even this may concede too much. Not one of the rhapsodes mentioned in Attic literature is an Athenian. They may equally well have been introduced by Ionian minstrels, whose travels must have given them an acquaintance with the Attic dialect long before their recitals received official recognition at Athens. If so, one of the principal arguments for a sixth-century stratum in the poems is invalid.

Æolic and Arcado-Cyprian are so closely akin that some authorities treat them as subdivisions of a single dialect, which they call Achæan. In prehistoric times their relationship must have been even closer. For the Mycenean age we have to imagine a form of Greek, divided into northern and southern subdialects, which extended down the whole coast from Thessaly to Laconia, excepting Attica, and overseas to Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. This is Nilsson's view.[63]

The following elements in the epic dialect have been classified as Æolic: the genitive singular in -αο, the genitive plural in -άων, the dative plural in -σσι, the case-ending -φι, the substantives in -τήρ, the infinitives in -μεν and -μεναι, the aorist in -σσα, the perfect participle in -οντες, the pronouns ἄμμες and ὔμμες, the apocoptic forms of the prepositions ἄν, κάτ, πάρ, the patronymic in -ιος, the adjectives in -εννός, the adverbs in -υδις, the prefix ἐρι-, the particle μάν, and the following words: ποτί, κε, θεά, πίσυρες, ταγός, βροτός.[64]

The Arcado-Cyprian elements are: πτόλις, πτόλεμος (Æo. Ion. πόλις, πόλεμος), βόλομαι (Æo. βόλλομαι, Ion. βούλομαι), τό νυ (Æo. Ion. τόδε), and the following words: αὐτάρ, ἰδέ, δέατο, ἠπύω, δῶμα, κέλευθος, ἦμαρ, λεύσσω, ἄναξ, ἀνώγω, ἰητήρ, κέραμος, ἕλος, χραύω, αἶσα, οἷος, εὐχωλή.[65]

The discrepancy between the two lists leaps to the eye. Why has Arcado-Cyprian contributed so much to the vocabulary of epic and so little to the morphology? The truth is that the

[61] Wackernagel SUH. [62] Nilsson HM 162.

[63] *Ib.* 176. [64] *Ib.* 163–7.

[65] Buck GD 132, Bowra HWA. Several of these words are confined in our records to Cyprus, but presumably they all go back to the Achæan dialect of the Peloponnese.

Æolic list is inflated. The case-endings in -αο and -άων, the apocoptic forms of the prepositions, the substantives in -τήρ, and the particles μάν and κε should have been entered in both lists. They are just as much Arcado-Cyprian as Æolic. The classification of these elements as Æolic is a legacy from the time when it was taken for granted that the epic dialect originated in Asia Minor. They are not Æolic but Achæan.

In regard to the relation between Æolic and Arcado-Cyprian Nilsson's argument is straightforward and convincing, and the adjustment we have just made has strengthened it. It is only when he turns to Ionic that it becomes blurred:

> After the Dorians had broken up the Achæans and driven them out of the coastal provinces of the Peloponnese, the epic poetry was preserved by the northern branch of the Achæans, the Æolians. . . . Finally, when emigrating to Asia Minor, these brought their epics with them and transmitted them to the Ionians.[66]

If the roots of epic are to be sought on the mainland, then, as Nilsson himself insists, we must look to the Peloponnese and above all to Argolis, the centre of Mycenean power. But the Ionians came from the Peloponnese. Why did their Muse desert them? Songs are not heavy luggage, even for refugees. Why did they have to recover them from the Æolians?

This difficulty arises solely from his tacit assumption that the Ionic dialect had existed as such on the mainland from an indefinitely remote past. If, as he has shown so lucidly, Æolic and Arcado-Cyprian had changed during the age of migrations, the same must be true of Ionic.

The following epic forms are common to Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian: (1) εἰ (Æo. αἰ); (2) ἄν (Æo. κε); (3) the infinitive in -νσι; (4) τέσσερες 'four' (Att. τέτταρες). These show that Ionic is closer to Arcado-Cyprian than to Æolic. But are they exhaustive?

The most distinctive feature of the Attic-Ionic dialect is the vowel shift from ᾱ to η. In Ionic original ᾱ disappeared altogether; in Attic it survived only after ε, ι and ρ. Epic agrees with Ionic, but with a number of exceptions which have not been explained. How old was this vowel shift? An answer to this question may throw light on the linguistic history of the poems.

[66] Nilsson HM 177.

These epic survivals of ᾱ have usually been regarded as Æolicisms which, though in many cases unprotected by the metre, were for some reason never Ionicised. But for what reason? Why, for instance, does epic always give λαός, when Ion. ληός would have suited the metre just as well? The question becomes all the more puzzling when we find νηός 'temple' invariably in place of ναός. Why was the procedure so inconsistent?

Let us begin by classifying the examples. They fall into three categories. In the first we have ᾱ forms which are protected by the metre: the particle μάν (Ion. μέν), the substantive θεά (Ion. θεός), and the following proper names: Αἰνείας, Αὐγείας, Ἑρμείας, Ναυσικάα (Ion. *Αἰνέης, *Αυγέης, Ἑρμέης, *Ναυσικαίη). Of these the last is specifically Æolic, cf. Ἀθανάα for Ἀθαναία. Secondly, we have the place names Λάρισα, Φᾶρος, Φειά (Ion. Λήρισα, Φῆρος, *Φειή), which may be referred to the general tendency of place names to resist dialect modification.

All these instances may be regarded as special cases. Apart from them, original ᾱ survives only before the back vowel ο (ω). The answer to our question must be sought in the dialect history of this double vowel.

In Arcado-Cyprian and Æolic ᾱο is preserved in the middle of a word. Final -ᾱο becomes -αυ in Arcado-Cyprian and -ᾱ in Æolic; -ᾱω becomes -ᾱ in both. Examples:

Original	*Arcado-Cyprian*	*Æolic*
λαός	λαός	λᾶος
ναύταο	ναύταυ	ναύτα
Ποσειδάων	Ποσοιδάν	Ποσείδαν
ναυτάων	ναυτᾶν	ναύταν

In Ionic the change was more drastic. The epic forms will be considered separately. For the moment we are concerned with Ionic as we know it from other sources. First, ᾱο (ᾱω) became ηο (ηω); then ηο (ηω) became εω; and finally the disyllabic εω was reduced to a diphthong or after a vowel to simple ω. This gives us five stages: (1) *ᾱο (ᾱω); (2) ηο (ηω); (3) εω; (4) ε͡ω; (5) ω. The first stage has disappeared completely. So in many words has the second. In others the second and third coexist. Examples:

I	II	III-IV	V
*λαός	ληός	λεώς	
*ναός	νηός	νεώς	
*ναύταο	ναύτηο	ναυτέω	
*ναυτάων	*ναυτήων	ναυτέων	
*Ποσειδάων	*Ποσειδήων	Ποσειδέων	
*παιάων	*παιήων	*παιέων	παιῶν

The forms marked with an asterisk do not occur. The case-ending -ηο is found only in early inscriptions.[67] The case-ending -ήων is not found at all. Evidently the transition from the first stage to the third must have been very rapid, especially in the case-endings.

The treatment of ᾱω (ᾱω) in epic may be analysed as follows. In the first category, only the ᾱ forms occur. Examples: Ἴλαος, ὀπάων, Ἀλκμάων, Ἀμυθάων, Ἰάονες, Μαχάων, Τυφάων. In the second category the ᾱ and ε forms coexist, but without the intermediate η form. Examples: λαός and Πηνέ-λεως, Ποσειδάων and Ποσειδέων, genitive singular -αο and -έω, genitive plural -άων and -έων. In the genitive singular the εω is always monosyllabic; in the genitive plural it is usually so. In the third category the η and ε forms coexist: νηός and νεώς 'of a ship'. In the fourth category the η form is used exclusively, but this category is very small, being confined to three instances: νηός 'temple', παιήονα, and the proper name Εὔνηος. This is a further indication of the instability of the intermediate stage.

We have already remarked that the classification of these forms in ᾱο (ᾱω) as Æolic is misleading. They do not occur in extant Æolic any more than in Ionic. If they are Æolic, they must be assigned to a prehistoric phase of that dialect, which we may call proto-Æolic. But they may equally well be assigned to a prehistoric phase of Arcado-Cyprian. And there is a third possibility. They may be proto-Ionic. In other words, they belong to the *grec commun* which lies behind the dialect variants.[68]

It seems that the solution of the problem is to be sought

[67] *GDI.* 5423. Reichelt (68) gives the following figures for -αο -εω in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: -αο 247 times, -εω before a vowel (where it is replaceable by -αο) 49, before a consonant (where it is not) 27.

[68] Meillet AHLG 163.

along the following lines. The forms ηο (ηω) were transitory. Before η had superseded ᾱ, it was itself superseded by ε. In other words, original ᾱ, when followed by the back vowel ο (ω), had been exceptionally persistent, with the result that, when it did change, it changed very rapidly. It follows that the substitution of η for ᾱ was not completed till after the Ionian migration.

If this conclusion is correct, it enables us to explain why epic gives νηός for ναός but not ληός for λαός. The former presupposes an early Ionic *νηϝός from original *ναϝός (cf. Lesbian ναῦος). A digamma has been lost. But λαός (etymology unknown) shows no trace of a digamma. In this case, being protected by the following vowel, the ᾱ was more persistent.

Before accepting this solution, let us consider whether there is any other evidence which may help us to date the shift from *ā* to *ē*.

The Greeks were known to the Assyrians, Persians and other eastern peoples as 'Ionians'—the children of Javan, as they are called in the Old Testament. The oriental forms of the name all point to a Greek form *'Ιάϝονες. The first recorded contact between Assyrians and Greeks belongs to the year 698 B.C., when Sennacherib quelled a revolt in Cilicia.[69] There may have been others earlier than that, but in any case it seems that for some time after the migration the inhabitants of Ionia retained the original ᾱ in their national name.

The letter H, which, as we know it, denotes long *ē* in contradistinction to E (short *e*), had originally denoted the *spiritus asper* (initial *h*). The transference was rendered possible by the fact that the *spiritus asper* was lost in East Ionic. Now, in some of the earliest Ionic inscriptions, which date from the seventh century, the letter H is not used simply for *ē*, as it was in later times, but only for this derivative *ē*, representing an original *ā*. Original *ē* is still represented in these inscriptions by the letter E, which serves also for short *e*, e.g. ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΗ Μ' ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΕΚΗΒΟΛΟΙ ΙΟΧΕΑΙΡΗΙ.[70] This distinction must mean that derivative *ē* had not yet become identical with original *ē*. In other words, the shift from *ā* to *ē* was not

[69] Pauly-Wissowa *s.v.* Iones; King SI, Cuny 21.

[70] Buck CGGL 72, Lejeune 205.

yet complete. And that being so, there is no difficulty in supposing that original *ā* had persisted in certain positions a couple of centuries earlier.

On the other hand, the shift must have begun before the Ionian migration. That is clear from its presence in Attic. But in Attic its range is restricted. It does not operate after ε, ι or ρ. We may infer that its extension beyond these limits took place in Ionia after the migration. This too is in keeping with the supposition that Ep. ᾱο (ᾱω) is early Ionic.

Finally, if the shift had been much older than the migration, we might expect to find some vestiges of it on the mainland, where the emigrants came from. The nearest approach to it is in the Bœotian dialect, which gives regularly η for αι, but not η for ᾱ. In the Peloponnese we find several correspondences between Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian, but not this; we find several Arcado-Cyprian survivals in Argive and Laconian Doric; we find forms which, though not specifically Arcado-Cyprian, are recognisably 'Achæan' in the North-West dialect of Elis; but nowhere in the Peloponnese or in any other part of the mainland except Attica do we find the slightest trace of η for original ᾱ. If we recall what Herodotus says about the circumstances of the migration—that the colonists were fugitives from many different parts of Central Greece and the Peloponnese, speaking a variety of dialects, and that their point of departure was Attica—we have a strong case for regarding the beginning of this vowel shift as an incident in the upheaval created by the Dorian invasion.[71]

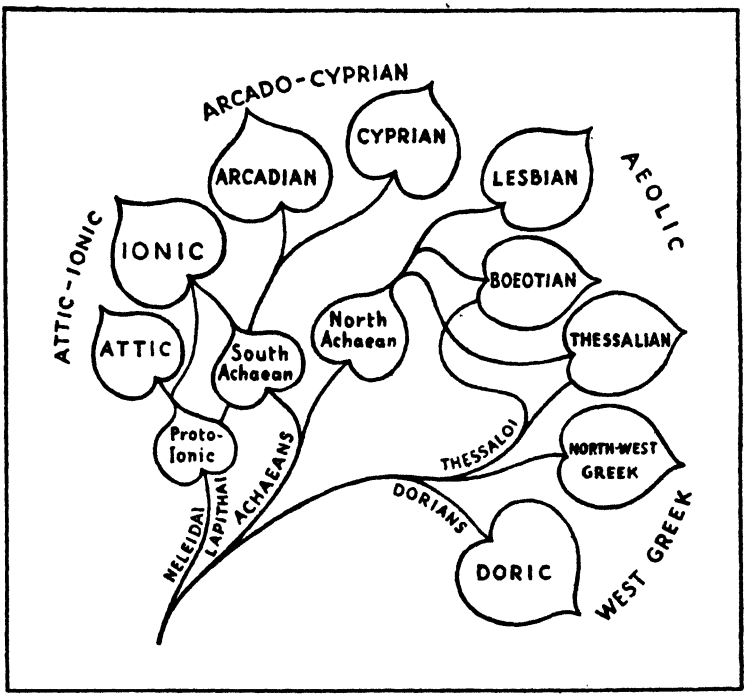
I have dealt with this problem in some detail, because it throws light on a further problem: what was the relationship between the parents of Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian before the migration? One of the elements common to Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian is the particle ἄν (Æo. κε). Here Arcadian differs from Cyprian, which has only κε, like Æolic. Arcadian has regularly ἄν, but it uses κε in the phrase εἴ κ' ἄν, which is a combination of αἴ κε and εἰ ἄν, designed to obviate the hiatus.[72] This indicates that ἄν was intrusive in Arcadian—a borrowing from Attic-Ionic; and in that case we must suppose that an early form of the latter—proto-Ionic—

[71] Cf. Lejeune 17. [72] Buck GD 98.

was spoken alongside of Achæan in the pre-Dorian Peloponnese. I suggest that this is the dialect referred to in the ancient tradition that Ionic had once been spoken in the north and north-east of the Peloponnese;[73] and that it was introduced by the Lapithai, whose presence we have traced in this very region (p. 264). There it was overlaid by Achæan, which was contaminated with it.

Table XVII

THE GREEK DIALECTS

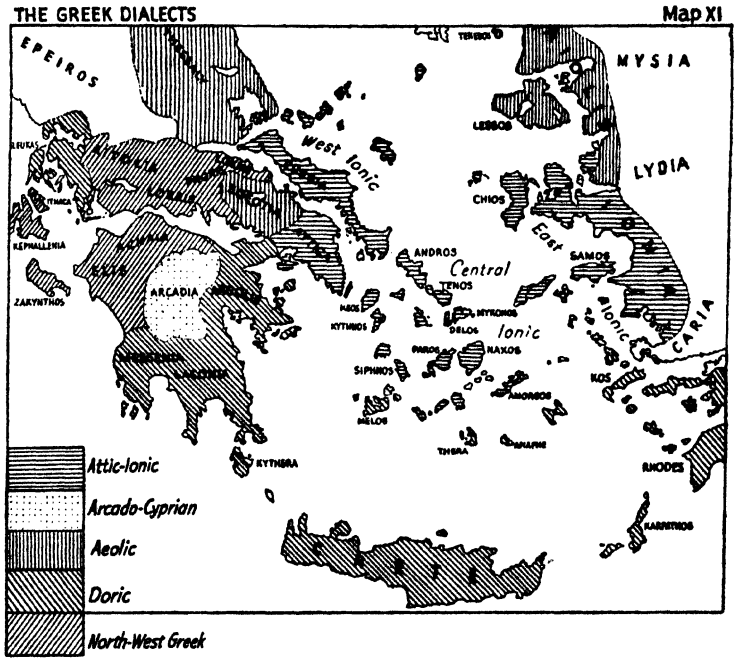


This reconstruction enables us to account for another peculiarity of the epic dialect. For the infinitive of athematic verbs it has three alternative forms with different metrical values: -μεν, -ναι, -μεναι. The first is mainland Æolic (also Doric and North-West Greek); the second is Arcado-Cyprian and Attic-Ionic; the third is confined to Asiatic

[73] Hdt. 1. 145–6, 7. 94 (north coast), 8. 73. 3 (Kynouria), Paus. 2. 26. 1 (Epidauros), Str. 392 (Megara).

