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THE DAWN OF
EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

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THE DAWN OF
EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

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PREFACE.

THIS inquiry into the social, mental and religious evolution of early Europe owes its origin to an accident.

Although the subject has always possessed a certain charm for my mind, this book is directly due to an invitation which I received some years ago to read a paper before a scientific society. Upon that occasion I put together some notes on parallels presented by certain phases of the growth of thought in India, Greece and Italy. The late Professor Max Müller, who presided, had previously taken an interest in the subject proposed, and at the time expressed approval of the way in which it was treated. Professor Heinrich Stein, the well-known Continental scholar, and the late Dr. Cornelis P. Tiele, Professor of the history of religions in the University of Leyden, who saw the essay in print, also endorsed the views advanced, while friends in England whose opinions command consideration suggested that the paper might with advantage be expanded into a book. Since then I have followed up this line of research from time to time, in the face of formidable difficulties, chiefly from want of convenient access to a well-equipped library.

Meanwhile circumstances, entirely independent of this pursuit, led me to explore some Slavonic languages and institutions; the results added a zest to my investigation in this department of thought. For, as I proceeded, I found that the ideas and beliefs of the Slavs threw a flood of light upon some points which were otherwise obscure.

It is needless to mention that a work of so wide a range and so abstruse a nature could not have been attempted without calling into requisition the testimony and making use of the conclusions of others who have dealt with kindred topics. Accordingly I subjoin * a list of authorities whom I have consulted, besides the three scholars to whom I have already referred. The following are of the number :—

Dr. Victor Hehn, formerly of St. Petersburg, laid me under special obligations. His work *Die Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* first introduced me to this fascinating field, and his sketches entitled *De moribus Ruthenorum*, which show a keen insight into Russian modes of thought and seize salient characteristics of the Slav in a striking manner, were of the greatest value. Professor B. W. Leist's learned treatises, *Græcoitalische Rechtsgeschichte*, *Altarisches Jus Gentium*, and *Altarisches Jus Civile*, are invaluable to the student of Indian, Greek, and Roman society in its legal aspect. Dr. Otto Schrader's works require no recommendation ; they proved of the utmost service to me. His earlier book, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, is a veritable thesaurus for the philologist, and his more recent work *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* is a mine of information which will in future be indispensable to students of the earlier epochs of our civilization.

My acknowledgments are gladly offered to my former colleagues, the Rev. G. Chatterton Richards, Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford, for several interesting and important suggestions, to Professors Parker and Arnold, of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, for their opinion on some points, and to the Rev. E. Williamson Harradine for his ready and constant help in revising the proof sheets.

May 19th, 1903.

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THE DAWN OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE position occupied by Greece and Italy in human history has invested these two countries with a kind of glamour, and given them a prominence which is shared by no other branch of the human race except the Hebrew, the third nation which has written its name in large letters on the book of civilization. For in these two countries the culture of Pagan antiquity culminated. The brilliant achievements of the intellect in the one, and the triumphs of organization in the other are without a parallel. They produced, each in its own way, an ineffaceable impression on their contemporaries, and have exerted a far-reaching influence on the mind of man. Their peculiar situation offered stepping-stones, as it were, between two continents, and formed meeting-points for the civilization of the East and the West. In short, they rendered enduring services to mankind in general by saving Europe from remaining a dreary wilderness, and from becoming a second Asia, stagnant and unprogressive. All these considerations concur to surround the history of Greece and Rome with an imperishable interest, and to lend them an unapproachable grandeur. To those, therefore, who are fascinated by the spell that attends the history and the very names of Greece and Italy the races which inhabited these lands would, at first sight, seem to have enjoyed some special privilege, and

The place of Greece and Italy in the history of civilization.

Not a special creation.

to have been exempted from the ordinary laws of human progress. They appear to have sprung up fully equipped, like the warriors of Cadmean Thebes, from the furrows sown with the fabulous dragon's teeth, or as Athene was said in the Greek myth, to have darted, lance in hand and in full panoply, out of the head of Zeus. Such an erroneous idea underlies a work like Count Gobineau's "*Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*,"¹ and detracts from the value of a treatise which otherwise is instructive and illuminating. In this work the author ascribes to the forefathers of the Greeks and Italians the character of pioneers of civilization, which rightly belongs only to the Athens of Pericles, or to the Rome of Cæsar. The prevailing system of studying the classics for the sake of their philosophical, literary and artistic interest has also contributed to the same misconception. It has obscured the fact that the high standard of culture attained during the golden ages of Greek and Roman civilization was reached by a slow but steady and orderly progress. The truth is, that this high standard of culture was the acme of a gradual process of evolution from an original barbarism, out of which the Greek and Italian races emerged, thanks to the natural qualities with which they started in the race of humanity. The original level of culture from which the earliest Greeks and Italians rose, whether material, social, moral or religious, stood but little, if at all, above that of many savage races of to-day. Nations are not born, but rise to high estate.

It is impossible to consider the development of these two peoples without being struck by its scientific interest. The history of both offers a rich field for the study of the growth of institutions, and of the workings of the mind of man in the grey dawn of human history. Yet this way of looking at them need not diminish their interest or detract from their greatness, nor lessen our admiration for the products of the Greek or Italian mind; for, according to the well known

The scientific value of the classical authors.

The civilization of Greece and Italy the result of development.

Interest of the study.

This view does not impair their dignity.

¹ Paris, 1853-5.

principle laid down by Aristotle once for all, "The true nature of a thing is whatsoever it becomes when the process of its development is complete."

It will be my purpose in this chapter to point out the place which such inquiries as the one on which we are engaged occupy in the thought of the present day.

The gradual growth of the civilization to which we have already referred did not escape the observation of Greek writers. True, the poets both of Greece and Italy have depicted a Saturnian age, which was characterized by peace and plenty. The following picture of that period is drawn by Hesiod:—

"Golden Ages."

χρῦσεον μὲν πρῶτιστα γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
 ἀθάνατοι ποίησαν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.
 οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνον ἦσαν ὄτ' οὐρανῶ ἔμβασίλευεν·
 ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζων ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων καὶ οὐζύος· οὐδέ τι δειλὸν
 γῆρας ἐπὴν αἰεὶ δὲ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὁμοῖοι
 τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων·
 θνήσκον δ' ὡς ὑπνω δεδμημένοι· ἔσθλα δὲ πάντα
 τοῖσιν ἦν· καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
 αὐτομάτῃ πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον· οἱ δ' ἐβελημοὶ
 ἦσυχ' ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἔσθλοισιν πολέεσσιν,
 [ἀφνειοὶ μῆλοισι, φίλοι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.]¹

But in the light of modern science these idyllic pictures must be dismissed as the creations of a poetic fancy.² Nor

¹ *Works and Days*, 109. "First of all the immortals holding the mansions of Olympus made a golden race of speaking men. They lived in the time of Cronos when he ruled in heaven. And like the gods they were wont to live possessing their souls in peace, removed and aloof from labours and trouble: nor was wretched old age at all upon them, but, ever the same in hands and feet, they delighted in festivals, out of the reach of all ills: and they died, as if overcome by sleep: all blessings were theirs; of its own will earth, the grain-giver, would bear them fruit, much and ample: and they gladly used to reap the labours of their hands in quietness along with many good things, being rich in flocks, and beloved by the blessed gods." Cf. Vergil., *Georg.* i. 125, ii. 500, and Tibullus iii. 35. The pre-existence of a golden age and its restoration is a tradition common to Semitic and Aryan races. The national poet of Rome seized and turned it to his own use, as an adroit compliment to his patron, Pollio: see *Eclogue* iv. 4.

Ultima Cumaevi venit iam carminis aetas,
 Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.
 Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.

² "Historical investigation, however far it is advanced, has come no nearer the discovery of the existence on earth of an ideal primitive state,

need much more credence be attached to the revival of this theory in more modern times and in another form by Rousseau, who regarded the advance of man from "the state of nature" as a conscious and voluntary step taken in order to "put his person and his power under the superior direction of the general will." Nor, in view of evolutionary science, can we admit without reserve the later development of the same hypothesis which makes man "submit to political subordination through experiences of the increased satisfaction derived under it."¹ Rather, human advancement has been at once inevitable and involuntary, and too often suffering has been the condition of progress. The account given by Horace,² founded on the Epicurean cosmogony, comes nearer to the truth. He thus describes the first state of man and the origin of law:—

Their original barbarism attested.

