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The Water Gods and Aeneas in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Books of the *Iliad*

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τοῦτο to mean τὸ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείνουσαι, she makes καὶ practically equivalent to 'which involves the assumption that.' I find it difficult to read the words in this way; and if this criticism be unduly subjective, it remains true that upon her view the last part of the passage, from οἷς δὲ βέλτιον onward, is a restatement of the first part, from ἴσως μέντοι to ἀπλοῦν ἐστίν, and should therefore not be introduced by δέ, but asyndetically or with γάρ or καί.

But there is another possibility. It is well known that such phrases as θαυμαστὸν εἶ, δεινὸν εἶ, frequently introduce a pair of inconsistent or apparently inconsistent propositions, of which the first is admitted to be true. In the present case a pair of such propositions which would satisfy all the requirements of the context would be: 'You may think it strange if, though death is sometimes better than life, it is never permissible to commit suicide.' In a simple form this would appear in Greek as θαυμαστὸν ἴσως σοι φανέεται εἰ ἐστὶ μὲν ὅτε καὶ οἷς βέλτιον τεθνάναι ἢ ζῆν, οἷς δὲ βέλτιον τεθνάναι τούτοις μὴ ὅσιον αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. Another way of expressing the same thought would be the words given by the MSS. as far as ζῆν (with μὲν added after ἐστίν), followed by οἷς δὲ βέλτιον τεθνάναι τούτοις ὅσιον ὃν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. (In this case of course the propositions introduced by μὲν and δέ are not inconsistent.) The sort of *contaminatio* of these two forms which the text presents is to be explained as follows; the speaker embarks upon the first form and slips into the second

through the well-known Greek tendency to restate in a negative form what has been already stated positively; but when he reaches the second member he feels, as I should feel, that the effect given by the construction of τυγχάνει will not be felicitous, and accordingly returns to the structure originally conceived, repeating the opening phrase to avoid misconception. The appearance of awkwardness in this will be reduced if we bear in mind the many cases in which a positive clause is followed by a negative restatement and the subsequent construction ignores the interposition of the latter. The sentence thus produced has undoubtedly a confusing effect upon a grammatically trained reader; but, if I am not mistaken, it can be delivered orally so as to leave no such impression on the mind of a listener, even if prejudiced by grammatical study, at any rate if a slight alteration of the text be made. The introduction of the τυγχάνει-construction perhaps makes the point doubtful, but my feeling is that μὲν is here indispensable, and I would accordingly read ἐστὶ <μὲ>ν ὅτε καὶ οἷς.

This view involves the interpretation of τοῦτο as τὸ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείνουσαι. Miss Taylor has disposed of Professor Burnet's objections to this interpretation; but I may add that if it involves an absurd suggestion, Professor Burnet's own view involves a similar one—that the only universal truth admitting of no distinction is the assertion that death is never preferable to life.

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THE WATER GODS AND AENEAS IN THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST BOOKS OF THE *ILIAD*.

THE title of this paper should properly include the mountain gods of the Northerners and Achilles who fights under their protection. For the point which I desire to establish is that, to a degree hitherto unnoted, there exists in these two books of the *Iliad* an anti-

thesis between gods of the height and gods of the stream, which has behind it a long tale of fighting between the invading Northmen, worshippers of the Achaean Sky-God, and of his Valkyrie daughter Athena, and the river-worshipping tribes, extending from the Danube

on to Troy, where the Northmen won their last great victory, and their gods triumphed. Dr. Leaf says, in his recent book on Homeric geography, that 'the tale of Troy must from the first have been limited by a tradition of real facts,'¹ and in his opinion there must have existed a real record of real events from which the *Iliad* grew. Whether this *Iliad* as we have it is a single or a composite work, only one who is of so dull a mind as to confuse poetry and history can fail to see that this epic does not tell merely facts about the great final struggle of Achaeans and Trojans, but is enriched by all the tumultuous experience of many 'far-off things,' and battles fought with many fierce tribes from the Iron Gate onward.

The deity who more than all others watches over the Achaean warriors in the *Iliad* is Athena. Her name, I believe, has never been better translated than by Ruskin² in his *Spirit of the Air*. I cannot agree either with Gilbert Murray³ in his statement that 'Αθήνη seems most likely to mean Attic, nor with Gruppe⁴ in his translation of Αθήνη as 'the unsuckled.' I connect the name rather with the root seen in ἀθήρ, point, and ἄθως, the name of that shining marble mountain that is believed by the Lemnians to cast its shadow on Lemnos, fifty miles away, and has always been a weather-mountain, ὄρος σημαντικόν, like Olympus. Athena is pre-eminently the goddess of the Achaean highlanders, worshipped on heights,⁵ and is indeed the incarnation of their warlike prowess and strategy.

