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Ghost-Raising, Magic, and the Underworld

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The interchange of *incedo* and *incendo* is so common in MSS. that we need not scruple to substitute the one for the other in 429, 1: Inter VRBEM et CIVITATEM hoc interest, urbs est aedificatio, civitas incolae. Vergilius Aen. lib. i:

urbs antiqua fuit.

Ennius Telepho:

sed civitatem video Argivum incedere (*incendere* MSS.: *incendier* edd.).

Of the form and script of the Archetype and the corruptions thereby introduced into the text of our MSS. I have written elsewhere (*Amer. Journ. Phil.* xxii, pp. 29 sqq., *Philologus* lv, 168). Here it may be mentioned that the unusual contraction *at* (with suprascript stroke) for *autem* may have occasioned the substitution of *alterum* for *autem* in 77, 5. Read *melos autem in cantibus est bipertitum*. From the reading of the MSS. at 56, 17 we should infer that *quisquam* originally stood in the text and that *quicquam* is a conjectural emendation by a 'corrector': (*s.v.* infans) Varro Eumenidibus:

postrémo nemo aegrótus quicquam sómniat
[an quicquam somniat]
tam infándum quod non áliquis dicat philó-
sophus.

The recognition of the true nature of the metre, especially in quotations from Varro's Menippean Satires, often vindicates the reading of the MSS., e.g. in the quotation at 336, 34. If we keep by the MSS. in another of these quotations, we get an alternation of trochaic and bacchiac metre which admirably suits the sense (7, 25, *s.v.* frígère, cum sono excitari):

saépe totiús theatri tíbiiis crebró flectendo
conmútari méntes, frigi ánimos eórum.

It is possible that Varro in his 'Bimarcus' both justified and adopted an experiment in metre, the Iambic Dimeter Seazon (229, 16):

ne me
pedátus versuúm tardor
refrénet, arte cúm rhythmon, etc.

(168, 10):

mihíque dividúm nostro
stiló papyrinó lēvi
scapúm †scapitiot novó partu
poeticén. W. M. LINDSAY.

GHOST-RAISING, MAGIC, AND THE UNDERWORLD.

I.

THE design of this study is not to exhaust the subject but to include and illustrate some passages of literature.

Broadly speaking, Greek divinities and spiritual powers may be divided into two classes, Blacks and Whites; and it is most important, for understanding Greek, to keep in mind this great Antithesis. They were as different in fact as Darkness is from Light or Night from Day. Night is the representative of the one, as Apollo of the other, and as the Upper Gods abhor the powers of Darkness (Eur. *Alc.* 62), so the Nether in their shadowy places hate the Sun. Both were worshipped on their due occasions; but the details of their worship were throughout opposed. The Nether powers are black themselves, black-winged, or stoled in black; mankind put on such raiment in their worship; and if victims were offered to them, it was proper that the colour of them should be black.

This is the meaning of the Danaids in Aesch. *Supp.* 160 when they say 'If we fail to win the Olympian Gods, then we, a black

sun-smitten race, μελανθές ἡλιόκτυπον γένος, will petition τὸν γαῖον Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων. As they are 'black' themselves, they will appeal to the black Zeus,—just as a maiden prays to Artemis, κόρα κόρα, ὡς ἐπιεικές—trusting in their dark complexion as a bond of sympathy.¹ In Nonn. *D.* 31. 173 Iris, disguised as Νύξ, uses precisely the same argument in beseeching Ὑπνος: γηγενέων δ' ἐλέαιρε γονὴν μελανόχροον Ἰνδῶν δὸς χάριν ἡμετέρης γὰρ δμόχροές εἰσι τεκούσης ῥύεο κυανέους, κυανόπτερε.

Prayers to the Οὐράνιοι were made before the Sun was in mid-heaven; to the χθόνιοι after it declined; and it would seem as if the graver and blacker was the business, the more near midnight was the hour.

It was owing, I should imagine, to the

¹ Without this there is of course no point in the mention of the detail here. But Prof. Tucker, who re-writes it altogether—as if a scribe would write μελανθές ἡλιόκτυπον γένος by an error!—makes the very daring assertion that the Danaids are not black or even very swarthy. Why then does Pelasgus say they look like Libyans, and Egyptians, and Cyprians, and Amazons, and (Indian) Nomads near the Ethiopians? 'Egyptian' was proverbial for 'black.'

same idea that σκνθρωποι or δύσφημοι ἡμέραι² were apt to be placed in the waning portion of the month. Plutarch thought so, *Aet. Roman.* 34 p. 272 c: what was the reason, he asks, that while the Romans generally performed their χοάς and ἐναγισμούς to the dead in February, Decimus Brutus performed them in December? πότερον, ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ληγούσης καὶ μηνὸς φθίνοντος εἰώθασιν ἐναγίζειν οἱ πολλοί, λόγον ἔχει καὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταστρέφοντος ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ μηνὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς τεθηκότας; κτέ.—The 30th was sacred to Hecate and the dead: Bekk. *Anecd.* 308. 5 τριακάδας: τὴν τριακοστὴν τῶν νεκρῶν: Leutsch and Schneidewin *Paroem.* i. p. 312 on Diogen. viii. 39 τὰς ἐν Ἀΐδου τριακάδας: Hemsterhuis *Lucian* i. p. 330: Lobeck *Aglaoph.* p. 432 note c (I have corrected his reference to Hemsterhuis).—In *C.I.* 523. 15 i. p. 482 Boeckh we have a sacrifice to Ζεὺς Γεωργός (including πανκαρπίαν νηφάλιον) on the 30th of Μαίμακτριον.—The Διάσια to Ζεὺς Μελίχιος were held μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἢ φθίνοντος schol. *Ar. Nub.* 408.—The εἰκάς itself was of course a day of joy, in honour chiefly of Apollo; but days following the εἰκάς were specially set apart as ἀποφράδες, *dies nefasti*, and called ἐπεικάδες: *Et. Mag.* 131. 12, Zonaras 240, *Paroem.* ii. p. 298 Leutsch (from whom the meagre notice in the *Thesaurus s.v.* ἐπεικάς may be supplemented): Ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι: αἱ ἀνεπιτήδευοι πρὸς πράξεις, ἐν αἷς καὶ τοῖς κατοικημένοις χοάς ἐπέφερον. ἃς δὴ καὶ ἐπεικάδας καλοῦσι, φθίνοντος τοῦ μηνὸς τετράδα, τρίτην, δευτέραν. In the *Inscriptions of Cos* 39, Paton and Hicks p. 90, sacrifices by the three Dorian tribes to their eponymous heroes are prescribed ΤΙ ΕΙΚΑΔΟΣ, τετράδι ἐξ εἰκάδος ('twenty-fourth?') Mr. Paton conjectures. In Herodas v. 80 the 24th is the date of another hero-sacrifice: ἀλλ' ἐστὶν εἰκάς, καὶ Γερῆνι' ἐς πέμπτην.

