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P E G A S U S

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LORD PROFESSORS AND PROPHET PAPADOPOULOS
A discussion of Athenian higher education
1969-70

Once upon a time, a noticeably English girl stood clutching a briefcase in a huge, back-pounding, side-squeezing, elbow-digging throng of Greek students outside a lecture-theatre in Athens, waiting to get in.

Although she had spent
(i) three months as governess-cum-slave to a fat little Greek boy in Vouliagmeni, learning Greek; and (ii) far too much money on getting her Exeter degree formally translated, stamped, and signed three times at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and (iii) far too much time on queuing at the Ministry of Education to get her grant; and (iv) far too much patience at the office of the Philosophical School being registered as a female hearing member (ἀκροάτρια) of Athens University: - yet still, though it was now mid-November, she was waiting to attend her first lecture.

A thunderous stamping of feet from within heralded a stampede, which the students outside valiantly resisted by walking straight towards it, and for a few minutes everyone stamped over everyone else except the English girl who was only stamped on - until like a piece of soap in a hand full of bubbles she suddenly shot into the lecture-theatre and looked around the vast tiers of seats.

While she was looking, the Greek students smartly occupied every vacant seat, some two at a time, and she was eventually forced to squat on the aisle steps with only a lumpy briefcase between her and cold, dusty concrete.

The noise was indescribable - appalling and exhilarating.

Little boys in white rushed towards her up the steps, swinging round aluminium trays like censers in their hands, chanting an antiphonic refrain about lemonades and FRESH salami-and-cheese σαντουιτς. She was inspired to buy a lemonade (it was a hot day) and was savouring the last drop when the bottle was snatched from her in mid-suck. This was surprising. A polite word of protest lost significance when suddenly - all together - the cicadas hushed (Seferis). The lemonade-boys vanished, there were audible sounds of large mouths shutting, and as every student squared round in his seat, in by the door came God.

I mean, of course, the Professor.

Greek Professors are never otherwise than professorial. Like the Orthodox concept of God, they are regarded as incomprehensible and unapproachable beings with perhaps a slight resemblance to humans. Ordinary students perceive them only as a mouthpiece of eternal truths, standing erect under the ikon of the Saviour, clad in spotlessly laundered suits and shirts, and pronouncing the Rule of Life in a voice free of all emotion (unless wrath) and the language of the Byzantine Fathers. Possessing no ragged gowns, they are obviously unable to wipe

blackboards; and those students who have a petition to supplicate squirm humbly out from among their mates and clean the board when such necessity is indicated (by a circular movement of the august forefinger). Professors do not, of course, give tutorials, and are therefore never seen to smoke leisurely pipes, prop their legs on bookshelves, clean or suck their spectacles, or telephone their female relatives. To address such a being by its first name, or even second, would be profane. They are dignified with a divine title and an obsolete vocative: "Κύριε Καθηγητά ", Lord Professor.

It is very easy to attract the unfavourable attention of God. One has merely to sit rather close to someone who is talking; or laugh in the wrong place; or take notes when the Professor is demonstrating his ability to speak δημοτική (for thus saith the prophet Papadopoulos, "Education is henceforth to be rendered in καθαρεύουσα , inasmuch as it be the language of our glorious Greek law".) Or one may remove one's sweating arm, in its beautifully starched, cuffed and linked shirt-sleeve, from the decent cover of one's dark blue jacket, so as to write more comfortably at 4.30 p.m. on a 90° day, when one is sitting not far enough away from the Professor; thus causing him to address the following judgement: "Either thou shalt replace the sleeve of thy jacket, or thou shalt remove thyself from my presence". Any verbal attempt to evade divine justice is dealt with thus. One is forced to give up one's identity card and call for it very early the next morning at the Professor's office. He, of course, is mysteriously absent until two or three hours have passed and the guilty one has experienced all the horrors of the Darkness of the Soul. Almost he welcomes the advent of the avenging deity, who may, if merciful, administer only a stern rebuke, and if not, inform him that he is unlikely to pass his next examination in his, the Professor's subject.

Weeping girls are a frequent sight emerging from the Professor's sanctum.

An English girl was witness to the following scene in a lecture-room in the Academy.

A modest-looking girl was told to stand up and repeat what she had been saying. She insisted, together with her neighbours, that she had said nothing. She had her identity-card confiscated, and, red-faced, turned on request to leave the room. For some strange reason the door refused to open - one hopes accidentally, because there were 200 students in a room intended for 50, and the windows were high and ancient. She could do nothing but stand weeping by the door in the sight of all, until the Professor relieved her tension by noticing her with a kindly laugh and remarking "If you cannot remove yourself, perhaps we shall allow you to remain in your present position!" He (tactfully) ignored her forthwith.

Few students would have the courage to beard a Professor in his den. A foolhardy English girl announced such an intention to a fellow-student one day in early February 1970, and refused to believe her warning prognostications. "Nonsense!" she cried with missionary zeal; "Professors are people, just like you and me". The Greek girl sighed: " Κι' ὅμως εἶναι τόσο αὐστηρὸς, αὐτὸς....."

You see, after several months of purely liturgical contact with her Professors, the English girl had begun to feel a need for a higher

level of communication; a more personal knowledge of God. She did not like disliking him without reason; and she felt, too, that he would be the right person to advise her on choosing a suitable topic for a D. Phil. thesis in Modern Greek. A reasonable supposition, since the God of her choice was Professor of Modern Greek at the University of the capital city of Greece.

She wasted at least 20 hours over a total period of 2 months on going to the Professor's office when he told her to and waiting for an opportunity to speak to him. When finally he was penetrated by her stubborn persistence, and had driven her to a display of something like hysteria (a terrible thing to do to a Professor), he granted her an interview of twenty minutes in his office, in the presence of two curious friends of his. She ventured to mention an interest in Cretan literature; the Professor made an impatient gesture and said something grammatically, at any rate, more polite than " "Ασ το !" (Bother that!"). All three laughed kindly at her pretensions, longing for her to go, and the Professor made a take-it-or-leave-it offer of allowing her to edit some Latin poems which had at least been written by Greeks.

Then, she admitted defeat - secretly. Openly, she accepted his offer with joyful alacrity and left with his promise (false) of writing her a note with the the references ringing in her ears, a glow of humiliation burning in her cheeks, and a rock-like resolve hardening in her breast to have nothing whatever to do with that particular Professor ever again, and to write her D. Phil. on Cretan literature. Perhaps she was never, before or after, so very near to being Greek!

Her friend had explained it all to her so very clearly. Greek students, she had said, go to see their Professors only if they have had their identity cards confiscated, or if they need references (rarely written; an example of professorial integrity, for they freely admit to knowing nothing of their students' characters) for foreign universities, or if they have oral examinations.

Oral exams are far more terrifying and frequent than in England; a student normally satisfies his examiner on both oral and written work. When the student knows all the rumours of the sexual, religious and sartorial preferences of his Professor, his way is a little clearer. He knows that he must simply cut his hair, shave his beard, refrain from flowery ties, deny Christ, and smile sweetly; or, she must wear a mini, not wear a mini, dye her hair blonde, dress all in red and frown austerely. If the student refuses to alter his normal method of self-expression, he knows when the FAIL notice goes up (as it does, publicly) that his beard was to blame; there is a certain security in that.

A student can read every book available on his subject in any number of foreign languages, and fail his exams if he has not read his Professor's printed series of University lectures (the same ones he delivers) at 160 drachmas the slim volume (and there are usually 2 or 3); or, if he has read them and ventures to disagree with his Professor's views, without paying them at least lip-service. The English girl, in November 1969, was delighted to have it on the Professor's own authority, as he held up in class his recently-published work "The Modern Greek Theatre" (selections, short, with introductory notes on the life-history of each playwright) that NO student was obliged to buy a copy; indeed,

there was a special copy in the Σπουδαστήριον for the use of every impecunious student. Several months later, the Professor had a grave announcement to make. (There were moans of anticipation).

Some villain, he said, had been selling at a reduced rate and for his own profit, a number of cyclostyled copies of the Great Work. All students were to watch out for the rogue and to report him at once if they found him. Yes, they were to enter the Sanctum (another lawful occasion).

To do the students justice, they reacted (after his departure) in exactly the same way that English students would have done. But vociferation does not, in Greece, imply imminent action; and though all agreed it was a scandal, nothing happened.

Of course, Professors are worked extremely hard. Departments are so crowded that exams are staged in relays of an hour each in the large lecture theatres, while the students who have turned up as usual for lectures buzz around the tiny "Quiet!" notice pinned to the shuddering door and peer through the keyholes to ascertain which year is being examined and whether the candidates look hard-pressed. The papers themselves are often surprising in form and content. Examiners may test their students' ingenuity by asking something not on the syllabus, or by expecting a student to treat for an hour a subject accorded three lines in the Professor's printed lectures. If they are expected to read widely, no-one tells them so, let alone what to read. Thus they learn a sturdy independence.

Since there are very few scholarships for undergraduates in Greece, it makes little difference if a student, by failing more than two of his eight or nine subjects, is forced to repeat the year. Provided he has put in a certain statutory number of "attendances" at lectures, he is allowed to take the same examination twice-yearly as often as he wishes; and if he is ingenious, will manage to do a part-time job at the same time as he is studying, or will persuade his parents that the added social lustre they will acquire by having a graduate son and by being able to boast that they did their duty by him all those struggling years, will completely outweigh their considerable financial loss.

It is "infra dig" for a student to work; and the English girl was quickly silenced when she attempted to expand her extraordinary confession of having worked as a waitress, and enjoyed it. Greeks pity English students from the bottom of their hearts, and are beginning to understand that their long hair, scruffy clothes and starved appearance is due to their parents' abnegation of financial responsibility at a cruelly early age!

Graduates in Greece have a great many opportunities. They may practise the professions they have spent so many years learning, though frequently they must go abroad to do so. They must, if male, do their National Service, even if they go abroad until they are thirty; and indeed, until they have done so, are given limited passports for a year's absence at a time, renewable at the cost of much time and money. If a student has been recognised by his Professor to be of promise, he may acknowledge this by using his ideas in his lectures the year after the student leaves; or he may appoint him βοηθός and pay him solely with the hope of one day stepping into his master's shoes. It is a sad fact

of human nature that once a βοηθὸς has progressed through ὑφηγητὴ, to Καθηγητης , he takes on the moral attributes of his predecessor. Enlightened souls are soon baffled, by the non-response of their colleagues, into a resentful conformity (enough to sour the sweetest nature); or they give up and become professors of grammar schools and earn wonderful money.

