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Greek Cults *The Cults of the Greek States*. By Lewis Richard Farnell, D.Litt., M.A., F.A.S. Vols. III. and IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Henry Frowde. 1907. 8vo. 2 vols. III. = pp. xii + 394; IV. = pp. viii + 454. 86 plates. 32s. net.

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LUCRETIUS II. 355 *sqq.*

at mater viridis saltus orbata peragrans
 nonquit humi pedibus vestigia pressa
 bisulcis,
 omnia convisens oculis loca si queat usquam
 conspiciere amissum fetum, completque
 querellis
 frondiferum nemus.

Nonquit O: oinquit Q: linquit Q corr.:
 noscit Lachm.: novit Brieger.

Noscit is read by Munro and Giussani, but it is hard to see why such a common word should have been corrupted. The whole passage is very closely imitated by Ovid *Fast.* 4. 459 *sqq.* 'Ut vitulo mugit sua mater ab ubere rapto Et quaerit fetus per nemus omne suos . . . Inde puellaris nacta est vestigia plantae Et pressam noto pondere vidit humum: Quacumque ingreditur miseris loca cuncta querellis Implet.' The use of *nacta est* in this passage of Ovid suggests

that the corruption in the text of Lucretius was due to the use of *nancit*, the archaic form of *nanciscitur*. For the form *nancio* cf. the fragment of Gracchus, quoted by Priscian (1. 513), *Si nanciam populi desiderium, comprobabo reipublicae commoda*. We also find the deponent form *nancior* in the fragments of the XII Tables (Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens*, p. 264). *Nacta est* occurs in 2. 872, and *nactae sunt* in 4. 1252, but Lucretius employs archaic and normal forms indifferently, e.g. *sonere*, *sonare*: *cupiret*, *cuperet*: *potestur*, *potest*: *fuat*, *sit*: *escit*, *erit*: *vis* (pl.), *vires*: *noenu*, *non*: *suppus*, *supinus*: *sublimus*, *sublimis*.

If *nancit* were the original reading, it would be certain to be corrupted, and there is no more common confusion in the MSS. of *Lucr.* than that of *c* and *qu*.

GEORGE W. MOONEY.

REVIEWS

GREEK CULTS.

The Cults of the Greek States. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL, D.Litt., M.A., F.A.S. Vols. III. and IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Henry Frowde. 1907. 8vo. 2 vols. III. = pp. xii + 394; IV. = pp. viii + 454. 86 plates. 32s. net.

THESE two volumes amply maintain the position which Dr. Farnell won for himself as the leading authority on Greek religion by the first two volumes. They are marked by the same exhaustive knowledge of the original sources and the views of modern writers, power of clear and vigorous expression, and sanity of judgment.

A characteristic example of Dr. Farnell's method may be seen in his treatment of the legend of the Phigaleian Demeter and the Thelpusan Erinyes (iii, 50-62). To avoid

the pursuit of Poseidon, Demeter assumed the form of a mare; the god then took the form of a stallion and begat on her the horse Areion and a daughter, Despoina. The Phigaleians had a legend of a horse-headed temple-image of the goddess. Possibly these facts may point to an old worship of the horse as such, comparable with the worship of the cow and snake in India, and Mr. Cook has seen traces of such cults in the Mycenaean age (*J.H.S.*, 1894). But Greece presents no clear example of such worship, and Dr. Farnell therefore rejects this view. He also rejects the explanation that the horse is a chthonian animal and so connected with the chthonian goddess, since the traces in Greek religion of the chthonian character of the horse are vague and scanty. On the analogy of the October horse at Rome it might be

held that the horse was an embodiment of the corn-spirit, but to this view Dr. Farnell objects that the horse in Greece was by no means an agricultural animal and was never offered in sacrifice to any of the recognized vegetation deities. Finally the possibility of totemism is excluded by the fact that we have no record of a horse clan.

Dr. Farnell's own theory rests on the derivation of the cult from Boeotia, where Poseidon was worshipped as Hippios and was deemed to have been united with the earth-goddess. Demeter, or Erinys, may have taken over from him in some local cults and legends an equine form to enable her to become the mother of his horse progeny. Plausible as this explanation is, it involves rejecting the old comparison of the Greek legend with the story of Vivasvat and Saranyū in Vedic mythology. No doubt the equation of Erinys and Saranyū is philologically impossible, but names are of the least importance in legends, and, though the form in which the story has come down to us contains diverse elements, its main features have too many parallels in Vedic religion to allow us to accept the theory (i, 2) that the myth is a mere piece of aetiology. In both cases the salient facts are the flight of the goddess, the assumption of horse shapes, and the birth of horse progeny, in the one case Areion, in the other the Asvins, whose horsemanship no doubt reflects an earlier horse shape, just as the horses of the sun are originally the sun. The flight may be explained as a relic of marriage by capture, or, on the Vedic analogy of Yama and Yamī, as signifying the difficulties felt by primitive man as to the marriage of the first pair. The assumption of animal forms is frequent in Vedic cosmogonic legends (see Bloomfield, *J.A.O.S.*, xv, 178), perhaps because of the great fertility of certain animals or to explain the descent of animals from human beings.