Her name γλαυκῶπις has, in its origin, nothing to do with the owl, but like ἐλικῶπες, descriptive of the Achaeans, marks the impression made by the fierce grey-blue northern eye upon a southern people; Caesar and Tacitus alike bear testimony to the terrifying effect of that steel-blue glance, the 'acies oculorum' of the fair-haired

warriors of Central Europe on their dark Italian foes.

In these two books of the *Iliad* we find the Olympians divided. On the Trojan side are all the gods who have to do with water. Even Poseidon leaves his Greeks, and with an apology to Hera helps the cause of the worshippers of water-gods. Aphrodite, Artemis, Apollo, all with affiliations with sea, stream, or marsh, are on the same side with Xanthus, the river-god. Athena and Hera, goddesses of the heights, are the mainstay of the Greeks, with Hephaestus, the fire-god, to aid them against the River.

The two books are entitled respectively *θεομαχία* and *μάχη παραποτάμιος*. The traditional title of the twentieth book is (as Dr. Leaf says) a complete misnomer, the real battle of the gods occurring in the twenty-first book in a passage which Dr. Leaf is right in pronouncing one of the few poetically bad passages of the *Iliad*. The fight with the river is condemned by M. Breal⁶ with characteristically French dislike of elemental wildness. To what we sometimes call Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic taste the scene is one of extraordinary splendour. If it is an interpolation or expansion, as many hold it to be, its poet has immeasurably raised the tone of the two books of which it forms the most remarkable and unforgettable part. Consider the other episodes of these eminently episodic books. The two *θεομαχίαι* are as bad as possible. In spite of their⁷ undeniable style and pretty touches like that of Artemis,⁷ 'full of tears, fleeing like a wood-pigeon,' they are in such taste that only the incorrigible lover of buffoonery could care for them. Then there is the long Aeneas episode. Even Andrew Lang comes near to thinking this an interpolation. He would be suspicious of it, he says in his last book on Homer, 'if Aeneas were not throughout such a special sort of person.' The Lycaon episode is of high poetic merit, and in my belief has an intimate relation to the main theme of the book, the sub-

¹ *Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography*, p. 328.

² *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 103.

³ *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 72.

⁴ *Greek Myths*, iii., p. 1194.

⁵ πῶλεων δὲ πασῶν τὰς κορυφὰς ἔχει κατὰ κράτος (Arist., vol. i., p. 15). See Farnell, *Greek Cults*, i., pp. 301, 302.

⁶ *Pour mieux connaître Homère*, p. 114.

⁷ From Gilbert Murray's *Rise of Greek Epic*, p. 242.

jugation of the River. This theme, I believe, is suggested at the beginning of the twentieth book, and forms the culmination of the contest between the Achaean gods of the height, and their champion Achilles and the water deities, who fight for and favour Troy.

At the beginning of Book XX. a council is called in heaven, to which strange deities are summoned. 'No river came not, nor Oceanus, nor nymph, haunting fair glade, or river-heads, or grassy meadow.' All gather to the shining colonnades of heaven. 'Not even the Earth-Shaker failed to heed the summons and came from out the sea to join them.' The particular mention of all the water deities here has caused Heyne to suggest that the lines 7-9 are an interpolation to account for the presence of the River Skamander in the Theomachy. As I hope to show in the following argument the lines are set at the head and front of these two books to stamp the nature of the contest that follows—not the foolish and vulgar theomachies, but the struggles of tribal gods and their worshippers.

In the twentieth book the long Aeneas episode occupies the chief place. This emphasizes the strife existing between the Trojans proper and Dardanian Aeneas, and contains the famous prophecy that the house of Aeneas shall continue to reign in the Troad even to the third and fourth generation.