To the Gods of Heaven they stood and prayed with hands uplifted; in appealing to the Terrene powers they knelt or grovelled and beat and drummed upon the ground: *Hom.* i. 566³ Althaea θεοῖσιν πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἥρᾳτο κασιγνήτου φόνου, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαίαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία κυκλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινήν Περσεφόνειαν, πρόχην καθεζομένην,⁴

² ἡμέρᾳ δύσφημῃ καὶ ἀπαισίῃ *Lucian* iii. 175, the opposite of εὐφημον ἡμῃ in *Aesch. Ag.* 641.

³ Quoted by Musgrave on *Eur. Tro.* l.c. But in the other passage he refers to, *Stat. Theb.* 1. 54 where Oedipus comes forth and calls on the infernal powers, *inane solum* means the empty sockets of his eyes (*Gronovius*), ὀφθαλὰ ἔδη: 53 *tunc vacuos orbes... ostendit caelo manibusque cruentis pulsant inane solum.*

⁴ So Medea calls upon the powers of Night in *dura rubmisso poplite terra* *Ov. Met.* 7. 191. Mourners

δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι, παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον. *H. Apoll.* 332³ *Hera* ἥρᾳτο . . . χειρὶ καταπρηνεί δ' ἔλασε χθόνα καὶ φάτο μῦθον 'κέκλυτε νῦν μοι Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεῖν, Τιτῆνές τε θεοί, τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν . . . ' 340 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἱμασε χθόνα χειρὶ παχείῃ, κινήθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα φερέσβιος. *Eur. Tro.* 1292 *EK.* ἰὼ γὰ τροφίμῃ τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων. *XO.* ἔ. *EK.* ὦ τέκνα κλύετε, μάθετε ματρὸς αὐδάν. *XO.* ἰαλέμῃ τοὺς θανόντος ἀπύεις. *EK.* γεραίᾳ γ' εἰς πέδον τιθείσα μέλεα καὶ χέρεσσι γαίαν κτυποῦσα δισσαῖς. *XO.* διάδοχα σοὶ γόνυ τίθημι γαίᾳ τοὺς ἐμούς καλοῦσα νέρθεν ἀθλίου ἀκούτας. *Plut. Mor.* 774 *B*³ ἀνατείνων πρὸς ἥλιον τὴν χεῖρα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν γῆν τύπτων ἀνεκαλείτο τὰς Ἑρίνας, appealing for their vengeance. *Val. Flacc.* 7. 311 *Medea*—not as a witch, but imploring the infernal powers to grant her death, *questu superos questuque fatigat Tartara: pulsat humum manibusque immurmurat uncis noctis eram Ditemque ciens, succurrere tandem morte velint.* *Diog. Laert.* vii. 28 relates the death of Zeno: he stumbled and broke his finger, whereupon παίσας τὴν γῆν τῇ χειρὶ he exclaimed, quoting from the *Niobe*, ἔρχομαι· τί μ' αὔεις; and committed suicide by stifling himself: in 31 he turns it into verse (*A.P.* vii. 117) οἱ δ' ὅτι προσκόψας ποτ' ἔφη χειρὶ γὰν ἀλόησας 'ἐρχομαι αὐτόματος· τί δὴ καλεῖς με;'

The Upper Gods were worshipped often on 'high places': the way to reach the Nether Powers was by scooping out a hollow (βόθρον) in the ground, to receive the offerings, and the blood of the jugulated victim, if there was one: for ἐναγίσματα to the dead, *Orph. Arg.* 569, *Clitodemus* in *Ath.* 410 a, *Lucian* i. 519. So in *Evocations*, to excavate a trench, βόθρον ὀρύξαι, was the first proceeding always: *Hom.* κ 517, λ 25, 36, *Apoll. Rhod.* 3. 1032, 1207, *Lucian* i. 469, iii. 42, *Heliod.* vi. 14, *Ov. Met.* 7. 243, *Stat. Theb.* 4. 451–69, *Sen. Oed.* 550, *Sil. Ital.* 13. 427.

The fire also for their ἔμπτυα was made low upon the ground, and the grammarians distinguish ἐσχάρα in this sense from the built-up βωμός: *Ammonius* (in *Harpocrat.*) 'ἐσχάραν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν ὕψος ἐστίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδρυμένην κοίλην.' *Schol. Phoen.* 274 ἐσχάρα μὲν κυρίως ὁ ἐπὶ γῆς βόθρος, ἐνθα ἐναγίζονται τοῖς κάτω ἐρχομένοις βωμός δὲ ἐν ᾧ θύουσι τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις θεοῖς. *Porph. de antro Nymph.* vi 7 makes further lay prone or sat and moped: Lobeck *Aglaoph.* 646 note o, *Aesch. Ag.* 422 ἀλλιστ' (!) ἀφημένων, *Homer* δ 538, κ 497, π 145, ο 106, α 208, *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1286.

distinctions: τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς ναοὺς τε καὶ ἔδη καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρύσαντο, χθονίοις δὲ καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα. 'Some of the poets' Pollux i. 8 remarks 'apply the term ἐσχάραν even to τὸν τῶν θεῶν βωμόν': but ἐσχάραι are appropriate to the Eumenides in Aesch. *Eum.* 108, 809.

The sacrifices to all Chthonic powers—including the dead—consist of the same elements with slight variations. There is nothing unusual about the sacrifice in the *Persae* 614–621 except the number of items that are mentioned: but it may be compared with the Persian sacrifice to Water (made in a βόθρος) Strabo 732. Wine was interdicted in some cases—dating, perhaps, before the use of wine; and often they were ἄπυρα⁵—dating, it may be, before the use of fire. But if burnt-sacrifice was offered, it was proper that the victims should be black. And they were sacrificed downwards: schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 587 ἔντομα κυρίως τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐναγίζόμενα διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν ἀποτέμεσθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς· οὕτω γὰρ θύουσι τοῖς χθονίοις, τοῖς δὲ οὐρανίοις ἄνω ἀναστρέφοντες τὸν τράχηλον σφάζουσιν. Ὀμηρος 'αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτον' (A 459).

Circe sends Odysseus to the sunless place of the Cimmerians beyond the Ocean: 14 λῆνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε, ἧέρι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς ἡέλιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσι: because there are the ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης and fruitless trees, where Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus flow into Acheron: there he will be able εἰς Ἀΐδω ἵεναί δόμον εἰρώεστα. Pausanias i. 17. 5 says 'Among the things most worth seeing in the Thesprotian land is a sanctuary of Zeus in Dodona and an oak sacred to the god. Beside Cichyrus is a lake called the Acherusian lake, and the river Acheron, and there too flows Cocytus, a joyless stream.'⁶ It appears to me that Homer had seen these things, and boldly modelled his descriptions of hell on them, and that in particular he bestowed on the rivers of hell the names of the rivers in Thesprotis'. Another favourite theory identified the place of the Cimmerians with Avernus near Cumae (Strabo 244): there used to be an established νεκυομαντεῖον there, abolished since, and transferred elsewhere (Strabo 245, Diod. iv. 22, Max. Tyr. xvi, Sil. Ital. 8. 533). It was a natural site for one to be; probably estab-