Some Professors, however, make jokes! The English girl found the Professor of Byzantine Greek to be really rather a wit; and if he had not spoken - by habit, not pressure - a debased form of Classical Greek with non-Erasmian pronunciation, she might have persevered with his lectures a little longer. He used his very language as a source of humour; on occasion, he would enunciate an expression used once by Demosthenes, perhaps, and consisting vocalically of οι, υι, η, ι, ε, αι, ο, ω, and ψ , plus here and there a consonant or two. Since in Modern Greek the first four, the following two and the last three are identically pronounced (where not dead by natural selection) the result is puzzling. A growing crescendo of "Eh, what?" from the scribbling students (notes are usually taken down in full) would drown out the Professor's voice and the pneumatic drill outside the open windows - and he would write the expression on the blackboard plus reference, and resume his lecture with the remark "It's time some of you knew your own language!" (Oh yes, Ancient Greek is the same language. So is Byzantine Greek, and Καθαρεύουσα, , and Ἀωλὴ Καθαρεύουσα, , and Athenian δημοτικὴ . Not, of course, what the villagers speak!).

The English girl was lucky enough to have a Professor of Folk-lore - a fascinating subject tracing Theocritus forward to Modern Greek popular customs - who liked and admired the English. He complained that she did not invade his sanctum often enough; and via him, she kept a tenuous link with the University even when she had ceased to profit from its facilities.

At Easter, 1970, she decided to go into herself to find the real University of Athens, and began at last some constructive work - on Cretan literature - in the libraries. She extends a friendly warning to all those intending to use the National Library; it is inefficient. It consists of a vast, dark hall with pillars, and two tables for Κυρίες και Δεσποινίδες , twenty for gentlemen, and two for elevated members of the Armed Forces of Greece. When she attempted to occupy one of the latter, she was ejected politely but firmly and made to sit at one of the crowded tables at the far end, next to the draughty door. This library has an excellent collection of books and manuscripts; if you are lucky, the attendant brings you the right one. Some periodicals are still awaiting binding because (this is their story) the Government locked up the binding room two years ago and kept the key, as a punishment to the attendants who had evaded their payments of Social Security. However, there are many more comfortable, if less well supplied libraries in Athens; the Gennadios, an American foundation near the British School, the State (formerly Royal) Institute of Research near the Hilton - Mr. Dimaras must approve of you - and the Vouli, which is excellent for banned novels.

The present situation in Greece had a remarkable effect on our English girl; she realised that politics mean something.

She learnt early that it is all right to say "Turkish" and not "Greek" coffee. Greeks do not deny their national misfortune. Some even admit, when considering Greek atrocities in the War of Independence, that four centuries of Turkish rule are bound to have had some effect. But one does not enquire whether any of the atrocity-perpetrators were four centuries old. It stings and they talk about Cyprus, and empire-building cunning foxes.

It was from taxi-drivers that the English girl learnt most about politics. She enjoyed talking to taxi-drivers because they were not in a position to make a pass at her, and because taxis are cheap. Besides, Athenian taxidrivers are about the only honest Greeks (politically) left in Athens. Nobody can hear you inside a closed cab. So they lament freely over the lack of free speech, complain of the hypocrisy of the Greek press and describe the plight of their cousin's brother-in-law whose small shop was forced to close because of the Government's insistence on longer opening hours. They will even share with their English girl passenger a snigger at a certain photograph in the Athens Weekly, squinting at it before the traffic lights turn yellow. (It shows "Papadopoulos regaling the troops" by hopping solemnly on the left foot with the right knee raised, and both arms in a Mohammed-greets-the-dawn position fully outstretched). They will agree that he certainly didn't seem to be enjoying himself, and that yes indeed, it would make a most excellent bathroom decoration. They will then consider it time to laugh at Mr. Wilson's defeat by the housewives; and will part with their passenger on excellent terms, knocking a few drachmas off the fare and burying the Cyprus hatchet in a flood of sentimental tears as she wishes them "Good Freedom" and departs, wondering whether καλὴ ἐλευθερία , a wish normally addressed to women in the last stages of pregnancy, was quite appropriate in the circumstances.

She also wondered, especially when the subject of Cyprus had mysteriously not appeared, whether the taxi-driver then reached into his glove-compartment and switched off the tape-recorder.....

She had developed a spy-complex from the moment when a previously friendly student drew away from her in obvious suspicion after she had mentioned that she was receiving a scholarship from the Greek Government. Apparently one in every hundred Greek students is liable to be connected with the Secret Police.

Around the New Year, 1970, a policeman watched an English girl with a more-than-tourist command of Greek explaining to someone in a cafe in Kalávrita a number of visits she intended to make on her return to Athens. As she talked, she made a list. Her companion went out for a second and she began doodling round the edge of the paper, which was suddenly snatched up from the oil-cloth by the policeman. She regarded him steadily while he scrutinised the list of professors, etc., from top to bottom; and he handed it back with a polite "Thank you", and went out. Being a little perturbed, she asked the cafe-owner his opinion of this behaviour; he said "Oh, he thought you were an artist and wanted to look at the picture!" It was an odd incident, however.

Propaganda was the last straw, because she began to understand it.

One evening, martial music suddenly blared out into the square containing her flat, where she was working. It was being piped at ten times the tolerable volume from the Stadium, where there was a Historical Pageant. Non-reaction was impossible. She had to listen to the whole commentary, which ended with a description of how the crowds (attendance was compulsory for students) were cheering in joyful recognition as, from a gigantic model of the Phoenix of the New Revolution, there emerged a massive hydrogen balloon with a picture of our glorious President, the Saviour of the Greek Nation, Papadopoulos, beaming on the crowd and revolving higher and higher into the velvety-blue night sky..... The thing had vision. What clever psychologists were the Generals who combined the two greatest ideals of the Greek nation, Liberation and Resurrection, by staging their self-revelation at Easter-time, April the 21st; the second Revolution, but infinitely more glorious than the other of 1821.... and the third?

When she proceeded to wonder if the glory of Greece consists in its ability to celebrate its revolutions, she realised that she was about to become politically involved; and like a prudent Englishwoman, after a short holiday in Crete, she came home.

If one wants to work in libraries, England's dull grey skies are best.

Rosemary E. Bancroft.

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A HOPELESS VICE-PRESIDENT?

The Guardian (16th October, 1970) reports that an American graduate student in Rome has a car bumper sticker which reads :-

DUM SPIRO NON SPERO

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON GREEK RELIGION (TO THE END OF THE FIFTH CENTURY)[1]

First of all, I should perhaps explain that I added the qualification 'to the end of the fifth century' not only because of my ignorance of religion in later times and the tremendous amount of borrowing that then went on, but because the increased contact between nations tended to produce one culture area. For example, it has recently been pointed out that the general feeling of some of Horace's poetry can be felt also in native Egyptian literature written long before Horace was born. And besides, there can be no question that there was religious borrowing by the Greeks in Hellenistic times. What makes the earlier periods more interesting is that some scholars have strenuously denied all foreign influence on Greek religion at these times.

They saw the achievement of Greece as something isolated from other Aegean and Mediterranean civilisations, as a southern flowering of the Indo-European spirit. Very few classicists would take such a line now. In historical times Greek religion was different from Egyptian, Anatolian, and Semitic religions, but even then it was affected by foreign ideas. In the Bronze Age the situation was different. The religions of Greece and Crete look very much the same, and Cretan religion is based on a powerful Mother Goddess and her son, a pattern found throughout the Near East. However, not all would agree with Professor Palmer that the whole of the eastern Mediterranean was one religious area in the Bronze Age, for clearly influences passed from country to country at different times, and many reached Greece to be absorbed and emerge in many cases after the Bronze Age as apparently completely Greek.

To some extent scholars' change of attitude has been brought about by the vast amount of new evidence turned up by archaeologists. Nothing of note has emerged from the north (i.e. Macedonia, Thrace, and near-by areas) or Egypt, but significant Anatolian and Semitic evidence is coming to light year by year. On the Semitic side it is, I think, true to say that linguistic studies have been placed on a firm comparative basis, and though in the nature of these languages once the living tradition has been lost, much remains uncertain, we can separate the sound conclusions from the guesses. This is especially relevant to the equations of names of deities. Gone, I hope, are the days when Βάκχος was derived from Melqarth by the useful expedient of changing all the vowels and consonants. For our purposes the most important excavation site is Ras Shamra, called Ugarit in antiquity, which is situated near the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean. Its location made it an international crossroads of Bronze Age times. Among its archives have been found poems written in cuneiform on clay tablets. They tell us much about the mythology (and some would say cult) of Bronze Age Canaan.

The decipherment and translation of texts from Anatolia continues, and from these much information about religion has been collected. Archaeologists are revealing much older cities, dating from Neolithic times, in south-west Anatolia. These seem to have had a profound effect on Cretan civilisation.

In Crete epoch making excavations were carried out many years ago, but only recently has the written language been deciphered. I refer, of course, to Linear B, also used on the Greek mainland. The decipherment has given us the names of deities we have previously known only from representations on mute stones.

All this new evidence applies to the Bronze Age, and perhaps seems a little remote from Greek religion during the periods we normally study, but it was during this period that almost all the ingredients of later religion came together to emerge from the mixing bowl as archaic Greek religion, the religion that remained essentially unchanged until Hellenistic times.

The generally accepted view is that Indo-European invaders spread into Greece about 2000 B.C. and overcame, but did not exterminate, the existing population. This means that there should be an Indo-European sky religion imposed on an older agricultural religion, and this is an adequate general picture. But not all elements that seem to belong to this pre-Greek religion are so old, for Greece came more and more under Cretan influence, so that Greek and Cretan religion seems much the same. There was also strong Semitic influence on Greece. The Semitic influx surely explains the similarities Cyrus Gordon has detected between Semitic and Greek civilisations rather than his notion that there was one continuous culture area into which the Greeks intruded.

All the evidence so far mentioned is roughly contemporary with the trends I shall be describing. On the Greek side the situation is different for here we have a large amount of evidence from historians and travellers that genealogical chronology forces us to relate to the Bronze Age. This is always open to criticism since firstly the work of very few historians is preserved from pre-Hellenistic times; secondly vague similarities with foreign cults may be noticed and related to an early diffusion of religion; and thirdly there is bias in the evidence: a cult-centre had every reason to make its cult sound ancient by relating it to the oldest heroes and gods. And historians usually had axes to grind- especially Herodotus. Homer well illustrates the equivocal nature of literary evidence. Many have noticed that Apollo, usually thought the Greek god <u>par excellence</u>, fights for the Trojans, and concluded that in early times he was a foreign deity. This is the right conclusion. Dionysus is mentioned only once, in connection with Lycurgus, and some have concluded that he was unknown in Homer's time. This is the wrong conclusion. I shall be discussing both these deities later.

Naturally enough, one of the most useful ways of detecting and pinning down foreign influence is by finding the names of deities worshipped by the Greeks in foreign sources. Perhaps the most recent comprehensive example of this is Michael Astour's book <u>Hellenosemitica</u>. It has not had a good reception from classical scholars. One can see why. It is aimed at a view-point current more than a generation ago. But it surely contains much of value. Of course, Astour is not concerned solely with religion. He traces story-motifs which must be related to cult to be part of religion.