Poseidon, who has been heretofore active in the Greek behalf, and in this very book has given Hera to believe that he will help Achilles against Aeneas now suffers a sea-change, and stricken with grief at the thought of Aeneas dying for the sins of Priam's house, he lifts him bodily from the ground and hurls him far back into the Trojan host. It should by all logic have been Apollo who performed this service for him, as he had urged him on to fight. His mother Aphrodite, too, has been on the battlefield. Poseidon's rescue of Aeneas, his praise of Aeneas' piety towards the gods, and prophecy of continual sovereignty of his house have been recognized as pointing to some special Poseidon cult among the Aeneadae. This theory is strengthened if the descent and affiliations of the

family of Aeneas are considered. The powerful tribe of Dardani at the head of the Axios river had at an early period invaded the Troad, and had come into such close relations with Troy itself that Priam is constantly called in the *Iliad* *Δαρδανίδης*. Thraemer¹ holds that the sixth stratum at Troy represents the height of Dardan culture. In Homer the Dardans are allies of Troy, led by Aeneas and two of Antenor's sons. Aeneas, their prince,² is always at odds with Priam because he is slighted by him. The Dardans in Europe who planted this stock in the Troad, are of the Illyrian-Thracian stock to which their close neighbours and kinsmen the Paeonians belong. Of the Illyrian worship of rivers we are informed by ancient authority,³ and the Paeonian neighbours of the Dardani who, like them, were people of the Axios or Vardar River, are notable for their cult of rivers in historic times. In a previous paper I have endeavoured to prove the likelihood that the Paeonians gave the Greeks their God of Healing, the divine physician, Paeon. It may be noted that the Dardanians too share the Paeonian knowledge of healing herbs. Dioscorides,⁴ of Amazarba, in his book *περὶ ὕλης ἱατρικῆς*, gives the names of several herbs from the Dardanian speech. Both Tomaschek and Kretschmar describe the Dardanians and Paeonians as kindred, both coming from the north-west into the Axios valley. The Dardans, under the leadership of the royal family of the Aeneadae, had early pressed further on the trade route that led by the Axios valley to the later Thessalonica, and then by land or sea had come into the Troad and gained a partial sovereignty at Troy itself if we may believe Homer. This route from Dardania and Paeonia runs 'straight along one of the great productive districts of Greek commerce.' (Leaf, *op. cit.* 278.) Aeneas, then, the great representative of this powerful European tribe of river-worshippers, has at Troy come into the circle of the water-goddess Aphrodite and her para-

¹ *P. W.* sub *Dardani*.

² *Il.* 13, 459-60.

³ Servius ad *Georg.* I. 12.

⁴ Tomaschek, *Die Alten Thraker*, II. 2.

mour Anchises. I refer for this view of Anchises to Sir Arthur Evans' article in *J.H.S.*, 1912. He counts Atthis, Adonis, Thammuz and Ilian Anchises as different hypostases of the same lover of the Anatolian nature-goddess. And it is to be noted that all the deities who intervene to save Aeneas are deities worshipped as water-gods—Aphrodite, Poseidon, Artemis, who is so often worshipped as goddess of streams, lakes, and marshes, and in places where Aphrodite is worshipped in such wise. Cf. Strabo 8 (p. 243), *μεστὴ δ' ἐστὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀρτεμισίων καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ νυμφαίων ἐν ἄλσεσιν ἀνθέων τὸ πολὺ διὰ τὴν εὐδρίαν.*

Apollo, that god of many aspects, Aeneas' other great divine friend, is a seafarer, worshipped as the dolphin god, and connected with Poseidon in the building of an earlier Troy.

Some have doubted that it is possible to prove in the case of Aeneas and the Dardans of the Troad the connection with the European Dardans. Homer does not speak of this connection. But we cannot argue from that that he did not know of the existence of the European tribe. Only once does he mention the Mysians of Europe, though the Mysians of the Troad appear so often in his verses. Thraemer (in *P.W.*, under *Dardani*) has given the evidence for the relationship of the European Dardani with those of the Troad. I will add a bit of evidence which so far as I know has not been noted. Bateia or Batieia is mentioned with some particularity as the place of assembling for the Trojan host, a place possessed of two names, one human, one divine. This place is said¹ to have been named from Bateia, wife of Dardanus. The name is Dardanian and Illyrian. The name *Βάτων* is one that occurs among the rulers of both tribes, and the *Et. Mag.* has the statement *ἐγὼ δὲ εὖρον ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς τὴν λέξιν οἰκίαν τινα σημαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Βάτωνος ὀνομασμένην δεσπότην.* The word *Βάτος* is given as Dacian in the *Herbarium* of Dioscorides.

