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The Connection of Paeon with Paeonia

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two inferences is Thucydides the more likely to have meant? *δύναμιν* does not decide; I have rendered it by 'power,' a word suggestive of dominion, but *δύναμις* implies no more than 'strength' or 'resources,' and when Athens had lost her dominion she still had resources and strength. The reference to Sparta's hegemony, as well as to her territory, suggests at first sight that the Athenian Empire, as well as Attica, is to be taken into account; but against the assumption of a common ratio¹ Thucydides is adducing a disproportion, and the greater the disproportion the more it is to his purpose. Again, the Spartan half of the sentence, if it could be dated, might date the Athenian half; but the date of the Spartan half is itself undetermined in spite of much dispute.

Ἐν Κέρ τις ἡμέρα; For my own part I find the first of the two inferences a little absurd, and so, by a different road, I reach the same conclusion as Herbst, that the passage is subsequent to 404. But what I imagine Thucydides to have imagined that a tourist would imagine as he stood amid the imaginary ruins of Athens, is not evidence; so, if anyone differs from me—*πλατεία κέλευθος*.

VI.

Before quitting this subject I should like to propose an emendation of the words in which the fate of Athens is mentioned by Thucydides himself:² *μέχρι οὗ τὴν τε ἀρχὴν κατέπαυσαν τῶν*

¹ Viz. between the strength exercised by a city in its prime, and the impressiveness of its ruins.

² V. 26. 1.

Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέλαβον. Thucydides often uses *καταλαμβάνειν* of military occupation, by force or by stealth, by attack or against the danger of attack. The Thebans attempted *καταλαμβάνειν* Plataea in 431; when Syracusan ships *κατέλαβον* Messene in 425, it was on the invitation of the inhabitants, but opposition was feared;³ when Thucydides hurried from Thasos, *ἐβούλετο φθάσαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, πρὶν τι ἐνδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν Ἡϊόνα προκαταλαβόν.*⁴ The word is appropriate to a *coup de main*. But the entry of the Peloponnesians into the Peiraeus and the Long Walls was under terms of peace, and no resistance was to be feared. *παρέλαβον*, 'took over,'⁵ would do, but I propose *κατέβαλον*.⁶ That *κατέβαλον* can govern τὸν Πειραιᾶ, in the sense which Lysias⁷ expresses more fully by *τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ τεῖχη περιελεῖν* and *τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος περιελεῖν*, appears from the actual decree of the Ephors, recorded by Plutarch,⁸ *καββαλόντες τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη*, and from Xenophon's phrase⁹ *τά τε μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας*.

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³ IV. 1.

⁴ IV. 104. 5.

⁵ Cf. III. 39. 8, 46. 3, 50. 3; IV. 69. 4; V. 52. 1, etc. Plut. *Lys.* 15, *ὁ δ' οὖν Δύσανδρος, ὡς παρέλαβε τὰς τε ναῦς ἀπάσας πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων.*

⁶ It is found in a late MS.

⁷ XII. 70, XIII. 14.

⁸ *Lys.* 14.

⁹ *Hell.* II. 2. 20.

THE CONNECTION OF PAEAN WITH PAEONIA.

AMONG the derivations proposed for the name of the Greek god Paeon, or Paeon, that which connects it with the Northern tribe of *Παίονες* has, I believe, been mentioned only to be rejected.¹ There

are points, however, in the scattered references to Paeonian legend and ritual that seem to render it probable that the name of the god is an ethnic adjective (like, for example, Maleatas, the god of healing, whose name appears sometimes as an epithet of Apollo), and that this adjective was applied to the god worshipped as the Healer among the Paeonians, whether the Sun, or Apollo,

¹ Gruppe, *Müller's Handbuch*, 5. 3, pp. 1239-40. Cf. Walton, *Cults of Asklepios*, p. 5, who suggests that the name Paeonia is connected with the worship of Asklepios.

or Asklepios, or a 'Pelasgian medicine chief god.'¹

The Paeonian tribe occupied in early time the country afterwards known as Macedon, a name that does not occur in Homer, whereas the Paeonians appear in the catalogue and in books X., XI., XII., XVI., XVII., XXI. They are now regarded on the score of language² as of Illyrian origin, and are usually described as Thraco-Illyrian, or (as Niebuhr,³ and Ridgway⁴ would call them,) Pelasgian. They were a river-folk, and their name appears most often in connection with the Strymon and the Axios.

Herodotus gives an account of primitive Paeonian Lake-Dwellers on Lake Prasias, and Thucydides speaks of their home along the Axios. In the *Iliad* the Paeonians are archers or spearmen under two princes, Pyraechmes and Asteropaeus. The point lately made by more than one scholar that the battles in the *Iliad* are echoes of old tribal victories⁵ that really took place, though not at Troy, is excellently illustrated by the rôle played by the Paeonians. It is significant that the two Paeonian princes are killed by Patroclus and Achilles respectively. In *Iliad* XVI. Pyraechmes is the first victim of Patroclus in the armour of Achilles. In *Iliad* XXI. Achilles chokes up the stream of the Scamander with the bodies of Paeonians whom he has slain, beginning with Asteropaeus, 'And many more Paeonians still would Achilles swift of foot have slain' had not the river-god interposed in wrath. In *Iliad* XVII. a third warrior, next best in battle to Asteropaeus, Apisaon, fights next to Dardanian Aeneas, an old European neighbour. Asteropaeus, who appears in *Iliad* XII. as a companion of Sarpedon in his attack on the wall, and in XXI. in combat with Achilles, has for his grandfather the wide-flowing Axios, and as a great-grandfather appears 'Ἀκισσάμενος, the Healer. Paeonian connection with rivers appears in later accounts.