Æolic. I infer that -μεν was the original Achæan form, that -νσι was borrowed by the Peloponnesian Achæans from proto-Ionic, and that -μενσι was a conflation of the two. An exact analogy is available in the Rhodian infinitive in -μειν, which is a combination of -μεν with the thematic infinitive in -ειν.[74]

In prehistoric times, then, an Achæan dialect was spoken in Thessaly, Bœotia, the Peloponnese, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. It was divided into two branches, northern and southern, the parents of Æolic and Arcado-Cyprian. The southern branch was affected by the speech of the Lapithai,



already established in Attica and the northern Peloponnese. At the end of the second millennium West Greek dialects, closely related to Æolic, were introduced by the Thessaloi, Aitoloi, and Dorians. Meanwhile Achæan had been carried across the Ægean to Anatolia, where the two branches emerged as Asiatic Æolic and Ionic. The former was free from West

[74] Buck CGGL 305.

Greek but became contaminated with Ionic, especially in the middle region of Smyrna and Chios. Ionic was from the beginning a mixed dialect, formed by the fusion of Achæan, which had already been subject to proto-Ionic influence, with a variety of local vernaculars, including Attic.

For the purpose of fixing the chronology of the poems the linguistic approach is complementary to the archæological. It is the only other test that can be applied with any confidence in the results. Arguments from style, plot, characterisation, and other literary considerations are from the nature of the case unverifiable. They are drawn from our own preconceptions of what an epic should be, and, since in our literature the art of epic, even written epic, has been dead for centuries, they are inherently unreliable. This is not to say that they must be excluded altogether, merely that they must be deferred until, having analysed the concrete data, we have discovered what Homeric poetry was and where it differs from our own.

Linguistics have the same concrete bearing on the form of the poems as archæology on their content. But the evidence they provide is purely relative. There are no documents, contemporary or older, with which the language of the poems can be compared. It can only be compared with itself. We can enquire whether the *Iliad* is older than the *Odyssey*, whether some books are older than others, and how they stand in relation to Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns; but the most that can emerge is a sequence, which must be fixed by other means.

A great deal of work has been done along these lines. The relative frequency of various forms and usages in the two poems and in different parts of each has been studied repeatedly with a view to determining their date. At the beginning of the present century the results were generally held to confirm the separatist position, but since then Stawell and Scott have drawn attention to some serious errors in the calculations of their predecessors and produced new estimates of their own which point in their opinion to unity of authorship.[75] Setting aside the question of authorship, their results tend to suggest that the *Odyssey* is on the whole a little later than the *Iliad* but

[75] Scott UH 83–105, RAIO, RAHB, Shewan LD, Stawell HO 93–104.

much earlier than the Hesiodic poems and the Homeric Hymns. This accords with the result of Wackernagel's study of the Atticisms. There are 18 Atticisms in the *Iliad* (1 in 871 verses) and 26 in the *Odyssey* (1 in 637 verses).[76]

I believe that this conclusion is correct. If I hesitate to accept it without reserve, it is because neither Stawell nor Scott was primarily a specialist in the Greek language, and their results are incomplete. What we need is a comprehensive study of the whole field of Homeric Greek at the level of Wackernagel's *Sprachlichen Untersuchungen zu Homer*, carried out by scholars who approach the problem, like Wackernagel, without prejudice to the question of authorship.

Homeric linguistics are thus, so far as they go, in harmony with Homeric archæology. The nucleus of the epic tradition was a heritage from the Mycenean age. Transplanted to Asia, it was worked up, probably in the neighbourhood of Smyrna and Chios, by poets whose ancestors had come partly from Thessaly and Bœotia, partly from the Peloponnese. Their spoken language, thrown into confusion by the migrations, was exceptionally rich in parallel forms, and they seized on this natural advantage to elaborate an eclectic medium transcending dialect boundaries and distinguished by its metrical fluency. It was stabilised eventually on the basis of East Ionic, which in Smyrna and Chios prevailed over Æolic. The surviving non-Ionic forms were not felt as such, being integral features of the medium that had grown out of them, and were still freely used in expanding the poems. But, where metrical considerations did not intervene, the language assumed an Ionic colouring, and, as the minstrels travelled further afield, they admitted new forms from West Ionic and Attic, in accordance with the catholic principle inherent in their tradition. And so in this unique set of linguistic conditions they brought to perfection a superb vehicle for narrative poetry, embodying a felicitous union between nature and art.

[76] Wackernagel SUH. Their distribution is as follows (instances marked by him as doubtful are counted as ½): *Il.* II 4, III 1½, IV ½, V ½, VII 1, X½, XI 3, XII ½, XIII ½, XIV ½, XV 1½, XIX 1, XXI ½, XXIII 2½, *Od.* I 1, III 2, IV 1½, VI ½, VII 1½, VIII 4, XI 1, XIV 1, XV 2½, XVI 1, XVIII 1, XVIII 2, XIX 1½, XX 2½, XXI 1, XXIV 2.

5. *The Epic Style*

Heroic poetry is devoted to remembering the deeds of famous men. It is individualistic, aristocratic, patriarchal, martial. Its distinctive qualities are all characteristic of a definite historical stage—the emergence of the class-struggle. The particular conditions in which the class-struggle develops vary in each case, and the most favourable to heroic poetry are those in which the transition is rapid and abrupt—when backward peoples, after nurturing social inequalities within the tribal system through contact with a superior culture, are driven by these internal stresses to plunder and conquer their civilised neighbours, appropriating their riches and their art.

Such in brief was the history of the Germanic tribes that pressed against the Roman frontiers. When we first meet them, in Cæsar's *Commentaries*, they are still tribal; in the pages of Tacitus they have perceptibly advanced; and a few generations later they are carving kingdoms out of the imperial provinces. We know from Tacitus that they cultivated ancient songs, in which the memory of great leaders like Arminius was kept alive.[77]

In his account of early Ægean piracy Thucydides remarks with his usual insight that the motive behind the raids was the thirst of the leaders for personal gain combined with the need to provide for their poorer followers.[78] These brigand chiefs were the founders of the Mycenean monarchies, and among the by-products of their career was the art of epic. The rapidity of their rise to power explains why Greek epic differs so sharply from the choral dances out of which it had evolved. In art, as in life, there was a violent break with the past. But for the same reason Greek epic preserves, in common with *Beowulf* and the *Eddas*, many primitive characteristics that have disappeared in the so-called 'literary' epics of mature class society. The contrast is all the more striking because Homer has dominated the European tradition. Virgil modelled himself on Homer, Dante on Virgil, Milton on both; but there are certain features of the Homeric style which they never

[77] Tac. *G.* 2, *Ann.* 2. 88. So among the Gauls: Amm. Marc. 15. 9. 8.
[78] Th. 1. 5. 1.

attempted to reproduce. This is because in one essential respect it was alien to them and inimitable. It was preliterate.

The problem of writing was the starting-point of the Homeric controversy. In the eighteenth century it was argued by Vico and others that, at the time when the poems were believed to have been composed, the art of writing was unknown. This idea was taken up by Wolf in 1795, when Europe was in the ferment of the French Revolution.[79] While yielding to none in admiration of the poems, Wolf argued that they were compilations of shorter lays put together at Athens in the sixth century. His views were developed by Lachmann, who anatomised the *Iliad*, and a little later Kirchhoff applied the same method to the *Odyssey*.[80] As the nineteenth century wore on, the Homeric Question broke all bounds and became a happy hunting ground for graduates in quest of a doctorate. The *ne plus ultra* was reached when Wilamowitz discovered that the *Iliad* was 'a miserable patchwork' and Fick condemned the *Odyssey* as 'a crime against the human intelligence'.[81] The opposition was cowed into silence. In course of time, however, it became apparent that, so far from reaching any unanimity among themselves, the separatists had only succeeded, between them, in condemning the whole of both poems as an interpolation. In the present century, taking courage from this uncomfortable result, the unitarians have counter-attacked and proclaimed complete unity of authorship as boldly as the separatists have denied it:

> It is possible to believe that Greece had one man who could project such mighty, such enormous works of art, but it is unthinkable that she had at any period two men, or a group of men, with any such capacity.[82]

Students of bourgeois thought will recognise the fallacy inherent in this arid controversy. One school of bourgeois historians has sought to explain all human progress in terms of the conscious activities of individuals; another has reduced it to the operation of inexorable economic forces.[83] So the

[79] For the history of the Homeric controversy see Jebb 103–55, Nilsson HM 1–51.

[80] Lachmann BHI, Kirchhoff HO.

[81] Wilamowitz IH 322, Fick EO 168.

[82] Scott UH 268–9.. [83] Plekhanov RIH.

unitarians see in Homer simply a supreme example of the miracle of genius, while for the separatists he is the eponym of an arbitrary collection of *Volkslieder*, which had sprung up anonymously and artlessly on the lips of the people. It is the old bourgeois dilemma, the stale antithesis between idealism and mechanical materialism.

In the last fifty years, thanks to Schliemann and Evans, it has become known that the art of writing was practised in the Ægean as far back as 2500 B.C. This was the Minoan script. The Greek alphabet was introduced by the Phœnicians, perhaps as early as the eighth century. Meanwhile it has been placed on record that in the year 1887, between January 2 and February 15, a Croatian minstrel recited from memory at Agram a series of lays amounting to twice the combined length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[84] Thus, whether early or late, Homer may have been literate, and, even if he was not, he might still have composed the poems that go under his name. Before reaching a decision on this point we must examine his work in the light of other traditions of heroic verse which are known to have been transmitted entirely by word of mouth.

The Kirghiz are to-day free and equal citizens of the Kirghiz Republic, which lies in the Tien Shan Mountains north of the Hindu Kush. Before the Revolution of 1917 they were backward, disease-ridden nomads, doomed apparently to extinction, but famous for their poetry. They are still famous for their poetry, though in all other respects they have been transformed. The following account is from nineteenth-century travellers who knew them in their primitive state.[85]

They were all poets. Almost everyone was able to improvise heroic verse, though only professionals performed in public. These travelled the country, reciting at festivals and accompanying themselves on a two-stringed instrument called the *köböz*. Every local khan had his own minstrel, whose task was to celebrate his achievements.

One of these minstrels attached himself to a Russian expeditionary force sent into Kirghizia in 1860:

[84] Murko 284.

[85] For the quotations that follow I am indebted to Chadwick GL 3. 174-91.

Every evening he attracted crowds of gaping admirers, who listened avidly to his stories and songs. His imagination was remarkably fertile in creating feats for his hero—the son of some khan—and took daring flights into the realm of marvel. The greater part of these rapturous recitals he improvised, the subject alone being usually taken from tradition.[86]

Their technique is described by Radlov:

One sees from a Kirghiz reciter that he loves to speak, and tries to impress his hearers by elaborate strophes and well-turned phrases. It is obvious too on all sides that the listeners take pleasure in them and can judge if an expression is well rounded off. Deep silence greets the reciter who knows how to arrest his audience. They sit with head and shoulders bent and shining eyes. They drink in his words. Every adroit expression, every witty word-play calls forth lively applause. . . .

Every minstrel with any skill at all always improvises his songs on the spur of the moment, so that he is not capable of reciting a song twice over in exactly the same form. But it must not be supposed that this means that he composes a new poem each time. The procedure of the improvising minstrel is exactly like that of the pianist. As the pianist puts together in harmonious form various runs that are familiar to him, with transitions and motives according to the inspiration of the moment, and thus makes up the new out of the old, so also does the epic minstrel. Thanks to long practice, he has a whole series of 'elements of production', if I may so express it, which he puts together in suitable form according to the course of the narrative. These consist of pictures of certain events and situations, such as the birth of a hero, his growing up, the glories of weapons, preparations for fighting, the storm of battle, the conversations of a hero before battle, the portrayal of people and horses, the characterisation of the well-known heroes, the praise of the beauty of a bride. . . . His art consists in piecing together these static components as circumstances require and connecting them with lines invented for the occasion. All these formative elements he can use in very different ways. He knows how to sketch a picture in a few strokes, or paint it more thoroughly, or elaborate all the details with epic fulness. The more of these elements he has at his disposal, the greater the diversity of his performance, and the greater his power to sing on and on without tiring his listeners with a sense of monotony. A skilled minstrel can recite any theme he wants, any story that is desired, extempore, provided only that the course of events is clear to him. When I asked one of their most accomplished minstrels if he could sing this or that song, he answered: 'I can sing any song whatever, for God has implanted this gift of song in my heart. He gives the words on my tongue without my having to seek them. I have learnt none of my songs. All springs from my inner self.' And the man was right. The improvising minstrel sings without reflection, simply from

[86] J and R. Michell 290.

his inner being, as soon as the incentive comes from without. . . . He can sing for a day, a week, or a month, just as he can talk, and narrate all the time.[87]

Lastly, just as the gift of poetry was common to the whole people, so the characteristics of poetical diction were present at a lower level in their ordinary speech:

The words of every Kirghiz roll tripping off the tongue. Not only has he sufficient command of language to improvise long poems, but even his ordinary conversation shows traces of rhythm and artificial arrangement. His language is figurative, his phrases sharp and clear-cut.[88]

Radlov has revealed the secret of the minstrel's art. In verse words are arranged in artificial patterns, and, if the minstrel is as fluent in this medium as he is in common speech, it is because he has at his disposal a repertory of traditional formulations, covering all the themes incidental to his subject, all the prescribed rituals and procedures of primitive life. All this he has acquired along with the rest of his craft. The epic style is facile precisely because it is formal. Its conventional character is derived from its origin in improvisation.[89]

These features are universal. Just as the social setting of these Kirghiz minstrels reappears in the palace of Odysseus, so their use of language is echoed in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Or again, if we compare, as Chadwick has done, Greek epic with Germanic, we find the same use of static epithets, figurative tropes, and repeated paragraphs for describing such actions as going to bed, getting up, preparing meals, receiving strangers, harnessing horses. As he has remarked, 'both sets of poems were designed for preservation by oral tradition'.[90]

The presence of such features in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is proof that the poems had grown out of conditions such as Radlov has described, but of course this does not prevent us from believing that, as we have them, they belong to a far

[87] Radlov PV 5. iii, xvi. As Radlov points out, the minstrel adapts his performance to the nature of the occasion. Thus 'if rich and distinguished Kirghiz are present, he knows how to introduce panegyrics very skilfully on their families. . . . If his listeners are only poor people, he is not ashamed to introduce venomous remarks concerning the pretensions of the rich, and in greater abundance according as he is gaining the assent of his listeners' (PV 5. xviii–xix).

[88] Radlov AS 1. 507. [89] Cf. Chadwick GL 3. 669. [90] Chadwick HA 320.

higher order. They do undoubtedly belong to a higher order, but, if we are to understand how they became what they are, we must tread cautiously, making sure of every step. Is there anything in Homer's handling of these 'elements of production' to suggest that he has advanced beyond this preliterate stage of a still fluid oral tradition?

As Bowra has remarked, they have a functional value for the listeners.[91] In fact, they are as necessary for the audience as they are for the poet. Just as they enable him to compose with fluency, so they relieve the strain of listening by interposing words, phrases, paragraphs, which, being familiar, permit momentary relaxations of attention. They would consequently have tended to survive for as long as the poems continued to be publicly recited. This is true, but, since they had the same function in primitive conditions, it does not help to decide the point at issue.

A static epithet adds very little to the meaning. That is its virtue. It follows that, taken literally, it will be less apposite in some contexts than in others. This did not trouble the primitive minstrel, but sophisticated poets are more fastidious. It will therefore be a sign of advance beyond primitive technique if it can be shown that Homer uses these static epithets dynamically—with conscious regard for the context.

In the *Odyssey* the story of Clytemnestra's adultery is introduced with an allusion to 'faultless Aigisthos' (1.29). The adjective is used elsewhere in a fully active sense. Here it would be grotesque if it were anything more than static.