As I have already stated Thraemer holds that in the sixth stratum the *Blüthezeit* of the Dardan culture at

Troy is represented. The seventh stratum, dated somewhere between 1000—700 B.C., shows a Danubian culture in vases, brooches, battle axes, hammers and chisels. Dr. Leaf unhesitatingly ascribes this to the Treres who, Strabo says, settled in the Troad after the days of Priam. H. Schmidt who has examined the objects critically for Dörpfeld's 'Troja und Ilion.' regards the Trerian hypothesis as plausible but does not commit himself to it in the absence of further archaeological evidence. It is to be noted that the Treres are mentioned by Pliny² as close neighbours of the Dardani and Paeonians, and that the Dardanians as well as the Paeonians were workers in metal from an early time. In this seventh stratum I believe may be found another link connecting in some way the citadel of Troy with the Dardanians of whose connection with the Trojans Homer gives us such tantalizing glimpses. In the two brothers Dardanus and Iason who are reputed to have come to Samothrace, whence Dardanus came to settle in the Troad, we have in all probability a reminiscence of the actual tribal movement along the trade route described by Dr. Leaf on page 272 of the *Homeric Geography*. I call attention to the name of Iason and his connection with the cult of Samothrace as characteristic of the practice of medicine and mantic of which we hear from many sources in Illyria, Paeonia and Thrace.

In the twenty-first book Achilles is still more clearly the foe of the river-worshippers. In the Lykaon episode we have the taunt which first rouses the wrath of the River. Achilles says to Lykaon: 'Nor shall the fair-flowing River with his silver current aid thee, though ye sacrifice bulls continually to him and plunge with his waters living horses.' The angry River does not yet join the fray, but there comes on most fitly as champion the Paeonian Asteropaïos, the grandson of the river Axios and of Akessamenos, the Healer. The River inspires the young hero with courage, and after giving his pedigree to Achilles he joins battle. 'My race' he

¹ Dion. Hal. I. 80.

² *N. H.* 4. 10. 35.

says 'is descended from the wide-flowing Axios, whose water is the fairest that flows upon the earth.' Dr. Leaf's comment on this in his *Homeric Geography* is noteworthy. He says 'But the praise given to the river Axios seems to imply more than a distant knowledge—something of affectionate and even religious admiration which has puzzled ancient and modern critics alike. There is no apparent reason why the Vardar should be spoken of in these terms; for the beauties of its great gorge, the Iron Gate, even if appreciated in ancient days, can by no stretch be held to explain the praise of its water. But the river had one claim on the Greeks that may serve to account for this special reverence. Rising in the upland plain of Kossowa, which breaks by a low and comparatively easy pass the elsewhere almost continuous barrier of the Balkan chain and approached from the Danube from the North by the valley of the Morawa, it offers the highway by which in all ages the peoples of Central Europe have entered the promised land of the south. By it, almost beyond a doubt, the Achæan invasion must have come. We can almost hear in the words 'its fairest water spreads over the earth' the sigh of relief with which the advance guard, after struggling through the long depth of the Iron Gate, saw the river opening out into the rich plain where afterward stood Thessalonica, and felt that for a time at least their goal was reached. It was at the mouth of the Axios that the legend of Pieria grew up; and closely connected with that must have been the worship of the River God who had brought them through the mountains of the north and settled them in their new home. When the Achæans had taken the next great step and exchanged Pieria for Hellas, the memory of this older time had been dimmed, and Homer has nothing to tell us about it; but we may in his passing praise of the Axios, see at least a dim reflection of that already prehistoric stage, if not an actual quotation from a yet more recent song.'

I have quoted Dr. Leaf's page in full because it explains so admirably the meaning of the river Axios in the time

of Achæan migration. One point, however, highly important for the interpretation of Books 20 and 21 of the *Iliad* he has not mentioned; *i.e.* that the Achæans had to fight their way through the territory of the very Dardans and Paeonians whom Achilles has for his chief combatants in these two books. They lived at the head of the Axios and possessed its valley. The River God was their divinity and hostile to the Achæans and their mountain gods. The old songs of which we find echoes in these books may then well have celebrated the desperate fighting along the Axios in the earlier days, when the Axios rose in his might with his stream choked with the bodies of Paeonians slain as did the Skamander in the twenty-first *Iliad*. It is noteworthy that the first victim of Patroclus in Achilles' armour is the Paeonian leader Pyraechmes of the Catalogue, that the wound of Patroclus is inflicted by a Dardan Euphorbus, though Hector the Trojan must have the glory of striking the final blow, that in the fight over Patroclus we find Aeneas, Apisaon from Paeonia, and Asteropaios in close company. Here are the leaders of the Danubian river-folk pitted against the Achæan highlanders. It is true that Achilles became the 'chieftain of a long river valley'¹ and vows his lock to the Spercheius, but Dr. Leaf remarks that the River God is not an ancestor but 'enters in only in the generation after Peleus. In other words the family of Peleus is a late arrival and adopts the River God instead of descending from him as in the case of autochthonous princes.' Asteropaios is an autochthonous prince. Of the interview between him and Achilles, Dr. Leaf says 'It is almost as though he said "If you have your Axios, I have my Achelous; but I scorn to base my ancestry on a mere river."