But we must not simply look at myths or rituals; the beliefs also matter, and a belief may to some extent be incompatible with the ritual it accompanies. This is important since the Greeks claimed to always alter for the better what they borrowed. In the ritual we can often detect primitive ideas, which may have no meaning for the worshippers.

After this preamble I must state my intentions for the rest of the paper. I aim to outline the period at which religious borrowing took place, show the home of borrowed cults and how the transplantation affected the cult. To these ends I shall discuss in detail selected examples. 2

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Of all the Greek gods the one that attained the widest popularity but was still thought foreign was Dionysus. Of modern scholars only one or two have argued that he was really a Greek god; what they disagree about is the date at which the cult spread to Greece, and its origin.

I think it is probably a fair statement that until a decade ago the orthodox view was that Dionysus was a late-comer to Greece, and some were prepared to put his arrival as late as 700 B.C. They had some evidence. They could point to the activities of Cleisthenes of Sicyon where Dionysus supplanted a local hero-cult; the popularity of dithyrambs - a poetic form dedicated in its early days to Dionysus - especially in Corinth; and the simultaneous introduction of Dionysus into the island of Paros with which the iambic poet Archilochus was concerned.

A few scholars argued against this view. Walter Otto in a book that has been unjustly neglected argued that festivals in which Dionysus was involved dated back to the time before the Greek migrations to Asia Minor. I shall discuss one of these later - the Anthesteria. He noted that Homer knew of Dionysus and most of his myths. In this he was going completely against the tide of Homeric scholarship, but the decipherment of Linear B has shown his to be the right view. For though there is no evidence that the name Dionysus which occurs on the tablets is the god, its presence presupposes the god' presence. This agrees with Herodotus who claimed that Dionysus' cult was introduced just before the Trojan war. In fairness to scholars, who could after all hardly be expected to predict in detail what the Linear B tablets contained, it should be said that there was a reintroduction of the cult in Archaic times.

The Linear B evidence means that we can dispense immediately with one theory of Dionysus' origin. Many ancient and modern scholars have thought he was Thracian. An outstanding exception was the famous historian of Greek religion Otto Gruppe who suggested that Greek colonists took Dionysus to Thrace in the Archaic Age. At any rate Dionysus cannot have come from the Thracians in the Bronze Age since the Thracians did not arrive in what was to be their home until about 1200 B.C., i.e. at about the same time as the Phrygians, to whom they were closely related, arrived in Anatolia.

And the existence of the god's name in the Bronze Age similarly shows that he cannot have been Phrygian or Lydian in origin. This, after the Thracian theory, was the most popular view in antiquity, expressed most eloquently perhaps in Euripides' Bacchae. Of course, he could still be a northern or Anatolian deity, but there is much in his cult that points to a Semitic rather than Indo-European origin.

First of all, we can again refer to Herodotus, this time for the Phoenician origin of Dionysus in the time of Phoenician Cadmus.

Secondly, the σπαραγμός - the dismemberment of a victim by the worshippers at the height of an ecstatic dance. There is no early Thracian or Anatolian evidence for this but there are Bronze Age examples from Ras Shamra. The best is the death of Baal at the hands of the goddess Anath. She admires his beauty, then kills him, eats his flesh without a knife, and drinks his blood without a cup. The scene is one of wild slaughter such as formed the culmination of the Maenad's wild dance.

Thirdly, there is Dionysus' alternate name Bacchus. This is sometimes thought Lydian. But there is a gloss in the lexicographer Hesychius: βάκχον, lamentation in the Phoenician tongue. Ecstatic lamentation for the victim played a large part in Dionysiac worship. The name of Pentheus - who is probably only a doublet of Dionysus - is derived from a verb meaning 'to grieve'. And βάκχος can be convincingly derived from a semitic word meaning bewail. The name could have spread to Lydia at an early date. We shall meet this line of religious influence again - the Semitic East, Anatolia, and Greece.

Then we have the alternate name for a Maenad, βασσάρα. The history of this word is usually said to be as follows: Dionysus was named Bassareus, and his worshippers Bassarids, because they wore long robes of foxskins, and βασσάρα is Thracian for fox. This is now known to be very unlikely for the word occurs on a Linear B tablet from Pylos. And in Dionysiac context it probably does not mean fox either, for it is not Thracian but Cyrenaic for fox. βασσαρα is to be derived from a Semitic root used in Hebrew for cutting grapes, in Akkadian to mean to cut to pieces, and in Ugaritic in parallelism with the verb to kill for cutting off hands, i.e. dismembering.

Finally I shall consider the thyrsus, the pole wound with ivy that the Maenads carried. The word has been discovered in Hittite documents, but here again we have to look further east. There was a Semitic goddess Tiroš or Tiršu who was a wine goddess. She is known from Ras Shamra. It was very common for Semitic deities to be represented not by statues in human form but by upright poles called asherahs. The name of the goddess was transferred to the pole that represented her, and this was the prototype of the Greek thyrsos.

The most important thing lacking in all this is a Semitic origin for the name Dionysus. The word could be Greek, meaning something like nursling of Zeus, but a Semitic etymology may emerge if we pursue the association of wine deities and upright poles.

The earliest representation of Dionysus at Thebes was an upright pillar. And there was a story that a log fell from the sky and was erected as an image of Dionysus. As long ago as 1876 the second element in Dio-nysus was connected with the Hebrew nes, stake or pole. There are parallels for the vowel change. In Greek νύσα can mean tree and νύσσα turning or winning post. This derivation is possible but not so clear as the other things in Dionysus' cult; these are, I think, sufficient to show its Semitic origin.

The cult's main feature, to which I have already alluded, was the wild dancing culminating in the σπαραγμός This made it foreign to the Greek world. But it did provide a wonderful means of escape from reality during times of stress. Yet it could not be allowed to get out of hand, and so was channelled into state cults. When the time of stress had passed the orgiastic element tended to die away especially in cities like Athens, and the festivals became little more than occasions for drunken merry-making. This is the Greek spirit at work; outside Greece, among more emotional peoples, the cult retained its primitive characteristics and thus was able to send new waves of orgiastic religion to Greece at certain times, and this made it seem as though a new cult was being introduced. 3

Often identified with Dionysus was Zagreus. His complicated myth may be summarised as follows : Zagreus as an infant was protected by the Curetes who danced around him an armed dance. The Titans, wanting to kill him, lured Zagreus away by offering him toys. Then they set on him and tore him limb from limb. Zeus became angry and killed them. Later, by Athena's agency, the child was brought to life again. The Curetes are well-known in Cretan religion, and their activities were made famous by the discovery of the Hymn of the Curetes at Palaikastro. But in this the deity is Zeus not Zagreus.

Scholars have sought the origin of the name Zagreus in the name of an Assyrian mountain, Zagron. Astour has exposed the weakness of the argument and pointed out a convincing origin in Ras Shamra. In accordance with his general theory he believes that Zagreus came to Greece in the Bronze Age, but oddly he does not mention the occurrence of the name on Linear B. tablets.

In the mythology of Ras Shamra there was a deity known as the Little or Young One. His name bears a remarkable consonantal resemblance to Zagreus and is, I believe, his prototype. For no Greek etymology explains his name. The suggested one, the Great Hunter, will not bear philological scrutiny. The Little One was the son of Baal and Anath. He has some interesting titles. He was the first-born child, the royal appointee, the messenger, and he had another title which is a little mysterious but seems to mean either instigator or sufferer of violent death. The second is more likely because there are other indications that he died young - like Zagreus.

The Little One was Baal's appointee, i.e. he was to succeed Baal. Likewise Zagreus was invested with the insignia of Zeus' kingship and sat on his throne till the Titans killed him. Sir James Frazer claims this as an example of killing the king's son instead of the king.

There is a good Semitic illustration of this practice. A myth preserved by Philo of Byblus tells how Elow during a great war sacrificed his only son after dressing him in royal attire. Like Zagreus and the Little One he was a substitute for the king. The Greek version, the story of Zagreus, can be connected with a rite that was celebrated annually. I have already mentioned the Hymn of the Curetes. Jane Harrison showed convincingly that it was connected with the initiation of boys when they reached puberty. According to her theory the temporary 'death' of Zagreus corresponds to the mock death of the boy as he passed through the initiation process. We shall see something of this again with Actaeon. The problem is that in the myth the Curetes, i.e. the initiated man, dance round Zagreus to protect him as soon as he is born and before the Titans kill him. This surely means that his birth corresponds to initiation into the group of Curetes, and his death his emergence from a group that is a transitional organisation for youths between boyhood and complete manhood. Zagreus' age at the critical stages does not correspond to the age of the real-life candidate for initiation but is projected backwards by a process well-known to anthropologists.

However, there is evidence that some Greek boys suffered a violent mock death. In one of his Idylls Theocritus describes the sufferings of Pentheus. He continues, 'I care not. And let not another care for an enemy of Dionysus, not though he suffer a fate more grievous than this and be in his ninth or entering his tenth year. But for myself may I be pure, and pleasing in the eyes of the pure'. This looks like some kind of purification ritual involving a mock death at the age of nine. And a Christian Father tells how at the age of nine he bore the torch of Demeter and submitted to the grief of Persephone. Her grief was caused by the Titans' murder of Zagreus.

In the Near East the function of Zagreus' prototype is obscure though he may have died like a scapegoat for the good of the community. In Greece his death was connected with procedures of initiation. There is no trace of this in Ras Shamra. With Zagreus we have an example of a deity borrowed from abroad whose function was altered by the Greeks.[4]

In Dionysus and Zagreus we have examples of foreign deities one of whom kept his foreign associations while the other lost them. I now want to discuss other deities and institutions that a Greek of the fifth century would have thought typically Greek. Of course, if I show a name to be foreign all it means is that this one thing was foreign in origin. It may be that the nature of the worship even in Mycenaean times was so changed by the Greeks that to speak of it as foreign is completely misleading. But sometimes both name and function appear to be foreign.

This seems to be true of Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth. There are many variant forms of the name. It is usually taken to be a participial form, 'She that comes at the time of need'. Her cult was widespread, being especially strong in Sparta and some of the Aegean islands. It was very ancient for the author of the Odyssey knew of a Cretan cave in which she was worshipped and her name appears on a Linear B tablet from Cnossus with reference to a cult at Amnisos. We have moved from the Greek mainland to Minoan Crete.