Horace.

"Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus,
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
Oppida cœperunt munire et ponere leges,
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter."³

Lucretius. Lucretius in a powerful passage speaks to the same purpose. The poet has been describing how at first the

and has in fact left it hardly disputable that our civilization must have grown up from simple and indigenous beginnings, along the path of a gradual and much interrupted development. Such an admission, however, does not exclude supernatural beginnings, only that in the place of an ideal condition of primitive men there would have to be substituted the thought of a divine education by which men's natural powers would have been guided up to a point at which the species had become capable of its own further development."—Lotze, *Microcosmus* (Hamilton and Jones), vol. ii., pp. 179, 180.

¹ H. Spencer, *Data of Ethics*. Cf. Kidd, *Social Evolution*, p. 45.

² *Satires* i. 3, 99.

³ "When men like animals crawled forth upon the early earth, as dumb and low as brute beasts, for acorns and beds of leaves they used to fight with nails and fists, and presently with clubs, and so in order of time with the arms that necessity invented, until they discovered words and names to express their utterances and feelings; afterwards they began to desist from war, to fortify towns and enact laws against theft and robbery and adultery."—(LONSDALE AND LEE, *transl.*)

whole earth was clad with bright verdure, and then how trees rapidly sprang up. He proceeds:—

“Sic nova tum tellus herbas, virgultaque, primum
Substulit; inde loci mortalia corda creavit
Multa, modis multis, varia ratione, coorta.
Nam neque de cælo cecidisse animalia possunt,
Nec terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis.
Linquntur, ut merito maternum nomen adepta
Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata.”¹

Thucydides with his usual penetration bears testimony in the following passage to the lawlessness and violence that prevailed in the early ages of Greece:—

Thucydides.

πάσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε οἰκίσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους, καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαίταν μεθ’ ὄπλων ἐποιήσαντο ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. Σημεῖον δ’ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτὲ καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων.²

Aristotle,³ in like manner, adduces evidence of the primitive character of the early institutions of Greece:—

Aristotle.

ἐσιδηροφοροῦντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνοῦντο παρ’ ἀλλήλων.⁴

To the above testimony may be added the opinion of a later writer of the School of Euripides:—⁵

Moschion.

πρῶτον δ’ ἀνεμι καὶ διαπτύξω λόγῳ
ἀρχὴν βροτείου καὶ κατάστασιν βίου.
ἦν γὰρ ποτ’ αἰὼν κείνος, ἦν, ὀπηνίκα
θηρσὶν διαίτας εἶχον ἐμφερεῖς βροτοί,

¹ V. 790. “Thus the new earth then first put forth grass and bushes, and next gave birth to the race of mortal creatures, springing up many in number, in many ways, after divers fashions. For no living creatures can have dropped from heaven, nor can those belonging to the land have come out of the salt-pools. It follows that with good reason, the earth has gotten the name of mother, since all things have been produced out of the earth.”—(MUNRO, *transl.*) Cf. Critias, Ed. Bach, p. 56; Moschion in Stob. *Ecl. Ph.* i., p. 240.

² I. vi. cf. v. “For in ancient times all Hellenes carried weapons because their homes were undefended and intercourse was unsafe; like the Barbarians, they went armed in their every-day life. And the continuance of the custom in certain parts of the country proves that it once prevailed everywhere.”—(JOWETT, *transl.*)

³ *Politics*, ii. 8, p. 1268, b. 39. He is dealing with arguments for and against altering ancestral laws and customs.

⁴ “For instance, the Greeks always carried daggers, and purchased their wives from one another.” Cf. Plato, *Laws* 677-680.

⁵ Moschionis *Fragm.* vi. 9, preserved in Stob. *Ecl. Ph.* i. 9, 38. Cf. also Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* xviii. 9.

ὄρειγενῆ σπήλαια καὶ δυσηλίου
 φάραγγας ἐνναίοντες· οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν
 οὔτε στεγῆρης οἶκος οὔτε λαίνοις
 εὐρεία πύργοις ὠχυρωμένη πόλις.
 βοραὶ δὲ σαρκοβρώτες ἀλληλοκτόνους
 αὐτοῖς παρείχον δαΐτας· ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν νόμος
 ταπεινός, ἡ βία δὲ σύνθρονος Διῖ,
 ὁ δ' ἀσθενὴς ἦν τῶν ἀμεινόνων βορά.¹

This view
is
scientific.

This view of the early history of Greeks and Italians, namely, that they did not at once spring into the fulness of their being from the bosom of the earth, but emerged slowly and laboriously from a state of savagery, is also in accordance with the tendency of scientific thought at the present day. Throughout the whirl of modern theories one idea has steadily gained ground; a belief in the continuity running through nature, including man as an integral part of it. An inquiry such as the one upon which we are engaged attaches itself to this general system of Evolution. It is now forty-three years since Darwin published his epoch-making book, "The Origin of Species by Natural Selection," not altogether excluding, however, the operation of Lamarckism,² and other workers in the same field have pushed their conclusions still further. Wallace gives his unqualified adhesion to the principle of Natural Selection. Weismann carries Natural Selection into the parts of the individual and even into the ultimate vital units. But, however that may be—and admittedly the theory of Natural Selection is at present

The theory
of
Evolution.

¹ "First I will retrace and unfold in words the beginning and foundation of the life of mortals. For that was the bygone age, yes, when mortals lived like wild beasts, inhabiting mountain caverns and sunless ravines, since as yet there was no roofed house nor wide city fortified with stone towers. But by slaying one another they furnished feasts of flesh. The law was of small account, violence was the companion of Zeus' throne, and the weak was the food of the stronger."

² Lamarck assumed the evolution of new forms to be due largely to the direct action of the conditions of life (e.g. climate, food, nature of country), and still more, to the use and disuse of organs (e.g. the length of the giraffe's neck, the disappearance of hind limbs in snakes and whales). Thus he believed in the inheritance of bodily characters acquired in the lifetime of the individual. The other view is that nothing which does not affect the germ from which the new individual arises can be inherited by him.

undergoing modification — the Doctrine of Evolution, primarily applied to Natural Science, and afterwards to other departments of knowledge, has exerted a profound influence on human thought. The recognition of the principle of Evolution has afforded an incalculable impulse to a wider range of studies. It has raised Biology to the first rank in the encyclopædia of knowledge, and has exerted a proportionate influence even upon those sciences which are less closely connected with it.¹

The orderly progress of society by a slow and not seldom painful progress may, then, be regarded as established. But inasmuch as this principle has an important bearing upon the subject in hand, it may be well to point out that the relation which Evolution bears to the growth of civilization is threefold:—This tendency in the Divine economy of the universe is distinctly discernible in the growth of the body of our planet. For example, the formation of metals in the earth through ages and ages beyond human conception profoundly affects the growth of culture. For by testing and taxing the latent powers, by awakening the dormant faculties of the mind, metals became important instruments for furthering the intellectual advancement of mankind.

The growth of thought was gradual.

The material universe.

Importance of metals as instruments of culture.

The same remark holds good of the rise of the arts, that is, of the appliances which help to embellish and ennoble life. It is to the stress and strain of circumstances that the simplest arts of life owe their origin, and they have attained to perfection only by a slow but sure growth, by a steady evolution, as, for example, the repeating rifle evolved from the bow and arrows of the savage, the exquisite statue from

Industries.

¹ "The Doctrine of Evolution has for its subject matter the entire cosmic process, from nebular condensation down to the development of picture-records into written language, or the formation of local dialects; and its general result is to show that all the minor transformations in their infinite varieties are parts of the one vast transformation, and display throughout the same law and cause—that the Infinite and Eternal Energy has manifested itself everywhere, and always in modes ever unlike in results but ever like in principle."—Herbert Spencer, *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1895, p. 757.