lished νεκυομαντεῖα were always at a στόμιον Ἄιδου communicating with the underworld; thus there was one in that Thesprotian place; where Periander summoned up his murdered wife (Hdt. v. 92); and where Orpheus had endeavoured to recall Eurydice (Pausan. ix. 30. 6 'that he went to Aornum in Thesprotis, where there was of old an oracle of the dead'): there was one at Taenarum (Plut. *Mor.* 560 f). It is at Avernus, under the direction of the Sibyl, that Vergil A. 6. 237 lays his necromantic scene; and Silius, copying him, 13. 395. Lucian's Chaldaean i. 468 makes Menippus cross the Tigris ἐς τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὴν λίμνην into which the Euphrates disappears; περαιωθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἀφικνούμεθα ἐς τι χωρίον ἔρημον καὶ ἰλῶδες καὶ ἀνῆλιον, and there they make their βόθρον. The place selected in the Roman writers is always of this character: Lucan 642–8 a steep depression near *Ditis cavernae*... *Phoebo non pervia taceus opacat*: Stat. *Theb.* 4. 420 *silva...pervia nullis solibus*: Sen. *Oed.* 530–47 *lucis et Phoebi inscius restagnat umor*: dark, gloomy, stagnant places, such as were haunted by nocturnal powers (Verg. 6. 136, Ov. *Met.* 7. 74, 198, *Heroid.* 12. 67, Lucian iii. 50), *loca senta situ* like the infernal regions, θεῶν διχόστατοι⁷ ἀνηλιῶ λάπα Aesch. *Eum.* 389, δυσήλιον κνέφας *ib.* 399, *sunless* always, like the house of Death (Eur. *Alc.* 451, 864, *H.F.* 606).

So in Aesch. *Theb.* 839 the mourning Chorus say:

ἀλλὰ γών, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὖρον
ἐρέσσει⁷ ἄμφι κρατὶ πόμπιμον χερσὶν
πίτυλον, ὅς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται⁸
τὰν ἀστονον (or ἀστολον)⁸ μελάγκροκον
ναύστολον⁸ θεωρίδα
τὰν ἀστιβῆ⁸ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,
πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

'O come then, on the tide of lamentation speed with measured falling plash about the head (of raining blows) the mourning black-sailed mission-barge (or on the black-sailed mission) to the shore untrodden of Apollo, to the sunless all-receiving obscure shore.' The funeral is contrasted with the white-sailed mission sent to Delos, the island of Apollo and the Sun—Δήλον ἡλιοστιβῆ it would be natural to call it, as ἀντολὰς φλογώπας ἡλιοστιβεῖς in

⁵ θυσίαν ἔπυρον παγκαρπείας in the Evocation, Eur. fr. 912: the sacrifice in Soph. fr. 366, in which there is a παγκάρπεια, should also be a Chthonic sacrifice; the play is *Μάντις ἢ Πολύιδος*.

⁶ See Mr. Frazer's description ii. p. 160: see also iii. p. 347.

⁷ To understand what is meant by this common metaphor in the case of mourning gestures, see the plate in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* vol. iii. facing p. 449 (ed. 1878): opposite p. 447 is a representation of a funeral passing over the Lake of the Dead.

⁸ I am not vouching for the readings.

P.V. 817.⁹ The dead go ἀκτὰν πρὸς ἐσπέρου θεοῦ Soph. O.T. 178.

And in Soph. O.C. 676 where the grove at Colonus is described with the epithets φυλλάδα μυρτιάκαρον ἀνήλιον ἀνήνεμόν τε πάντων χειμώνων I cannot doubt they are meant to indicate a haunt of Chthonic powers. For not only were they worshipped in the absence of the sun, but the most propitious time for appealing to them was a *still and silent* night; befitting *Chaos et Phlegethon*, *loca nocte silentia late* Verg. A. 6. 265; see Fritzsche on Theoc. 2. 11; Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1201 χώρον ὅτις πάτον ἔκτοθεν ἦεν ἀνθρώπων, καθαρῶσιν ὑπεύδιος ἑάμενῶσιν for the evocation; Stat. Theb. 4. 423 *subter opaca quies vacuusque silentia servat horror*, like the infernal regions 477 *loca muta et inane severae Persephones*.

Evocations always had the nature of a magic practice. I agree with M. Bouché-Leclercq¹⁰ when he says 'La nécromancie n'est, en effet, possible qu' avec le concours de la magie, et c'est là l'unique raison pour laquelle Varron la disait importée de la Perse, le pays des Mages (Varro ap. Aug. Civ. Dei vii. 35).' He points out that in the celebrated νεκρία of the Odyssey 'the hero executes to the letter the prescriptions of the magician Circe' and that 'the poet clearly indicates thereby the magic character.' In literature always, when necromancy is performed, it is through the agency of one possessing magic powers.¹¹ Aeschylus wrote a play called Ψυχαγωγοί, and Phrynichus Bekk. An. 73. 13 says οἱ ἀρχαῖοι meant by the word τοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τεθνηκότων γοητεῖαις τισὶν <ἀν>άγοντας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνοίας καὶ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου τὸ δράμα Ψυχαγωγοί: cf. Schol. Eur. Alc. 1128. In later fiction it is done by Circe, or under the patronage of Hecate and Circe or of the Cumaean Sibyl, by the wizard Teiresias and his daughter Manto, or by witches like Medea and Erichtho. In Heliod. vi. 14 it is an old Egyptian woman; in Lucian iii. 39, as in i. 464, a Babylonian Mage of the Chaldees; a Hyperborean μάγος in iii. 40. When Nero endeavoured to evoke and appease the ghost of Agrippina, he had recourse to *facto per Magos sacro*, Sueton. Vit. Neron. 34; Caracalla ordered Maternianus μάγων τοὺς ἀρίστους ζητήσαντα νεκρία τε χρησάμενον μαθεῖν περὶ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ, Herodian. iv. 23

⁹ It is strange to find that all the editors, and even Mr. Housman in his verse translation of the passage, take τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον to refer to θεοῦ πρὸς.

¹⁰ Histoire de la Divination i. p. 332.

¹¹ So it must be in that remarkable fragment of Euripides (Clem. Al. p. 688), 912 Nauck.

(ἐψυχαγωγῶσσε κτέ. Dio Cass. 77. 15). In Tac. Ann. ii. 28 it is implied that *infernas umbras carminibus elicere* must be done by *magorum sacra* (27): Lucan 6. 431, Lucian iii. 41.

Egyptian incantations had this power (cf. Lucian iii. 57, 60); the Roman poets attach it commonly to Thessalian witches (and cf. schol. Eur. Alc. 1128); but if there was one region with which it was markedly associated, it was the region of the Persian¹² μάγοι, from whom the name of *magic* was derived: Strabo 762 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις οἱ μάγοι καὶ νεκρομάντιες. 'I determined,' says Menippus in Lucian i. 463 'to ask one of the Mages among the disciples and followers of Zoroaster,'¹³ having heard that by means of ἐπωδαί and τελεταί they could open the gates of Hades and take any one down and bring him up again in safety.¹⁴

There remains one famous case of necromancy—in the *Persae* of Aeschylus, where Darius is called up to give advice and help, and does so. It will be conceded that the Chorus, whom Atossa bids perform the evocation, are supposed to be endowed with the *magic* powers of Persian Magi—as the Greeks in general conceived them. The act is characteristic of the people Aeschylus is representing; one among many other points which are appropriate in the play.