In *Iliad* XVI (298), as he scatters the clouds from the hilltops, Zeus is designated 'lightning-gatherer'. The use of this epithet in preference to the commoner 'cloud-gatherer' has been hailed by Bowra as an instance of discrimination.[92] It does not take us very far. To call Zeus 'cloud-gatherer' when he is scattering the clouds would surely have been too much even for a primitive minstrel. Moreover, the other one, though not so common, was also traditional;[93] and, while it avoids a flat contradiction, it is not really any more appropriate.

The other cases adduced by Bowra need not be examined in detail. There is nothing in them. Thus, when Diomedes 'good at

[91] Bowra TDI 81. [92] *Ib.* 83. [93] Cf. *Il.* 1. 580, Hes. *Th.* 390.

the battle-cry' stands shuddering at the onset of the war-god, we are to understand that 'the epithet, so far from being superfluous or inappropriate, gives exactly the right idea of a brave man being for once afraid'.[94] It seems to me that Diomedes here is on a par with Menelaos, who is 'good at the battle-cry' when he is getting out of bed.[95] What Bowra fails to notice is that, had these epithets been used, even occasionally, as he supposes, they could not have preserved their function as rests. The ear would have been constantly on the alert for some *jeu d'esprit*. The Homeric treatment of this feature is in strict conformity with primitive usage.

After Homer there was a change. In the *Catalogue of Women*, in a list of Helen's suitors, we meet the line (29):

ἐκ δ' Ἰθάκης ἐμνᾶτο Ὀδυσσῆος ἱερὴ ἶς.

In Homer ἱερὴ ἶς is a static epithet of Telemachos, never of Odysseus. But here Hesiod is thinking of Odysseus as a young man, and accordingly he feels that the Homeric πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, which would anticipate his future, will not do. So he describes the father as Homer had the son. This is really original, but it belongs to the decadence of the epic tradition.

We notice that in adapting the formula ἱερὴ ἶς to Odysseus Hesiod has admitted a false quantity. He treats the final syllable of Ὀδυσσῆος as long. This brings us to our second test. Besides defying the sense, these formulas often conflict with the metre.

The poems are full of metrical anomalies. Many can be explained by the loss of the digamma, which went out of the spoken language while they were taking shape. But the Homeric treatment of the digamma is inconsistent. Even in the same word it is sometimes functional, sometimes not: *Il.* 2.373 Πριάμοιο ϝάνακτος, 24.449 ποίησαν ἄνακτι. The explanation is that, after becoming obsolete, it was treated in some cases as justifying the resultant false quantity or hiatus, while in others, quick as always to utilise alternative metrical values, the minstrels followed the spoken usage and ignored it.

There are, however, a great many anomalies that cannot be

[94] Bowra TDI 84. [95] *Od.* 4. 307.

referred directly to this source. These are due to analogy. Once established in the special conditions arising from the loss of the digamma, the principle of false quantity or hiatus was extended. This point has been elucidated by Milman Parry, who has shown from hundreds of examples how it enabled the minstrels to enhance the adaptability of their 'elements of production'.[96] Take the following verses:

Od. 2.2: ὧρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆφιν Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός.

Od. 3.305: ὧρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆφι Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ.

Od. 4.307: ὧρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆφι βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

Od. 15.59: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός.

Il. 3.21: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν ἀρηίφιλος Μενέλαος.

Il. 5.95: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός.

Il. 21.49: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ἀχιλλῆα πτολίπορθον.

Il. 21.415: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη.

Od. 19.59: ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα περίφρων Πηνελόπεια.

Od. 19.102: ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

These verses, all composed entirely of formulas, are regular. But we also find:

Od. 16.48: ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός.

Here we have an irrational hiatus. Being familiar from constant usage in their respective positions in the verse, the two formulas are juxtaposed in defiance of the metre. Irregularities of this type abound, being both natural and necessary if the poets were to have a free hand with their 'elements of production'.

'For Homer', Parry wrote, 'as for all minstrels, to versify was to remember—to remember words, expressions, phrases from the recitals of minstrels who had bequeathed to him the traditional style of heroic verse'.[97] How true this is may be judged by examining continuous passages. Of the first 50 lines of the *Iliad* no less than 36 are constructed wholly or partly out of phrases which can be recognised as 'elements of production.'

Parry denied to Homer all originality of style. This has shocked the literary critics, but in the sense in which he intended it it is quite correct. Homeric diction is traditional,

[96] Parry FMH, SET. [97] Parry FMH 6.

not individual. It conforms to the conditions of oral recitation. But style is an elusive thing. Old materials may be put together in new ways. Old conventions may be qualitatively refined without any overt departure from accepted methods. We have seen that the epic dialect, produced by a specific set of objective linguistic conditions, was organised and expanded by the poets with a conscious realisation of its intrinsic potentialities. The same is true of the epic style.

One of the features that distinguishes the *Iliad* from other early epics is the copious use of similes. The simile is of course used in Germanic epic and in the same way, but on a much smaller scale. In the *Iliad* it is highly organised and worked into the structure of the poem.[98]

The majority of Homeric similes are taken from country life. They present a consistent picture of a simple, sedentary society dependent on pastoral husbandry. It has been suggested that they are relatively late, referring to the poets' own time rather than the heroic past.[99] Their general characteristics are well known. They tend to repeat themselves, often word for word; they are often elaborated beyond the point of contact with the reality; and some of them are frankly irrelevant. In this they resemble the static epithet. Just as the epithet relaxes the attention, so the simile provides a diversion. It is, at least in origin, an 'element of production'.

In Book II the Achæans are preparing for battle:

> As a fire rages through the woods on a hilltop, visible from afar, so the gleam of bronze flashed to heaven. As when many breeds of fowl, geese or cranes or long-necked swans, fly to and fro over the water-meadows of Kaÿstros and settle screaming in an uproar, so the Achæans poured from their tents and ships into the plain of Skamandros, and the ground clattered under the feet of men and horses. They stood in thousands in the river pastures like the leaves or flowers of spring.[100]

So far all is straightforward, but then:

> Like flies in spring that hover thick in the farmyard when the milk spurts into the pails, so many were the Achæans as they took their stand in the plain to meet the Trojans.[101]

This adds nothing, rather detracts. The flies are still hovering when the troops take up their positions. Moreover, they hover

[98] Sheppard SI. [99] Fränkel HG. [100] *Il.* 2. 459–68. [101] *Il.* 2. 469–73.

again in Book XVI, where the same simile is repeated.[102] Intent on enhancing the impressiveness of the occasion, the poet has drawn on his repertory a little too freely for our taste.

The same thing seems to have happened in the famous passage where Hector is running from Achilles:

> It was a brave man that ran, chased by a braver. And not for the prize in a footrace—a beast for sacrifice or an oxhide shield; they were running for Hector's life. As champion horses round the post at full gallop, with a prize from a dead man's treasures, a tripod or a woman, awaiting the winner at the goal, so these two sped round Priam's city.[103]



FIG. 82. *Footrace: Attic vase*

Again the simile is traditional; we have heard it already in the same book.[104] And there is little point in comparing them to racehorses after the closer parallel of the footrace.

For fear of misunderstanding let me explain that I am not dismissing these less exact similes as interpolations. If, as I believe, they are 'elements of production' drawn from a common store, they belong to a time when the poems were still fluid—when they had never been recited twice over in precisely the same form. They belong to a phase in the evolution of poetry which by its very nature excludes the possibility of interpolation—or, what comes to the same thing, to a phase in

[102] *Il.* 16. 641–3. [103] *Il.* 22. 158–66. [104] *Il.* 22. 22–3.

which all poetry was nothing but interpolation. And in those conditions they were justified. If these minstrels had not learnt the lesson that later Greek poets had to learn—'to sow with the hand and not with the sack'[105]—the reason is that they were working in a different *milieu*. The economy of detail recommended in this maxim would have overtaxed the listener's attention.

So far, then, the Homeric simile seems to mark no advance on primitive technique. But it did not stop there. Besides these artless similes, used lavishly for broad effects, we find others so vivid in their accuracy that they have been the envy of poets ever since. Every reader will have his own favourites. Mine comes from the passage already cited, when Hector can run no further:

> As when a hound makes after a kid in the mountains after starting it from its lair and chasing it through glen and valley, until it crouches under a thicket in the hope of escape, but sticking to the trail the hound noses it out, so Hector tried in vain to elude Achilles.

This, though quite effective, is traditional. We have followed such chases many times. But the poet has not finished yet:

> As in a dream the pursuer cannot overtake nor the fugitive escape, so Achilles could not catch Hector nor Hector get away.[106]

This is perfect. It does not divert, but illuminates the object. And there is nothing else like it in the *Iliad*. It has the air of conscious art.

We get the same impression even more strongly if we take a series of related images. One well-defined category is designed to illustrate the descent of deities from Ida or Olympus:

> Thus she spoke, and Athena was stirred to act. Down she darted from the peaks of Olympus like a star sent by the Son of Kronos as a sign to sailors or fighting-men, a bright shooting star that trails a shower of sparks. So Pallas Athena darted down to earth.[107]

> Thus she spoke, and wind-footed Iris obeyed. She descended the peaks of Ida down to Troy, as when a chill storm of snow or hail sweeps from the clouds under a northerly blast. So swiftly did Iris fly.[108]

The formula of introduction and conclusion is almost the same in each case, and the similes themselves might be interchanged without damage to the context. Tradition demanded a simile at these points. A primitive poet would have been content to

[105] Plu. *Glor. Ath.* 4.
[106] *Il.* 22. 189–201.
[107] *Il.* 4. 73–8.
[108] *Il.* 15. 168–72.

repeat the same one, just as he repeats the static epithet. Homer preserves the form but varies the content. He uses



FIG. 83. *Iris: Attic vase*

the convention as a pretext for inserting a vivid diversionary vignette. And sometimes he is more venturesome:

> Thus he spoke, and white-armed Hera obeyed. From the hills of Ida she darted to Olympus, and, as a man who has travelled far turns over many thoughts in his mind, musing rapidly, 'If only I were there or there!' so rapidly did Hera fly.[109]

This is a witty elaboration of the formula 'as swift as a wing or a thought'.[110] But beyond the idea of speed it has nothing to do with Hera, who is not at present in a reflective mood—

[109] *Il.* 15. 78–83. [110] *Od.* 7. 36.

she is in a very bad temper. It is as though, tired of formalities, the poet has decided boldly for an imaginative novelty.

These instances are still perfunctory in the sense that they are merely designed to illustrate the habitual movement of the immortals. If in effect they are more than that, they owe it to the poet's originality. And when the occasion calls for something out of the common, he rises to it. The story of the *Iliad* turns on the disastrous quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, which began with the plague sent by Apollo:

> Thus the priest spoke in prayer, and Phœbus Apollo heard him. In fury he descended from the peaks of Olympus, his bow and quiver on his shoulders, his arrows whistling angrily as he moved. He came like the night.[111]

The formal introduction has disappeared, and the simile has been reduced to an afterthought. That makes it all the more impressive. This is mature art—a fine example of the free handling of an inherited convention.

Nearly all the similes in the *Iliad* occur in the battle scenes, where they lend colour and variety to the grim catalogues of slaughter. This was certainly deliberate. Not only are the interludes, such as the deception of Zeus and the embassy to Achilles, almost free of them, but in the *Odyssey*, which has a more varied and homely plot, there are hardly any similes at all. Here then is a real instance of artistic discrimination, testifying to a sustained sense of unity. The Homeridai did more than transmit. In transmitting they transformed. They were all hereditary craftsmen, but the best of them were creative artists. Yet even these exercised their originality in refining and harmonising their technique rather than in radical innovations. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are made of the same stuff as primitive epics, and made in the same way, but in them the qualities inherent in improvised verse have been nursed up to the point at which, without losing any of their spontaneity, they blossom into art. The easy effortless mastery that makes the Homeric style so brilliant was the result of many centuries of practice, cultivation, and refinement.

All æsthetic judgments turn ultimately on personal experience, so let me explain how some of my own misunderstandings of Homer came to be cleared up.

[111] *Il.* 1. 43–7.

I read the *Odyssey* first, and like every schoolboy I was thrilled when I came to the untranslatable lines:

σὺ δ'ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης
κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων.[112]

This was magnificent, inspired. In due course I came across the same line in the *Iliad*. This was most perplexing. If it was really inspired, how did it bear repetition? It was no comfort to be told that one passage was an imitation of the other, because then the poems were indeed a patchwork in which it was impossible to distinguish the counterfeit from the real thing. After encountering other repetitions of the same kind, I put them all down as 'primitive', but without understanding what that meant.

Then I went to Ireland. The conversation of those ragged peasants, as soon as I learnt to follow it, electrified me. It was as though Homer had come alive. Its vitality was inexhaustible, yet it was rhythmical, alliterative, formal, artificial, always on the point of bursting into poetry. There is no need to describe it further, because it had all the qualities noted by Radlov in the conversation of the Kirghiz. One day it was announced that a woman in the village had given birth to a child. As my informant expressed it, *Tá sé tarraigthe aniar aice*, 'She has brought her load from the west'. I recognised the allusion, because often, when turf was scarce, I had seen the women come down from the hills bent double under packs of heather. What a fine image, I thought, what eloquence! Before the day was out, I had heard the same expression from three or four different people. It was common property. After many similar experiences I realised that these gems falling from the lips of the people, so far from being novelties, were centuries old—they were what the language was made of; and as I became fluent in it they began to trip off my own tongue. Returning to Homer, I read him in a new light. He was a people's poet—aristocratic, no doubt, but living in an age in which class inequalities had not yet created a cultural cleavage between hut and castle. His language was artificial, yet, strange to say, this artificiality was natural. It was the language of the people raised to a higher power. No wonder they were enraptured.

[112] *Od.* 24. 39–40, *Il.* 16. 775–6.

XVII

THE HOMERIDAI

1. *Aiolis and Ionia*

THE site of Troy, commanding the highways between two continents and two landlocked seas, had attracted settlers from very early times.[1] Troy I was an open village with a neolithic culture indigenous to Anatolia. Troy II was fortified, with a central palace of the same type as those of Dimini and Sesklo (p. 185). It was a thriving market town, importing hammer-axes from central Europe, razor-blades from the Caucasus, and pottery from the Cyclades. About 2000 B.C. it was razed to the ground. The date coincides with the rise of the first Hittite kingdom in Cappadocia, and perhaps with the first appearance of Pelasgoi in the Ægean basin (pp. 193, 261). Two small villages (Troy III–IV) lingered on amidst the ruins. Then the city was rebuilt and enlarged (Troy V–VI). Troy VII was the Homeric city. Minoan influence was now dominant. The Troy which the Achæans sacked belonged to the same culture as their own Mycenæ.

After that Troy disappeared. Historical factors combined to nullify its natural advantages. The recrudescence of piracy had put a stop to the Hellespontine sea-traffic; the Hittite Empire had collapsed; and a little later the trade route across the land-bridge was cut by the Phrygian invasion of Anatolia. *Fuit Ilium.*

The earliest Greek settlers on this side of the Ægean did not go there in pursuit of trade. They wanted a place to live in. The most desirable part of the coast was the stretch between the Hermos and the Maiandros. Here harbours were plentiful and commodious, with luscious pasturage in the lower valleys, while higher up caravan routes penetrated into the Anatolian highlands, conveying merchandise to and from Cappadocia, Syria, and the infinite empires of the east. Here Minoan and

[1] Childe DEC 35.

Hittite influences had converged to produce among the Carians and Leleges a culture less brilliant than the Mycenean but deeper and more tenacious.[2] For a long time it resisted their encroachments. After the collapse of Mycenæ it was approached by wave upon wave of emigrants, but the Æolians settled mostly north of the Hermos and the Dorians south of the Maiandros. It was only when the tide was nearly spent that the fertile middle region was transformed into Ionia.

Eratosthenes put the beginning of the Æolian migration at 1124 B.C., sixty years after the fall of Troy and eighty before the Ionian migration, from which it is said to have differed in being more desultory and protracted.[3] The original Aiolis, according to Herodotus, comprised twelve towns: Killa in the Troad; Pitane near the mouth of the Kaïkos; Gryneia, Myrine, Aigai, and Kyme, all on or near the coast to the south of Pitane; Temnos in the hills overlooking the Hermos; in the lower Hermos valley Larisa, Neonteichos, and Smyrna, all founded from Kyme; still further south Notion on the coast near Kolophon; and Aigiroessa, which has not been located.[4] Some of these had been seized from the older inhabitants—Pelasgoi, Carians, and Leleges in the coastal districts, and further inland two other peoples of the Caro-Lydian stock, the Mysoi and Maiones. Herodotus seems to imply that these twelve formed a sort of Æolic League, but there were others nearly as old and recognised as Æolic—Tenedos, Lesbos, and Magnesia-under-Sipylos.