Intel-
lectual
progress.

the rude fetish stone, the nation from the horde.¹ But more germane to our present purpose are the evidences of the development of the intellectual powers of the mind of man by a similarly slow process. This, too, is a canon of modern science. As the material world is the result of a long and deliberate process and of unbroken gradation, so in like manner the immaterial exhibits the same primordial law of gradual progress.²

Moral and
religious
progress.

There is another consideration which must not be left out of sight. Antecedently it would be natural to expect that the progress of man's spiritual nature would proceed on the same general lines. This is borne out by facts. That this view is also in harmony with the teaching of Christian Revelation is recognized by theological thinkers of to-day.³ For Religion will welcome sound evidence of whatever nature it may be, from whatever source it may emanate, by whatever

¹ Cf. A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, i., p. 27.

² "As there is an anatomy of the body, so there is an anatomy of the mind; the psychologist dissects mental phenomena into elementary states of consciousness, as the anatomist resolves limbs into tissues, and tissues into cells. The one traces the development of complex organs from simple rudiments; the other follows the building up of complex conceptions out of simpler constituents of thought. As the physiologist inquires into the way in which the so-called 'functions' of the body are performed, so the psychologist studies the so-called 'faculties' of the mind. Even a cursory attention to the ways and works of the lower animals suggests a comparative anatomy and physiology of the mind; and the doctrine of evolution presses for application as much in the one field as in the other."—Huxley, *Hume*, p. 50.

³ Speaking of Evolution, Lotze observes, *Microcosmus*, vol. i., bk. iii., ch. v., pp. 373-374 (*trans.* Hamilton & Jones):—"If science could make all this comprehensible, what more would it have accomplished than to have driven back the marvel of immediate creation to an earlier point in past time, at which infinite wisdom infused into unsightly chaos the boundless capacity for regular development? By the long array of graded stages of evolution, through which it traced the development of the chaotic *prima materia*, it would but have enhanced the splendour and variety of scenes in whose outward pomp our admiring fancy could revel, but it would have given no more sufficient explanation of the wondrous drama as a whole than does that modest belief which cannot conceive of living species as coming into being, save by the direct creative will of God. A decision about these points, as far as science will ever be able to give one, we must quietly wait to receive from its impartial love of truth. Whichever way of creation God may have chosen, in none can the dependence of the universe on Him become slacker, in none be drawn closer."

channel it may come, since truth can but minister to truth. Assuredly it would be strange were any other idea entertained in the light of such dicta as the following, which shows that Christianity was not preached as an isolated phenomenon:—

Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ἡμῖν ἐν νύῳ ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων.¹

Evidence
of New
Testament
writers,

To the same purport speaks the philosophic historian of religion, St. Augustine:—

and the
Fathers.

Res ipsa, quae nunc religio Christiana nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani, quousque ipse Christus veniret in carne; unde vera religio, quae iam erat, coepit appellari Christiana.²

He means that natural religion is the basis of Christianity, and that Christianity rests on natural religion as a bridge rests upon its piers.

St. Clement, of Alexandria, remarks in the same spirit:—

πάντων μὲν γὰρ αἴτιος τῶν καλῶν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν κατὰ προηγούμενον, ὡς τῆς τε διαθήκης τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας, τῶν δὲ κατ' ἐπακολούθημα, ὡς τῆς φιλοσοφίας· τάχα δὲ καὶ προηγουμένως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόθη τότε πρὶν ἢ τὸν Κύριον καλέσαι καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ἐπαιδαγώγει γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὡς ὁ νόμος τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς Χριστόν. προπαρασκευάζει τοίνυν ἡ φιλοσοφία προοδοποιούσα τὸν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τελειούμενον.³

¹ *Ep. to the Hebrews* i. 1. "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things" (R.V.). Cf. Acts xvii. 22-30.

² *Retract* i. 13. "What is now called the Christian religion existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race, until Christ Himself came in the flesh; from which time the true religion, which existed already, began to be called Christian." Cf. *De Bapt. C.D.* vi. 44.

³ Clem. Alex., *Strom.* i., c. v., § 28. "God is the cause of all that is good; only of some good gifts He is the primary cause, as of the Old and New Testaments, of others the secondary, as of (Greek) philosophy. But even philosophy may have been given primarily by Him to the Greeks, before the Lord had called the Greeks also. For that philosophy, like a schoolmaster, has guided the Greeks also, as the Lord did Israel, toward Christ. Philosophy, therefore, prepares and opens the way to those who are made perfect by Christ." Cf. vi., c. v., § 42.

"Wenn die Weltgeschichte nicht der Menschen Werk, sondern Gottes durch die Menschen ist, und ein allmächtiger Wille das Ganze ordnet; wenn, wie der philosoph (Aristotle) lehrt, das der Geburt nach Spätere der Idee und Substanz nach das Frühere und alles Werden um des Endzweckes willen ist, und der am Ende offenbarte Wille von Anfang her der bewegende war: so kann die gesammte Vergangenheit ihrer

Thus not only do unity and harmony pervade the whole of the physical universe, but this continuity extends to the mental and moral nature of man as well.

Religious
thought
progressive.

Religion, therefore, is organic. Ever expanding in volume, ever increasing in vitality, it rises from simple and rude beginnings. In its successive stages it is adapted to the comprehension and suited to the needs of man, as he progresses in intelligence and spiritual capacity from the vague and inarticulate yearnings:—

πάντες θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι.¹

to the full light of a universal religion.

Human
history
marked by
progress.

The history of the human race, then, both in regard to its material and its immaterial equipment has, on the whole, been marked by a steady advance, as it has toiled up the long slope into our view. Not that this advance was invariable, uniform, and universal. Some races have arrived at these ends by devious paths, others, as is well-known from actual observation in historic times, have remained helplessly stationary, others have turned aside or fallen back in the march. A presumption, almost amounting to certainty, exists, that prehistoric ages witnessed many such relapses and instances of degeneration. The reasons for moral deterioration and suspension of progress of this kind must have been various. What these causes were may be conjectured from the history of comparatively modern times. In some places the introduction of civilized methods has been too sudden; the recipients have not been ripe for drastic changes.² In other places we meet with degeneracy

Excep-
tions.

innersten Natur nach nur ein Vorbild, gleichsam eine Vorerscheinung der Zukunft sein, die ihr Ziel ist. Die Geschichte aller Völker, die als Theile der einen organisch gegliederten Menschheit nur ein Leben leben, bildet also eine fortschreitende Reihe, worin das relativ letzte Glied stets alle vorhergehenden reassumirt."—Lasaulx, *Die Sühnopfer*, Würzburg, 1841, p. 1.

¹ Homer, *Odys.*, iii. 48. "All men feel a need of gods."

² "To understand such decline of culture it must be borne in mind that the highest arts and the most elaborate arrangements of society do not always prevail; in fact, they may be too perfect to hold their ground, for people must have what fits with their circumstances." Tylor, *Anthropology*, 1881, pp. 18, 19. Cf. Lotze, *Microcosmus*, vol. ii., p. 205.

due to intermarriage with previous strata of population.¹ In others emigration or war or some public distress has occasioned relapse. But instances of retrogression are exceptions to the rule. Taken altogether, in spite of occasional or temporary pauses, deviations and relapses, the human race has advanced from point to point, from precedent to precedent; indeed, the great drama is still unfolding itself in an equable and majestic evolution.

¹ The history of the Portuguese in the East Indies affords an illustration in point.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONDITIONS OF PROGRESS IN GREECE AND ITALY.

The human race has progressed on the same general lines.

How their special characteristics were developed.

The factors at work.

Natural endowment.

THE tendency of the human race, as we have seen, is, on the whole, to progress. The most singular feature of this progress is, that in spite of divergencies, drawbacks and distances separating the several branches of mankind from each other, they have followed a parallel course of social development, and that some of their chief spiritual conceptions coincide. This is eminently true of Greece and Italy. Each, as known to us in historic times, possesses features and faculties proper to itself. But the Greek and Italic races were more closely akin to each other than other branches of the Aryan¹ family, and maintained throughout their history a much more intimate connection. Where the original materials were so similar, the differences of subsequent development must have resulted from some historic causes. To what, then, are we to ascribe the individuality of the one and the other? The answer to this question is complex; several causes must have co-operated to produce this result.