How unfamiliar Persian things have been to editors may be seen from their remarks on *Persae* 580 where the Chorus bemoaning the drowned Persian corpses say σκύλλονται πρὸς ἀναύδων παίδων τὰς ἀμιάντων. Though Hermann suspected something Oriental in the phrase τὰς ἀμιάντων, they have been unable to discover any special allusion in it. Yet the propriety lies upon the very surface. I quote from Darmesteter; speaking of the Magian dogmatical conceptions, he says: 'The new principles they introduced, or rather, developed into new consequences, was that of the purity of the elements. Fire, earth, and water had always been considered sacred things, and had received worship: the Magi drew from that principle the conclusion that burying the dead

¹² Circe herself—what other is she but a Persian? Her dwelling is the distant East, and she is the daughter of the Sun and Πέρση or Περσηίς.

¹³ This, of course, is unknown to the *Zend-Avesta*.

¹⁴ The infernal regions were made visible with their inhabitants; but whether you went down, or they came up, was not so clear: *nam quavis Thessala vates vim faciat fatiis, dubium est, quod traxerit illuc, adspiciat Stygias, an quod descenderit, umbras* Lucan 6. 651. In Homer's account Odysseus goes down, but the Shades are also spoken of as coming up. They are generally brought up by later writers.

or burning the dead was defiling a god.'¹⁵ 'Water was looked upon in the same light. Bringing dead matter to it is as bad as bringing it to the fire. The Magi are said to have overthrown a king for having built bath-houses, as they cared more for the cleanness of water than for their own.'¹⁶ He refers to p. 80 'Can he be clean again, O holy Ahura Mazda! who has brought a corpse with filth into the waters, or into the fire, and made either unclean?' Strabo 732 in their sacrifice to water, the Persians βόθρον ὀρύξαντες εἰς τοῦτον σφαγιάζονται, φυλαττόμενοι μὴ τι τοῦ πλησίον ὕδατος αἵμαχθείη, ὥς μισοῦντες. *ib.* εἰς γὰρ ποταμὸν οὐτ' οὐρούσιν οὔτε νίπτονται Πέρσαι, οὐδὲ λούονται, οὐδὲ νεκρὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν οὐδ' ἄλλα τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι μυσσάρων. Hdt. i. 138 εἰς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνούρεονσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσιν, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναποτίζονται... 'That Tiridates was a Magian priest (Magus) appears from Tacitus' testimony, *Ann.* xv. 24 *nec recusaturum Tiridatem accipiendo diademati in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur*; that he was a Zoroastrian is shown by his scruples about the worship of the elements. When he came from Asia to Rome to receive the crown of Armenia at the hands of Nero, he wanted not to come by sea but rode along the coasts (he crossed only the Hellespont), because the Magi were forbidden to defile the sea (Plin. *N.H.* xxx. 17 *navigare noluerat quoniam exspuere in maria aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant*). This is quite in the spirit of later Zoroastrianism, and savours much of Mazdeism. That Vologeses himself shared the scruples of his brother appears from his answer to Nero, who insisted upon his coming to Rome also: "Come yourself, it is easier for you to cross such immensity of sea" (Dio Cass. lxxiii. 4). The answer was mistaken for an insult by Nero, and as it seems, by Dio himself.¹⁷

The Chorus in the *Persae* express mere fear and hatred of the sea 110 *sqq.*, and of ships 562 *sqq.*; ¹⁸ but in *tās ἀμάντων* we may surely see their horror at the defiling of that element by corpses. There is no need to suppose that Aeschylus is translating any Persian phrase; but it seems it would have been possible for him to do so; this is Darmesteter's note on 'the sea

Paitika,' Zend-Avesta i. p. 53: 'The sea where waters are purified before going back to their heavenly seat, the sea Vouru-kasha (the sea above, the clouds). *Paitika*, 'the clean,' is very likely to have been originally a name or epithet of the sea Vouru-kasha. When the mythic geography of Mazdeism was reduced into a system, the epithet took a separate existence, as it gave a ready answer to that question, which, it may be was raised first by the name itself: 'Where are the waters cleansed which have been defiled here below, and which we see falling again to us pure and clean?'

The nature of the sacrifice in Evocations we have seen to be the same as in other sacrifices to the *χθόνιοι*: it was in the incantation that the efficacy of the process lay. Even when magic herbs are used, they are themselves enchanted, and we are often told that the charms are far more potent. I shall quote the epithets with which they are described. Lucan's is the most extravagant, 6. 685 *tum vox, Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis excantare deos, confudit murmura primum dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae. latratus habet illa canum gemitumque luporum; quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur, quod stridunt ululantque ferae, etc. tot rerum vox una fuit*. At last she breaks into speech, *mox cetera cantu explicat Haemonio penetratque in Tartara lingua*; 'Eumenides, etc. Sen. *Oed.* 561 *carmenque magicum volvit et rabido minax decantat ore quidquid aut placat leves aut cogit umbras*. Lucian i. 469 ὁ δὲ μάγος ... οὐκέτ' ἡρεμαῖα τῇ φωνῇ, παμμέγεθες δέ, ὥς οἶός τε ἦν, ἀνακραγὼν δαίμονάς τε ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐπεβοᾶτο καὶ Πιονᾶς καὶ Ερινιάς 'καὶ νυχίαν Ἑκάτην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνηαν', παραμυγνὺς ἅμα καὶ βαρβαρικά τινα καὶ ἄσημα (unintelligible) ὀνόματα καὶ πολυσύλλαβα¹⁹: before with an ἐπώδῃ this same Mage ἐπίτροχόν τι καὶ ἀσαφὲς ἐφθέγγετο, apparently summoning some δαίμονας: he repeats it in a purifying ceremony, *ἵποτονθορύσας*, p. 465-6. Sil. Ital. 13. 428 *arcanum murmur anhelans*. Ov. *Met.* 14. 56 *obscurum verborum ambage novorum ter noviens carmen magico demurmurat ore*. 365 *concepit illa preces et verba precantia dicit ignotosque deos ignoto carmine adorat*. 405 *longis Hecaten ululatus orat*. 7. 190 *ternis ululatus*. Am. i. 8. 18 *longo carmine*. Ars Am. 2. 102 *mixtaque cum magicis nenia Marsa sonis* with Heinsius' note. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 418 *longo murmure*

¹⁵ Zend-Avesta, i. p. liv.

¹⁶ *Ib.* p. xc.

¹⁷ *Ib.* p. xxxiv.