Polyaenus⁶ tells of the reception by the Paeonians of their young prince Ariston, brought to them by Lysimachus. They gave him the royal lustration of river-water, τὸ βασιλικὸν λούτρον, according to their ancestral rite, and performed other ceremonies to indicate that he was their rightful king.

Concerning the religion of the Paeonians we learn further from Herodotus that their women offer to Artemis the same *ἱερὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάρῃ*, i.e. offerings tied up in wheaten straw, which the Hyperboreans sent from the North to Apollo at Delos. Maximus Tyrius⁷ makes the statement that the Paeonians worship Helios, and that the Paeonian image of Helios is a little disk above a long pole. The form of Sun-worship is similar to the rite used at the Daphnephoria in the worship of Apollo, described by Proclus.⁸

In the passage mentioning the worship of Artemis with the same *ἱπαρχαί* as those offered to Apollo, Artemis has the title *βασιλεία*, on which Farnell notes 'queen being probably one of the native titles.' Inscriptions contained in the third volume of the *C. I. L.* coming from Moesia Inferior seem significant in this connection, as Paeonia lies directly below Moesia. Four of them read *Dianae Reginae*, and two (from Kutlovica) *Dianae Reginae et Apolloni*. Inscriptions to Apollo and Diana and to *nymphae medicae* appear in Pannonia, a country constantly confused with Paeonia, of which Kretschmar says 'the later identification of Pannonians and Paeonians at least testifies to the close relationship of the two peoples.'

I suggest that the Sun-god who specialised as God of Healing Waters in the North Illyrian and Celtic tribes became associated among the Paeonians chiefly with healing herbs, with which the god Paeon is always associated. The god appears but twice in the *Iliad* and in a sense but once. In *Iliad* V. 899, at the command of Zeus, Paieon heals with magical speed the wound of Ares, a Thracian god. Earlier in the same book the same verse is used of Paieon as curing Hades in the account

¹ *Anthropology in the Classics*, p. 92.

² Kretschmar, *Einleitung in die Griechische Sprache*.

³ *Lectures on Ancient Ethnography and Geography*, I. 287.

⁴ *Early Age of Greece*, I. 353.

⁵ *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 156.

⁶ *Strat.* IV. 12, 13.

⁷ *VIII.* 8.

⁸ Farnell, *Greek Cults*, 4. 285.

given by Dione of various wounds received by gods from mortals. The passage has a patchy look.¹ Hades does not belong to Heaven and I should regard the healing of Ares as the original passage. With this Paeon disappears from the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey* (IV. 231) he is mentioned as the ancestor of *ἰατροί* (with reference to *φάρμακα μητιόεντα*).

The claims of the Paeonians to the honour of naming the physician god are that they were a once powerful and widespread North Greek people, of Thracian-Illyrian (Pelasgian?) stock, whose worship of Helios and Artemis (*Βασιλεία*) have points in common with the ritual of the Hyperborean cult of Apollo and the ritual of Apollo Daphnephorus; that this cult of Artemis (*Βασιλεία*) may have some connection with the cult of Diana Regina and Apollo in Moesia, and the cult of Apollo Grannus, as god of healing waters among other Illyrian and Celtic tribes, may also have some connection with Paeonian water-cults or the Paeonian cult of Helios. Further, the Paeonians have an ancestor-hero, Akessamenus, the Healer. They are mentioned especially

for their decoctions and salves (Hecataeus, *ap. Ath.* XI. 447), and their ethnic name is given by Hesychius as synonymous with *ἰατρός*. Their land was on the road by which the rose and many other flowers, including the peony itself, ('nach Griechenland—über Phrygien, Thrakien und Makedonien einwanderte'),² and this whole Northern country was famous for its *φάρμακα*. It produced Chiron, and others wise in simples good and bad.

We have no indications of a definite cult of Paeon in Paeonia. Farnell says in making a similar connection between Maleatas and Malea or Maleatis, with no evidence in the case except the name: 'It is true that the historical record preserves no mention of Apollo Maleatas in either of the localities, but we must always be ready to recognise the baffling lacunae in our record, and the possibility that many cult-centres were abandoned which were once famous and able to put forth branches.'

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² Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustihere*, p. 246.

¹ Cf. Leaf's note.

VIRGIL'S USE OF THE WORD *INGENS*.

VIRGIL'S fondness for this word has often been commented on. As it happens, it does not occur in the *Eclogues*;¹ but in both *Georgics* and *Aeneid* it is a noticeable feature of his diction; and his partiality to it seems rather to have grown than otherwise in his later years. In the *Georgics* it occurs once in every 71 lines; in the *Aeneid*, once in every 58. This gives for the *Aeneid* an average of 14 occurrences per book; and it is rather interesting that there are only two books in which there is wide departure from this average. In Book IV. it occurs only 4 times; in Book VI. as much as 22 times. These figures tend to support the view, probable on other grounds, that Books IV. and VI. are, as regards their main substance, separated

by a considerable interval in date of composition.

Virgil however seems to use *ingens* (as he does several other words) not only to an extent, but in a sense, peculiar to himself. Careful study leads one to believe that he attributed to it, or felt in it subconsciously, an etymology different from that assigned either by ancient or by modern grammarians; and that it thus bore to him, beyond or side by side with its normal meaning, a further latent meaning of which no trace is to be found elsewhere.

The accepted ancient etymology (leaving obviously absurd explanations like that from *in* and *census* out of account) was that of Festus as cited by Paulus Diaconus: *Quia gens populi est magnitudo ingentem per compositionem dicimus quod significat valde magnum—*

¹ Nor in the *Ciris*.