Among the factors at work, one of the most important is natural endowment. But here we are met with a direct denial. It has been the fashion in certain schools of thought to deny almost altogether the existence of this original endowment. Under the influence of Darwin's teaching, analogies have been drawn from the experience of animals

¹ The term *árya*-, according to the soundest view, held by Böhtlingk-Roth, Zimmer and other unimpeachable authorities, is a derivative from *aryá*-, "friendly," "true," "honest," and is consequently used as a designation of friends. The correlative is *dásá*-, a term applied to the subject population.

which in the course of generations, owing to the action of natural selection and to the gradual rejection of the less fit, are known to have adapted themselves to their surroundings. The mammoth in the ice age by a gradual process of selection and elimination accommodated itself to the rigours of the elements by cultivating a coat of thick fur. The polar bear suits his colour to the Arctic snows. Many insects assimilate themselves to branch or leaf for the purpose of attack or defence. But Evolution assumes the existence of a disposition, a capacity, or genius, whether of a race or of an individual. This applies forcibly to the Aryan. Although at his first appearance on the scene the Aryan brought with him but little culture, yet he was already at that early time in possession of an exceptional mental outfit. His slumbering instincts for culture were awakened and called into existence by the struggle for supremacy, a struggle out of which, though for a time checked and worsted, he emerged in the end triumphant. But the distinguishing qualities of the Greek and Roman alike were as yet only in the germ. How the Greek came to develop the sense of the beautiful in such an eminent degree, how the Roman was led to cultivate the arts of war, statesmanship and government with so much success, these are the questions which we shall attempt to answer in the course of our inquiry.

The Aryans' latent capability for development.

Special features differentiated.

Assuming that the several races started with the possession of common natural gifts, which "the heavenly gods have given to mortals," we are led on to inquire into the immediate causes of the differentiation in the case of Greek and Italian. It will help us to a better understanding of these causes if we try to picture to ourselves the typical Aryan who stood out in such strong relief above neighbouring races. To adopt the reasonable opinion advanced by Dr. Penka in his *Origines Ariacae*¹ and *Die Herkunft der Arier*,² it appears probable that the most typical representative

Natural gifts or tendencies assumed here.

Causes of difference between Greek and Italian races.

The typical Aryan.

Penka's conclusions as to their origin.

¹ Vienna, 1883.

² *Ibid.*, 1886.

The Teuto-Scandinavian type. of the ancient Aryan now to be found in Europe is what the author calls Teuto-Scandinavian (Germanisch-Skandinavisch).¹

The multitudinous North has from time immemorial been the region whence rude races have poured down upon Southern Europe. That the ancestors of the special type of race commonly called Aryan hailed from the North was the accepted belief from a very early time. The passage in Jordanis is well known:—

Testimony of historians. Ex hac igitur Scandza insula, quasi officina gentium, aut certe velut vagina nationum, cum rege suo Berig, Gothi quondam memrantur egressi.²

In like manner Florus speaks of the Gauls:—

Hi quondam ab ultimis terrarum oris, cum cingerentur omnia Oceano, ingenti agmine profecti . . . positis inter Alpes et Padum sedibus. . . .³

Physical characteristics. We pass on to consider their physical qualities. The evidence by which we may try to form some idea of the

¹ Of races existing at the present day, the Germans are supposed to be the best type of the Teutonic races, the Norwegians and Swedes of the Scandinavian.

It is no part of our purpose to enter into the wider question involved in the various theories concerning the relations between Africa and Europe, which have recently come into notice. The main point may, however, be briefly indicated. It is now generally accepted by anthropologists that the White Race, including the Aryans, among whom the highest civilizations of the world sprang up, are the true product of Eurafica, namely, the region bounded by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the Sahara, and the Baltic. This must have been before the two continents were severed, Spain from North Morocco and Sicily from Tunis. Professor Sergi, of Rome, has gone further and refined upon this view. He distinguishes a race, with a darker complexion and dolichocephalic skulls, which extended over the whole of North Africa, the Mediterranean basin, and Southern Europe. The reader is referred to his recent work, *The Mediterranean Race*, 1901.

² Jordanis, *De Getarum sive Gothorum origine et rebus gestis* (A.D. 552) c. iv., C. A. Closs, Stuttgart, 1861. "It was from this island Scandza, which we may call the manufactory of nations, or at all events the womb (cf. Plautus, Ps. 4, 7, 85) of peoples, that the Goths are related to have started at one time with their king, Berig." The memorable phrase, "officina gentium," was most probably derived from an earlier author. Cf. Penka, *Die Herkunft der Arier*, p. 142.

³ Florus (A.D. 140), *Epitome de gestis Romanorum*, i. 13. "These formerly starting in a huge army from the uttermost parts of the earth, when all things were surrounded by the ocean, settled between the Alps and the Po." Cf. Penka, *Origines Ariacae*, ch. iii. p. 71.

personal appearance of the typical Aryan is of two kinds, the one supplementary to the other. Anthropologists were formerly divided into two camps. Were the original Aryans dolichocephalic or brachycephalic? The idea is now gaining ground that no arbitrary line of demarcation can be drawn,¹ but, rather, that both types were to be found side by side.² Dr. Penka and Victor Hehn have shown convincingly that climatic conditions had much to do with the production of the type to which Penka applied the term Aryan.

Cranio-
logical
evidence.

Views of
Penka and
Hehn.

Testimony is forthcoming from another quarter. When the Northern tribes came within the purview of the Romans the Roman historians devoted considerable attention to them and recorded their impressions for the benefit of posterity. They are nearly unanimous in their descriptions of these children of the North. Generally speaking the latter are portrayed as huge in frame, light-haired, and lofty in stature. The Greeks were equally susceptible to the impression produced by the Northern races with whom they were brought into contact. Such were the Budini, a people probably of Slavonic blood, who at an early date attracted the notice of the Greek historian Herodotus. They possessed striking features:—

Historical
and
literary
evidence.

Βουδῖνοι δὲ, ἔθνος ἐὼν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν, γλαυκὸν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρόν.³

¹ See an article by R. Virchow in *Korrespondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1883, p. 144. Dr. Schrader cites further evidence, *Reallexikon*, pp. 460, 461, 896, 897.

² F. Ratzel remarks (p. 144):—"Mit dieser Rassenentwicklung die tief in eine viele Jahrtausende hinter uns liegende geologische Vergangenheit hineingreift, kann die Ausbreitung der arischen Sprachen in Europa und Asien nur insofern in Verbindung gebracht werden als diese Sprachen, als sie sich entwickelten, die Rassen vorfanden, die im quartären Europa sich festgesetzt hatten. Aus ihnen bildete sich eine neue Völkerverwandschaft (viz. Aryan) durch die uralten Prozesse des Verkehrs, der Eroberung, der Kolonisation, der Verschmelzung und auch der Ausrottung . . . Von einer 'arischen Rasse' kann also nicht gesprochen werden."

³ iv. 108. "The Budini are a large and powerful nation: they have all deep blue eyes, and bright red hair."—(RAWLINSON, *transl.*)

Character
of the
Aryan.