In two cases we have some information about the manner in which the settlements were made. This reaches us through Strabo from Hellanikos, a Lesbian antiquary of the fifth century B.C. When the Dorians were overrunning the Peloponnese, an expedition set out from Sparta under the leadership of Orestes. He died in Arcadia, and was succeeded by his son, Penthilos, who led the exiles as far as Mount Phrikion in Lokris, where some of them remained. Penthilos continued his journey overland to Thrace, where apparently he died. The

[2] On the Hittite remains in this area see above p. 179. Miletos, Kolophon, Erythrai, and Chios all claimed to have been founded originally from Crete: Paus. 7. 2–4.

[3] Str. 582. [4] Hdt. 1. 149.

next stage was conducted by his son, Echelas, who, crossing the Hellespont or Bosporos, pushed on as far as Daskylion; and finally his youngest son, Gras, turned south and transported his followers to Lesbos.[5] Meanwhile the party which had stayed behind in Lokris sailed from Aulis under the command of Kleuas and Malaos, also descended from Agamemnon, and founded Kyme.[6]

The details of this tradition are open to question, but two of its implications may be taken as authentic and have a bearing on the Homeric problem.

The first expedition, which seems to have taken a very long time and to have had no clear idea of where it was going, has the



FIG. 84. *Sub-Mycenean soldiers: vase from Tiryns*

air of a really desperate adventure—an apt comment on the poverty-stricken culture of the Peloponnese in the sub-Mycenean period.[7] The second, which followed by sea, seems to have been better organised. In both cases the majority of the emigrants were probably drawn from Thessaly and Bœotia (pp. 396–7). They are made to start from the Peloponnese simply because their leaders were the exiled Pelopidai. This may be

[5] Str. 582, cf. Hell. 114, Pi. *N.* 11. 34–5, Paus. 2. 18. 6, 3. 2. 1.
[6] Str. 582, cf. 401. [7] Hall CGBA 239–86.

accepted as a fact. We know that Mytilene, the chief town of Lesbos, was ruled in early days by kings of the Penthilidai,[8] and at Kyme we hear of a king named Agamemnon, who probably belonged to the other branch, represented by Kleuas and Malaos.[9] The aim of these fugitives, clinging loyally to the last of the Pelopidai, was not to break with the past but to transport it and preserve it in their new homes, which lay close to the scene of the Trojan War.

The Ionian colonisation was a much more vigorous affair. It was directed by Neleidai exiled from Pylos to Athens.[10] There they had received grants of land and a place in the tribal system, which was perhaps reconstituted for the occasion. They did well in Attica. One of their clans, the Medontidai, secured the Athenian kingship; another, the Kodridai, led the migration to Ionia. Their part in the movement may be exaggerated in our tradition, which views the past through Athenian eyes, but it must have been considerable. Some of the cities they founded were organised on the basis of the four Attic tribes,[11] and all except two of them kept the Attic feast of the Apatouria.[12]

The twelve cities of the Panionic League are divided by Herodotus into four groups according to their dialects: (1) Chios and Erythrai; (2) Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, Phokaia; (3) Miletos, Myous, Priene; (4) Samos.[13] Four of these—Chios, Klazomenai, Phokaia, and Samos—stand apart from the main movement. Chios was founded from Euboia, Klazomenai from Kleonai and Phleious, Phokaia from Phokis, Samos from Epidauros.[14] The last was brought into the League forcibly by an expedition from Ephesos.[15] Phokaia and Klazomenai were admitted after accepting Neleid kings, the former from Erythrai and Teos, the latter from Kolophon.[16] All twelve were ruled at the outset by kings—Kodridai or Glaukidai, or in some cases both.[17] The Glaukidai were a Greek-speaking clan established for centuries at Xanthos, the

[8] Arist. *Pol.* 1311b.

[9] Poll. 9. 83. Near Smyrna there was a spring named after Agamemnon: Philostr. *Her.* 2. 18.

[10] Hdt. 1. 146, Paus. 7. 2. 1; see above pp. 390–2. [11] *CIG.* 3078, 3664.

[12] Hdt. 1. 147. [13] Hdt. 1. 142. [14] Paus. 7. 3–4.

[15] Paus. 7. 2. 8, 7. 4. 2. [16] Paus. 7. 3. 10. [17] Hdt. 1. 147.

capital of Lycia (p. 165). They may have been brought in to conciliate the native population, which certainly survived at Miletos and Teos (p. 169) and probably everywhere. The indigenous culture was too strong to be suppressed. The official centre of the League was fixed at Panionion on Mount Mykale, but this was too far south to be convenient, and in later times, when the Ionians had expanded in all directions, they reunited at the festival of Apollo in Delos.

At Ephesos the Kodridai retained down to Roman times some of their regal privileges, such as the right to wear purple and the priesthood of Demeter Eleusinia.[18] How long the kingship lasted in Ionia we do not know, but it probably declined there more rapidly than in Aiolis.

The Ionians prospered. Though later in the field than the Æolians, they were soon strong enough to seize from them all their points of vantage. Chios was Ionicised at an early date (p. 515). Smyrna was the next to go. It was well placed at the mouth of the Hermos but hampered by Phokaia and Klazomenai at the entrance to the estuary, and before long it was seized by an expeditionary force from Kolophon. The inhabitants were permitted to withdraw to other parts of Aiolis, and Smyrna became Ionian.[19] When the Hellespont was opened up, the Æolians established themselves at Sestos and Abydos, but later Abydos was annexed by Miletos, then Lampsakos was founded from Phokaia, and the Milesians secured at Kyzikos a foothold still further north on the Propontis.[20] Again Aiolis had lost the lead, and she never recovered it. With the exception of Mytilene, which secured a place in the Greek concession at Naukratis in the Delta,[21] none of the Æolic settlements was able to stand up against the competition of Ionia.

The early history of these colonies has long been familiar; yet, fragmentary though it is, it contains some valuable clues for the Homeric problem which have never been followed up.

Epic poetry grows out of court minstrelsy, in which the king's victories are commemorated. That is true everywhere, and

[18] Str. 632. [19] Hdt. 1. 149–50, Paus. 7. 5. 1.
[20] J. L. Myres in CAH 3. 657–60. [21] Hdt. 2. 178. 3.

Greece is no exception. From a stray allusion in the *Odyssey* we gather that Agamemnon's minstrel at Mycenæ had been an official of high standing.[22] When his descendants, the Penthilidai, had finished their long trek, they recreated, so far as their straitened circumstances permitted, their traditional court life. The attempt was not a total failure, because, though they had lost all their worldly capital, they had one cherished heirloom which could not be taken from them. The very backwardness of Aiolis, by conserving the kingship, favoured the cultivation of epic poetry.

The feats of Beowulf, recited at the Anglo-Saxon courts, had been performed beyond the North Sea, and the hero can have had no direct ties with the kings who listened to his adventures. Neither *Beowulf* nor *Widsith* introduces any English character with the single exception of Offa.[23] The *Older Edda* and the *Nibelungenlied* belong in their present form to Iceland and Bavaria respectively; but their heroes, in so far as we can identify their nationality, which is never stressed, are Goths, Huns, and Burgundians.[24] It is a general characteristic of Germanic epic, due to the extensive and protracted nature of the migrations, which spread the Teutonic peoples over nearly the whole of Europe, that the lays were preserved by minstrels far removed in time and place from the persons and events they commemorated.

These Penthilidai, on the other hand, had only crossed the Ægean; and in their new home, within sight of Mount Ida, which overlooked the battlefield, Agamemnon's lineal descendants listened to the *Iliad*. One can imagine them remarking to their guests, 'It's a small thing but our own'.

Then came the Kodridai. The story of Odysseus, whose home was so close to their own ancestral seat, may well have been their contribution to the Homeric treasury. His travels in the west present some curious parallels with the voyage of the Argonauts, leaving us with a suspicion that the saga may have been transferred from east to west by the Neleidai when they migrated from Iolkos.[25]

In Ionia the kingship lasted just long enough to unite the

[22] *Od.* 3. 267–71.
[23] Chadwick HA 32.
[24] *Ib.* 33–4.
[25] J. A. K. Thomson 80–99.

two strands, and there the art was carried over without a break into an atmosphere that no epic minstrel has ever breathed before or since—the keen, critical, bracing air of the mercantile city-state.

2. *Homer's Birthplace*

An enquiry into Homer's birthplace can be undertaken without prejudice to the question whether there was ever an author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the ordinary sense of the word. The Greeks believed there was, and they are entitled to a hearing.

The Homeric Question is not a modern invention. Even in the great days of Hellenistic scholarship it was being debated whether or not the two poems had been written by the same man. Such disputations flourished. The position reached in the third century of our era is sketched by Lucian's lively pen:

> Two or three days later I met the poet Homer, and, since neither of us was engaged, I took the opportunity of questioning him on various matters, including his birthplace, which, as I explained, was still a subject of keen controversy among us. He replied that he knew he was assigned by different authorities to Chios, Smyrna, or Kolophon, but in reality he was a native of Babylon, known to most people as Tigranes; it was only after being sold to the Greeks as a hostage (*hómeros*) that he assumed the name Homer. I went on to enquire whether the verses rejected by the editors were really his; he replied that he had written them all. This prompted me to denounce all the pedantic nonsense produced by the school of Aristarchos and Zenodotos, and after these points had been disposed of I asked him what his motive was in beginning the *Iliad* with the wrath of Achilles. He replied that it was just an idea that struck him, nothing more. I was also anxious to know whether he had written the *Odyssey* first, as many authorities claimed, but he said no. I had no need to ask him whether the story of his blindness was true, because I could see for myself that it was not.[26]

That this gentle ridicule was not uncalled for can be seen from the entry in which the Byzantine lexicographer Suidas sums up the results of Homeric research. I quote the paragraph referring to the poet's birthplace:

> Doubts whether a poet of such genius could have been mortal have led to similar uncertainty in regard to his place of origin. He has been claimed by various authorities as a native of Smyrna, Chios, Kolophon, Ios, Kyme, Kenchreai in the Troad, Lydia, Athens, Ithaca, Cyprus, Salamis, Knossos, Mycenæ, Egypt, Thessaly, Italy, Lucania, Gryneia, Rome, and Rhodes.[27]

[26] Luc. *VH.* 2. 20. [27] Suid. Ὅμηρος.

This is a formidable list of candidates. It was compiled, however, in the eleventh century A.D. after nearly two millennia had been spent in pursuit of the truth. We may begin by eliminating all those that cannot produce a pre-Christian referee. This gives us a short list of seven:

Authority	*Date* (*century* B.C.)	*Birthplace*
Homeric Hymn to Apollo	VII–VI	Chios
Semonides of Amorgos (?)	VII–VI	Chios
Simonides of Keos (?)	VI–V	Chios
Damastes of Sigeion	V	Chios
Pindar	V	Chios / Smyrna
Stesimbrotos of Thasos	V	Smyrna
Hippias of Elis	V	Kyme
Bakchylides of Keos	V	Ios
Antimachos of Kolophon	V–IV	Kolophon
Ephoros of Kyme	IV	Kyme
Aristotle	IV	Ios
Philochoros of Athens	IV	Argos
Theokritos of Kos	III	Chios
Aristarchos of Samothraike	III–II	Athens
Nikandros of Kolophon	II	Kolophon
Dionysios Thraix	II	Athens[28]

Let us interview these candidates, starting with the weakest.

Athens is soon dismissed. As the metropolis of the Ionians she claimed the credit for their achievements—a claim which in later times they accepted as a compliment to themselves. Aristeides of Smyrna describes his city as an Athenian colony and his forefathers as Athenians.[29] We possess an epigram composed for a statue of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos:

> Thrice tyrant, thrice banished and restored, I am the statesman Peisistratos, who collected Homer's scattered lays; for, if Athenians founded Smyrna, the golden poet was our fellow-countryman.[30]

Ios. There was a story that a girl of this island named Kretheis, got with child by a god, was sold into slavery at Smyrna, where she was bought by a Lydian named Maion, who married

[28] Hom. *H.* 3. 172, Sim. 85, Pi. fr. 264, Dam. 10=*FHG.* 2. 66, Stesim. 18, Hippias 8=*FHG.* 2. 62, B. fr. 48 Blass, Antim. 18=*FHG.* 2. 58, Eph. 164, Arist. fr. 66, Philoch. 54, Theoc. 7. 47, Nicand. fr. 14, *VHom.* 5–6.

[29] Aristid. 23. 26, 29. 27, 40. 759, 42. 776.

[30] *VHom.* 5–6=*AP.* 11. 442.

her, and she gave birth to Homer.[31] This was no doubt the story to which Bakchylides and Aristotle referred, and it gives Smyrna, not Ios, as the birthplace.

Argos. The Homeric poems were exceptionally popular here, no doubt for political reasons. The Argives had a music festival to which Homer and Apollo were invited as guests.[32] They said that Homer was a son of Maion and Hyrnetho.[33] Hyrnetho figures in this tradition as a variant of the girl from Ios. She was the eponym of the Hyrnetheis, one of the Argive tribes, composed of pre-Dorian elements (p. 166). It is not at all impossible that some tradition of Mycenean minstrelsy, independent of the Homeric, survived here after the Dorian conquest.

Kolophon. Being natives of the city, the sponsors of this candidate are interested parties. The basis of their claim may be that Ionians from Kolophon repopulated Smyrna (p. 545).

We are left with Kyme, Smyrna, and Chios. Of these Kyme is the weakest, and perhaps it only appears because it was the metropolis of Smyrna. The strongest is Chios, supported by the Homeric Hymn and Semonides of Amorgos—if it is he and not Simonides of Keos to whom the citation refers. In addition, Chios was the acknowledged home of the Homeridai.[34] In favour of Smyrna it might be conjectured that the Homeridai transferred their centre from there to Chios after Smyrna fell to Kolophon. Our best course is to declare both Chios and Smyrna elected, with Kyme as *proxime accessit*. All three belong to the borderland of Aiolis and Ionia, the coast of the Hermaic Gulf. This was the cradle of Greek epic as we know it.

3. *From Court to Market-place*

Homeros is the eponym of the Homeridai. The name at least is a real one. It is the Ionic form of Homaros, which occurs as a personal name in inscriptions from Crete and Thessaly.[35] As a common noun it meant 'hostage', and there was a story that the poet had been taken as a hostage from

[31] Plu. *VHom.* 3. There was a month Homereon at Ios: *IG.* 12 (5) 15.
[32] Ael. *VH.* 9. 15. [33] *VHom.* 4. 1–2, 6. 27, *Certamen* 25.
[34] Str. 645, Acus. 31, Hell. 55. [35] *GDI.* 1033, *SIG.* 1059. 1. 3.

Smyrna to Chios.[36] The name explains the story. Another, more plausible, account of it was that *hómeros* was an old word meaning 'blind'.[37] Minstrels are often blind for the same reason as smiths are lame. The choice of vocation was conditioned by physical infirmity. Blindness went with 'second sight', that is, with prophecy and poetry.[38] Demodokos was blind, so were Thamyris and Stesichoros.[39] If Homer was simply 'the blind bard', his name does not argue much for his reality.

Of the Homeridai we are told that 'originally they had been descendants of Homer who recited his poems by hereditary tradition, but in later times they were rhapsodes unrelated to the poet'.[40] In other words, they began as a clan and became a guild. The qualification of birth was waived in favour of co-option (p. 332). Their centre was Chios. Like all minstrels, they were proverbial wanderers, and no doubt they had members in many parts of Greece. One of them, Kynaithos of Chios, migrated to Syracuse at the end of the sixth century.[41] They were still flourishing in the fourth century, as we learn from Plato, who mentions certain esoteric poems in their possession, not available to the public.[42] By that time they may have lost their monopoly of the poems, but it is remarkable that nowhere in Attic literature nor in inscriptions do we find any reference to a rhapsode who was an Athenian by birth. When Plato wishes to portray a typical exponent of the art, he chooses an Ionian from Ephesos.