Perhaps I should say a little about the history of Crete in the Bronze Age. I shall present the orthodox view, not Professor Palmer's heresy. Minoan civilisation developed rapidly until about 1400 B.C. when there was a terrible destruction on the island. After this, and until the arrival of the Dorians about 1200 B.C., the Mycenaeans, i.e. Greeks, were in charge of the island. From the religious point of view what seems to have happened is that while the Minoan empire was thriving the mainland was profoundly influenced by its religion whereas Greek religion made little impact on the island probably because the number of Greeks on the island was small, just a ruling minority. This means that when we find names of deities on Cretan Linear B tablets we may well be dealing with non-Greek deities. For Eileithyia it means that the usual etymology is a folk etymology; her name is not Greek at all. Historians of Cretan religion do not doubt that her function was the same as in Greece. We can trace her further afield from Greece than Crete.

Scholars believe that various foreign elements went into Minoan religion. Sir Arthur Evans postulated Egyptian and Anatolian influence as early as Neolithic times. Others have argued for Phoenician influence, and they can point to the story of Zeus and Europa. None of this is very definite. But recently some remarkable evidence has come to light from excavations in south-west Anatolia at the Neolithic cities of Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük. There are dangers in using evidence from here, especially since three thousand years separate these cities from Bronze Age Crete, but it is surely no coincidence that many shrines show the figure, sometimes ten feet or more in height, of a goddess modelled in plaster usually against the west wall. She is modelled in the attitude of giving birth sometimes to humans, sometimes to animals. She has been traced back to the interior of Anatolia where she is apparently not connected with man-made shrines but with caves. Now in Crete caves were especially connected with birth and birth goddesses, and I have already mentioned the cave of Eileithyia.

With Eileithyia we have, I believe, an example of a Greek goddess who can be traced through Crete to the wilds of Anatolia. She is one of the clearest examples of a foreign deity travelling to Greece and retaining her original functions. The Greeks had little, if any effect on her.[5]

I now want to discuss a more direct connection between Anatolia and Greece. Until the arrival of the Phrygians the dominant power there was the Hittite empire. Only the vaguest memory of the Hittites survived in Greek literature so that mythological figures thought to originate in Anatolia in the Bronze Age were called Lydians or Phrygians. Perhaps the best known example is Pelops. In Anatolia he is related to Tantalus, and in Greece to Agamemnon, Atreus, etc.

In Homer Agamemnon was the Greek commander-in-chief. There has been much discussion about his historical reality: what is certain is that he was worshipped as a hero and his cult was merged with Zeus'. At Mycenae the cult can be traced to the eighth century and looks much older. He died at the hands of his son Aegisthus and his wife Clytemnestra. The story was presumably the aetiological myth for the cult. According to Sophocles Clytemnestra instituted a festival

to celebrate his death. It took place on the same day every month. Another version makes the festival an annual event, and this agrees with the assertion of Argive historians that Agamemnon died on the thirteenth of the month Gamelion. It may have been a festival on this day that made Sophocles speak of Clytemnestra's gory festival. Much has been made of Agamemnon's death. It has been interpreted as a ritual king-killing such as Sir James Frazer postulates in the Golden Bough: the old king must die because his powers are failing and a young king takes his place. It is therefore important to know whether the myth belongs to Greece or was imported from abroad.

In a Babylonian chronicle we read how a certain king invaded and plundered Babylon and how his son afterwards smashed his skull and seized the kingdom. The king's name shows that he was a Hittite. and the only Hittite king to plunder Babylon was Mursilis 1 about 1530 B.C. Mursilis immediately calls to mind Myrtilus, Oenomaus' charioteer killed by Pelops. We know from Hittite records that Mursilis met a violent end. It has been supposed that the story of his death was transferred by Greek poets to Agamemnon. In other words knowledge of a Hittite historical event survived as a historical event in Babylon but in Greece became the explanation of a cult. Astour has promised to demonstrate that all the events in the Pelops myth go back to historical events in Anatolia between 1530 and 1470 B.C.

If all this is right, and the Anatolian origin of the family acknowledged by the Greeks makes it more likely, it is not so easy to use the myth as evidence for the nature of Mycenaean kingship. What we have is a hero-cult in which the hero's death was explained by a historical story from Anatolia: the foreign element does not alter the nature of the cult. I shall come back to Hittite survivals.[6]

For Agamemnon and Eileithyia I have suggested a home in Anatolia. I now want to consider a god whom some have also thought originated there but whose origin is really to be sought further to the east. This is Apollo, usually thought to be completely Greek. But before Apollo himself I want to look at two cults in which his worship was combined with another deity. The first shows the imposition of Apollo on another foreign cult, and the second, which is related to the first, how Apollo's arrival changed the nature of an indigenous cult.

The first is Apollo of Amyklai in Sparta. You will immediately object that Amyklaios is a title derived from the locality of the cult. In fact things are not so simple. There was discovered in Cyprus a bilingual inscription which equates Apollo of Amyklai with Reshef Mkl. The obvious conclusion was that the Greeks had taken the god east to Cyprus. However, more recently an inscription has been found in the Canaanite city of Beth-Shean dating from the fourteenth century B.C. which shows Mukal was the city's principal god. We can trace Mukol a little further for the frequent Babylonian (non-divine) name Mu-kal-la is probably connected. Mu- is a Sumerian dialect form and means tree or pole. It is at least curious that on Spartan coins Apollo Amyklaios has the shape of a pillar. The Canaanite god Mukol was the city's chief god and so is likely to have embodied its political ideals; so Apollo was a political god.

It looks as though Mukol travelled to Greece where his cult was later combined with Apollo's so that the two became one. He is part of the general westward Bronze Age religious movement. Apollo of Amyklai was one of the gods of the Spartan festival called Hyacinthia, the other being Hyacinthus. 7

Hyacinthus' name shows that he belonged to the pre-Greek stratum of religion. He was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus. When he chose Apollo Zephyrus had his revenge by blowing suddenly when Apollo was playing with Hyacinth at discus throwing. The discus, caught in the gust, struck Hyacinth on the head and killed him. In memory of the event an elaborate festival, the Hyacinthia, was held. A detailed description of part of it has survived. Most of the important events have parallels in the Poem of Dawn and Sunset found at Ras Shamra. The poem mainly describes the birth of two deities, Dawn and Sunset (really the planet Venus as Morning and Evening Star), and so the myth is not the same as that told of Hyacinthus. But the poem is one of the most obscure of those found at Ras Shamra, and this means a lot since they are all full of difficulties. However the parallels between the Hyacinthia and the Ugaritic poem cannot be denied. And archaeology helps to show the eastern nature of the Hyacinthia. At the festival choirs of young men sang and performed a round dance. A vase from Amyklai shows male choirs: the dancers are carrying lyres and are performing a round dance which scholars regard as oriental.

Bearing in mind this poem celebrating the birth of Venus' twin aspects, we note that in one late Greek version Atymnius was substituted for Hyacinthus, and Atymnius was identified with Venus. Also in this version Apollo is the sun. We cannot complete the parallel with Ras Shamra since the connection with the sun is definite, though elsewhere Apollo can be identified with Venus. In this late version the morning star is killed and the sun takes its place. The same myth is found in the Book of Isaiah. We read how "The Shining One, son of Dawn", i.e. the morning star, tried to ascend to heaven but disappeared presumed dead. The morning star's light is overwhelmed by the sun's brightness. This may have been a cult story in Crete where Atymnius was worshipped under the slightly variant name Adymnus and sacrifices were made to Apollo at dawn.

I cannot claim that when the Spartan Hyacinthus cult was instituted the Laconians saw Hyacinthus as Venus (or Apollo as the sun), but the mythological manipulations of a late writer show that he detected the same pattern in the myth connected with the ritual, and we have the parallels between the Hyacinthia and the Poem of Dawn and Sunset. 8

Now I shall deal with Apollo himself. At the beginning of this century a historian of Greek religion could write, 'We have the right to assume an Indo-European origin for him'. The main objection he had to overcome was that Apollo Lykeios was a Lycian deity, but he could easily make Apollo a wolf god. The main support for his statement was Apollo's connection with the Hyperboreans. It was argued that the Hyperboreans lived in the far north, and the route Apollo took from there to Greece represented the route of the early Greek invaders. But even then some doubted his Indo-European origin. They pointed out, as already mentioned, that in the Trojan war he favoured the Trojans; also that hymns sung in his honour on the island of Delos were brought there by the poet Olen from Anatolia; that in his most important cult-centres

he was thought to be an intruder; and that the variations in the form of his name suggest a Greek mishearing of a foreign name. The adjective Lykeios was interpreted as Lycian, and it was pointed out that there were Apollo cults in Anatolia in places to which the Greeks never penetrated.

More recently Professor Nilsson focussed his attention on Apollo's calendrical associations. He is especially connected with the number seven, and the calendrical importance of seven is otherwise utterly alien to Greece but completely at home in Babylon. Nilsson therefore thinks Apollo originated in Babylon and came to Greece through Anatolia. The difficulty was to find a Babylonian deity who could be Apollo's prototype. Professor Palmer has filled the gap.

He recalls that in early literature Apollo is really Phoibus Apollo (i.e. Shining Apollo). He then points out that Dumu. zi, i.e. Tammuz, the Greek Adonis, means true son and the literal translation of this in Akkadian is aplu kinum. This phrase is a cult-title of the god Nabû who has functional similarities to Apollo. It follows that Nabû = Tammu and Tammuz = Apollo. Both Tammuz and Apo lo were connected with flocks, shepherds and agriculture.

In support of the oriental origin we can add the opening scene of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. It describes the gods' reaction when Apollo enters Zeus' house. They all tremble and leave their seats. All Delos is fearful because of Apollo's birth there for Apollo, so the rumour goes, will be very presumptuous and rule over gods and men. Apprehension is not expected on the arrival of a god thought the most Greek of all, and the rumour of his take-over bid for Zeus' role is also surprising. An oriental origin for the scene has been proposed. Perhaps Babylonian Marduk is a distant prototype.

According to Nilsson, Apollo was unknown in Greece before the Archaic age. I find this hard to believe. And now a Linear B tablet has come to light with the inscription υἱος Διός son of Zeus, and Zeus' son par excellence was Apollo. He was a sufficiently early immigrant to become an integral part of the cults of Amyklos and Hyacinthus before the end of the Bronze Age. He was elevated by the Greeks to the status of a national god embodying their most cherished ideals. He is a fine example of a foreign deity transformed by the Greek genius[9].

So far I have discussed gods and goddesses; I now want to look at a festival, the Anthesteria. It took place in February or March and lasted for three days. It was partially a festival of the dead, partially concerned with removing the taboo from the new wine, and with the return of Dionysus. In Classical times there seems to have been nothing foreign about it.