¹⁸ In διδυμόπτεροι κυανώπιδες *vāes* the natural meaning of the epithet would be 'with two-fold fledge of oars,' the double *ταρσός*: *I. T.* 1314, Polyb. i. 46. 11, Plut. *Ant.* 63 τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν ἐγείρας καὶ πτερύσσας ἐκατέρωθεν

¹⁹ Like the celebrated *abracadabra* (see Burmann *Poet. Lat. Minor.* ii p. 364 on Samonicus *de medicina* 944). In Lucian iii. 45 an Arabian charm is ἐπώδῃ πολυώνυμος.

nurgat. Val. Flacc. 7. 184 *cantu trilingui.* Burmann's note on 389 *magico sono.* 464 *epieno murmure.* 488 *tacitis cantibus.* i. 69 *Medea carmina barbarico fundens pede.* The old Αἴγυπτια in Heliod. vi. 14 πολλὰ γρὸς τὴν σεληναίαν βαρβάρουσι τε καὶ ξενίζουσι ἣν ἀκοὴν ὀνόμασι κατεξαμένη . . . ἐπάδουσα nakes a corpse stand up and questions it. It answers in a husky voice. Eur. *I.T.* 1335 ἰνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆδε βάρβαρα μέλη μαγεύουσ', ὡς φόνον νίζουσα δῆ, says the Egyptian nessenger.²⁰ Among other things, we see they are described as *various, long, lugubrious, unintelligible, barbarous.* Add Wyttensbach's Plutarch vi p. 1009, Nonn. *D.* 4. 272.

To the Greeks, all the prayers of Magi were ἐπωδαί, that is, *magic spells*; and their *ength* was characteristic of them: Strabo 133 οἱ Μάγοι in the Persian sacrifice to vater τὰς ἐπωδὰς ποιοῦνται πολλὸν χρόνον, ἀβδὼν μυρικίων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες: and in Cappadocia (πολὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ τῶν Λάγων φύλον) πῖρ ἄσβεστον φυλάττουσιν οἱ Λάγοι· καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ εἰσιόντες ἐπάδουσιν ἵραν σχεδὸν τι πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν δέσμην τῶν ἀβδῶν ἔχοντες. Lucian's Chaldaean Mage, . 465 ῥῆσιν τινα μακρὰν ἐπιλέγων.

In the *Persae* the Chorus in answer to Atossa say in quiet anapaests σύ τε πέμπε ρὰς θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς, ἡμέϊς θ' ὕμνοις αἰτησόμεθα φθιμένων πομπῶν εὐφρονας εἶναι κατὰ ραίας.—ἀλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγνοί, Γῇ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων, πέμψατ' ἔνερθεν λυχὴν εἰς φῶς· εἰ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἶδε πλέον, ὥνός ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι. Then, in our ext, their hymn begins, and the first words open with are these:

ἦ ῥ' αἶτει μου μακαρίτας
ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς
βάρβαρα σαφηνῇ
ἰέντος²¹ τὰ παναίολ' αἰ-
ανῇ δύσθροα βάρματ', ἦ²²

²⁰ The grammarians derived γόης from γόος: Suid. i. 1127 Bernhardt, Γοητεία δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνάγειν νεκρὸν ἢ ἐπικλήσεως. ὅθεν εἴρηται ἀπὸ τῶν γόων καὶ τῶν ῥήγων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους γινομένων. Eustath. 147. 8 τὸ 'θρηγεῖν ἐπωδὰς' ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τῷ γοερῶς πᾶθειν, ὃ καὶ γόης ποιεῖ. Liddell and Scott say γόης, properly a *wailer, howler*, and so (from the word in which spells were chanted, *barbaricus ululatus* Seneca) a *wizard, sorcerer, enchanter*. This however is only a plausible etymology; in sage γόης never means a *wailer*.

²¹ ἰέντος M, which has other cases of *psilosis* in the γrics of this play, 540 ἀπαλαῖς, 579 ἀλ' *prima manu*, 44 ἀγεμόνες, 679 ἀμάρτια: cf. 661 ἰκον. This may be a correct tradition; for, as I have pointed out, the language is Ionised in a conventional degree. If the Persians must speak Greek at all, they will peak the dialect of Asia.

²² Dindorf for βάρματα. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 504, Lucan. 6. 744, quoted presently.

παντάλαν' ἄχη
διαβοάσω;
νέρβεν ἄρα κλύει μου;

Paley's explanation of βάρβαρα is 'To Darius Greek words were βάρβαρα': a truly monstrous view. It is only by a convention they are speaking Greek at all; you are to imagine they are speaking Persian. And Aeschylus to call Greek language barbarous to any one! The Persians speak of themselves as βάρβαροι in 9 places of this play. It should now be evident that what are meant are the *long-drawn, magical, outlandish incantations*.

But where are they? If the Chorus say ἦ ῥ' αἶτει μου; νέρβεν ἄρα κλύει μου; that implies that there has already been some call he might have heard. In Lucan 6. 744 when Erichtho cries to the infernal powers *paretis? an ille compellendus erit quo nunquam terra vocato non concussa tremis?* it is after she has already made a passionate appeal; and so it is in Stat. *Theb.* 4. 500 *atque hic Teiresias, nondum adventantibus umbris, 'testor,' ait 'divae, quibus hunc saturavimus ignem, laevaue concussae dedimus carchesia terrae, iam nequeo tolerare moram. Cassusne sacerdos audior? an rabido iubeat si Thessala cantu ibitis? et Scythicis quotiens armata venenis Colchis aget, trepido pallebunt Tartara motu?'* But to Darius there has been no appeal at all; nor surely could the previous invocation have been described in these excessive epithets. I think we must understand that they begin by invoking Darius with ἐπωδαί in unintelligible jargon; then they break into their hymn: 'O does he hear me uttering in outlandish terms, but plain to him, this diverse long-drawn dismal-sounding speech? Or must I pierce the earth with yet more agonizing cries?' τὰ παναίολα, those they have just been uttering; though the article might, of course, imply 'the usual ritual,' τὰ νόμιμα. The refrain in 667, 675 βάσκε πάτερ ἄκακε Δαρίαν, οἱ probably represents the magic incantation.