If the poems matured at the courts of the Pelopidai and Kodridai, the decline of the kingship must have affected them decisively. Kyme had a king as late as 700 B.C., but this was an extreme case. The office had probably been superseded, at least in Ionia, long before that. It was this disparity of development between different parts of Asiatic Greece that made it possible for the epic tradition to be carried over into the next stage without a break.

As the court declined, the recitals were transferred to the

[36] Procl. *Chr.* 99. 17 Allen.
[37] *Ib.* 19–20, Eph. 164.
[38] Cf. Chadwick GL 3. 619.
[39] *Od.* 8. 63–4, *Il.* 2. 599–600, Iso. *Hel.* 64.
[40] Pi. *N.* 2. 1 sch.
[41] Pi. *N.* 2. 1 sch.
[42] Pl. *Phdr.* 252b, cf. *Io* 530d, *R.* 599e.

market-place. I do not mean a sleepy rural market, a rendezvous for peasants, cattle-jobbers, and country squires. That is where Hesiod recited, with results that can be measured by comparing him with Homer. I mean the public square of some populous sea-port, thronged with Greeks, Carians, Phœnicians, merchant-seamen, textile manufacturers, moneylenders, bankers, and above all the annual fair at Delos.

Delos is a tiny island, a mere outcrop of gneiss and granite in the blue Ægean, but, set in the centre of the Cyclades, it became the cultural metropolis of Ionia:

> O Lord Apollo, many are thy shrines and wooded glades; all forelands and mountain peaks are dear to thee, all rivers running seawards, but dearest of all is Delos. There, trailing their long cloaks, the Ionians flock with their wives and children to keep thy memory with boxing matches, dances, and music—a sight so splendid that the onlooker, gazing in rapture at the throng of men, women, ships, and merchandise, might think they were free from old age and death.[43]

And not from Ionia only—from all over Greece the pilgrims flocked to the festival. Early in the eighth century we hear of a chorus from Messenia competing with a hymn composed for them by Eumelos of Corinth.[44] Athenians were competing in Solon's time, and probably before.[45] In Greek, if you heard someone singing very heartily, you said, 'He is singing as though he were bound for Delos'.[46] The island retained its pre-eminence down to the Persian conquest, and after the defeat of Persia its traditional prestige secured for it the treasury of the new Ionian league formed by Athens.

That Homeric recitals were a prominent feature of the programme is certain. The altar of the Delian Apollo is mentioned in the *Odyssey*,[47] and here, according to tradition, the blind bard himself had once enthralled the crowds:

> Well, may Apollo be gracious, and Artemis! Farewell, girls of Delos, and remember me hereafter, when some distant traveller shall come and ask, 'Of all the minstrels that have visited you who has given the greatest delight?' —remember to answer with one voice, 'A blind man, he dwells in rocky Chios, and his songs shall never be surpassed.'[48]

[43] Hom. *H.* 3. 143–55.
[44] Paus. 4. 4. 1.
[45] Ath. 234e, Philoch. 158.
[46] Zen. 2. 37.
[47] *Od.* 6. 162–3, cf. *Certamen* 315–21, Hes. fr. 265.
[48] Hom. *H.* 3. 165–73.

We do not know when the recitals were introduced there. It may have been as far back as the ninth century. And, as we learnt in the last chapter, the poems were still expanding in the seventh. The change came before they were complete. It was therefore formative. Indeed, it must have been revolutionary. They had grown up in the sheltered court life of an old-world nobility, feeding on memories of the past. Now, thrown into the hubbub of Ionian trade, politics, and science, they burst into flower. The conditions were unique.

4. *The Homeric Corpus*

In the foregoing pages the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Hymns* have been described collectively as the Homeric poems. In antiquity there were about a dozen other works, now lost, current under the name of Homer or his school. This was the Homeric corpus. It falls into two portions. First, there were the poems ascribed unanimously, or almost unanimously, to the master himself—the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Hymns*. These I shall continue to call the Homeric poems. The others, attributed variously to him or his disciples, are known as the Cyclic poems.

Most of our information about the Cyclic poems comes from Proklos the Neoplatonist (fifth century A.D.), who compiled a guide to the Homeric corpus, of which a summary has survived.[49] He seems to have done his work thoroughly. Apart from him, we have only quotations and allusions in other writers and the fragments of Hellenistic, Græco-Roman, and Byzantine scholarship.

The *Iliad* deals with the tenth year of the Trojan War from the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles to Hector's funeral. The subject of the *Odyssey* is Odysseus' return to Ithaca, his reunion with his family, and his vengeance on the suitors. The *Iliad* contains 15,693 verses, the *Odyssey* 12,110. Both were divided by the Alexandrian editors into twenty-four books. The *Iliad* was universally attributed to Homer; so was the *Odyssey*, except that some Hellenistic scholars are said to have dissented.[50]

[49] On the authorship of the *Chrestomathia* see Allen HOT 51–60.

[50] Procl. 102. 3 Allen.

Table XVIII

THE HOMERIC CORPUS

Title	*Author*	*Date*
Iliad	Homer	*c.* 950
Odyssey	Homer	
Hymns:		
Apollo	Homer / Kynaithos of Chios	*fl.* 500
Others	Homer	
Trojan Cycle:		
Kypria	Stasinos of Cyprus	—
	Hegesinos of Salamis	—
Aithiopis	Arktinos of Miletos	*b.* 744
Little Iliad	Kinaithon of Sparta	*fl.* 762
	Lesches of Mytilene	*fl.* 710
	Thestorides of Phokaia	—
	Diodoros of Erythrai	—
Sack of Troy	Arktinos of Miletos	*b.* 744
Homecomings	Agias of Troizen	—
Telegonia	Kinaithon of Sparta	*fl.* 762
	Eugammon of Kyrene	*fl.* 566
Theban Cycle:		
Oidipodeia	Kinaithon of Sparta	*fl.* 762
Thebais	Homer	
Epigonoi	Antimachos of Teos	*fl.* 753
Miscellaneous:		
Capture of Oichalia	Kreophylos of Samos	—
Battle of the Titans	Arktinos of Miletos	*b.* 744
	Eumelos of Corinth	*fl.* 750
Phokais	Homer	
Margites	Homer	
Amazonia	Magnes of Lydia	*fl.* 700
Herakleia	Peisinos of Lindos	*fl.* 750

Homer is mentioned only where there is no other candidate.

There are thirty-four *Hymns*, but all except five of them are very brief. The *Apollo* is quoted as Homer's by Thucydides (fifth century), the *Hermes* by Antigonos of Karystos (third century).[51] Athenaios (second–third century A.D.) describes the author of the *Apollo* as 'Homer or one of the Homeridai'.[52] Hippostratos of Syracuse (undated) says that the real author of this hymn was one of the Homeridai, Kynaithos of Chios, who 'interpolated a great deal of his own verse into Homer's' and visited Syracuse between 504 and 500 B.C.[53] In recent years Wade-Gery has argued very forcibly that this poem consists really of two hymns—one to the Delian Apollo, composed before 600 B.C., and another to the Delphic Apollo, composed during the next century, the combination being the work of Kynaithos.[54] I accept this conclusion.

The Cyclic poems may be classified according to subject as the Trojan Cycle, the Theban Cycle, and Miscellaneous.

There are six poems in the Trojan Cycle. First, the *Kypria*, in eleven books. Its subject was the judgment of Paris, the rape of Helen, the marshalling of the Achæans, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, and the course of the war down to Agamemnon's quarrel with Achilles.[55] Herodotus (fifth century) argues from internal evidence that Homer cannot have been the author, implying that many people thought he was.[56] There was a story, which can be traced to Pindar (fifth century) that Homer gave the poem as a wedding present to his son-in-law, Stasinos of Cyprus.[57] Plato (fourth century) quotes from it without naming an author.[58] Pausanias (second century A.D.) is also non-committal.[59] Athenaios ascribes it to 'Stasinos of Cyprus, or Hegesias, or whoever he may have been'.[60] Proklos gives him as Stasinos or Hegesinos of Salamis, i.e. the Cyprian Salamis.[61]

Second, the *Aithiopis*, in five books. Subject: the tenth year of the war from after Hector's funeral to the death of Achilles.[62] Proklos gives the author as Arktinos of Miletos, who is

[51] Th. 3. 104, Antig. 7, cf. Paus. 4. 30. 4, 9. 30. 12, 10. 37. 5.
[52] Ath. 22b. [53] Pi. *N.* 2. 1 sch. [54] Wade-Gery K. [55] Procl. 102–5.
[56] Hdt. 2. 117. [57] Ael. *VH.* 9. 15, cf. Iamb. *VP.* 146, Suid. Ὅμηρος 29.
[58] Pl. *Euthyph.* 12a. [59] Paus. 4. 2. 7.
[60] Ath. 682d, cf. 35c, 334b. [61] Procl. 97. 14. [62] Procl. 105–6.

described by Suidas (eleventh century A.D.) as a disciple of Homer.[63] His date of birth is given as 744 B.C.[64]

Third, the *Little Iliad*, in four books. Subject: the contest for the armour of Achilles and the construction of the Wooden Horse.[65] It is variously attributed to Kinaithon of Sparta (Hellanikos; fifth century), Lesches of Mytilene (Proklos), Thestorides of Phokaia, or Diodoros of Erythrai.[66] Kinaithon was dated 762 B.C.[67] and Lesches was contemporary with Arktinos.[68] There was a story that Homer had composed it while staying at Phokaia with Thestorides. A son of Thestorides named Parthenios, also an epic poet, is described as a descendant of Homer.[69] Pausanias treats the poem as anonymous.[70]

Fourth, the *Sack of Troy*, in two books, by Arktinos, author of the *Aithiopis*.[71]

Fifth, the *Homecomings*, in five books. Subject: the post-war adventures of Diomedes, Nestor, Neoptolemos, Agamemnon, and Menelaos. Author: Agias (Hegias) of Troizen (Proklos).[72] Pausanias mentions a poet of this name but treats the *Homecomings* as anonymous.[73]

Sixth, the *Telegonia*, in two books. Subject: the adventures of Odysseus from after the funeral of the suitors to his death.[74] The author was Kinaithon of Sparta (Eusebios, third century A.D.) or Eugammon of Kyrene (Clement, second-third century A.D.).[75] Eugammon is dated 566 B.C.

The Trojan Cycle is discussed by Aristotle in terms which show that he did not regard Homer as the author.[76]

Next comes the Theban Cycle of three poems. The *Oidipodeia* told how Œdipus killed his father, married his mother, and cursed his sons. The *Thebais* described the war between the

[63] Suid. Ἀρκτῖνος = *FHG.* 4. 314. [64] Suid. *l.c.*: Allen HOT 62–3.
[65] Procl. 106–7. [66] E. *Tr.* 821 sch. [67] Allen HOT 63.
[68] Clem. *Str.* 1. 21. Lesches is quoted as having described (in a poem?) a competition between Homer and Hesiod (Plu. *M.* 154a). The only point in the story that need be mentioned here is that both poets are credited with the faculty of improvisation.
[69] Suid. Παρθένιος. [70] Paus. 3. 26. 9. [71] Procl. 107–8.
[72] *Ib.* 108–9. [73] Paus. 1. 2. 1, 10. 28. 7, cf. Ath. 281b.
[74] Procl. 109. [75] Euseb. *Chr.* Ol. 4, Clem. *Str.* 6. 25. 1.
[76] Arist. *Poet.* 23. 5–7.

sons—the first Argive expedition against Thebes, ending in their death at one another's hands. The *Epigonoi* described the destruction of the city in a second expedition organised by the sons of the Argive leaders who had perished in the first. The *Thebais* and the *Epigonoi* contained 7000 verses each.[77]

The *Oidipodeia* is assigned in an inscription to Kinaithon.[78] Pausanias treats it as anonymous.[79] The *Thebais* was attributed to Homer by Kallinos of Ephesos in the eighth century.[80] This is by far the earliest association of the master's name with any poem in the corpus. Herodotus refers to 'Homer's *Epigonoi*, if he is really the author of that work'.[81] In an Alexandrian scholium it is attributed to Antimachos, probably Antimachos of Teos (*fl.* 753 B.C.).[82]

There remain the miscellaneous works.

The *Capture of Oichalia*. Subject: the last exploit of Herakles. Author: Kreophylos of Samos (Kallimachos, third century).[83] Plato mentions Kreophylos as 'a friend of Homer's'.[84] Elsewhere he is described as his son-in-law, like Stasinos.[85] Kallimachos tells a story, which was probably known to Plato, that Kreophylos received the poem as a gift from Homer after entertaining him at Samos.[86] Clement says that it was stolen from Kreophylos by Panyasis of Halikarnassos.[87] Perhaps it was not stolen but adapted.

The *Battle of the Titans* is attributed by Athenaios to Arktinos of Miletos or Eumelos of Corinth.[88] Eumelos (*fl.* 750 B.C.) belonged to the Bakchidai (p. 201). He was the reputed author of another epic entitled the *Korinthia*.[89] It was he who com-

[77] *Certamen* 255–60, cf. *CIG. It. Sic.* 1292. 2. 12.

[78] *CIG. It. Sic.* 1292. 2. 11. [79] Paus. 9. 5. 11.

[80] Paus. 9. 9. 5. The restoration of Καλλῖνος for Καλαῖνος is virtually certain, being supported by the accent as well as the common confusion of Λ and Α: Καλαῖνος is a *vox nihili*. Scott's desperate plea that Ὅμηρον may mean 'an Homer' (UH 16) cannot stand: that would be ἄλλον Ὅμηρον or δεύτερον Ὅμηρον (see W. G. Headlam in G. Thomson AO 2. 93). Other writers treat the *Thebais* as anonymous: Ath. 465e, Apld. 1. 8. 4.

[81] Hdt. 4. 32. [82] Ar. *Pa.* 1270 sch., Plu. *Rom.* 12. [83] Call. *Ep.* 6.

[84] Pl. *R.* 600b. [85] Suid. Κρεώφυλος. [86] Str. 638.

[87] Clem. *Str.* 6. 25. 2. For the name cf. p. 167.

[88] Ath. 22c, 277d, A.R. 1. 1195 sch., Hyg. *F.* 183, Clem. *Str.* 1. 21. 8.

[89] Paus. 2. 1. 1, 2. 2. 2, 2. 3. 10.

posed the hymn for the Messenian competitors at Delos (p. 551).

The *Phokais* is said to have been taken from Homer by Thestorides, who entertained him at Phokaia.[90] Nothing is known of its contents.

The *Margites* was a burlesque in mixed hexameters and trimeters about a simpleton who did not know which of his parents had given birth to him and refused to make love to his wife for fear she might tell his mother.[91] Plato and Aristotle accept it as Homeric, but later writers treat it as spurious.[92]

Lastly, there are the *Amazonia* by Magnes of Lydia (*fl.* 700 B.C.) and the *Herakleia*, which according to Clement was stolen from Peisinos of Lindos by Peisandros of Kameiros (*fl.* 750 B.C.).[93]

Two more points, and our data will be complete. On the one hand, Plato's Ion, the rhapsode from Ephesos, announces himself as a professional minstrel who specialises exclusively in the works of Homer,[94] and all the quotations that follow are from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Similarly, Xenophon mentions an Athenian who knew the whole of Homer by heart, meaning by that, as the context shows, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[95] On the other hand, Proklos records that 'the ancients' credited Homer with all the Cyclic poems—that is, with the whole corpus.[96]

We see that the ancient testimony is confused. What are we to make of it? The treatment it has received hitherto is, to say the least, capricious. In early times, according to the separatists, all these poems had been attributed indiscriminately to Homer, who was a mere eponym, devoid of historical reality. The unitarians, on the other hand, have been at pains to show that, apart from the two masterpieces, none of them was originally regarded as his. Both views have some support in the data, which are contradictory, and therefore the truth must be something different from either. The mistake made by both schools is that they have tried to get rid of the

[90] Ps. Hdt. *VHom.* 16. [91] Aeschin. *Ct.* 160. sch.
[92] Pl. *Alc.* 2. 147c, Arist. *Poet.* 4. 3. 10–2, Heph. *Enchir.* 17, Dio Prus. 53. 4.
[93] Nic. Dam. 62, Clem. *Str.* 6. 25. 2, Suid. Πεισανδρος.
[94] Pl. *Io* 531a. [95] X. *Sym.* 3. 5, cf. Ath. 620b. [96] Procl. 102.

contradictions in the evidence instead of seizing on them as a clue.