It was very ancient, being celebrated before the Ionian migrations. This had been deduced from the fact that it was held in many Ionian but not Dorian cities. (Its early existence is, incidentally, an argument for Dionysus' Bronze Age presence in Greece.) The deciperhment of Linear B has clinched the argument for all the ingredients of the festival, even its date, can be detected. One of these was a ceremony called the Spreading of the Couch. A specific ceremony of this name was not part of the festival in historical

times, but there is widespread evidence from the Near East that such a rite formed the culmination of the spring New Year Festival. In this the king had to take part in a sacred marriage. In Athens there was a marriage between the βασίλιννα , the wife of the King Archon, and Dionysus. Possibly the archon impersonated Dionysus. If so, we have as in the east a sacred marriage in which the king of the city in the guise of a god took part. The existence of this in Mesopotamia can be illustrated from a hymn in honour of Venus used in the cult of a king of the second half of the third millenium. The king is pictured as an embodiment of Tammuz.

I believe, then, that in Mycenaean Greece the Anthesteria was a new year festival. Some of its ritual came from the east. By historical times the new year element had been lost - naturally since many of the Greeks, including the Athenians, did not begin their new year in spring though traces of such a new year can be detected. The festival has been adapted to Greek institutions[10].

If the nature of the Bronze age Anthesteria was as I have described it, the king played a leading part . It is now known that Mycenaean Greek society was not organised on the lines of Homeric society, but on the patterns of the empires of the Near East, including Egypt. The 'myth and ritual' school of researchers has demonstrated the vital importance of the king in these civilisations. They consider him divine. But Henri Frankfort has shown a fundamental difference between Egyptian and Mesopotamian kings; the former were divine all their lives, the latter only after death. We can extend this distinction further afield. There is no evidence that Hittite kings were divine until they had died, but Ugaritic kings were divine while still alive. What then was the situation in Greece? The answer exposes another line of religious influence on the country.

Scholars have disagreed about the divinity of Mycenaean kings while they were alive. Detailed argument is too long and involved for now: I can only state my opinion. Early descriptions of the king's functions are rare, but there are one or two in the Odyssey that suggest that the king possessed divine powers: he could make the crops grow and the flocks prosper. I know that I have the authority of Professor Guthrie against me here, but I can claim the support of Professor Webster. It has been argued that Mycenaean divine kingship derived from a fusion of Indo-European and Minoan elements, and Crete could have been an intermediary, but the divine nature of the king derives, I believe, from further afield.

One of the Mycenaean relics in the Homeric poems is Nestor's cup. Schiemann found in a grave at Mycenae a cup bearing a remarkable likeness to it. It is this I am interested in. Apparently not all of it was made at the same time: two struts and two representations of birds were added at a later date. These birds have always been something of a problem for they cannot be doves as on Nestor's cup. Recently they have been interpreted convincingly as Egyptian Horus falcons. They serve to symbolise the divine king whose cup it was. This means that Egyptian kingship ideology was transferred to Mycenaean Greece, and Mycenaean kings were divine. There is nothing intrinsically improbable about this since Egyptian art had a considerable influence on Mycenaean.

The objection that will be raised is that because an artistic motif is borrowed its symbolism is not necessarily borrowed also.

And there is the notorious misunderstanding by the Greeks of a much later time of Egyptian religion. But in this case I have already argued from Greek evidence that the king was divine during his lifetime and Bronze Age art shows that the king was divinely honoured after his death.

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There are no doubt other examples of Bronze Age Egyptian religious influence on Greece, but there is not enough space to go into them now.

Of the deities I have discussed, with the exception of Zagreus, there is no reason to doubt that their significance was basically the same in their homelands as in Greece. Now I want to talk about a foreign deity who was worshipped for the same reasons in one part of Greece as in the Near East but who became connected with a different type of ritual in Greece and thus acquired a new significance.

This is Actaeon. He was worshipped in Boeotia with annual sacrifices; Aristides sacrificed to him before the battle of Plataea. Once while out hunting on Mount Cithaeron he (Actaeon not Aristides) was changed by Artemis into a stag and killed, torn apart like Dionysus, by his own hunting dogs. At Ras Shamra was found a poem usually referred to as the Poem of Aqhat. The name Aqhat Astour thinks the original of the name Actaeon. This seems completely sound: even the final n of Actaeon can be explained for some Ugaritic names have alternate forms with an n added. There are also similarities between the two myths. For example, both were hunters and both met violent deaths.

Aqhat's death provoked a cruel seven year drought. Thus Theodor Gaster, who pointed out similarities with Orion, interprets Aqhat in terms of a fertility spirit who dies with the onset of the summer drought. In Greece, on Boeotian cliffs and mountains statues were erected to prevent drought and the consequences of the summer heat. Pausanias, in the second century A.D., was still able to see such statues. Actaeon was connected with the same cycle of fertility as Aqhat.

It is, of course, Astour's theory that Aqhat came to Greece and became Actaeon in the Bronze Age. The possibility that his name occurs on a Linear B tablet lends weight to this. Boeotia then had strong Eastern connections.

With the downfall of Bronze Age civilisation the Dorians arrived in Greece. Because of its splendour and wealth we do not usually think of Corinth as a Dorian city, but such it was. There is a story told of a member of the Bacchiad aristocracy, Archias, who fell in love with a beautiful boy called Actaeon. Desiring to possess him, Archias and his friends broke into Actaeon's house and tried to kidnap him. There was a fight with Actaeon's family and during it while he was being pulled in both directions Actaeon died. 'He perished exactly like he whose name he bore', says Diodorus Siculus. The central elements in the story are 1. the first approaches of the lover; 2. the organisation of a fighting group to attack Actaeon's house; and 3. the fight and death. Now let me summarise on the basis of Ephorus the explanation of part of the initiation procedures for young men in Dorian Crete. The sequence of events is that a youngster is chosen by an adult for his lover, and a day is

appointed for the carrying off at which a token show of resistance is made by the relatives (the boy remaining passive) and this continued until the boy was carried into the men's house. He had now become, in Athenian terms, an ephebe. It is a commonplace among anthropologists that initiation is seen as death and rebirth. In its essentials the events in the ritual of Dorian Crete are parallel to the events of the myth of Dorian Corinth. The myth is an instructive example of how a foreign myth and cult could be adapted by the Greeks. 12

In the discussion so far I have made much use of Greek and Semitic word-equations. There are dangers in this. At the beginning of the Agamemnon the chorus sings

ἀίλινον ἀίλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ'εὖ νικάτω.

'Sing the song of woe, of woe, but let the good prevail'. More accurately ἀίλινον means 'Woe for Linus', and refers to the song in honour of the god Linus. This was very ancient. We hear of a poet called Pamphos who composed hymns to Linus, and the memory of Pamphos may have survived from before the migrations to Asia Minor. If we consult Sir James Frazer we find a Phoenician origin for Linus. Herodotus supports this view point for he says the Linus song was sung in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and elsewhere in the east. So does Euripides who says the Phrygians sang it when they killed their kings. On the other hand we have the picture on the Shield of Homer of a vintage festival in which a young boy surrounded by dancers sings the fair Linus song. In spirit this is thoroughly Greek. Linus is, after all, a perfectly good Greek word meaning flax and anything made from flax, and it seems to have an Indo-European root. Out of the material on which certain operations were performed grew a deity just as a god Ioulos grew out of the word ἴουλος which means among other things a sheaf of corn.

The most important event in Linus' myth was his death. Like Actaeon he was torn to pieces by dogs, but not his own. This event the women and girls of Argos celebrated with mourning rites. The festival took place in the Argive month Arneios (July/August). If it fell at the end of the month it corresponds with the time at which the grape harvest began. The last process of the grain harvest, carried out just before the grape harvest, was winnowing, and there is evidence that winnowing reflected the death of the corn spirit. Thus if we connect Frazer's Phoenician prototype of Linus, ailanu, which he connects with reaping, with the winnowing, it seasonally coincides with the time of the Argive festival. And flax was also harvested in high summer.

So we have Greek and eastern songs, each connected with agricultural operations, that could be confused because they were sung at the same time of year and the names sounded alike. We should not jump to the conclusion that vocal similarity necessarily implies religious borrowing. 13

So far the examples of foreign borrowing I have discussed I believe belong to the Bronze Age. The next case is more doubtful.

Some years ago among the Hittite tablets were discovered poems called the Song of Ullikummi and the Myth of Kumarbi. The events in them have a fairly obvious resemblance to events in Hesiod's Theogony. The question we ask is, 'How did Hesiod learn of these myths?' and the simplest answer is that he learnt them in Aeolia before his father returned to Boeotia. The question has been investigated by Peter Walcot who stresses the importance of Babylonian, Ugaritic and Egyptian material besides the Hittite. This makes the question how Hesiod knew the material much more complicated. It opens up the possibility that the stories were known in Greece in the Bronze Age and that Hesiod simply took them from a common stock of material. Walcot still inclines to influence after the Bronze Age, probably through Al-Mina, a city of the eastern Mediterranean situated very much like Ras Shamra. Others believe the influence is all Mycenaean and point out that the myths and characters have become thoroughly Greek.

But what is all this to do with religion? Were not the theogonics just stories to explain man's origin? Attempts have been made to connect the Theogony with ritual. It is then derived from the Babylonian new year myth that culminates in the victory of Marduk over Tiamat, and was recited, if not dramatically enacted, at the New Year Festival. But what we need is a Greek ritual with which to associate the Theogony. The succession myth was no doubt recited over a special stone kept at Delphi, but there is hardly a close connection between this and the myth. Such a connection is however apparent in part of the action of another cosmology which has certain parallels to a Spartan ritual, and this cosmology like Hesiod's has an eastern origin.

In the sixth century B.C. Pherecydes of Syrus wrote a rather unusual cosmology. Of it Martin West has written 'A myth like that retailed by Pherecydes and a ritual like the one surviving at Sparta must originally have belonged together'. The episode I am concerned with is the struggle between Chronus and Ophioneus. It is parallel to the struggle between Zeus and Typhon in Hesiod. Ophioneus with his supporters has usurped the kingship from Chronus and is ruling in heaven when Chronus and his supporters, having recovered from their defeat, engage him in battle and overcome him to regain the kingship for Chronus. The battle was fought according to certain rules, one of which declared that whichever force fell into the stream Ogenus would be considered the vanquished.

In the Spartan ritual it was the custom to divide the ephebes into two groups. The patron deity of one was Achilles and of the other Enyalius. After preliminary rites they crossed separate bridges onto an island and fought each other until one group was pushed back into the surrounding water. There is no cultic parallel to this from the Greek world. Pherecydes, it may be noted, had Spartan connections.