The fight in the twenty-first book after the death of Asteropaios goes on with the slaying of seven Paeonians whose names are given. 'And many Paeonians besides would swift-footed Achilles have slain had not the deep-eddying River in wrath assumed the

¹ T. W. Allen in *Classical Quarterly*, 1909.

likeness of a man and addressed Achilles.' Then comes the great passage where the river with his raging waters so nearly overwhelms Achilles that he cries to Zeus in agony of shame at the death that is on him, like a boy that herds the swine caught in a rising stream. The gods free him from peril. Hera sends Hephaestus to fight water with fire, and the River at bay swears to Hera not to aid Troy further if she will but stay her son from devastating his stream.

After this splendid scene comes the

trivial theomachy. Then Achilles begins his slaying again, attacking a Dardan, Agenor, son of Antenor, who is saved by Apollo, who takes the guise of Agenor.

The water gods are vanquished by the gods of the highlanders, who usurp their places so fully that Homer even fancies that Athena was worshipped at Troy during the famous siege. Here indeed 'Homer anachronizes.'

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HORATIANA.

IN the following passages of Horace the difficulty of the text is obvious and notorious. Even the most conservative editors admit it, and elaborate discussion of it here would be superfluous. I shall therefore make no more comment than is sufficient to raise the point of objection to the received text.

1. *Sat.* I. 1. 108 sqq.:

illuc unde abii redeo †qui nemo ut avarus
se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentis, etc.

Read 108 *qui nemo aut rarus*.

All the MSS. have *ut avarus*, but there is fumbling with the preceding words. The oldest Blandinian, V, alone had *qui nemo*: the others vary between *nemone ut*, *ne non ut*, *nemo ut*. Editors therefore have fixed their attention here, and there is not a single recorded emendation of *ut avarus*. But the real difficulty of the passage lies in these words. For the natural meaning of the text is 'Why nobody else is content, as the *avarus* is,' and so Porphyry took it: *ab aliis dissentire tamen avarum ait qui proposito suo gaudet solus*. Yet the whole satire has been devoted to showing that the prevalent discontent is due to *avaritia*. Many editors therefore analyse *nemo* into *quisque non* and take *ut avarus* as *utpote avarus*, ὡς φιλάργυρος ὢν, thus making Horace put his answer as part of his question. The reading *aut rarus* removes all difficulty in the sense. It is good Latin. For *aut* cf. *Epp.* I. 15. 33, 34 *nil | aut paullum*

abstulerat. For *rarus* cf. Quint. XII. Proem. 3.: *rarus, qui tam procul a portu recessisset, reperiebatur*. It will be conceded that *aut rarus* is not far removed either in pronunciation or spelling from *ut avarus* and that the mistake might easily have arisen accidentally. But there is one reason why it might have been made deliberately, viz. that spondaic hexameters are rare in Horace. There are four or five in the lyrics (with Greek proper names), but only one in *Satt.* and *Epp.*, viz. *A. P.* 467 *invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti*. But if Horace wrote this, he could write more. Similarly, there is only one certain instance in the hexameters of a hypermetrical syllable elided (*Sat.* I. 4. 96 *usus amicoque*), but editors are quite willing to imitate this at *Sat.* I. 6. 102 (*rusve peregreve*) and some even at *Sat.* II. 1. 54 (*nimirum*).

2. *A. P.* 119-122:

aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge
scriptor †honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
impiger iracundus inexorabilis acer
iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.

Read 120 *scriptor an orator*.

Some edd. put a full stop at *finge*, some at *scriptor*. In either case, *scriptor* has an emphasis which is not easily explained. Moreover, *honoratum*, whether it be an epithet or predicative, is an extraordinary word to use in connexion with Achilles, whose character is known only from the poem which describes his