The effect of the incantation was to rend and cleave the earth, making an open passage either for the operators to descend by or for the ascension of the ghost. This is definitely stated in half-a-dozen passages: Lucian i. 470 *Necyomant.* 10 εὐθὺς οὖν after the incantation of the Babylonian Mage ἅπαντα ἐκεῖνα ἐσαλεύετο καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπωδῆς τοῦδαφος ἀνεργήγνυτο and the infernal regions were discovered: we descended διὰ τοῦ χάσματος. Tibull. 1. 2. 45 *haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulcris elicit.* Ov. *Am.* i. 8. 17 *evocat antiquis proavos*

atavosque sepulcris et solidam longo carmine findit humum. Rem. Am. 253 *me duce non tumulo prodire iubebitur umbra; non anus infamī carmine rumpet humum.* Lucan vi. 728 *perque cavas terrae quas egit carmine rimas Manibus illatrat.* This is the description of the result in Sen. Oed. 567: *canitque rursus, et terram intuens graviore Manes voce et attonita ciet. latravit Hecates turba: ter valles cavae sonuere maestum: tota succusso solo pulsata tellus.* ‘*audior*’ vates ait, ‘*rata verba fudi.*’ *rumpitur caecum chaos, iterque populo Ditis ad superos datur. subsedit omnis silva et erexit comam: duxere rimas robora, et totum nemus concussit horror. terra se retro dedit gemuitque penitus. sive temptari abditum Acheron profundum mente non aequa tulit, sive ipsa tellus ut daret functis viam compage rupta sonuit, aut ira furens triceps catenas Cerberus movit graves, subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu laxata patuit.* Ovid makes the earth groan too when Circe calls, with deadly magic herbs, upon the Powers of Night and Hecate: *Met.* 14. 406 *exiliure loco (dictu mirabile) silvae, ingemuitque solum....et lapides visi mugitus edere raucos:* the same is among the effects of Medea’s incantations *Met.* 7. 204–6. Apollonius of Tyana in Philostr. iv. 16 professes to have raised Achilles up οὐχὶ βόθρον Ὀδυσσεὺς ὀρυζάμενος οὐδ’ ἀνρῶν αἵματι ψυχαγωγῆσας, ἀλλ’ εὐξάμενος ὁπόσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ φασιν εὐχεσθαι. ‘Achilles, most men say that you are dead, but I do not agree, any more than Pythagoras my master; if I am right, then come and prove it to my eyes’; whereupon σεισμὸς μὲν περὶ τὸν κολωνὸν βραχὺς ἐγένετο, and Achilles ἀνεδόθη. Euerates in Lucian *Philopseud.* 22 iii. 50 relates how Hecate appeared to him σεισμῷ τινος γενομένου καὶ βοῆς οἷον ἐκ βροντῆς.

In the *Persae*, when Darius is called up, he addresses the Chorus in these terms:

683 ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἡλικές θ’ ἥβης ἐμῆς,
Πέρσαι γεραίοι, τίνα πόλις πονεῖ πόνον;
στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον·
λεύσσω δ’ ἀκοῖτιν τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας
ταρβῶ, χοῦς δὲ πρηνμενῶς ἐδεξάμην.
ὕμεις δὲ θρηνεῖτ’ ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου,
καὶ ψυχαγωγοῖς ὀρλιάζοντες γόοις
οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθέ μ’. ἐστὶ δ’ οὐκ εὐέξοδον
ἄλλως τε πάντως χοῖ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ
λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθίναι·
ὅμως δ’ ἐκείνοις ἐνδυναστεύσας ἐγὼ
ἦκω· τάχυνε δ’, ὥς ἀμεμπτος ὦ χρόνον.

What is the meaning of στένει κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον? In view of the passages I have adduced we may suppose, I

think, that it is the result of the ψυχαγωγοὶ γόοι: and the later scholia²³ explain it so: schol. A τίνα πόνον καὶ κακοπάθειαν πάσχει ἡ πόλις καὶ στενάζει καὶ οἷον ἐκ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν κέκοπται καὶ χαράσσεται ἡ γῆ κάτωθεν. τοῦτο δὲ εἶρηκεν, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ὑμῶν στεναγμῶν ἡ γῆ βαγείσα ἀνέδωκέ με. Schol. B χαράσσεται] διασχίζεται τοῖς θρήνοις. These are merely two expressions of one and the same view; but they have not appealed to modern critics, to whom the virtue of the γόοι has been quite unknown. Hermann took these scholia to be different explanations: ‘Interpretationes in scholiis duae prostant, una, quae rupta tellus, ut Darius ab inferis exire posset, intelligitur, quae ab usu verbi abhorret et ad sensum absurda est; altera qua lamentis lacerari regio significatur.’ Paley says: ‘What is meant by the plain being ‘cut up and ploughed,’ i.e. whether by the violent gestures, impatient stamping, &c., of those who evoke Darius, or by the noise and turmoil of the army and war chariots, or riven by an earthquake to give the ghost a passage to the upper world, is not clear. The later Scholiasts understand the θρήνοι and ὀδυρμοί, but the Greek words are as inapplicable to the mere sounds of grief as they seem peculiarly appropriate to the tramp of armies.....Hermann is so dissatisfied with the Scholiast’s explanation, that he suspects the passage is in some way corrupt. Probably the effects of sorcery are meant.’ Wecklein and Zomarides, taking (as some do) the subject of στένει, κέκοπται to be πόλις, understand by χαράσσεται πέδον the beating of the ground by the dancing of the Chorus: they say that χαράσσειν here is used in the sense of νύσσειν, which Hes. *Scut.* 62 applies to horses, χθόνα δ’ ἔκτυπον ὠκέες ἵπποι νύσσοντες χηλήσι. Well,—there is no reason whatever to suppose the Chorus here have any dance at all; in the second place no one ever raised a ghost by dancing; you might dance for a day without bringing a corpse up: and imagine these aged venerable men skipping and scoring the ground with their old hoofs! Schuetz, taking (as I do) all the three verbs to refer to πέδον, supposed them to be the result of that drumming on the ground which we have remarked above: ‘solemne enim erat manes evocantibus terram manibus pulsare; adeoque Darius, gemit, inquit, pulsatur, ac tantum non scinditur solum.’ This, though Hermann says ‘Schützii interpretationem nemo elegantem esse sibi persuadet,’ has found favour; M. Weil accepts it and Prof.

²³ No explanation is given in the earlier; in the later there is no alternative suggestion.

Tucker (*Choeph.* p. 78), quoting also the opinion of Dr. Verrall to the same effect. Dr. Verrall may have been influenced by a note of Mr. Frazer's (*Pausan.* iv p. 239-40) on smiting of the earth with rods,²⁴ a passage which Miss Harrison also uses (*J.H.S.* 1900 xx p. 107) for the interpretation of a painting on a lekythos and the title of Sophocles' Satyric play Πανδώρα ἡ Σφυροκόποι.

This explanation of *Pers.* 685 is [far the most reasonable of those suggested; that it is the true one I find it difficult to believe in face of testimony. From Homer downwards we have many descriptions in detail of ghost-raising, and from Homer downwards many cases of drumming on the ground; but I can find no example (nor has one been quoted) where spirits are evoked by it; it is never used in necromancy; never part of magic ritual: whereas, on the other hand, the riving or convulsion of the earth is again and again attributed to the power of incantation. There is no mention in the *Persae* of hands drumming: only two instruments are mentioned by Atossa; she brings χοάς herself to propitiate the Earth-powers generally (612), and then calls upon the Chorus to evoke Darius with ὕμνοις, 622 ἀλλ' ὦ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων ὕμνους ἐπενφημίτε τόν τε δαίμονα Δαρεῖον ἀνακαλεῖσθε. They reply 627, σύ τε πέμπε χοάς θαλάμους ὑπὸ γῆς, ἡμεῖς θ' ὕμνους αἰτήσομεθα φθιμένων πομπούς εὐφρονας εἶναι. Then they begin, as usual, by imploring the Authorities to permit the rising of their subject, and work upon the feelings of Darius with their piteous plaints; his ascension is at length—and reluctantly, as usual—permitted. He accepts the χοάς (687) on ascending, but what have moved him to appear are the ψυχαγωγοὶ γόοι (688, 699). There is no mention of any beating on the ground; and the only passage I know on which that colour could be put is *Stat. Theb.* 4. 472 where Teiresias exclamat (*tremuere rogi, et vox impulit ignem*), 'Tartarae sedes, . . . solvite pulsanti loca muta et inane severae