The evidence would seem to warrant the attempt to picture the pure Aryan. He would seem in his main lineaments to answer to the following description. Throughout early history blonde hair was associated with the Aryan, and with this the evidence adduced by Doctor Penka agrees. His eye was blue and fierce,¹ and his keenness of vision was developed by the surroundings. He had beetling eyebrows.² He was tall³ of stature and endowed with a powerful frame.⁴ Nurtured in a cold climate, where Nature was rugged and inhospitable, he was inured to hardship from infancy. His freedom from restraint and love of liberty made him impatient of life in walled towns. He resorted to it only when driven by want of the necessaries of life, and abandoned it as soon as he could. War was his life, and in a later age his arrival on his terrible errands of death and destruction struck terror into the hearts of the Southerner. The chase, which was his natural pastime, kept him in constant practice in the use of weapons; he hunted his enemy as he stalked the stag, with spear and bow. Did he win a victory over his foes? He celebrated it with orgie and wild revel, his adversary's skull supplying him with a drinking-cup. Did he settle down to husbandry for a time? It was only until Nature afforded him the means of resuming his wonted occupations of war and rapine. His religion was coloured by his surroundings. Sometimes he propitiated the various gods and goddesses whom he feared with human sacrifice or other offerings of an awful nature. These divinities were

¹ The fierceness of the eye may be traced in some degree to his life and employments. Cf. Vámbéry, *Globus*, 1870, p. 29, who remarks of the Kurds, "Besonders sind es seine Augen, diese ewig funkelnden, auf Unheil oder Trug sinnenden Lichter, durch welche er unter hunderten von Asiaten erkennbar wird. Es ist merkwürdig, dass sowohl der Beduine, wie der Turkmene durch diese Kennzeichen unter seinen ansässigen Stammesgenossen eben so auffällt. Ist es der unüberwindliche Hass gegen vier Wände oder der grenzenlose Horizont, oder das Leben im Freien, welche diesen Glanz in die Augen der Nomaden hineinzubauern?" See also V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 505.

² Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, i. 39.

³ Livy, xxxviii. 17.

⁴ *De Bell. Gall.*, ii. 30.

beautiful spirits or grim powers who haunted the mountain or the wave, or lay in ambush in the mist, or lurked in the forest. Independence, nobleness, sternness—these qualities were blended in his character and these he possessed in abundance, but he was destitute of the graces and devoid of the aesthetic sensibility of the Southerner. Such was the typical Aryan as we obtain occasional glimpses of him here and there in the pages of the classical historians. This impetuous child of the North, endowed as he was with an exuberant energy, after settling on the seaboard of the Mediterranean, gradually unlearned his rudeness, abated something of his ferocity, and yielded himself to the refinements of culture. Though he retained the impress of the populations through which he made his way, he still preserved his individuality, and is to this day represented in the ruling classes of Modern Europe.¹

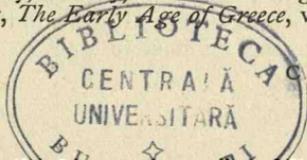
His moral and political ascendancy in later ages.

It has been seen already that there are reasons for seeking the typical Aryan in the North, and for regarding the North as his natural home. Greek tradition also points to the same region. That nations retain traditions concerning the cradle of their race, and continue to maintain commercial relations of some kind with the country from which they hail, is well known, and reminiscences of such a nature are to be found in Greece. Thus Homer makes his hero Odysseus visit the Laestrygonians:—

Greek tradition about their connection with the North.

Ἐξήμαρ μὲν ὁμῶς πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμῶν,
Ἐβδόματ' ἴκομεσθα Λάμου αἰπὸν πτολίεθρον,

¹ The deterioration of these hardy Northern races on settling in Southern countries, and their gradual disappearance in the earlier race which they found in possession, may be variously explained. First, it is to be attributed to climatic conditions. In like manner the Goths and Vandals, sweeping into Spain, obtained the mastery. The Gothic and Vandalic blood gradually became exhausted. The same experience is repeated in the Spanish colonies in America, where the invading race and the women of the conquered population have intermarried.—Payne, *History of the New World, called America*, vol. i., p. 246, note. But there is another law at work. The ruling classes, who remain relatively unmixed, everywhere tend to die out. Of this tendency, Turkey, India and England equally afford examples. Cf. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 397, 405.



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Τηλέπυλον Λαϊστρυγονίην, ὅθι ποιμένα ποιμὴν
 Ἦπίει εἰσελάων, ὃ δέ τ' ἐξελάων ἵπακοῦει.
 Ἔνθα κ' αὔπνος ἀνήρ δοιοὺς ἐξήρατο μισθοῦς,
 Τὸν μὲν βουκολέων, τὸν δ' ἄργυφα μῆλα νομεύων·
 Ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματός εἰσι κέλευθοι.¹

The poet clearly refers to the short nights at midsummer in northern latitudes. Nor was he unaware of the long gloomy winters of the North:—

Ἢ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυρροῦν Ὀκεανοῖο.
 Ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε,
 Ἢέρι καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι· οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῦς
 Ἡέλιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν,
 Οὔθ' ὅποτ' ἂν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,
 Οὔθ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄψ ἐπὶ γαίαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται,
 Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ' ὅλοῃ τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.²

The statements of the authors already cited, and the vague traditions preserved by Homer are reinforced by Professor Ridgeway in his recent work, *The Early Age of Greece*. Thus, he adduces the familiar fact that the amber discovered by Schliemann in the tombs of Mycenae is proved to have come from the Baltic. It was brought to Greece and Italy by two trade routes which converged on the Adriatic.³

¹ *Od.* x. 80. "So for the space of six days we sailed by night and day continually, and on the seventh we came to the steep stronghold of Lamos, Telepylos of the Laestrygons, where herdsman hails herdsman as he drives in his flock, and the other who driveth forth answers the call. There might a sleepless man have earned a double wage, the one as a neatherd, the other shepherding white flocks; so near are the outgoings of the night and of the day."

Cf. the description by a modern traveller of the rapid succession of day to night at the Murmánskii Nos. "The sun, which up to midnight had been steadily going down, commenced to ascend in the heavens again and to begin another day's work without any interval of rest."—A. A. Boddy, *With Russian Pilgrims*, p. 4.

² *Od.* xi. 14. "She came to the limits of the world, to the deep-flowing Oceanos. There is the land and the city of the Cimmerians, shrouded in mist and cloud, and never does the shining sun look down on them with his rays, neither when he climbs up the starry heavens, nor when he again turns earthward from the firmament, but deadly night is outspread over miserable mortals." The reader hardly needs to be reminded that, according to the Homeric notion of geography, Oceanos is a river encircling the earth.

³ *Vol.* i. 359. Cf. his interesting remarks on the wanderings of Heracles into the far North in search of the Hind with the golden horns, probably the female reindeer with antlers. "Mr. Frazer has pointed out to me,"

Nor is this all. The description of the typical Aryan which we have given in the preceding pages accords to a large extent with the occasional references in Homer to the physique and appearance of the ruling classes in prehistoric Greece. There is a tendency among all races to associate an ideal of beauty and superhuman size with generations gone by. To Homer the present generation (*οἰοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσι*) cannot compare with their forefathers.¹ His heroes and heroines are blonde (*ξανθοί*). Meleager, Menelaus and Helen all possess this characteristic.²

This accords well with a statement of Adamantius, a Hebrew physician, who wrote in the fifth century of the Christian era.³ The Greeks of "purely Hellenic descent" were, he says:—

μεγάλοι ἄνδρες, εὐρύτεροι, ὄρθιοι, εὐπαγεῖς, λευκότεροι τὴν χροάν, ξανθοί.⁴

The above account harmonizes with the description of

The Aryan in Italy.

says the author, "a remarkable fact which may be regarded as confirmatory of the view here put forward. In the province of North-East Russia, where the people were pagans down to 150 years ago, there is still an annual celebration known as the 'Feast of the Golden-reindeer horn.' It is possible that some faint echo of such a festival had reached Greece from the land of the Hyperboreans." There are still pagans in the extreme North-East of Russia. Many of the peoples of Northern Russia in Europe are Ural Altaic, which raises a presumption against their having been for many ages in the same localities.—See Šafařík, *Slavische Altertümer*: M. von Achsenfeld, Leipzig, 1843, vol. i. p. 101.

¹ Cf. *Odys.* vii. 59; *Id.* viii. 223; x. 120; Hesiod. *Theog.* 147; Soph. *Trachin.* 1075; Vergil, *Æneid.* vi. 582; Ovid, *Metam.* i. 125; *Id. Fast.* v. 35; Genesis vi. 4.