Elsewhere, also, Dr. Farnell shows himself opposed to accepting totemism as an explanation of theriomorphism in cult or myth. In the case of Poseidon Hippios he adopts (iv, 22) the view that the horse was regarded as a symbol of water in the sense that the god, while remaining something

other than the symbol, yet temporarily is incarnate therein. He adopts a similar view in the case of Apollo Lykeios (iv, 116). Apollo is the god of the woods of a race of hunters and shepherds, and the fierce beast of the woods is readily regarded as an occasional incarnation. Or perhaps without accepting totemism we may regard this case as a survival of zoolatry, in view of the existence of the Hirpini and their wolf dance. Even Apollo Smintheus—assuming his Hellenic character—does not prove totemism (iv, 256), for there is no record of a mouse-tribe or of the sacramental eating of mice. Probably Apollo as agricultural deity was deemed responsible for field mice, and mice might sometimes be propitiated, like the mouse-king in a Vedic ritual (see Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur*, p. 85).

Nor is Dr. Farnell disposed to assign great prominence to the sacramental meal in which the worshippers partake of the body of the slain god. He does not find that any such sacrament formed part of the Eleusinia (iii, 184), and indeed even those cases in which he recognizes the phenomenon as perhaps present (iv, 258) seem to us open to a simpler explanation than one which assumes that the worshippers regarded themselves as partaking of the body of a slain god. As Dr. Farnell himself points out, the Greeks from Homeric times were familiar with the form of sacrament which consists in the god and the worshippers feasting on the victim, and thus becoming so far of the same flesh. But further it must be remembered that, when the victim is offered, the deity is conceived as coming to consume it, and the presence of the divinity at the altar and his mystic feeding on the victim fill its body with his spirit. So a victim which before the sacrifice was not regarded as divine may become in the course of the sacrifice by the entrance of the deity so filled with the divine spirit that the contact of its flesh or blood or skin conveys holiness, as in the case of the *δοιωτήρ* at Delphi, and that the worshippers may feel that they are obtaining closer union with the god than could be gained by merely eating the same food with the god. Such cases may have been the goat sacrifice at the Laconian

Kopides, and the eating at the Thesmophoria of the remains of the flesh of the pigs offered to Demeter and partly consumed by the snakes, which no doubt were regarded as incarnations of the earth-goddess (iii, 90) an example of particular interest. In all these cases there is no need to assume the slaying of a god. More doubtful, perhaps, is the wolf sacrifice to Apollo at Argos referred to by the scholiast on Sophokles, *Elektra* 6. But there is no trace (iv, 255) of any eating of wolves by the worshippers, and the wolf may have been considered a particularly suitable animal for sacrifice to Apollo as was the horse for Poseidon, inasmuch as it was sometimes conceived as the temporary incarnation of the god, and its strength would by the sacrifice be magically transferred to him. Or again, its ceremonial sacrifice may be due to reasons similar to those which move the Ainus in sacrificing the bear (cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*,² ii, 389). Indeed it seems worthy of further inquiry whether the conception of eating the slain god belongs to Hellenic religion or is due to borrowing from the earlier inhabitants of the Mediterranean area. Such borrowing appears clear in the case of the Mother of the Gods (iii, 295), and it is in the myths connected with her spouses, Attis and Adonis, and in the partially foreign worship of Dionysos and Aphrodite, that we find stress laid on the death of the god. It is at any rate worth noting that it is hard to find any parallel ideas in Vedic religion.

Probably it was to foreign sources and in particular to the worship of Rhea that is due the great prominence of goddesses in Greek religion. There are no doubt goddesses in the Vedic pantheon, and the Hellenes must have brought female deities with them when they entered Greece, but just as the Vedic Indians gradually took over the worship of the earth-goddess as a great divinity from the aborigines, so, it seems, did the Greeks graft their goddesses upon the great mother-goddess of the Mediterranean people. But from this worship to ascribe matriarchy to the Greeks or even to the pre-Hellenic stocks, as do Dr. Frazer and Miss Harrison, is utterly unjustifiable. If women were solely charged with the conduct of the Thesmophoria, that was doubtless due, as Dr. Farnell points out (iii, 111),

to their peculiar sensitiveness to religious ecstasy and their consequent greater power of working magic to promote the growth of the crops.