Persephones. Here, if it were not for the other passages, it might be thought that *pulsanti* means 'at the beating of my hands'; but immediately before it his voice that produces the pulsation of the pyre and of the flame, and in *Sen. Oed.* 570, when *tota succusso solo pulsata tellus*, it is the voice of Teiresias that produces the effect.—Since the χοαί in this case would naturally be made in a βόθρος, χαράσσεται might refer to excavation of the earth, if there were any passage that could warrant it; perhaps the phrasing of the line implies that the actions of the lamentation—groaning, beating on the breast, and laceration of the flesh—are transmitted to the passive earth.

From the same note of Prof. Tucker's (*Cho.* p. 78) I learn that there is another passage which Dr. Verrall would refer to the suppliant's beating on the ground. He thinks that 'in this custom lies the explanation of *v.* 374,' and Prof. Tucker considers the explanation (which he quotes there) satisfactory. I do not know whether others will agree; this is the passage:

ἀλλὰ διπλῆς γὰρ τῆσδε μαράγνης
δοῦπος ἰκνέεται· τῶν μὲν ἄρωγοὶ
κατὰ γῆς ἦδη, τῶν δὲ κρατούντων
χέρες οὐχ ὅσαι· στυγερὸν τούτων
παισὶ τί μᾶλλον γεγένηται;²⁵

'However, the third of this double scourge goes home—the champions of the one side are already under earth, while the side in power have hands defiled by murder: when has there ever been for children a case more abominable than this?' The double 'scourge,' by a common metaphor, is the double taunt, which is employed to enrage the spirit of their father; and the Greek shows clearly that the two lashes are the clauses joined by μέν and δέ: they are the explanation, stated with *asyndeton*, of διπλῆς. It was the way of Greek, when giving the two details meant by διπλοῦς, δίδυμος, δισσός and the like, to specify them by the particles τε . . . τε, τε . . . καί, or μὲν . . . δέ: e.g. *Pers.* 169, *Theb.* 769 (read κρεισσοτέκνων τ'), *Agam.* 337, 826 ἀχθος διπλοῖε τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσῳ· τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πῆμασιν βαρύνεται καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορῶν στένει. *Supp.* 1020 οἰκησις δὲ καὶ διπλὴ πάρα· τὴν μὲν Πελαγός, τὴν δὲ καὶ πόλις διδοί. *Eur. Andr.* 506. If this usage had been recognised by critics, they would all have seen that in *Agam.* 645

²⁴ Since βαβδουαντρελα appears not to be included by M. Bouché-Leclercq in *La Divination*, I give here collected references to it. The βάβδων δέσμη mentioned by Strabo 733 (quoted above) is 'the baresma (now called barsom), a bundle of sacred twigs which the priest holds in his hand while reciting the prayers. . . . The Parsis in India found it convenient to replace them by brass wires, which, when once consecrated, can be used for an indefinite period.' Darmesteter *Zend-Avesta* I. p. 22. For these and others see Phoenix Coloph. (Ath. 530 e), the rich schol. on Nicand. *Ther.* 613, Hdt. iv. 67, where Stein quotes Ammian. Marc. xxxi. 2. 24, Tac. *Germ.* 10.—But this was not to Mr. Frazer's purpose, for they were not used to beat the ground with.

²⁵ χέρες οὐχ ὅσαι στυγερῶν τούτων παισὶ δὲ μᾶλλον γεγένηται MS. I adopt the corrections of Schoemann; but παισὶ ought not to have been changed: it is from the children's point of view they are considering it.

πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τυχεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας²⁶ δόμων ἀνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ, the two lashes of the double scourge are the two clauses specified by μὲν and δέ, the public and the private blow.—δοῦπος ἱμάσθλης Nonn. D. 10. 13.

In ordinary parlance μάγος, γόης and ἐπωδός were synonymous in scorn (μάγος καὶ γόης Aeschin. 73. 13, γόης ἐπωδός Eur. Bacch. 227, ἄρ' οὐκ ἐπωδός, οὐ γόης πέφυχ' ὅδε; Hippol. 1035), suggesting 'sorcerer', 'quack', 'wizard', 'juggler', 'charlatan'; and a common sneer at them was 'mercenary' and 'avaricious.' In Soph. O.T. 388 Oedipus in his anger calls Teiresias μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανογράφον, δόλιον ἀγύρτην, ὅστις ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν μόνον δέδορκεν: and in Antig. 1034 Creon exclaims οὐδὲ μαντικῆς ἀπρακτος ὑμῖν εἰμι, τὼν δ' ὑπαὶ γένους ἐξηπόλημαι κάμπεφόρτισμαί πάλαι. κερδαίνειτ', ἐμπολάτε τὰπὸ Σαρδεῶν ἤλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν: and at 1155 taunts the prophet with venality to his face, τὸ μαντικὸν γὰρ πᾶν φιλάργυρον γένος, 1061 κίνει, μόνον δὲ μὴ 'πὶ κέρδεσιν λέγων: and everyone will remember Adeimantus' description in Plat. Rep. 364B-365A of the mendicant quacks who go to rich men's doors, ἀγύρται καὶ μάντιες ἐπὶ πλουσιῶν θύρας ἰόντες, professing to have power obtained from heaven to procure by sacrifices and incantations the healing of their sins, or promising to harm their enemies, whether good or bad, at a small expense, μετὰ σμικρῶν δαπανῶν ὁμοίως δίκαιον ἀδίκῃ βλάβῃ ἐπαγογαῖς τισι καὶ καταδέσμοις,²⁷ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὥς φασί, πείθοντές σφισιν ὑπηρετεῖν.

In Aesch. Cho. 815 after praying the Gods to speed Orestes' hand, the Chorus with sly humour say:

- 815 καὶ τότ' ἤδη —
 δομάτων λυτήριον
 θῆλυν οὐριοστάταν
 818 — κρεκτον γοήτων
 νόμον μεθήσομεν

²⁶ Driven out, as it were as ἐξαγιστους, excommunicate and banished, ἀγῆλατφ μάστιγι συνθραύσας κάρα Lycophr. 436 (with Bachmann's note): the critics miss the point. It seems probable that in Cho. 288 we should read διώκεισθαι πόλεως χαλκηλάτφ (or ἀγῆλατφ) μάστιγι λυμανθέν δέμας: see Wecklein's textual note. Thus Christ drove out the money-changers from the Temple with a scourge (John 2. 15), as defilers and polluters of it.

²⁷ So I punctuate; the usual punctuation is at βλάβῃ, but surely the καταδέσεις defixiones bind the human victim. See for instance Legg. 933 A, D, Theocr. ii. 3, 10 sqq. For ἐπαγωγὰ see Ruhnken Timaeus, p. 114=96.