The eastern parallel, and I believe origin, lies in the Epic of Baal from Ras Shamra. Ophioneus' name suggests he was, like Yam, a serpent-like creature. He was also identified with Oceanus,

and a late piece of poetry associated him with the furious seas in a violent storm. Chronus corresponds to Baal. One group of Spartan ephebes had as their god Enyalius who is but an alternate form of Ares. Ares was the same as Theritas, according to Pausanias, and Theritas is the Spartan dialect form of Thersites who in the Iliad quarrelled with Achilles and who has some of the characteristics of a scapegoat. The defeat of Yam and Ophioneus is like the expulsion of a scapegoat. But Enyalius/Ares cannot be equated with Yam for Ares was never, so far as I know, connected with storms at sea. He was, however, the spirit of desolation and connected with the heat and drought of summer - like Mot who is another opponent of Baal in the Ugaritic Epic. The dates of the Spartan ephebes' battle and the Ugaritic festival, for which the Epic of Baal was the aition, coincide, but I cannot argue this in detail here. What we have is a Greek cosmology with a Near Eastern origin associated with a Spartan ritual. It is unlikely such an association could have developed after the Bronze Age. 14

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There is room for doubting when the oriental elements in Hesiod spread to the Greek world, but now I want to abandon the Bronze Age and discuss the Archaic Age, i.e. the period from about 750 to 500 B.C., when the artistic remains show that there was strong influence from the orient. First however I am going to look at influence from the North, and it is a subject that will raise groans from many classical scholars - shamanism.

Some students of Greek religion might almost be called pan-shamanists; they gleefully seize on a characteristic of shamans and trace this in Greece claiming that there are shamans wherever it occurs. They neglect the fact that one characteristic is not enough to prove the presence of a whole complex of ideas. But there are reasons for believing shamanism became known in Greece in the sixth century. Its home is Siberia and the great arc stretching from Scandinavia to Eurasia and even Indonesia. The basic belief is that the soul is separable from the body, and when separated can roam over the world in a timeless existence. This attitude has been called 'a drop of alien blood in the veins of the Greeks'. They came into contact with shamans in Scythia and probably also in Thrace, and the fruits of the contact appear in the Archaic Age in a series of prophets, magical healers, and religious teachers, some of whom are linked with the north.

Thence came Abaris riding, so the story goes, on an arrow as souls still do in Siberia. To the north went the Greek Aristaeus who told his experiences in a poem that may have been modelled on the psychic excursions of northern shamans. His soul, as a bird, could leave his body at will. The same gift was possessed by Hermotimus of Clazomenae whose soul travelled far and wide while his body lay at home.

Shamanism did not last long in Greece. One of the last shamans seems to have been the philosopher Empedocles whose life and work is a curious mixture of the rational and irrational: a divine magician who also wrote a poem On Nature. 15

Professor Dodds argues that Orpheus was a shaman, and certainly many shamanistic motifs can be found in his legends. But according to the Greeks Orpheus belonged to an earlier age even than Homer, and so he does not belong here: it has even been argued that he was a Mycenaean Greek. But Orphism does belong to the Archaic Age.

Orphism is a subject even more fraught with pitfalls than shamanism, but I can hardly leave it aside because the cult is often said to be non-Greek in origin. Such diverse places as Thrace and Egypt have been proposed as its home. Orphism was basically concerned with purification. A man's soul was thought to be guilty of sin until it had been purified (in the Orphic way, of course) and then to secure immortality it had to be kept pure by obeying certain rules. The purification aspect recalls Apollo whose catchphrase was 'moderation in all things', and immortality of the soul recalls Dionysus for one way of obtaining a timeless existence was by ecstatic dancing. The Dionysiac side has been traced to Thrace where a certain Zalmoxis took part in a cult of immortality. On the other hand it was practically agreed in antiquity that Orphism came from Egypt.

Many modern scholars have shared this belief, though some like Wilamowitz have thought that the Egyptian doctrines did not come to Greece until Hellenistic times. Their champion is Herodotus who says Melampus introduced the name of Dionysus from Egypt though he did not comprehend the whole doctrine (λόγος); but, he says, very recently various σοφισταί have brought the teaching to perfection. The σοφισταί are Orphics of the sixth century like Onomacritus of Athens; they first understood the Egyptian doctrine. This was the σπαραγμός of Osiris at the hands of Set who had in turn to be killed because of his crime by Horus. The point is that a crime made a man guilty until he was purified. Likewise the Titans were guilty of Dionysus' death, and man in general was equated with the Titans. It was the central part of the Orphic 'Sacred Book'.

This was made up for the most part of traditional myths but reinterpreted to present the Orphic point of view, and it may be that the reinterpretation was inspired by knowledge of Egyptian cult since relations between parts of Greece and Egypt had been close since the middle of the sixth century. But the new myth was surely an explanation of the new cult after it had been worked out and possible Egyptian influence on the myth does not mean Orphism was Egyptian in origin. It is much more likely the doctrine was worked out in Athens with Onomacritus as a main prophet. 16

Turning from the north to the east, from Phoenicia in archaic times came the Cabeiroi - at least in the opinion of many scholars. Their name is often derived from the Phoenician qabirim, 'mighty', which agrees with their Greek title 'The Great Gods'. But there is nothing particularly Semitic about their cult. They were concerned with fertility and protection, especially of sailors.

The worshipper had to be initiated into their mysteries, and curiously the initiates were forbidden from eating parsley. The ancient belief was that their worship had come from Phrygia to the coast of Asia Minor, where in Greek cities they had strong cults, and thence to the mainland. This belief can now be supported by Hittite evidence.

One of the Cabeiroi was called κασμεῖλος . This is suspiciously like the name of an early Hittite deified king - Khasamilis. Also one of the regiments of the Hittite king's bodyguards consisted of men called Khabiriyas. These bodyguards, like Athenian policemen, were not recruited at home. They came from Babylon where the name is also known. There was also an Assyrian god called Khabiru, whose nature is not certainly known but who is possibly connected with fertility like the Cabeiroi. He was presumably the god of the Hittite bodyguards. A group of protecting soldiers immediately brings to mind again the Curetes with their armed dances. The Greeks often confused them with the Cabeiroi. Both groups were connected with the earth's fertility. In view of all this I do not think that a theory of Phoenician origin can be traced back, throu,h Phrygia where they were also divine, to a Hittite military institution. 17

Before leaving the Archaic Age it is perhaps worth mentioning an example of eastern influence on Greece that resulted in the incorporation of a new story in a myth but no change in cult so far as we can see. This nicely illustrates the dangers for those who uncritically accept foreign influence on Greece.

Heracles enjoyed widespread worship in Greek lands. His name is thoroughly Greek but many motifs in his mythology can be traced to the east. The story of his labours has similarities to the Epic of Gilgamesh, and certain details of his armour have their eastern parallels. Perhaps the most spectacular thing about him is the way he died, on a blazing pyre on Mount Ceta. The story was unknown to Homer and Hesiod who picture him in Elysium where he had been allowed to go because of a great deed which Pindar explains as his help given to the gods in their fight with the giants. But the story of his cremation did not affect his cult in Greece. We cannot find the communal bonfires on which an effigy was burnt such as were burnt, it seems, in eastern Anatolia. It appears the story was interpolated in his mythology because of its interest as a human tragedy in romantic surroundings. 18

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Towards the end of the fifth century Greek literature, especially Old Comedy, begins to be full of references to new deities: Cybele, Bendis and Cottyto, forms of the Mother Goddess; Attis; Adonis; and Sabazius. To these we can add Genetyllis a goddess of childbirth, first mentioned by Aristophanes. Goddesses with such functions we tend to think old and Greek but she is explicitly called a θεὸς ξενικός.

All these came from areas that I have already mentioned. Cybele came from Anatolia. Thought to be Phrygian by the Greeks, her name (in the form Kubaba) has been found in Hittite material, and she

can be traced further east to Babylon. Bendis and Cottyto are Thracian Mother Goddesses; Attis, usually Cybele's lover, originated in Phrygia; the name Adonis is but a Greek version of a title of the famous Semitic god Tammuz; Sabazius is another Thracian deity worshipped with orgiastic rites; and Genetyllis has Samothracian connections.

All the gods and goddesses I have listed here have one thing in common: they were worshipped with orgiastic rites such as I have mentioned in connection with Dionysus. They thus had a very special appeal for Athens whence most of our evidence comes, especially the women, at the end of the fifth century when the Peloponnesian war was reaching its critical phase. Similar cults became popular in Rome during the Second Punic War. There is no evidence that the Greeks toned down their worship like Dionysus: on the contrary, the reason for their popularity was that they provided a fundamental religious experience in contrast to Dionysus' toned down cult. With these deities we have examples of the glad acceptance of foreign deities and all they stood for by certain sections of the population. I say sections because they were not popular with everyone. Eupolis, the comic poet, satirised Cottyto, and Plato, another comedian, satirised the cult of Adonis. But his play, according to Edmonds, was written in 380 B.C., and this is beyond the period defined in my title. 19

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I hope that I have shown the countries that affected Greek religion; I have tried to be comprehensive in the sense of mentioning all the places from which the influence originated; I cannot hope to have given a quantitative collection of material to allow the reader to make a judgment of how much a particular country affected Greece at a given time: to do this requires the collection and evaluation of every scrap of evidence. This requires volumes, not one paper. I have tried to show that Greek religion was a medley of religions, and that it is not without interest to see how the Greeks treated their borrowings.

In conclusion I ought perhaps to say a word about how the Greeks could receive the influences I have outlined and why they were so receptive to them. The first condition to be satisfied before there can be borrowing is that there shall be contact between borrower and lender, and the contact must be peaceful since hostile contact is unlikely to create the required atmosphere. Thus we look for two different situations. In the first a conquering invader settles down to live peacefully with the earlier inhabitants. This was the situation in Greece on the arrival of the first Hellenic tribes. In the second the growth of trade is important. From the fifthteenth century B.C. Greeks were in contact for trading purposes with many countries - Anatolia, Egypt, and Semitic speaking countries. These contacts were renewed after the Dark Age and continued unbroken right through Hellenistic times. However these situations show that borrowing could take place, not why it did.

For a similar situation exists in the modern world, but most religions have tended to become more exclusive rather than incorporate alien elements. One reason is that certain religions have become

predominant over large areas, and it is often very difficult for practitioners of one religion to understand and attach fundamental significance to another. A second reason is that the great world religions are monotheistic, and monotheism is much more intolerant of other systems than polytheism. In the ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern spheres there was a fundamental religious similarity, and with the significant exception of Judaism religion was polytheostic. When so many gods were worshipped with often duplication of functions it was not so difficult to accept new deities. [20]

J.H.Cowell.

NOTES

1. Most of this material was read as a paper to the South West Branch of the Classical Association in Exeter on 28 November, 1969. I have added references at the end of each subject dealt with. They are meant to be a guide to wider reading and not a detailed justification for every statement made, especially where I believe I have made a point not noticed before.

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EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATION

In his article "Taking liberties with Horace" in 'Greece and Rome' October 1970, Mr. Mathewson remarks on the possibility of using the stanza of FitzGerald's "Rubáiyát" to translate Horace's Alcaics, and says, "I have never seen it tried, and have not tried it myself, but it seems worth the experiment!" The following is, I stress, merely an experiment.

HORACE, Odes I,3-7.