The Greek historian enjoys one great advantage. The political separatism of the city-states favoured the survival of parallel cults derived from a common original and alternative versions of the same events, offering copious material for reconstructing the truth by comparison and analysis. The Greek tradition is a tangled skein, which has to be unravelled by identifying and following its separate threads. The strongest of all was the Athenian, which after the fifth century tended to gather the others into itself. But the Ionians had their own culture, older than the Athenian, and it remained largely independent down to Hellenistic times. It has recently been shown that 'some of the Alexandrian scholars who came from Ionia brought with them from their native cities a knowledge of works which had never found their way to Athens at all'.[97] Studied in this light, the contradictions in the Homeric tradition can be resolved.

In the eighth century Kallinos, an Ionian, ascribes the *Thebais* to Homer, and three centuries later Pindar tells the story of Stasinos' wedding present, implying that Homer was the author of the *Kypria*. But then Hellanikos of Lesbos gives the *Little Iliad* to Kinaithon, while Herodotus, a native of Asia Minor who lived at Athens, feels it necessary to challenge the view that the *Kypria* and *Epigonoi* were Homer's. At Athens, Thucydides quotes the *Hymn to Apollo* as Homeric, but in the fourth century Xenophon excludes all save the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Plato and Aristotle do the same except that they admit the *Margites*. In the Alexandrian period, the names of several rivals to Homer are known, and the general attitude is non-committal.

This is not one tradition but two. Both of them developed, and eventually they became entangled.

One was the tradition of the Homeridai themselves. In the earliest times, when these 'sons of Homer' had been fellow members of a real minstrel clan, they followed the pious custom, common in such fraternities, of ascribing the whole of their repertory to the master. *Ipse dixit*. Later, when the clan

[97] Pearson 9.

had become a guild, they were more individualistic. Being still engaged in expanding or elaborating their inherited material, they reconciled their personal claims with their *esprit de corps* in anecdotes about wedding gifts and hospitable exchanges, in which their own names and the master's were symbolically combined. In some cases the same theme was rehandled by several of them in succession. In the conditions of oral recitation this was natural and inevitable, but in later times, when the claims of individual authorship had become paramount, it led just as inevitably to misunderstanding. The successive poets appeared as rivals guilty of interpolation or plagiarism.

As the poems became current on the mainland, the tendency was at first to follow the earlier Ionian practice and treat all alike as Homer's, but in the fourth century, with the beginnings of literary criticism, Attic writers preferred to reserve Homer's name for the two *chefs d'œuvres* together with the *Hymns* and *Margites*, which had not been definitely individualised even in Ionia. And finally the two traditions merged at Alexandria. The names of Arktinos, Lesches, Kinaithon, and the other Homeric poets, transmitted from Ionia, now became generally familiar, but, owing to the influence of Attic literature, which ignored them, the attitude of educated people was sceptical. Meanwhile the general public was quite content to believe that Homer had written the whole corpus. If challenged, they had only to appeal to his divine parentage.

5. *The Cyclic Poems*

Of the ten poets named in connection with the Trojan and Theban Cycles only five are described as natives of Aiolis or Ionia. The remainder belong by birth or adoption to the Peloponnese, Cyprus, or Libya. By testing their claims and the dates assigned to them we may hope to discover something about the expansion of the Homeridai.

Kinaithon of Sparta is dated 761–758 B.C. Even if we take this as his date of birth, it is remarkably early—twenty years before Lesches, his rival for the *Little Iliad*, and two hundred before Eugammon, his rival for the *Telegonia*. He cannot have composed the *Little Iliad* in the form described by Proklos,

because its subject shows that it must have been planned in conjunction with the *Aithiopis* and the *Sack of Troy*, which were the work of Arktinos; but there is no difficulty in accepting him as the author of an earlier version. His *Telegonia* may have provided a model for Eugammon in the same way. Kyrene had been colonised from Thera, and Thera from Sparta.[98] There remains the *Oidipodeia*, for which he is the only candidate. In this connection his date agrees with that given for Antimachos, author of the *Epigonoi*, and with the antiquity of the *Thebais*, which was known to Kallinos. Kallinos lived 'not long before' Archilochos, who has recently been dated 740–670 B.C.[99]

It is thus quite probable that Kinaithon did belong to the eighth century, and turning to Sparta we find him in congenial company. Not yet militarised, that city was then enjoying a cultural renaissance, which attracted poets from all parts of Greece—Thaletas from Crete (undated), Polymnastos from Kolophon (undated), Terpandros from Lesbos (an old man in 676 B.C.), Alkman from Sardeis (*fl.* 672 or 657 B.C.), and Tyrtaios from Athens (*fl.* 630 B.C.). Terpandros instituted musical contests at the Karneia,[100] and Alkman must have been familiar with the *Odyssey*, because he made a ballet of the ball-game at which Odysseus surprised Nausikaa.[101] Further, the Spartan lawgiver Lykourgos is said to have inaugurated recitals of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which he had obtained from the family of Kreophylos in Samos.[102] Lykourgos is an impalpable figure, partly mythical, so we cannot give him a date, but this story agrees with the rest in suggesting that the Homeridai were patronised at Sparta in the eighth century. It may be added that the legend of Œdipus had a special interest there. He was one of the ancestors of the Spartan kings.[103]

Agias of Troizen, author of the *Homecomings*, has no date. Reference has already been made to the Homeric festival at Argos and the story of Hyrnetho (p. 549). Down to the middle of the seventh century the Argive kings rivalled the Spartan

[98] Hdt. 4. 147–59. [99] Allen HOT 61, Blakeway DA.
[100] Hell. 122. [101] Alcm. 16.
[102] Plu. *Lycurg.* 4, Hcld. Pont. *RP.* 2. 3, Ael. *VH.* 13. 14.
[103] Hdt. 6. 52. 2. Also of the Spartan Aigeidai: Hdt. 4. 149. 1.

for the cultural leadership of the Peloponnese. The last of them, Pheidon (*fl.* 675 B.C.) seized control of the Olympic Games.[104] If there were already Homeric minstrels at the Spartan court, they are likely to have found their way to Argos too.

Stasinos and Hegesinos, associated with the *Kypria*, are also dateless. Both were Cypriotes, the latter from Salamis, which was the royal seat of the Teukridai (p. 386). There was another line of kings, the Kinyradai, at Paphos (p. 513). Both claimed Achæan descent, and both lasted into Hellenistic times. These must have been the patrons of Stasinos and Hegesinos. It is even possible that Cyprus had an indigenous school of Achæan minstrelsy, which merged with the Homeric.

Eugammon of Kyrene is dated securely at 566 B.C. Kyrene was only founded in the last quarter of the preceding century. Here too, under the Battidai, the kingship persisted, and in this case its connection with epic can be clinched. The *Telegonia* was a sequel to the *Odyssey*. As the Greeks pushed their way into the western Mediterranean, the saga of Odysseus, being largely concerned with those regions, was expanded far beyond its Homeric limits, and Odysseus became the father of a large family. In particular, Eugammon gave Telemachos a brother, Arkesilaos.[105] This was the name of at least four Cyrenean kings. Evidently the Battidai claimed kin with Odysseus. What the relationship was is uncertain, but it must have been known to Eugammon, who in improving the *Odyssey* furthered their interests.

Thus, the Homeridai established themselves at Sparta in the eighth century, at Argos in the eighth or seventh, at Kyrene at the end of the seventh, and in Cyprus some time in the same period. Outside Ionia they found a congenial home at the courts of kings.

In one of those brief but memorable paragraphs, of which there are so many in his writings, Aristotle contrasts the Cyclic poems with the *Iliad*:

> Hence, as I have remarked, it may well seem a sign of divine inspiration that even in the *Iliad*, though the Trojan War has a beginning and an end, Homer

[104] Hdt. 6. 127. 3. On his date see H. T. Wade-Gery in CAH 3. 761.

[105] Eust. 1796. 50. The Battidai were descended from the Minyai: Hdt. 4. 150. 2, Pi. *P.* 4. 256–62.

does not set out to treat it as a whole. The subject was too long to be comprehended in one view, and, if he had tried to compress it, it would have become too complicated. What he does is to concentrate on one portion, which he diversifies with numerous episodes, like the Catalogue of Ships. Other poets—for example, the authors of the *Kypria* and the *Little Iliad*—treat of a single character in a whole series of actions extended over a whole period. And hence it is that, while neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* has provided material for more than one or two tragedies, the *Kypria* has yielded several, the *Little Iliad* eight or more.[106]



FIG. 85. *King Arkesilas: Laconian cup*

The Cyclic poets were inferior in constructive power. That was the accepted opinion. Horace too contrasts them with Homer, *qui nil molitur inepte*, and Proklos says they were studied mainly for the interest of their subject-matter.[107]

Homer's merit in Aristotle's view was that he did not

[106] Arist. *Poet.* 23. 5–7.

[107] Hor. *AP.* 140, Procl. 97.

attempt to compress his subject. The Cyclic poets did. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* both run to twenty-four books, though the action is confined to a few weeks. The *Kypria* covered ten years in eleven books; the *Homecomings* covered eight years in five books. The scale was much smaller. And lastly, the Trojan Cycle presupposes the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in substantially their present form. The *Kypria* ended where the *Iliad* begins; the *Little Iliad* began where the great *Iliad* ends; the *Homecomings* was a supplement, and the *Telegonia* a sequel, to the *Odyssey*. The creative power of the Homeridai had passed its peak.

We are now in a position to adumbrate three phases in the history of the Homeric epos.

First, we have what may be called the primitive period of short lays recited locally by court minstrels in Aiolis and Ionia. This is the phase reflected in the lays of Phemios and Demodokos. Beginning as one among many bardic clans, the Homeridai built up a reputation as the outstanding exponents of their craft. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were already taking shape, but as loosely-strung sequences rather than organic wholes. They had not yet crystallised.

Then the Homeridai secured a place in the Delian festival of Apollo. Faced with new responsibilities, new opportunities, they reorganise and expand. They abandon their exclusiveness and become a professional corporation open to all minstrels with the requisite qualifications. They absorb their rivals, thereby enriching themselves. Their popularity is such that a large share of the festival programme—probably several days—is given up to them, and so they obtain an adequate setting for the production of large-scale masterpieces. The technical skill revealed in the structure of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* presupposes a high degree of external organisation. Accordingly we may accept the conclusion implicit in the *Hymn to Apollo* that it was at Delos, with all Ionia listening, that the blind bard's disciples raised their art to a pitch of excellence never since surpassed. The poems were still plastic and had not yet ceased to expand, but it was here, recited in full year after year and improved with each recital, that they were moulded, polished, harmonised and unified.

In the third phase the art strikes roots beyond Ionia. As it

expands it declines. The minstrels are welcomed at Sparta, Argos, Cyprus, Kyrene, but in these surroundings shorter lays are in demand, and so they tend to become what their predecessors had once been—verse chroniclers attached to the courts of kings. The art ends by reversing the direction of its growth. And gradually it ceases to be creative. In an age which has risen to new levels of material and intellectual life it is no longer an adequate vehicle for historical narrative. The real heir to Homer in the mature city-state is not the empty-headed virtuoso described in Plato's *Ion* but the prose chronicler. Like the rhapsodes, Herodotus used to recite in public,[108] and, though his medium was new, his technique of a central theme, the Græco-Persian War, diversified with geographical and historical episodes, is essentially Homeric. The father of history was a child of epic.

6. *Diffusion of the Iliad and Odyssey*

We are now at the crux of the Homeric Question. When were the poems written down? The ancient tradition is quite definite. After becoming current as scattered lays the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were collected and edited in their present form at the end of the sixth century by the Athenian tyrants. Accordingly the separatists have claimed that the poems are compilations, not integral works of art. The unitarians blankly refuse to accept the evidence. Separatism has flourished mainly in Germany, unitarianism in this country; and so national antagonisms have added fuel to the *odium philologicum*. My own position may be stated at once. The separatists are right in accepting the evidence; the unitarians are wrong in permitting them to misinterpret it. I find myself in the comfortable if unfamiliar position of pleading for moderation between extremes.

Some scholars seem to assume that, sped on viewless wings, the poems became universally familiar almost from the moment they issued from the master's mind. That is certainly a mistake. Their diffusion was as uneven as the development of the city-states. Further, it is obvious that they may have

[108] Eus. *Chr.* Ol. 83 cf. Str. 18.

been known to professional poets before becoming publicly accessible, and they may have been recited in extracts before becoming familiar as wholes. Let us begin therefore by asking when, where, and how full public recitals of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were instituted outside Ionia.

At Sparta and Argos they were already known in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. But there is a complication here. These cultured Peloponnesian kingships did not last. At the end of the seventh century, frightened by unrest among the serfs, the Spartan landowners took charge of the monarchy and turned the court into a barracks. There were no more poets in the Vale of Eurotas. Meanwhile Argos had lost her commercial supremacy to Corinth, whose situation on the Isthmus lay on the direct route from the Ægean to the Adriatic, which was now being opened up. The Homeric recitals may have survived at Argos; at Sparta they did not.

By the close of the eighth century Corinth was already an important shipbuilding centre, and it is then that the diffusion of Corinthian pottery begins.[109] But her development was peculiar. At Sparta the aristocracy seized power early enough to prevent the growth of trade; at Corinth, thanks to her favourable position, they were unable to do this, but they did the next best thing. Under the Bakchidai they secured a monopoly of it, which became a stranglehold. They were overthrown by Kypselos (p. 202), a merchant prince or tyrant of the normal type (657 B.C.). Under him and his son Periandros there was a commercial and cultural revival. It was Periandros who patronised Arion, a poet from Lesbos.[110] And it was in this period that Corinthian vase-painters began to depict scenes from the *Iliad* with sufficient accuracy to argue direct acquaintance with the poem.[111] We may presume that they got their knowledge from public recitals, instituted by the tyrants.

The first tyrant of Sikyon—also convenient to the Isthmus—was Orthagoras, a contemporary of Kypselos. He too must have patronised the minstrels; for we learn from Herodotus

[109] H. T. Wade-Gery in CAH 3. 535, 539. [110] Hdt. 1. 23–4.
[111] Johansen ITGK; J. D. Beazley in JHS 54. 85, Wade-Gery K77. I have been unable to get hold of Johansen's book.

that half a century later his successor Kleisthenes 'put an end to the rhapsodic competitions at Sikyon because the Homeric poems were so full of praise for Argos and the Argives'.[112] This was just after a war with Argos. It is not likely that the ban lasted very long. As a former dependency of Agamemnon, Sikyon was proud of her Ho ıeric tradition. Her antiquaries claimed to have discovered a mistake in the *Iliad*. Gonoessa, they said, which appears in our text as one of Agamemnon's demesnes near Sikyon, was a false reading for Donoessa. They attributed the corruption to the Athenian editors.[113]

Moving north into Bœotia, we are in a country with an independent school of epic, and so the conditions are quite different.

Hesiod is undoubtedly a historical person, though not the author of all his works. Herodotus regarded him as Homer's contemporary,[114] but his language is definitely post-Homeric, and modern scholars assign him to the eighth century. He lived at Askra, a village near Thebes. It is not certain that he was born there. He may have been brought there in childhood by his father Dios, who was an immigrant from Kyme.[115] Here, then, in an age when all crafts were commonly hereditary, we have a professional minstrel whose father came from the very district we have identified as the cradle of the Homeridai. Was Dios one of them? The ancients held that he was Homer's kinsman, and produced a pedigree.[116] This of course was a fiction, but experience has taught us not to despise it for that reason. The content of the Hesiodic corpus is Bœotian, taken from the choral poetry of prehistoric Thebes and Orchomenos, but the form is purely Homeric. The Hesiodic dialect and the Hesiodic hexameter are identical with Homer's, and this can only mean that the Hesiodic school, as we know it, was founded by a branch of the Homeridai.

[112] Hdt. 5. 67. [113] Paus. 7. 26. 13.

[114] Hdt. 2. 53. 2. The *Certamen* purports to be a competition between the two, each being required to finish hexameters begun by the other. Such competitions are mentioned in early Irish literature and survived within living memory: see Hyde AD.