² There are reasons for supposing that the ruling and conquered classes of India were similarly distinguished. The former are *ārya-várna* (properly signifying colour) and *dīśa-várna*. From the former arose the *rājanās*, Schrader, *Reallex.* 802. It is noteworthy too that Thor in Scandinavian legend and Indra in Indian mythology are either blonde or red-haired giants. See E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Mythologie*, p. 205, and Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 134. Cf. the unearthly visitant in Xerxes' dream, Herodot. vii. 12.

³ Adamantii Sophistæ *Physiognomicon* (Basle, 1544), ii. c. 24, 185.

⁴ "Tall men, rather broad, erect, well-knit, the complexion somewhat pale, and the hair yellow." Penka, *Origines Ariacæ*, p. 23, and *Die Herkunft der Arier*, p. 107, calls attention to the survival of these physical characteristics in the Sphakians of Crete at the present day.

prominent men and women in Italy also, such as Sulla and Cato the Elder.¹

The ascendancy of the Aryan.

His crude and undeveloped powers were the cause of his predominance, and re-appear in Greek and Italian character.

Dorian Sparta.

Athens.

Religion.

Politics.

The ascendancy of the Aryan for centuries after his migration to the South is an indisputable fact. That is not all. This fact has a two-fold bearing upon the later evolution of the two branches, the Greek and the Italian, which were the two chief representatives of the Aryan in after ages. The Aryan doubtless owed his predominance later in prehistoric and historic times to the innate vigour which the conditions of his existence in his ancient birth-place had accentuated. But when the two branches, the Greek and the Italian, diverged, the original qualities remained, or were but slowly metamorphosed, and came to the surface in different ways. In Greece the Dorian probably retained much of the primitive type, and, as is well known, he was distinguished by his warlike habits and soldierly qualities. Such is the leading feature of the Doric state, Sparta.

But the Athenian likewise betrayed the features of the original Aryan in the restlessness of his intellect, which was subtle, acute, and speculative. It was this restlessness which in the world of spiritual ideas would people a Pantheon with a rich variety of gods and goddesses, and would surround them with a halo of legend and a wealth of fancy, yet would end by denying their existence altogether. The same tendency is visible in departments of thought other than religion. The impatience of authority and control appears in the political history of Athens. The disappearance from that city of the old type of king, an institution necessitated by a warlike age, dates from a very early time, so early, indeed, that his extinction is enveloped in obscurity. Not only in the institution and abolition of kings was the intellect of Athens first its making and then its unmaking. At Sparta itself jealousy of authority dictated the precaution of electing two kings.

¹ So too among the Spanish grandees, who derive their *sangre azul* from the Visigoths, fair hair is not uncommon.

On the other hand, Rome, in its own way, preserved the traits of the Aryan prototype down to the fall of the Empire, when the Italian blood was renovated by that of the Gaul and the Goth. Like his Aryan ancestor, who, reared amid mountains and morasses on trackless solitudes and bleak tablelands, roamed the primeval forests of Central or Northern Europe, the Roman too was animated by the spirit of enterprise and adventure. Like him he found his natural element in war. His inherent vigour and tenacity of purpose, his power of endurance, his impetuosity in the field, his insatiable ambition for new conquests, his unrivalled versatility in accommodating and expanding his institutions to suit changed circumstances—all these recall the qualities that distinguished his forefathers. With this equipment the Roman advanced to sovereignty over the known world. Undazzled for centuries by the spell that poetry and the fine arts had cast upon his Greek and Asiatic neighbours, incurious of the mysteries of the realms of Nature, the Roman's mission was to subdue the earth:—

Rome retained Aryan characteristics.

War and enterprise.

Roman character.

Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.¹

Thus far we have noted the resemblances between the two races rather than the divergences. When they separated, each began to assume a character of its own, and after the lapse of some centuries they had diverged so widely that the common likeness, derived from their original Aryan ancestor, was hardly recognizable. The two nations became distinct, nay, antagonistic, in character and ability. The sharply marked contrasts between them might be drawn out in detail. They appear to have been most pronounced in the spiritual domain. This is natural, for in Greece and Italy, as indeed, elsewhere, divergences of character betray themselves particularly with regard to

Divergence and development of the Greek and Italian.

Especially in spiritual matters.

¹ Vergil, *Æneid* vi. 852: "These shall be thy arts, to impose the law of peace, to spare the vanquished and subdue the proud."

The Greek and Roman views of Society differed.

Greek individualism.

Roman self-effacement.

Pietas.

spiritual conceptions. One of the most obvious points of contrast lay in their ideas of society and of their obligations as members of the same community. The character of the Hellene, as exhibited in the Athenian, was marked by an intense individuality, which expressed itself in various ways. Independence of mind was to him as the breath of life. He prided himself upon being a child of the soil,¹ old of race and pure in blood. He recognized no bond, claim or influence upon him, save a perception and pursuit of the beautiful, a fine and delicate taste, a sense of honour, and an elevated, aspiring spirit. His model man was in bearing a gentleman, *καλοσκάγαθος*, and in physique fine and tall, *καλὸς καὶ μέγας*.² He regarded a democracy as but the political expression of an intellectual isonomy, and the community as existing for his sake. The country existed for his city and the city for the citizen. Not so the Roman. None of his attributes is more characteristic than his devotion to the commonweal and his fidelity to the father-land. Where the Athenian deified the Beautiful he deified Law. He viewed an innovator, especially a religious revolutionary, with anything but a friendly eye. His ideal citizen was dutiful in his conduct towards his father (*pius*), obedient to his rulers and reverent towards his national deities; the one word *pietas* summed up his filial respect for his father, his veneration for his country's gods, and even the reciprocal regard of gods for men.³

“Vir bonus est quis?” asks the poet,⁴ and he himself supplies the answer: “Qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat.”

With one the race existed for the individual, with the other the individual existed for the race. The Athenian's watchword was Self, the Roman's Duty.

¹ The early Athenians wore a gold *τέρτιξ* or cicada in their hair to show that they were aboriginal (*αὐτόχθονες*).

² Hom. *Od.* i. 301, vi. 152. Cf. Aristotle's *μεγαλόψυχος*.

³ Vergil, *Aeneid* ii. 536. *Si qua est cælo pietas.*

⁴ Horace, *Epist.* i. 16, 41. “Who is the good man? He who keeps the decrees of the Senate, the statutes and laws of the State.”

No less marked is the expression of the national mind in the national religion. Underneath their points of agreement, such as their common worship of the vivifying powers of Nature, there lies an intrinsic contrast between the religious systems of the one and the other, in particular conceptions as well as in general ideas. The bias of the Greek's mind was towards the corporeal, and his facile fancy multiplied anthropomorphic forms of the most fantastic description. Some of these were rude and repulsive beings, more like the fetishes of a Pacific Islander, others grotesque, but, as time went on, advancing in artistic quality. Finally they attained to the highest sublimity which human skill could contrive or the human mind conceive.

Influence
of race on
Religion.

Greek love
of the
concrete.

The religion of the Italian was the very opposite of this. Unlike the Greek, the Italian felt an instinctive prejudice against clothing his thoughts and feelings in a concrete form. The love of abstract conceptions was characteristic of the Italian from the outset. From the same abhorrence of a sensuous worship the few gods and goddesses whom his imagination invested with a bodily form were seldom represented as married, and were generally childless. The very attitudes assumed in prayer by the Greek and the Italian were significant. While the Greek looked up to the heavens overhead, into the eye of Zeus or Athene, the Roman veiled his head (*capite obvoluto*) in dumb contemplation. But if the Italian pantheon is not peopled with such an array of deities, if it appeals less to the imagination and is not encompassed with such a wealth of imagery as the Greek, yet in one respect the Roman religion is richer by far. The Italian possessed a remarkable power of inventing spirits or *numina*, beings who inhabited the woods, the water, and the air, unrepresented by any figures, and unassociated with any fixed shrines. Every phase of human life, from his birth to his death, was under the protection or patronage of some of these nebulous beings, who guarded his person, guided his destinies, and governed his actions. The operations of husbandry were the special care of the

Roman
religion
abstract.

Their
attitudes
in prayer.

Italian
spirit
world.