Now drink a toast and let the wine flow free!
Now dance, and shake the ground for liberty!
Now set before the couches of the gods
Sumptuous feasts, fit for the Salii!

For yesterday it would have been a crime
To broach the cellared, vintage chateau-wine,
While raging Cleopatra threatened Rome,
Threatened the Empire's end before its time.

Her gang of lovers tainted with disease
Flock round her. From reality she flees
Drunk with good luck's champagne; she drinks again,
And now, ah now, she tastes the bitter lees.

One ship survives the flames. Her maddened mind
Steeped in Egyptian wine, no longer blind
To fear's harsh daylight, Caesar puts to flight,
And western warships drive her down the wind

Just as the hawks harass the gentle doves;
As the swift hunter in the winter roves
Thessalian fields after the fleeing hare,
So Caesar hunts the fatal Queen of Loves

To chain her. But she seeks the Roman way
Of death, nor fears the sword as women may
Nor swiftly leads her ships in abject flight
To other shores, safe-hidden far away.

She dares to stand and see her kingdom fall
With a calm face; then takes those serpents small
Into her breast so that her body drinks
Deep of their venom and their bitter gall.

Fiercer in death than she had ever been,
She scorned with wild Liburnians to be seen
Dethroned, to make a Roman holiday;
Proudly she died, and every inch a queen.

HORACE, Odes I, 5

Who is your lover-boy, Pyrrha, damp-scented with after-
shave lotion,
Smooching with you at the disco - (low lights and pink
plastic roses) -
For whom have you plaited your hair, your blonde hair,
in little girl bunches,
My school-girl in blue denim jeans?

You'll let him down often enough, you'll break his heart
over and over;
He'll be bewildered to find foul weather where all seemed
plain sailing.
Now he enjoys your tanned body, thinking your heart is as
golden,
Reckons you'll always be loving, reckons you'll always be
faithful,
Never heard of the wind of change.

Poor fools, whom you blind with your beauty, before they
have loved and possessed you;
I've weathered a stormy affaire: I'm speaking in deepest
sincerity.
I've chalked you off my list, hung up my glad rags for ever,
And thanked god I got out alive.

CATULLUS 95, and 95b.

Cinna has published 'Zmyrna'!
At last.
Nine harvests and nine winters in gestation
While Hortensius turns out five hundred thousand hexameters
weekly in one long concatenation.
'Zmyrna' will be read by future ages
By the banks of the deep-channelled river Satrachus they'll
be turning the pages.
Your 'Annals', Volusius, won't get any further than Padua
- They'll do to wrap fish and chips: plenty of paper (if
not much else) to show just how bad you are.
My friend's little Grecian urn is dear to my soul
Let the undiscriminating masses enjoy the fustian epics
and harrowing hexameters of long-winded Antimachus
- (The silly old fool.)

Vicky Stevens

MANY WORDS, LITTLE WISDOM

There is a character known to classical scholars as the Mad Lexicographer. Some years ago, he was visiting this University, and the Reader in Classics, after listening patiently to one of his tirades, murmured

"οὐ σοφίαν δύναται τὰ πολλ' ἔπη"

which he later explained as "a quotation from Pindar appropriate for a writer of dictionaries". The Mad Lexicographer replied suspiciously,

"Would ye mind saying that again - in a Scots Accent?"

A search through Pindar has failed to find the original, but a similar comment, not perhaps in a Scots accent, occurs when one dips into the 530 pages of Arnold Toynbee's Some Problems of Greek History (Oxford University Press, £7). Thirty-nine of the 535 are taken up by the index - the reviewers' favourite complaint, that the index is inadequate, certainly cannot be made here - and twenty-two by the bibliography; criticism here is disarmed by the discovery that the present reviewer's name appears, not only in the bibliography, but in a laudatory footnote. But the reading, though ample, has not been selective; and the conclusions, though they would be interesting as suggestions made in a monograph by a young man entering upon the academic rat-race, scarcely seem to justify the lifelong studies of a distinguished scholar and much-publicized historian; nor, indeed, do they really warrant the expenditure of seven pounds by members of a not lavishly overpaid profession. The style is interesting; one reviewer has criticized the plethora of Latin quotations - rather unreasonably since the book is unlikely to be read by any but classical scholars - but there are other old-fashioned pedantries which strike the reviewer. There is a predilection for German words, and they are not put into italics; a valley is called a Thalweg, and a migration is given the Wagnerian title of Volkerwanderung. (I must beg to be excused umlauts and accents). French words, unlike German ones, are italicized; we have the word "elan", which I believe means "vigour", though I have seldom met it outside crossword-puzzles, and when Toynbee talks about morale he calls it "moral" and puts it into italics, though the Fowlers have been protesting for fifty years against this didacticism. Latin terms are italicized; Greek ones, usually, are not; direct quotations are left in Greek letters, technical terms are transliterated without benefit of italics, but with a distressingly spiky profusion of kappas (not quite consistently; we are given "pentekostyes" and "lokhoi", but the adjective of "perioikoi" is "perioecic"). Sometimes a multiple phrase appears where most of us would have been satisfied with a single noun, or even a date; the episode usually known as "The Earthquake" is mentioned, time and time again, under the cumbersome title "The Earthquake of circa 466 or 464 B.C." This is presumably in homage to some chronological doubts unnecessarily raised by Professor Hammond, mainly on the grounds of some confused and discredited statements by Diodorus; Toynbee certainly has not presumed to disregard new suggestions, or even new exhumations of old and buried problems, but it is satisfactory to see that he has at least found no need to quote anything written by Raphael Sealey.

The book is divided into four unequal parts; fifty-three pages on "The Post-Mycenaean Volkerwanderung" (more commonly, of course, known as the Dorian Invasion), ninety-seven on "The Hellenization of the Northern Hinterland of Continental European Greece" (which might, one feels, simply have been called "Macedonia and its Neighbours"); three hundred and sixty-five on "The Rise and Decline of Sparta"; and a seventy-page jeu d'esprit speculating on what would have happened if Artaxerxes Ochus, Philip of Macedon, and Alexander the Great had lived out their full span.

Part I is interesting, though not particularly authoritative. The language is Wagnerish and sesquipedalian; pages are dotted with "Pre-Hellenic-Age-Mycenaean Achaeans", "Post-Volkerwanderung-Age-Achaeans", "North-West-Greek-speaking peoples", Arcado-Cyprian-Greek-speaking populations", and "North-East-Greek-speaking populations". His conclusions are, broadly speaking, that the Dorian invasion was a fact, but the name "Dorian" was a non-fact; post-Mycenaean Greece was overrun by Greek-speaking invaders, of a lower cultural standard, from the north-west, and the word "Dorian" was originally an adjective denoting valley populations. (The same explanation can, incidentally, be given for the names Sparta, Argos, and possibly also Messenia). It later came to be valued, at least in the Peloponnese, for political reasons connected with the growing importance of Delphi and the chance to cash in on the Amphictyonic seats held by the Dorians proper of Central Greece. The Dorian nobilities of the archaic period were not necessarily descendants of the original invaders, though they pretended to be; genealogies had been faked by court poets. (Here one may broadly agree. I had always suspected that much of the legend was invented by the genealogist-poet Kinaethon, but Toynbee does not mention him. Nevertheless, invading nobilities may, by organizing marriages and controlling land-tenure, retain their status and their traditions for a good long time; the Norman French, and their hangers-on, kept a pretty firm hold on the Establishment for three centuries after the Norman Conquest - which is not, of course, to say that all, or many, of them were necessarily descended from the combatants at the Battle of Hastings). This is all very well; Pareti said much the same about fifty years ago, and Beloch went further, denying, with some plausibility but almost certainly wrongly, that the Dorian Invasion had ever taken place at all.

Part II needs little study; it is a matter of minor interest, obscure deductions on an obscure problem, suggestions interesting but incapable of proof, and in some cases, at first sight, hardly probable. We are told that the original Macedonians spoke Greek (likely enough), and that the word "Macedonians" originally meant "Tall Boys" (most unlikely); "Aegae" is a Greek word (it is certainly Indo-European, cognate with aqua, but there is strong probability that it was pre-Hellenic); Pelagonians (akin to Paeligni!) and Epirotes were originally Illyrian but came to be Hellenized, whereas the Pelasgoi were originally Greeks overrun, and de-Hellenized, by Etruscan-speaking Sintians; the Paiones may have been a Slavonic offshoot. This odd theory may be due for a revival; this particular hare, of Slavonic speakers in classical Thrace, seems to jump up about every thirty years, and was last raised, I believe, by Rhys Carpenter in 1946, with the suggestion that the Thracian Salmoxis was really a Slavonic Samy-Volk,

an Autolycus or a Wolf of Wolves; modern archaeologists are beginning to look for proto-Slavs among Herodotus' Agricultural Scyths, rather than, as hitherto, among his Neuroi splashing about in the Pripet Marshes ("because", says one modern writer drily, "nobody else was stupid enough to live there".) With this in mind, Toynbee suggests that Doberos in Paeonia was called Dobro, the Good Place (to me, the name sounds more like the good Celtic name Dover). Astraios may be connected with Ostrov, Island, or Ostrva, Stake, both fitted for a Palafitte-type lake-settlement; the termination -azora may come from either "izvor", "water-spring" or "gora", "hill". (Professor Toynbee gives us plenty of choice.) Bylazora, then, would be "Bela-gora", White Hill", or possibly "White Spring"; unfortunately it is neither hilly nor attached to a spring, nor indeed particularly white, but a pleasant half-timbered capital jutting out over a river, and when the real Slavs took over they did not recognize the name as one of their own, but assimilated its first syllables to the name of their own god Vèles, which name, with the eponymous prefix Tituv, it holds to this day. This kind of etymologizing was hilariously satirized by Plato himself in the Cratylus; it is certainly no worse than the etymological suggestions made seriously by the Greeks themselves, and perhaps no worse than other toponymical speculations made by people with higher specialist qualifications than Professor Toynbee himself.

The passages on Sparta will be of more interest to specialist historians; and Toynbee's suggestions, some felicitous and some erratic, demand fuller study (perhaps in a later issue of Pegasus) than they can be given here. For the present, it need only be said, with regret, that Toynbee repeats all the Edwardian cliches about the degraded position of women in Athens - for him, Gomme, Kitto and Seltman might as well never have written; and that he assumes, from Mycenaean frescoes, that Mycenaean women had far more liberty than Athenian women of the fifth century. That may be true; but do the women in Mycenaean frescoes do anything that is not done by women in Athenian vase-paintings? - even if we do not consider the permissive antics of satyrs and maenads.