While, however, such speculations must remain doubtful, we need not hesitate to recognize the value of the evidence produced by Dr. Farnell as to the relations of the Hellenic tribes. For ethnological purposes it is now recognized that myths are useless, and that the evidence of cult alone deserves much consideration. When we find that Poseidon Hippios (iv, 23) was specially connected with the Thessalian Minyae, among whom the *ταυροκαθάψια* appears to have developed into a religious rite, we may fairly use the diffusion of the cult as a trace of Minyan influence. Still more important is the case of Poseidon Helikonios. The word cannot possibly be derived from Helike, and Dr. Farnell (iv, 32) rightly sees in it a proof of an old Ionian worship of Poseidon at Helikon at a time when the Ionians and the Minyae dwelt together in Boeotia. Later, pressure from the north drove the Ionians south into Attica, the Argolid and Achaea. In Attica itself the cults of Poseidon and Apollo enable us to trace various streams of Hellenic migration (iv, 48, 156). As against Miss Harrison, Dr. Farnell conclusively proves that Erechtheus cannot be identified with Poseidon, but is the old hero of Athens, who with Athene, Zeus, and Hephaistos, makes up the gods of the first Hellenic settlement. From the tetrapolis was introduced into Athens the cult of Apollo as Patroos and Pythios by Ionians, and the legend of Ion was gradually accepted, though Apollo never won his way into the circle of divinities of the phratric ritual. Later came Poseidon with a new Ionian migration from Troezen, and his worship seems to have been strengthened by a settlement of Minyae. Of even greater ethnographic significance is the cult of Apollo Lykeios (iv, 113). The evidence of Homer must be deemed conclusive for the early presence of Hellenes in Lycia, and the name itself appears to be Greek. It can hardly be doubted that the Greek migration took place *viâ* Crete, and it is at least very probable that the Ruka of the Egyptian monuments

of Rameses II. are the Lycians, so that we obtain some evidence of weight that Hellenic settlement had taken place in Crete by the fifteenth century B.C., a result of great importance for the early ethnology of the Aegean.

Of the great festivals connected with the cults dealt with in these volumes, the most interesting are the Thesmophoria (iii, 75-112), the Eleusinia (iii, 126-198), and the Thargelia (iv, 268-284). Dr. Farnell proves conclusively that the Thesmophoria had nothing to do with laws or marriage, but was a rite intended to further human and animal fertility, as the women's ceremonial march with torches and the ritual *αἰσχρολογία* would be sufficient to show. His interpretation of *θεσμοφόρος* as 'the bringer of treasure or riches' (iii, 106) is attractive and probable. In the case of the Eleusinia he rejects Dr. Jevons' theory of the sacramental meal of corn, and M. Foucart's attempt to resolve it into an analogue of the Book of the Dead. The former theory seems, indeed, impossible in view of the silence of Iamblichos in his attack in the *De Mysteriis* on the gift theory of sacrifice, and the latter theory confuses the private Orphic mysteries with the Eleusinian cult. The religious power of the Eleusinia appears, indeed, from the old notices, to have rested in the main on the spectacle with its striking allegory of life and death. The Thargelia, on the other hand, takes us back to a very primitive stage of ideas. The human victims there offered combined in themselves the functions of scapegoats and the decaying deity of vegetation. But in view of Dr. Frazer's theory of the slain god, it is

worth noting that in the Attic festival no trace appears of any consciousness on the part of the worshippers that the victims were in any degree divine. So also, even if we admit, what is not very probable, that in the Karneia the priest once died in the ritual, yet we must agree with Dr. Farnell (iv, 284), that the idea of the ceremony was not pressed to the strained logical conclusion that in his death the god died also.

It must suffice merely to refer to Dr. Farnell's conclusive proof that Apollo is not a sun-god (iv, 136-143), to his development of Ahrens' theory of the original meaning of *ὑπερβόρειοι* as *ὑπέρφεροι*, the sacred ministrants who carried the cereal offerings from one community to another (iv, 100-104), to the proof from cult-titles of the very early date of the Aeolic migration (iv, 169), to the interesting chapter on the cults of Hades (iii, 280-288), and to the note on the existence of the conception of a virgin mother (iii, 305, 306). Most important for the history of Greek morality is the section on the influence of Delphi (iv, 202, *seq.*), and, for the history of art, the chapters on the cult monuments and the ideal types of Demeter, Apollo, and Poseidon.

It is intended to complete the work next year by the issue of a volume dealing with the worship of Dionysos, Hermes, and minor deities, while the same or another volume will deal with hero-worship; and we venture to congratulate Dr. Farnell on the approaching completion of a treatise which is indispensable to every student of religion, history, and art.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES.

The Frogs of Aristophanes. Edited by T. G. TUCKER. Macmillan, 1906. Pp. lix + 276. 3s. 6d.

The Birds of Aristophanes. Edited by B. B. ROGERS. Bell, 1906. Pp. xcii + 305. 10s. 6d.

Mr. TUCKER's *Frogs* is an excellent school edition, and more than that, full of knowledge and judiciously done. He is equally careful to dwell on the meanings of words, to bring out points of Greek syntax, to set forth the rules of the metres, what is known as to the