Indigita-
menta.

spirits. Did the Italian harrow his field? His protecting numen Occus was at hand. Did he engage in any military expedition? Bellona was there to preside over his enterprise, and Mars to go before his armies and prosper his undertaking. Did his wife give birth to a child? Lucina aided her in the perils of travail. His child, too, was under the protection of numberless *numina*, such as Educa, Potina, Iterduca, who would watch him from his cradle upwards, would protect him from all evil and minister to all his wants.

Contrast
between
the Greek
and Italian
religions.

In brief, the Greek religion is marked by personality, freedom, and variety, the Italian by abstraction, necessity, and severity. In one the image is paramount, in the other the idea.¹

The causes
of the
difference.

There must, then, have been some potent forces at work to produce these remarkable results. What these exciting causes were which gave rise to such momentous changes in the temperaments of the two races, we shall proceed to inquire.

¹ The same difference exists between the Hindu and Persian religions. Cf. Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst, tot aan de heerschappij der wereldgodsdiensten*, Amsterdam, 1876, § 135.

CHAPTER III.

MIGRATION.

It has already been observed that by the time these two races were settled on European soil, their character had undergone profound modification. But in saying so much we have somewhat anticipated and must retrace our steps a little.

The migrations of early races of Europe must have exercised a permanent effect upon the formation of national character. Though their history during the migratory age must be largely a matter of speculation, yet there is some evidence which throws light upon that obscure but eventful era. We may, in the first place, derive some information from certain traits of character which, having survived to later stages of racial development, nevertheless would appear to have originated at a time when the races that exhibit them had no fixed home, when society was only taking shape, and when the institutions of the future were as yet only being foreshadowed. These correlated data have some weight in helping us to form an idea of the way in which these races grew from insignificant beginnings into the fulness of their stature and the plenitude of their power. Another source of evidence is to be found in the multitudinous emigration of races at successive periods in historic times, when hordes from the North flooded the moribund Empire of Rome. Allowance must be made for the changed circumstances. Nevertheless, there are many similarities in the recorded migrations of Northmen and Lombards, and even of Mongols and Tartars, which will assist us in realizing the nature of this stage in the transition of the Greek and Italic races from infancy to maturity.

Effects of migration.

Evidence from survivals.

From migrations in more recent times.

The home
of the
Aryans.

The
Asiatic
theory.

Evidence
of com-
parative
philology.

Science of
compara-
tive
religion.

Reaction
in favour of
Europe.

To proceed then to the first cause of national characteristics—migration. During the last thirty years there has been much discussion as to the situation of the cradle of the Aryan races. Formerly it was regarded as certain that they proceeded from the table-lands of Central Asia, and thence spread over the steppes of Europe. Not only was it believed possible to trace the course that they followed, but even the precise order in which bodies of men left their aboriginal home. The successive contingents were supposed to have fallen into their places with military precision. These conclusions were based chiefly upon linguistic grounds, but further inquiry into the structure of the Aryan languages and an elimination of loan-words has had the result of reducing the common inheritance of words in the Aryan vocabulary to smaller dimensions. Thus it has been shown¹ that of 4280 Greek words, “about 520 are of doubtful or unknown origin, about 2180 are derivatives, compounds, or by-forms of words, and the remaining 1580 words have cognates in other Indo-Celtic languages.” Meanwhile, the development of the Science of Comparative Religion did much to reverse the view hitherto held concerning the origin and inter-relations of the Aryans. The Pantheon of gods and goddesses which the undivided Aryans were supposed to have possessed in common proved to be far smaller than was once imagined.

The pendulum swung back. It had been suggested by Latham many years previously that the home of the Aryans was to be looked for in Europe rather than in Asia. To this view modern scholars, Penka, Hirt, Streitberg, Bremer, and, on the whole, Kretschmer, have returned; they advocate the claims of Europe, and especially of the steppes of Southern Russia, to be regarded as the home of the Aryans. Apparently the common ancestors of the Greeks and Italians moved along the Danube to Hungary, which has always been the “gate that led from the Pontic region

¹ See E. R. Wharton's *Etyma Græca*, 1882, Pref., p. vi.

to the interior of Europe." The Greeks found their way into the peninsula that afterwards bore their name, through Epirus (*ἄρχαία Ἑλλάς*, as Aristotle calls it), leaving the Macedonians to occupy the country to the North of them. The Italic tribes, comprising the Umbrians, Oscans and Latins, also proceeded along the Danube in a Southerly direction, and entered Italy from the North-East. Penka, Hirt, Streitberg and Bremer have marshalled their facts with great skill, and the combined force of their arguments is irresistible. Dr. O. Schrader in his work entitled *Ursprache und Urgeschichte*, and in his *Reallexikon*, gives his adhesion¹ to this theory.

But whatever the truth may be concerning the home of the Aryans, the presumption is that the settlement of Aryan races in the Southern peninsulas was preceded by a long course of migration extending over a thousand years or more. Not that these migrations were sudden or continuous; more probably they took the form of a steady advance, from age to age, broken by temporary halts or long settlements here and there, and their progress more resembled the gradual movement of a glacier.² There were no savage inroads into defenceless lands, no pathways of blood and fire cleft through a shuddering civilization, as at a later day. This consideration suggests speculations of the deepest interest, and in particular we are prompted to ask, what were the causes that impelled these races to migrate? What impressions did their wanderings leave on their national character?

Unquestionably, judging from the analogy of parallel migrations of kindred races in historic times, first and foremost among the forces that led to emigration must be placed

The migrations of the Aryans lasted a long time.

Causes of their migrations.

¹ It is no part of my purpose to enter exhaustively into this subject. For an account of the various views held up to 1890 the reader is referred to Dr. Schrader's *Ursprache und Urgeschichte*, and for a clear statement of how the matter stands at present see the same author's *Reallexikon*, under the head *Urheimat*.

² Cf. R. von Ihering, *The Evolution of the Arvan* (trans. Drucker), p. 390.

The drama
of hunger.

the inadequacy of the soil to maintain its occupants, partly owing to their ignorance of the art of renewing the exhausted energies of the earth by the agency of manure, and partly to the constant increase in population. This much truth certainly lay in the assertion, which used to be accepted without demur, that these waves moved westward from some region beyond the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. The vast tract of territory which extends along the breadth of Asia, running between the 40th and 50th degrees of latitude, as far as the Rhine, and even the Bay of Biscay, has been from time immemorial the highway of roving barbarians in search of a home. It earned in consequence the title of the Northern hive. Under pressure of want Goths and Vandals and Lombards and Burgundians left their native forests and wilds in the North for the rich plains of Italy, and the Northman, quitting his icebound crags, put off his roaming propensity, and softening his name and his nature amalgamated with the more cultured races of Gaul. For these Southern countries have ever been the objects of the cupidity of the barbarian, and they offered peculiar attractions to the Aryans, as to the other hordes who followed the same track in after ages. The munificence of Nature had eminently fitted Italy for a human habitation. Its sunny hills, soft climate, and fruitful plains held out powerful inducements to a race which had previously known only the desolate steppes and the vast solitudes of the North. It was a similar land-hunger that at a later period precipitated Northern races upon the industry, the civilization, and the luxury of Italy. We see it at work in the inroads of the Celts, who, sweeping over the face of Italy, under their leader Brennus, with an irresistible momentum and gigantic energy, demanded land as the price of a cessation from hostilities.¹ We see it in the foundation of *coloniae*, as a means of relieving the surplus population of Italy. Such, doubtless, was the chief cause that impelled the Aryans of

Land-
hunger.

¹ Livy, v. 36.

an earlier day in a Southerly direction. Other reasons no doubt contributed to the same end—the joy of adventure, the passion for warlike exploits, the restlessness and unsettled spirit that characterizes primitive races, traits which marked the Northmen of a later age.¹ This leads us to speculate upon the moral influences that resulted from this period of migration.

Con-
tributory
causes.

Moral
results of
their mi-
grations.