820 'πλεῖ τὰδ' εὖ

ἐμὸν ἐμὲν κέρδος αὔξεται τόδ', ἅτα δ'
 ἀποστατεῖ φίλων'.

'And then at last our voice will vent, for deliverance of the house and wind set fair, the wizards' strain, *'The vessel speeds! Evil is removed from my friends and my own gain, my own, increased withal'*. This was a very natural view for slaves to take: remember in the Agamemnon, when the beacon-fire shines out, how the Watchman dances a *pas seul*,²⁸ remarking to himself in a colloquial metaphor 'I shall score by my masters' luck; this beaconing has turned up trumps for me'. He will see the return of Agamemnon; be released from his long sentry; and doubtless also receive a reward for his good news, for this was the regular Oriental custom: 'The herdsman came, and standing before me said, O my master, I will tell thee a thing which shall gladden thy soul and shall gain me the gift of good tidings' Burton's *Thousand Nights and a Night* (ed. 1894) i. p. 27, where he observes 'Arabic "Al-Basharah", the gift everywhere claimed in the East and in Boccaccio's Italy by one who brings good news. Those who do the reverse expose themselves to a sound strappado'. So it was in Greece; if messengers bring bad news, it is with apprehension; but for good news they receive largesse or entertainment, and have no scruple in suggesting it: see Soph. O.T. 190 ἀπῆξ' ὅπως τοι πρῶτος ἀγγέλας τάδε πρὸς σοῦ τι κερδάναιμι καὶ κτῶμην χάριν, 492-6, O.T. 230, 1002-6, El. 797-802, Eur. Hel. 1280-3, Ion 759, Heracl. 789, 888: cf. Ag. 591. Since γόγτες, while delivering others, were proverbial also for an eye to their own pockets, the Chorus here look forward humorously to 'the wizards' strain'.

But if you consult the editors, you will find a very different notion. Since Blomfield and Hermann they have all assumed that γοήτων is an error for γοατῶν or γοατάν, 'wailers', 'wailing'.—πλοῦτον in 815 is an error for some adjective; κλυτόν Bamberger; perhaps πλυτῶν 'the cleansed house'. 818 ὁμοῦ κρεκτὸν (with ὁμο in erasure) is a corruption of some compound adjective. οὐριοστάταν is a metaphor derived from wind, like δέιμα προστατήριον καρδίας ποτᾶται Ag. 967 (cf. Cho. 390); it applies both to the fortune of the house and to the οὔρος ὕμων (Pind. P. iv. 3).—πλεῖ is Kirchhoff's correction of πόλει: it is a colloquial phrase like Plaut. Bacchid. 797 *pulcre haec confertur navis*, Ov. Fast. 4.

²⁸ The editors do not notice this. It stands for a little interval before the Chorus appear at the summons of Clytemnestra.

18 *dum licet et spirant flamina, navis eat*, Plat. Legg. 813 D πάντα ἡμῖν κατ' ὁρθὸν πλεῖ, Liban. iv. 12. 34 τοῖς γὰρ οὕτω γνώμης ἔχουσιν ἐξ οὐρίας φιλεῖ τὰ πράγματα φέρεσθαι Lucian ii. 698 ταυτὶ μὲν ἤδη κατὰ ῥοὴν προχωρεῖ τῷ Δάμιδι, καὶ πλησίστιος ἐπὶ τὴν νίκην φέρεται.—ἐμὸν ἐμὸν as in Pratinas Bergk iii. p. 558,

Eur. H.F. 1179, El. 1149.—One of the scholia has τὸν τῶν γοήτων, οἶον, ὡς ἄδουσι περιούνητες (corrected by Victorius for παριόντες) τὴν πόλιν: for this word in its special application to γόητες and ἀγύρται, see Ruhnken *Tim.* pp. 10 and 180 = 213.

W. HEADLAM.

REVIEWS.

HORACE AND A MONASTIC RIVAL.

Odes Choiesies d' Horace. Par B. BAELEDE et M. LEGRAIN. Brussels: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie.

Proses d' Adam de Saint-Victor. Par M. L'ABBÉ LEGRAIN. Same publishers.

Proses d' Adam et Odes d' Horace. Par B. BAELEDE, M. LEGRAIN et L. GUILLAUME. Same publishers.

THESE three volumes are intended to be used together as text-books for a course in the comparative study of literature. They appear to form part of a series issued under the general direction of Canon Guillaume of Namur, and approved by the Bishop of that see. The first book above-named contains a selection from the Odes and Epodes of Horace with an Introduction and Notes by two gentlemen who are professors in Roman Catholic schools in Belgium. The notes are sufficient for the purpose in hand, which is, to make a tolerable sense of the Latin, and to show that Horace was not a Christian and that he had many tricks of style. The only novelty that I observe is the reading, at *C.* iv. 2. 49, *tuque dum praedicis* 'io triumphe,' but there are other signs that M. Baelde or M. Legrain is a very peremptory editor. The second book gives a selection of the *Proses*, or rhymed Latin hymns, of one Adam, a Breton, who was a monk in the Abbey of Saint-Victor at Paris in the twelfth century. Here also there are an Introduction and Notes which I found extremely useful. The third is the complement of the other two, and contains a longer and more detailed account of *Proses*, and of Adam's style: then a translation of the selected *proses* and odes, with suggestions of literary parallels: and finally, many close comparisons of *proses* with odes, the criticisms of each being ranged under the heads of *vérité*,

moralité and *art*. It need hardly be said that in the matter of *vérité* (which means 'the fact conveyed': e.g. that Drusus conquered the Rhaeti, or that St. Paul was converted by a vision of Christ), and in *moralité*, the monk has much the best of it. But it is open to doubt whether, in respect of *art* (which is taken to include inspiration as well as style), Horace is so frequently inferior as M. Guillaume and his coadjutors would make him out to be. I have tried to approach this question with candour: to dismiss from my mind the prejudice which a reader trained to classical Latin may easily feel against ecclesiastical Latin of the twelfth century: to allow that pious devotion is in itself a sort of inspiration, and to think it possible that a writer who, as M. Guillaume admits, has been forgotten for nearly four centuries, was nevertheless a poet of the first order. But, after all, I am wholly unable to agree with M. Guillaume in his appreciations. He contends, in the main, that, whereas Horace is frigid, imitative, a courtier, out of touch with the people, Adam is inspired, inventive, popular. He was certainly copious and may have been inventive in the matter of rhythms: he was popular in his use of rhyme and alliteration and short sentences: he can pray with fervour: but his language is quite lacking in distinction, and his thoughts are either popular in the worse sense, that is to say, common-place, or else obscure with a singular monastic pedantry. His verse is, in great part, a sort of Hebrew Latin, a mosaic of tags from the Prophets and Canticles applied, by a mysterious symbolism, to Christ and the Virgin. It is easy to prove this point, for M. Guillaume has considerably provided a dictionary of Adam's usual symbols, from which I take the following short specimens.