[115] Hes. *Op.* 633–40, *Certamen* 51–2. Perhaps it is more likely that he was born in Bœotia, because the Aeolic form of his name appears to have been Αἰσίοδος 'auspicious journey' (*EM.* 452. 37).

[116] *Certamen l.c.*, Procl. 100.

How widely the Homeric poems were known in the Bœotia of his day is another matter. He is said to have competed with Homer, but in Chalkis and Delos, not in Bœotia.[117] There, and only there, the Hesiodic school were able to hold their own. They must have been conversant with the work of their rivals, but they may well have been loth to include it in their public performances. On the other hand, it is quite possible that they transmitted it along with their own repertory to other professionals.[118] For these reasons we may regard Bœotia as a secondary centre of diffusion.

Turning to the colonies beyond the Adriatic, we are faced with the statement of Hippostratos that 'the Homeric poems were recited at Syracuse for the first time by Kynaithos in the 69th Olympiad', i.e. between 504 and 500 B.C.[119] It was Kynaithos who arranged the *Hymn to Apollo* (p. 554). Hippostratos, be it noted, does not allege that the poems had been previously unknown in this part of the world. They were certainly accessible to Stesichoros (*fl.* 692 B.C.), whose family came from Lokris and claimed kin with Hesiod.[120] What Hippostratos says is that this was the first recital, implying that the poems were then given an official place in the Syracusan calendar. And there is nothing improbable in that. It agrees with such other evidence as we possess. One of the earliest Homeric critics, Theagenes, was a native of Rhegion, and his death may be placed in the last quarter of the sixth century.[121] Furthermore, when Kynaithos set foot in Syracuse, that city was on the threshold of the most splendid epoch in her career. The landed nobility were still in power, but the merchant-class was rapidly maturing, and in the next generation the tyrant Gelon refounded the city, built a new harbour, and multiplied the population by enforced transfers from other towns (485 B.C.). His court was to become the most brilliant artistic centre in the west and a rival even to Athens at the

[117] *Certamen*, Hes. fr. 265.

[118] Eumelos of Corinth probably drew on the Hesiodic school; his *Titanomachia* and *Korinthia* were both Hesiodic in subject.

[119] Pi. *N.* 2. 1 sch.

[120] Arist. fr. 524. Stesichoros' treatment of myths was largely Hesiodic: see above p. 508 and cf. Philod. *Piet.* 24, Str. 42, Hes. *Sc.* Arg., *Il.* 15. 333 sch.

[121] Tat. *Or. Gr.* 31.

height of her power. And so Syracuse reinforces the lesson we have learnt from metropolitan Greece. Under the opulent patronage of these merchant-princes the art of epic, which had grown out of court life, came back into its own.

And now Athens. Peisistratos reigned from 540 to 527 B.C. He was succeeded by his sons, Hipparchos and Hippias. Hipparchos was assassinated in 514 B.C. and Hippias was expelled three years later. Thus the Athenian tyranny lasted a bare thirty years, but its achievements were immense. The Peisistratidai succeeded where others had failed. Polykrates, the ambitious tyrant of Samos, had made a bid for the commercial hegemony of the Ægean, and in pursuit of this objective he paid special attention to Delos. On his initiative the adjacent island of Rheneia was consecrated to Apollo.[122] But he was cut short in mid career by the Persian conquest of Ionia. Peisistratos followed his example. He undertook a purification of Delos itself, which he effected by clearing away the graves on the land surrounding the temple.[123] His aim was to enhance his prestige by securing the patronage of the great Ionian festival. And his claim was an exceptionally strong one. As a descendant of the Neleidai (p. 192) he was sprung from the revered founders of Ionia, whose forefathers held an honoured place in the Homeric poems. He was himself named after Nestor's youngest son, who accompanied Telemachos from Pylos to Sparta.[124] One contribution of this remarkable family to European civilisation is familiar. They founded the art of tragedy. But modern scholars have been less appreciative of their services to epic.

The *Hipparchos* is the title of one of the Platonic dialogues, not by Plato himself but by a disciple of his who lived in the fourth century. Sokrates is talking to a friend:

> It was Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos from Philaidai, the eldest and most cultured of his sons, who among many other brilliant achievements introduced the Homeric poems into this country. He it was who made the regulation, still in force, that the rhapsodes must recite the poems consecutively according to the cue. He also sent for Anakreon from Teos, and Simonides of Keos was constantly at his side, enjoying his munificence. He did all this with the aim of educating his people.[125]

[122] Th. 3. 104. 2. [123] Th. 3. 104. 1. [124] Hdt. 5. 65. 4.
[125] Pl. *Hipparch.* 228b, cf. Iso. 4. 159, Lycurg. *Leo.* 102.

At Athens, as elsewhere, the tyranny ended in reaction, with the result that it was condemned without discrimination by the democrats who had overthrown it. It became the fashion to transfer some of the tyrants' reforms, including the regulation just mentioned, to Solon, whom they regarded as the true father of democracy.[126] But in the present case at least there is no doubt where the credit really belongs. Here again we can appeal to the irrefutable evidence of pottery. Scenes from the *Iliad* occur on Attic vases as early as the second quarter of the sixth century, but it is only in the last quarter—the time of Hipparchos—that the painters show themselves to be thoroughly familiar with the poem.[127]

Is there the slightest reason for distrusting the conclusion on which all these signs converge? Allen concedes that the statement in the *Hipparchos*—

> is a remarkable one to have been made not more than 150 years after the supposed event. That the Homeric poems were previously unknown in Greece is disproved by their diffusion and influence at Sikyon under Kleisthenes; that they had already arrived at Athens appears from the appeal made to them in the matter of Sigeion. . . . It is singular that the historical imagination of the later fourth century conceived an eposless Attica till the time of the Peisistratidai.[128]

There is so much that is singular in ancient Greece that her modern historians sometimes find it difficult to keep their own imaginations under control.

The matter of Sigeion was this. Some time in the sixth century, under the Peisistratidai or earlier, Athens was involved in a dispute with Mytilene for the possession of Sigeion in the Troad, a keypoint for controlling the Hellespont, and the Athenian spokesmen are said to have appealed to the

[126] D.L. 1. 57. [127] Johansen ITG; see above n. 111.

[128] Allen HOT 228. He argued that 'the whole legend . . . was fabricated by Megarian antiquaries' (245) aggrieved by Homer's treatment of Salamis in the Catalogue (see below p. 572). He pointed out that Peisistratos (like other tyrants) was included among the Seven Wise Men, and credited with the works of Myson (D.L. 1. 13, 106–8, Aristox. 89); and that according to Ar. *Pa.* 1071 sch. he was nicknamed Bakis (by a comedian?). From this he deduced that there was 'as early as the fourth century what we may call a Pisistratean mythology in existence, according to which he was a philosopher, a writer under an assumed name, and an oracle-poet' (247). It seems to me that Allen is the myth-maker.

Iliad to prove, in support of their claim, that Athenians had fought in the Trojan War.[129] But there is nothing in the *Hipparchos* or any other ancient authority to justify the inference that the poems 'were previously unknown'. And the fact that rhapsodic contests had been held at Sikyon early in the sixth century is not a reason for doubting that they were instituted at Athens several decades later.

Allen's treatment of Kynaithos is even more unceremonious:

> The date Ol. 69=504 B.C. is impossible, since Syracuse founded in 733 cannot have been without Homer for two hundred years, the internal allusions and omissions in our hymn do not allow it to have been written at the beginning of the fifth century, and Thucydides could not have quoted a poem as Homeric which had been written less than fifty years before his birth. Therefore the numeral is wrong. . . . If Syracuse had heard Homer for the first time in 504, how could the Athenian ambassador have quoted the Catalogue to Gelon? Accordingly we rely on the anecdote and say that Kynaithos lived and recited Homer at Syracuse soon after its settlement, i.e. before 700 B.C.[130]

This from the scholar who hurls his unitarian scorn at the 'rigmarole methodology' of those separatist Germans.[131] The separatists have certainly been guilty of dreadful blunders, but Allen's house is made of glass. Writing before Wade-Gery's analysis of the *Hymn to Apollo*, he may be excused on that point, but, even if Kynaithos had composed the whole of it, Thucydides would still have distinguished it from other hymns to the same deity by giving it its conventional Homeric title. As for the Athenian ambassador at Syracuse in 481 B.C.,[132] he was quoting from a poem which had been publicly recited at Athens for more than thirty years and at Syracuse for twenty. To alter 500 to 700 by a mere flourish of the pen is a bold move. The sole reason offered for it is that Syracuse 'cannot have been without Homer for two hundred years'. Why not? Allen has no answer. He can only fall back on his unsupported conviction that the poet's text had been in general circulation from the beginning. He assumes without question that all poetry of the past conforms to the premisses of contemporary literary criticism.

The unitarians are afraid that, if they abandoned this position, the gates would be opened to the enemy, who would

[129] Hdt. 5. 94. 2. [130] Allen HOT 65–6. [131] *Ib.* 7. [132] Hdt. 7. 161. 3.

break into the stronghold and cut their treasures to pieces. Let me try to reassure them.

7. *The Recension of Peisistratos*

'Who', observes Cicero with his inevitable interrogative, 'was more learned, eloquent, and cultured in his age than Peisistratos, by whom the works of Homer, previously confused, are said to have been arranged in their present form?'[133] Peisistratos is praised here on the same grounds as Hipparchos in the dialogue. Cicero had studied at Athens, and was quoting an Athenian tradition.

The matter is mentioned again by Pausanias and Ælian, who add nothing new, and many centuries later in three Byzantine scholia:

I. It is said that Peisistratos pieced together Homer's poems, whose internal coherence had been disrupted by time, because they had been read at random in scattered portions.

II. It is said that Homer's poetry was perishing, because at that time it was transmitted by oral instruction, not in writing. In keeping with his noble character the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos resolved to earn further admiration by planning to record the poems in writing. He organised a public competition, offering to everyone who knew the poems and could recite them a prize of an obol a verse. In this way he collected all the readings and handed them over to experts. [There follows the epigram quoted on p. 548.]

III. The Homeric poems, previously dispersed, were arranged in their present form during the reign of Peisistratos by two scholars selected at the time by Aristarchos and Zenodotos—not to be confused with the Ptolemaic scholars of those names. Some authorities ascribe the Pisistratid recension to four editors—Orpheus of Kroton, Zopyros of Herakleia, Onomakritos of Athens, and . . . [the last name is illegible].[134]

Here the tale has been embroidered with picturesque details for the edification of Byzantine schoolboys, but the central theme is authentic. Onomakritos the Orphic, author of a poem called *Purifications*, figures in Herodotus, who says he was banished by Hipparchos for interpolating into an ancient oracle some verses about Lemnos.[135] The motive is not clear, but it was certainly political. A few years later (502–495 B.C.) Lemnos became an Athenian dependency.[136]

[133] Cic. *Or.* 3. 137.
[134] See Allen HOT 230–3.
[135] Hdt. 7. 6. 3.
[136] Hdt. 6. 140.

Plutarch and Ælian attribute a similar edition of the poems to Lykourgos.[137] The stories about Lykourgos are suspect, and this one may have been designed simply to provide the Athenian recension with a Spartan parallel. But it is not impossible that something of the sort had been done in early Sparta as a means of regulating the recitals.

In the Catalogue of Ships the contingent from Salamis is described in two verses:

> Ajax brought from Salamis twelve ships and stationed them where the ranks of the Athenians were stationed.[138]

The second verse is omitted in several MSS., including one of the best, and in two papyri. It was condemned by the Alexandrian editors, as we learn from Strabo, who points out that it is contradicted by several passages later in the poem.[139] Inconsistency is not of course a proof of composite authorship. Even Homer nods. But this verse is suspect from another point of view. It is evidently intended to imply that Salamis was an Athenian dependency, or at least closely allied with Athens. There is nothing in our other sources to suggest any connection between the two communities at this early date. It seems therefore to be an interpolation in the strict sense of the term. The ancients recognised this, and knew where it came from. One of Peisistratos' achievements had been to annex the island of Salamis, which had previously belonged to Megara, and he inserted this verse in the *Iliad* to consolidate his title. All the ancient authorities rejected it, including Aristotle,[140] and the Megarians claimed to remember the verses, mentioning four places in their territory, which Peisistratos had deleted.[141]

The motive alleged is sufficient, but there may have been another. As a native of Philaidai, Peisistratos was a fellow villager of the clansmen of that name, who were descended from Philaios, a son of Ajax and an immigrant from Salamis (p. 121). Their chief at this time was Miltiades, who migrated to the Thracian side of the Hellespont, where he set himself up as a tyrant ruling in the Athenian interest.[142] It was his nephew and

[137] Plu. *Lycurg.* 4, Ael. *VH.* 13. 14. [138] *Il.* 2. 558–9. [139] Str. 394.
[140] Arist. *Rh.* 1. 15, *Il.* 3. 230 sch., Quintil. 5. 11. 40. Some made Solon the interpolator: D. L. 1. 48, Plu. *Sol.* 10.
[141] Str. 394. [142] Hdt. 6. 34–5.

successor who conquered Lemnos. There is a thread running through these events which has yet to be unravelled, but it seems that the link which the tyrant fabricated between Salamis and Athens may have been taken from a tradition known to him from boyhood. Perhaps it was woven into the poem by Ionian rhapsodes at his court, anxious to gratify their patron.

Two more interpolations were attributed to Peisistratos—the references to Theseus and to the immortality of Herakles.[143] The one was a tribute to the Athenian national hero, who as such was post-Homeric (p. 264); the other was designed to reconcile the death of Herakles with his divinity. If this was the whole editorial fee, it was a very modest one.

Finally, we read in a scholium appended to the Lay of Dolon (*Iliad* X):

> They say that this lay was composed by Homer separately, not as part of the *Iliad*, and that it was inserted here by Peisistratos.[144]

For the separatists this is the hammer-blow that drives their thesis home. The Lay of Dolon was merely the last of many accretions. The *Iliad* was a conglomeration. For the unitarians it is an acute embarrassment. They reject the tradition of the Pisistratid recension *in toto*, not on any arguable grounds, but simply because they refuse to believe it, and they point out, quite correctly, that there is nothing in the language of Book X to show that it is late.

Is this or any other book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* an interpolation? No matter how long the Homeric controversy may continue to hum, this question will never find an answer. It is meaningless. Like the Achæans and Trojans, the separatists and unitarians have been fighting for a phantom, and their misdirected valour appears all the more remarkable when we find the truth of the matter stated succinctly in the ancient sources which they have made their battleground.

It is easy to disparage the Byzantine scholiasts. They too had their faults. They are sometimes extraordinarily obtuse. But they spoke Greek. They had received in an unbroken line the heritage of Greece. This was a precious asset. It enabled them

[143] Plu. *Thes.* 20, *Od.* 11. 602 sch. [144] *Il.* 10 sch. *ad. init.*

sometimes to pass on the truth without understanding it. I learnt this when I was working on the text of Æschylus, and my Homeric studies have confirmed it.

'The internal coherence of the poems had been disrupted.' We are not told that they had never possessed unity, but that they had lost it. The unitarians have not noticed this. 'The poems were perishing because they had been transmitted by oral instruction, not in writing.' Wolf, repudiated on this point even by his own followers, was right.

How long did it take to recite the *Iliad*? All we can say is that at the Athenian dramatic festivals four plays were performed in a day. This would be less than half the number of verses in the *Iliad*. The *Odyssey* is a little shorter. It seems unlikely that the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* could have been recited in a day.

The poems matured in Ionia. When they were installed at Delos, the programme was framed to accommodate them. They were the most important items. The Ionians were prosperous, and could afford a lengthy festival.

Then they spread to Greece proper. There they were not at home in the same way as they had been in Ionia. They had to compete with local talent. Their length became a disadvantage. The Cyclic poems, constructed on a smaller scale, were designed to meet the new conditions. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited, perhaps earlier and more widely than our records show, but only in selections. They began to disintegrate.

Then came the revival. Everywhere along the trade routes the enfeebled aristocracy was challenged by energetic merchant princes who had a direct interest in raising the material and cultural standards of the people. The demand for Homer was renewed, and in the reorganised festivals room was made for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

But this was not enough. The competing rhapsodes were still offering the most popular pieces to the detriment of the whole. Accordingly it was stipulated that they were to recite the poems through in the proper order, each beginning where the last left off. But to make this regulation effective it was necessary to know what the proper order was. The need arose for an official text.