Part IV is an amusing excursus into history as it might have been. This is, of course, good fun; I have read excellent stories, usually American, of worlds in which Lee had won at Gettysburg or the Spaniards in 1588, or the Saracens at Tours, or in which the Norse colonization of America had taken root; Poul Anderson, in one of the best novels of this kind, has arranged for the Scipios to be killed at the Ticinus and for Hannibal to win Punic War II. It must be admitted that most of these reconstructions are livelier, and more credible, than Toynbee's; though Toynbee's might seem more exciting if we knew more than we do, or as much as Toynbee does, about the personalities of Philip's and Alexander's entourage. Philip, thinks Toynbee, would have made peace with Ochus and invaded Italy, landing at Ostia to find Rome completely unguarded; the later history of Transalpine Gaul and Germany is not hinted at, but we are shown a federation of city-states, with Aramaic as a lingua franca, lasting through the millennia until the present day. If, on the other hand, Alexander had lived to conquer the West, Carthage would have been demilitarized, Hannibal would have invented ocean-going sailing-ships and discovered America, and a Nile-to-Euphrates railway would have been built for Heron's steam-engine. (Toynbee admits that the Alexandrian

foundries would have taken a lot of wood and charcoal in the experimental stages, but does not explain how a level of technology in which one metal breastplate could cost over two year's wages for a working man, and a brick-built city wall virtually counted as one of the Seven Wonders, could have financed an industrial revolution.) In fact, we know nothing of the Macedonian Royal Family that makes it seem at all likely that if any of them had succeeded in escaping early death, by sickness or assassination, they could have had much hope of retaining the loyalty of their barons or establishing a permanent dynasty; or that they had any particular genius in any other direction than the (admittedly supremely important) spheres of warfare and politics .

Toynbee also gives us three maps - pleasant to look at, but tucked away, abominably, into a pocket at the end of the book; slightly less likely, perhaps, to be torn than the folding maps of the Cambridge Ancient History, but far more irritating to consult, and far more likely, especially in library copies, to get lost. The first, for "the post-Mycenaean Volkerwanderung", is pleasantly marked in red (for N-W.G - "North-West-Greek-speaking peoples"), green (for N-E.G), yellow (Ionic) and green (Peloponnesian, i.e. 'Arcado-Cyprian speaking peoples'). The next shows the growth of Spartan dominion in the Southern Peloponnese; this is valuable, though much of it is inevitably conjectural, and it is the only map I have seen which even tries to show the frontiers of the various perioecid communities. The third map shows the sublime egotism pilloried by Trevor-Roper, in his well-known Encounter review of an earlier work of Toynbee's; it shows "A.J.Toynbee's journeys in the Southern Peloponnese in 1912", and admirably supplements the passage in the text which gives us the details about the young Toynbee's digestive upsets. (He attributes these to drinking from the Eurotas; experience of other travellers, both ancient and modern, might suggest that the real cause lay in Spartan cooking).

The last touch, I think, throws a bright glare of sunlight on a world which is perhaps stranger to us, and remoter, than the world of Lycurgus and Chilon. A young classical graduate touring Greece has an attack of diarrhoea; this, like Rupert Brooke's mosquito-bite a few years later, is an epoch-making event, and the sufferer has to be convoyed back to Athens by the resources of the Empire. Within a few years, this same young scholar is a Head of an Institute of International Affairs; his father-in-law, an older scholar with a brilliant intellect but few really outstanding achievements, has been considered a potential Liberal dilutee for the House of Lords, and is soon afterwards invited to lay down a blueprint for the League of Nations. Truly, in those days a classical scholar had the world at his feet (though it is probably true that being married to the daughter of an earl was no great hindrance, either). Today, conceivably, economists or sociologists might have similar prospects, with luck, and under a Wilson or a Kennedy, but even so they would probably be rather older. A classical scholar should, no doubt, like a Periclean democrat, be self-sufficient and adaptable to all circumstances, able to see life steadily and see it whole; but his abilities might find it harder to commend themselves even to rulers and governments friendly to intellectuals and universities. Other classical scholars, too, might find it hard to tolerate any such exaltation of their colleagues (it is true that Ridgeway once tried to have Gilbert Murray

interned as a German agent, on the grounds that his studies in the Origins of Greek Tragedy were part of a plot to weaken British morale by, indirectly, discrediting the Christian religion); nor are all classical scholars inevitably spreaders of sweetness and light. But we may look wistfully back upon an age in which a good classical degree opened the gates to the corridors of power, and indeed to fields of learning which were only remotely connected with classical scholars; and it is to that age that Toynbee's work, with its three pocketed maps, its Teutonizing hyphenates, its jewels seven words long, its Olympian assumptions of omniscience, and its occasional nuggets of wisdom buried in a morass of many words, stands as a magnificent monolithic monument.

H.W.STUBBS.

A MERLIN FRAGMENT

A scrap of manuscript, written on both sides, was found some years ago in Exeter - by Professor Price of the Mathematics Department of the University - between the leaves of a modern book. There seems to be no clue at all as to its origin and previous history. It looks as though it was trimmed at some stage for use in book-binding. It is ruled, but the prick-marks at the edge have been cut out. The surface is somewhat stained by glue from binding, and several letters are illegible because of surface flaking. The dimensions are roughly as follows :

Top width	5	3/8"
Bottom width	5	5/16"
Left hand edge, page 1	3	9/16"
Right hand edge, page 1	3	5/16"
Written area width	4	3/8"
Number of lines	14½	

A bit of space left at the top looks as though this were also the top of the original page since the space left between lines otherwise would certainly be expected to show some traces of writing at the top, if only the lower halves of letters. The size of the fragment suggests an original page containing three to four times as many lines as each side does here, which means that the gap in text between the two sides must be equal to, or twice as long as, each of the two fragments of text we have, certainly not much more than that. One cannot perhaps say it is absolutely certain which passage comes first nor is it easy to reconstruct the sequence of events. But there do seem reasons for thinking that what we have labelled "page one" does in fact come first.

The writing is the sort of early fourteenth century administrative hand used for chronicles. The manuscript is made more difficult to read by blotchiness. One may be able on further study to achieve a little more certainty about one or two words or letters. The name on "page two" seems to begin with "Mal" and ends with "drac". The gap seems to contain either a "q" followed by one or two other letters, or it may be some sort of combination of "o" or "a" with a following "r".

The manuscript is now in the Exeter Cathedral Library and has been catalogued as "Dean and Chapter Exeter Binding Fragments 82". Some distinguished experts in the mediaeval Latin field have been consulted from time to time, but no positive identification could be established. However, Professor Eugène Vinaver wrote last year : "You can safely classify it as "a fragment of the Prophecies of Merlin", although I have yet to find the actual text to which the fragment belongs..... Whether the fragment belongs to one of the later versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work or to a Latin rendering of the Old French Prophecies remains to be seen!" He has kindly promised to pursue his investigations further on his return from America.

The Classics Department has enlarged photographs of the two pages here described. Naturally the manuscript contains various abbreviations, and what is appended is "edited" insofar as full words are written instead.

PAGE ONE

-mus cameram vestram et sic factum est. Cum autem Merlinus lectum eius vidisset ait. Domine volo quod totus lectus amoueatur. et sic factum est. et ecce mirabile sub lecto erat fons clarus et de fonte septem bullae bullientes bulliebant. Tunc ait Merlinus ad imperatorem. Domine nonne videtis fontem cum septem bullis bullientibus. At ille. video clare. et hoc est mihi valde mirabile. Qui ait. Fons iste cum septem bullis bullientibus remaneat. numquam visum clarum extra palacium habere poteritis. et istum fontem amouere non poteritis nisi via vna. et soli mihi est cognita. Ait imperator. o bone Merline quicquid tibi videtur facite ita quod extra palacium potero clare videre. Qui ait. domine septem magistros proditores in imperio vestro habetis. qui vos cecum extra palacium fecerunt. ad hoc quod ipsi de imperio totaliter poterant disponere et ordinare. et tamen remedium ignorant apponere. vnde si vellitis eorum septem capita amputare visum tam bene extra sicut intra recuperabitis. et si probacionem huius.....
.....amputari.

PAGE TWO

si sic feceritis. prudenter facietis. et totum imperium in pace erit. Statim imperator iussit ut filius eius ad suspendium duceretur et sic factum est. Cum autem per plateam duceretur. ecce clamor totius civitatis heu heu. ecce unicus filius imperatoris ad mortem ducitur. Cum vero sic eum ducerent. ecce quartus magister nomine Mal(?q). drac senex et macilentus eis obuiabat super equum sedens. Puer cum magistrum suum vidisset. ei caput inclinauit ac si diceretur. memento mei, cum veneris coram imperatore patre meo. magister equm cum calcaribus percussit. venit ad palacium flexis genibus eum salutauit. Imperator ait ei. O pessime proditor non debetis sic mihi ministrare. sicut quondam septem sapientes sicut vos estis dominum suum deceperunt. tradidi vobis filium meum bene loquentem et modo mutus efficitur. et quod peius est. Uxorem meam opprimere volebat. propter quod ipse hodie morietur et vos .....(?bitis).....

TRANSLATION

PAGE ONE

(?? let us...) your chamber!' And this was done. When, however, Merlin saw his bed he said, "My lord, I desire that the whole bed be removed". And this was done. And behold a marvel - under the bed was a clear spring and from the spring seven bubbles bubbling bubbled. Then said Merlin to the emperor, "My lord, do you not see the spring with seven bubbling bubbles?" And he replied, "I do see them clearly. And this is a great marvel to me!' And he said, "Let that spring with seven bubbling bubbles remain, and you will never be able to have clear vision outside the palace. And you will not be able to remove that spring except by one way, and that is known to me alone!' The emperor said, "Good Merlin, do whatever seems good to you in such a way that I will be able to see clearly outside the palace!' And he said, "My lord, you have seven masters (?teachers) who are traitors in your empire. They have made you blind outside the palace, to this end that they could themselves entirely dispose of the empire and order it. And yet they know not how to apply a remedy. If you were willing to cut off their seven heads, you will recover vision outside as well as inside. And if you.....trial (proof) of this..... to be cut off.

PAGE TWO

If you do thus you will do wisely and the whole empire will be at peace!' At once the emperor ordered that his son should be led to the gallows, and this was done. But when he was being led through the street, behold, there was a cry from all the city - "Alas, alas, the only son of the emperor is being led to death!" When, however, they were thus leading him, behold, the fourth master (?teacher), by name Mal....drac, an old, thin man, came to meet them, sitting on a horse. When the boy saw his master, he inclined his head towards him as if he were saying (this was being said) - "Remember me, when you come into the presence of the emperor, my father!' The master pricked his horse with spurs and saluted him on bended knees. The emperor said to him, "O worst of traitors, not thus should you serve me. As once the seven wise men such as you are (?) have deceived their lord. I handed my son over to you speaking well, and now he is being made dumb. And, what is worse, he wished to violate my wife. Wherefore he himself shall die today, and you shall.....

This is a very literal translation. Of the style, grammar and syntax there is little to be said, though readers of this magazine used to purely classical Latin may find it "valde mirabile!"

Audrey Erskine.