It was a formidable undertaking, and fraught with an inherent difficulty. How were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to be defined?

Was the Lay of Dolon to be included in the *Iliad*? Was the *Odyssey* to close with the reunion at the fireside? What about the Deception of Zeus, which some said was irrevèrent, and the Catalogue of Ships, which, referring properly to the outbreak of the war, did not really fit? On all these matters, not to mention questions of phrasing, metre, and the digamma, practice varied not only from rhapsode to rhapsode but from one performance by the same rhapsode to another. The poems were still fluid. Peisistratos was faced with the complex and delicate task of recording and arranging a copious, richly diversified, organic mass of oral tradition. The measure of his success is the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

8. *The End of Epic*

The Greek alphabet was constructed in Ionia and diffused by trade. In each community the spread of literacy was necessarily slow. The initiative was taken by the merchants, who wanted an instrument for commercial contracts and codifying the laws. The landowners resisted for this reason. And naturally it made less headway in professions wedded to an oral technique.

The power of memory characteristic of preliterate peoples is astonishing only to those who have not experienced it. Being the only medium for preserving knowledge, it has been made perfect by practice. Minstrels in particular have raised it to the highest pitch. It is part of their craft. This explains why Greek epic was so long in being committed to writing. The Homeridai had no use for the pen. They carried their repertory in their heads. The result was that, when they had diffused it beyond their power to control it, they came very near to losing it. It was saved by the merchant princes. History was kind to them—how kind can be seen from what has happened elsewhere in analogous conditions.

The peculiar beauty of epic diction, as compared with written poetry, is its fluency and freshness. That is the virtue of improvisation. It takes on new colours as it passes from one festive occasion to another, sparkles in response to each momentary stimulus. But its lustre cannot be caught. Its words are winged and cannot be pinned down.

Let us take another lesson from the Kirghiz. Radlov describes his efforts to record their poetry:

> Noting down the songs from dictation was very difficult. Not being accustomed to speak slowly enough to be followed by the pen, the singer loses the thread of the narrative and by omissions falls into contradictions. . . . In spite of all my efforts I have not succeeded in reproducing their minstrel poetry completely. The repeated singing of the same song, the slow dictation, and my frequent interruptions dispelled the excitement indispensable for good singing. The minstrel could only dictate in a tired and negligent way what he had delivered before with fire. . . . The verses written down have therefore lost their freshness.[145]

The heroic verse of most primitive peoples has suffered irreparable loss. Not only has much of it perished but what survives has been mutilated. This has been shown by Soviet research. The construction of some of these oral epics, when recited in the proper manner and environment, is faultless; it is only in print that they manifest the discrepancies and confusions often regarded as characteristic of popular poetry.[146] In the Soviet Union, however, the difficulty has been solved. Not only have the minstrels been taught to write in circumstances that enhance their pride in their national traditions, but they have been equipped with the phonograph and radio. These songs will survive. They have been saved by machinery.[147]

But these conditions are unprecedented. Elsewhere and at other times the transition from speech to writing has been left to chance. The best Germanic epics contain many fine things, and, if they are inferior to Homer, this is largely due to losses in transmission. The spread of literacy during the so-called Dark Ages is thus described by Chadwick:

> Three phases are to be distinguished in the early history of Roman writing among the Teutonic peoples. In the first phase only Latin is written. In the second the native language is employed for writing religious and other works derived from Roman sources or based on Roman models. In the third phase purely native works are written. But this third phase did not arise on the continent before the twelfth century, and then only in a much modified form, while even the second phase was largely local and hardly recognised in the highest circles.[148]

[145] Radlov PV 5. xv. [146] Zazubrin, quoted by Chadwick GL 3. 180.
[147] G. Thomson MP 56–8. [148] Chadwick GL 1. 483.

In western Europe, after a violent upheaval, the heroic kingship was consolidated into feudalism, and when, after several centuries, the power of the feudal lords was broken by the bourgeoisie, the art of minstrelsy was dead. In Greece the expansion of trade was so rapid that the merchant-class was able to appropriate the epic tradition in its prime. In western Europe writing was introduced through an alien medium which was an exclusive instrument of the ruling class. In Greece the alien languages had been absorbed. In western Europe popular poetry, being pagan, was suppressed. 'When priests dine together', wrote Alcuin to the Bishop of Lindisfarne, 'let the words of God be read. It is fitting on such occasions to listen to a reader, not a harper, to the discourses of the Fathers, not the poems of the heathen. What has Ingeld to do with Christ?'[149] The Greek rhapsode was an honoured guest at court and a repository of sacred lore. At every turn he had the advantage over the *scop*, thanks to the extremely rapid and uneven development of Greek society.

Who then is Homer? He is not a compilation. The separatists made the mistake of leaving out his poetry. Nor is he a solitary miracle. The unitarians do not want to explain Homer, but to envelop him in the magic of individuality and the miracle of genius. But, though his songs have never been surpassed, they are not a miracle. Homer is not one but many hereditary poets, gifted and practised, who, together with the enthusiastic crowds that spurred them to excel themselves and the far-sighted statesman that saved their masterpieces for posterity, may be described in Shelley's words as both creations and creators of their age.

9. *Structure of the Iliad and Odyssey*

Before concluding let me outline briefly how the two poems seem to me to have been built up. It must be brief, because a detailed exposition lies beyond the scope of this work. And of course it is purely conjectural.

The kernel of the *Iliad* was a sordid quarrel between a chief from the Thessalian backwoods and his Mycenean overlord.

[149] *Id.* HA 41.

Achilles refused to fight; the Achæans were pressed back; his thane, Patroklos, went to their assistance, and fell to Hector; then, stirred to action, Achilles killed Hector, outraged the corpse, and flung dogs, horses, men on his friend's burning body in an insensate orgy of revenge.

This theme was developed, as Aristotle says, by means of episodes. The first was the rejected offer of amends (Book IX). This led to others. The Achæans were defeated twice, before and after the refusal, and the battle scenes were expanded further by introducing the exploits of Diomedes and Agamemnon. But above all, by refusing Agamemnon's offer, Achilles took on himself the responsibility for the quarrel, and so a new conclusion was called for to mark his change of heart. At this point the minstrels took leave of the saga, treating it with the imaginative freedom of conscious art. Deaf to all appeals from his wife and family, the grief-stricken old king seeks out the man who has killed his son and begs him for the body. The two enemies pour out their hearts in a flood of tears, the one for his son and the other for his father. The conflict is resolved. The pathos of this climax was heightened further by episodes from the life of the doomed city, introducing us to Helen and Hector's infant son. And over all hangs the mirage of the gods, whose quarrels always end in laughter because they are immortal.

This was a work of centuries. The Mycenean monarchy rose and fell while the poem was being composed. The sophisticated artists who added the finishing touches were far removed from the semi-barbarous brigands of whom they sang. The result was a dynamic tension between them and their material, and they had absorbed their material so deeply that the tension appears as something internal in their characters. 'If', says Sarpedon to his vassal, 'we were destined to live for ever like the gods and never grow old or die, I should not send you into battle nor would I go myself; but since in any case we are surrounded by a thousand deaths and dangers, let us go—to get glory or to give it.'[150] That is not the voice of a robber chief. The Achilles who drew his sword on the king, sulked in his tent, sobbed like a child, spurned the offer of cities, rolled in the

[150] *Il.* 12. 322–8.

dust for grief, and dragged his enemy's body at the tailpiece of his chariot—that is the authentic Achæan, the turbulent cattle-raider and pillager of Knossos. But Achilles is doomed; so is Agamemnon, and Ajax. Their empire is nothing but a memory conjured up out of the past in the magical hexameters of poets who love to note the movement of sheep stampeding in the fold, the sweep of a scythe in the grass, or the grace of a woman's fingers at the loom. And so, as they see him, Achilles is tormented by foreknowledge of his fate: 'Shall I go home to Phthia and live out my life in uneventful ease, or die young in battle and live for ever on the lips of minstrelsy?'[161] The tragic dilemma of the *Iliad* crystallises five centuries of revolutionary change.

The *Odyssey* contains a much larger admixture of non-heroic fiction. It belongs more completely to the maturity of the art, and so makes a smoother, more effortless unity.

In its present form it falls into six sections marking the progress of the action. Telemachos leaves home to seek news of his father (Books I–IV). Meanwhile Odysseus has landed in Phæacia (V–VIII), where he tells the story of his wanderings (IX–XII). Returning independently, the father and son meet in the swineherd's hut (XIII–XVI). Disguised as a beggar and insulted in his own house, Odysseus interviews Penelope and prepares his plot (XVII–XX); and finally after slaying the suitors he discloses himself to his wife and father and is restored to peaceful possession of his heritage (XXI–XXIV).

The nucleus was a cunning man's voyage overseas among miracles and monsters and his revenge on the enemies who took advantage of his absence. This is crude folklore, far older than Odysseus. But in the poem, though the adventures extend over ten years, all save the last are concentrated in a single section. As in the *Iliad*, a large subject is comprehended in one view by fixing the focus on a single portion, but here the method seems to have been applied more consciously, and it has been carried so far that the hero's adventures are in effect subordinated to a new interest—the reunion of his family. This is done by enveloping the main theme in four ancillary episodes.

First, the voyage of Telemachos sets the stage in Ithaca and

[161] Cf. *Il.* 9. 412–6.

introduces the situation dramatically. His journey to Pylos and Sparta is a heroic subject, but even in our text there are signs of an older version in which after leaving Sparta he had gone on to Crete.[152] It looks as though a separate lay has been incorporated and adapted.

Secondly, Odysseus' sojourn in the exotic island of Phæacia is a genuine reminiscence of a matriarchal Minoan city-state (pp. 418–20) designed as a contrast to the rough island home which he refuses to exchange for it. This too may once have existed as a separate lay. The last of many adventures, it has been transformed with superb skill into a lens through which we view the rest. The one-eyed Cyclops and Circe's witchcraft, the twittering ghosts of hell and the fatal music of the Sirens reach us as an enchanting tale at the fireside, twice removed from reality.

Thirdly, the scenes in the swineherd's hovel, which are pure fiction, seem to have been suggested by the lay of Telemachos, who was forced to return secretly. Their dramatic effectiveness speaks for itself, but a word must be said about the swineherd. Thersites in the *Iliad* is a man of straw, a butt of class prejudice, but Eumaios is drawn with Shakespearean sympathy:

> O good old man, how well in thee appears
> The constant service of the antique world,
> When service sweat for duty, not for meed!

The swineherd's hut has no place in the heroic age. It is feudal, and I suspect that even the feudal world of this gentle, gracious peasant was already antique for the poets who imagined him.

Lastly, the slaughter of the suitors, though part of the original theme, has probably been modified. The archery contest, founded on the *svayamvara* (p. 404), is older than its present context, and it is noteworthy that none of the suitors has any independent place in genealogy or myth.[153] The brutality of the scene conforms to the law of patriarchal Greece, which permitted a man taken in adultery to be killed with impunity. For Odysseus reunion with his family is synonymous with recovery of his property.

[152] *Od.* 1. 93, 284, 3. 313 sch.

[153] With the possible exception of Peisandros son of Polyktor: see above p. 426.

These episodes are fused with the original theme so skilfully that they enclose the fabulous kernel in the much more human story of what was happening in Ithaca. We meet his wife and family before we meet him, and when we meet him he is all but home again. The enchantments of Circe and Calypso only sharpen his yearning for the sight of a whiff of smoke curling up from the chimneys he knows so well. His nostalgia holds us in suspense, and it is enhanced by a *Leitmotiv*—a device which is not used in the *Iliad*. Right from the opening of Book I our hopes and fears for the family have been played on by repeated parallels with the fate of Agamemnon, who had a fair wind home only to be murdered by his wife and her paramour. Will Penelope keep faith? Can a hundred suitors fail where Aigisthos succeeded? Will Telemachos prove, like Orestes, a son worthy of his father? In Phæacia this motive is treated as a *scherzo* in Aphrodite's dalliance with Ares during the absence of Hephaistos.[154] Again, as in the *Iliad*, human tragedy is divine comedy. And it culminates in the last book, where we hear the ghost of Agamemnon pronounce Odysseus happy. This book may be later than the rest, but it is justified. Not only is the reunion with Laertes necessary—it is for this alone the old man has lived so long—but the scene in which he cries out for proof and Odysseus counts the trees he had helped him to plant in the garden when he was a boy, is as moving as any in Homer. At the end of the story the grandfather, father, and son face the world together. There were further adventures in store for Odysseus, but the *Odyssey* ends there, and rightly.

All this, however, is little more than guesswork. We are not in a position to identify the raw materials. But at least we can appreciate the technique. All theories of authorship, single or composite, are beside the point. The concept of authorship is inapplicable. These poems took shape out of a kaleidoscopic background of impromptu variations adjusted to the inspiration of the moment, crystallising gradually as the power of improvisation failed. And they were brought to rest so gently that in their final configuration the simple realism and natural

[154] This point has been overlooked by those who reject the lay of Demodokos as an 'interpolation'.

eloquence of primitive, popular poetry was combined with the subtle, self-critical individualism of mature art. That is their unique quality. From the nature of the case they could not have been produced either by a single artist or by a succession of artists working separately for their own ends. They were the work of a school in which generations of disciplined and devoted masters and pupils had given their lives to perfecting their inheritance. And all this was rendered possible by a unique combination of historical circumstances, which laid a bridge between improvisation and composition, between speech and writing, so that something of the unpremeditated audacity of the primitive minstrel, inspired by the shining eyes and breathless silence of the crowd, was carried over into the impassive but durable medium of the written word.

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An	*Antiquity*. London, 1926–.
Arc	*Archæologia*. London, 1770–.
As	*Anthropos*. Vienna, 1905–.
AA	*American Anthropologist*. Washington/New York, 1888–.
ABS	*Annual of the British School at Athens*. London, 1894–.
AJA	*American Journal of Archæology*. Concord, 1897–.
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*. Baltimore, 1879–.
ARB	*Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington, 1881–.
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. Freiburg, 1898–.
AS	*Année sociologique*. Paris, 1896–.
BCH	*Bullétin de correspondance hellénique*. Paris, 1877–.
C	*Caucasica*. Leipzig, 1924–.
CP	*Classical Philology*. Chicago, 1906–.
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*. London, 1906–.
CR	*Classical Review*. London, 1887–.
Ge	*Georgica*. London, 1935–.
Gl	*Glotta*. Göttingen, 1907–.
HJA	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Cambridge, Mass., 1936–.
HS	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. Cambridge, Mass., 1890–.
IA	*Indian Antiquary*. Bombay, 1872–.
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*. Strassburg, 1891–.
JAI	*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. London, 1872–.
JAO	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Baltimore, 1880–.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*. London, 1880–.
JOA	*Jahresheft des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*. Vienna, 1897–.
JOG	*Journal of Obstetrics and Gynæcology*. London, 1902–.
JP	*Journal de psychologie*. Paris, 1908–.
JPS	*Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Wellington, 1892–.
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*. London, 1911–.
K	*Klio*. Leipzig, 1901–.
KF	*Kleinasiatische Forschungen*. Weimar, 1930–.
L	*Language*. Philadelphia, 1924–.
M	*Man*. London, 1901–.
MDA	*Mitteilungen des deutsches archäologisches Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*. Berlin, 1876–.
MH	*Museum Helveticum*. Basel, 1943–.
MI	*Man in India*. Hyderabad, 1920–.
NJK	*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassisches Altertum*. Leipzig, 1898–.
NRH	*Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger*. Paris, 1855.
O	*Oceania*. Melbourne/London, 1931–.
OKD	*Oversigt over det kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger*. Copenhagen, 1816–.

OL	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*. Leipzig, 1897–.
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*. London.
PRS	*Proceedings of the Royal Society*. London, 1903–.
REG	*Revue des études grecs*. Paris, 1887–.
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*. Paris, 1930–.
RM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1851–.
RP	*Revue de philologie*. Paris, 1877–.
S	*Syria*. Paris, 1919–.
SJA	*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*. Albuquerque, 1945–.
VDI	*Вестник древней истории*. Moscow/Leningrad, 1947–.
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*. New Haven, 1928–.
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*. Berlin/Leipzig, 1892–.
ZVF	*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*. Berlin, 1852–.

INDEX TO MAPS

The references are to Map XII except where otherwise indicated. References to the other maps are given only for places not marked on Map XII.

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