The experiences of the Aryans during their wandering life could not fail profoundly to affect their character. We have already in a former chapter had occasion to mention that the growth of civilization in Greece and Italy illustrates the law of Natural Selection. Nothing could have tended to call forth the finest qualities of the race more forcibly than the strain and stress of this era in its history. The fatigues of the march, the struggle with the rigours of climate, the necessity of tilling the earth to provide food on the journey, the constant collisions of the new-comers with the inhabitants whom they found in possession of the country, all these experiences could not fail to eliminate the weak and to evoke the latent powers of the strong. We are enabled to form some conception of the momentous changes that migration effected in evoking national characteristics by contrasting their destinies with the fate of a contiguous and cognate race.

Influence
of the
migration
on
character.

Until lately the Slavs have progressed but little, comparatively speaking, and still less have they figured in European history. They were, indeed, the last to fall within the focus of historic light.² The cause is deep-seated. It takes us back to prehistoric times. The Aryan races, so far as it is possible to arrive at any certain conclusions

Contrast
presented
by the
Slavs.

Because
the Slavs
did not
migrate.

¹ This invasion of the South by the Northern races is only one scene in that persevering conflict which, as history testifies, has been sustained from age to age between the North and the South in both hemispheres, the North assuming the aggressive, the South on the defensive. Cf. Isaiah xli. 25; Jer. i. 14; Joel ii. 20.

² Pliny the Elder (A.D. 79) first mentions them. He and Tacitus allude to them under the name of *Venedi*, and as *Wenden* is a designation for them invented by the Germans, the Roman writers clearly derived their knowledge of the Slavonic races from Germany.

respecting their earliest home in Europe, first appear in the plateaux of Scythia; nay, more, they may be localized in the region north of the Black Sea. From there they spread in various directions, seeking fresh homes, moving onward with resistless energy, only resting when they reached the countries that line the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. But while the Celt, the Teuton, the Greek, and the Italian were constantly and steadily pressing into view, the Slavs continued to occupy the broad steppes and forest lands of Central Europe. Thence they gradually expanded, first of all, during the interval between the second and fourth century, in a Southerly and Westerly direction, and afterwards towards the North and East. To them Herodotus doubtless refers when he speaks of the *Νευροί* and *Νευρὸς γῆ*.

τούτων δὲ (Σκυθῶν ἀροτήρων) καθύπερθε οἰκοῦσι Νευροί.¹

And again:

Εἰς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποτάμων τοῖσι Σκύθησί ἐστι ὁ Ἴστρος· μετὰ δὲ τούτων, Τύρης· ὅς ἀπὸ βορέω μὲν ἀνέμου ὄρμαται ἄρχεται δὲ ῥέων ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, ἣ οὐρίζει τὴν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ τὴν Νευρίδα γῆν.²

That the author is alluding to the ancient Slavs is generally recognized.³ Here, then, the Slavs led a dreamy existence, quiet, peaceable, devoid of ambition, lacking in enterprise, and military spirit.

Their
servitude.

To the above cause of their arrested development must be added another, with which it is intimately allied. Throughout a great part of their history the Slavs have been

¹ iv. 17. "Still higher up (than the Scythian cultivators) are the Neuri."

² iv. 51. "The Ister then is one of the great Scythian rivers; the next to it is the Tyras (Dniester), which rises from a great lake separating Scythia from the land of the Neuri." The historian adds (iv. 17) that northwards of the Neuri the continent, so far as was known, was uninhabited. Ephorus, as reported by Scymnus Chius, ascribes this fact to the ice (πάγος) (103-105).

The same root reappears in names of rivers, *Ner*, *Nurec*, *Narew*, and in names of places, *Nurū* and *Nurjaninū*.

³ Cf. Müllenhof, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1870-1900, ii. p. 89, and Šafařík, *Slavische Altertümer*.

subjected to despotism, and an able apologist of their cause¹ has claimed for them the power of passive endurance and patience under suffering. To trace this characteristic of the Slavs as exhibited in more modern times, it is necessary to go back to the dawn of civilization in Northern Europe. The previous races, whom the Aryans found already on the soil, had been reduced to bondage. The Slavs, who, as has been said, were left behind, after the departure of their more adventurous kinsmen in time adapted themselves to the habits of their conquered populations, and through reciprocal action and reaction governors and governed became gradually assimilated to each other. The subject lost his desire of liberty and independence, the master, relieved of the necessity of work, lapsed into apathy and an incapacity for severe labour. Hence the very name *Slav* came to be synonymous with servitude.² Hence too the comparatively trifling rôle which the Slav nations have up to the last century sustained in international politics. The plaintive spirit of the hereditary bondman lives to-day in the proverb of the Russian *moujik* or peasant, "Our soul is God's, our body the Tsar's, and our backs belong to our masters."

The operation of the same principle explains the contrast between the Eastern and Western branches of the Aryan family. While those who settled in India remained content with a stationary and stereotyped form of civilization, their Western kinsmen attained to a high standard of culture, and

The individuality of the Greeks and Italians as compared with Eastern Aryans.

¹ Krasinski, *Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations* 1869, p. 98, cf. Maclear, *The Slavs*, p. 21.

² The derivation of the name *Slav*, from *slava* (glory), has been given up by modern Slavonic scholars. It is doubtless connected with the Slavonic expression for word, *slovo*. The root *slu* (Goth., *hliu-ma*; Gk., κλύω, κλέFos; Lat., *cluo*) has a primitive meaning equivalent to *clarum esse*. Hence both *slovo* (word) and *slava* (glory). See Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Slavischen Sprachen*, Wien, 1886, sub voc. *slü*. Hence the Slavs are those who, alone in their own estimation, spoke articulately. The Slavs habitually applied to foreigners, especially Germans, the term *niem* or *mute* (cf. Russian *niemets*, a German), which affords a parallel to the Greek βάρβαρος. The word *slav* came to mean "slave," because the Germans made bondsmen of their neighbours, the Slavs.

developed that remarkable individuality which has left so deep an impress on the human mind and human history.

Wars.

Their
twofold
effect.

The frequent wars, which were inevitable in the course of their migrations, while they were ousting or exterminating the earlier races that lay in their path, would affect them in two ways. Their campaigns called into exercise their warlike qualities and whetted their love of enterprise. To this end the habit of military obedience would be cultivated. Hence the practice of discipline. Hence too the selection of men fitted by their physique and commanding presence for leadership in war. Terms like the Latin *rex* and the Sanskrit *râjas* take back our thoughts to this early time, when these qualities of skill, bravery and adventure were constantly called into requisition, and when personal courage and strength were the chief recommendations to place and power.

Influence
of migra-
tion on the
position of
women.

Mono-
gamy.

There was one class of the community whose position would be deeply influenced by the migratory period. To its influence may probably be ascribed the elevation of woman in the Aryan community. Unlike their Eastern kinsmen, the Indians and Persians, the Western and Southern Aryans embraced monogamy. There must be some powerful reason to account for this difference between them, and the migrations may furnish us with an explanation. It is the contrast between the comparatively peaceful and placid existence of the Eastern Aryan, and the stirring scenes that attended the migrations of his Western kinsman. This turbulent period would offer woman abundant opportunities of proving her capacity. That the migratory period afforded an impulse to female development and raised the position of women in Europe may be seen by an appeal to history. It has been observed already that the typical representatives of the Aryan in the two peninsulas, Greece and Italy, were respectively the Roman and the Dorian. Of the latter Sparta may serve as an example. Both of these races were distinguished by their warlike qualities. In both of them the warrior's wife was held in the highest esteem, as the sharer of her

Sparta and
Rome.

husband's struggles and as the mother of his sons, whom she trained to emulate their father's deeds. The famous mother of the Scipios, or the nameless mother of the Spartan youth, who bade him return from the battlefield either bearing his shield or borne upon it, might be taken as types of the product of such an age as the migratory period, when women would be called upon to participate in the ambitions and share the dangers of the sterner sex.

Their religion also retained the impress of the period of Religion. their migration. An occasion will arise by-and-by to trace the bearing of the various employments followed from time time—in the hunting stage, the nomadic and pastoral, and the agricultural—on their racial character and religious institutions and beliefs. The consideration of these features in detail may therefore be conveniently postponed.

Such appear to have been some of the effects of their migrations upon the habits, the character, and the religious feelings of those races which afterwards became the pioneers of culture in the Western world. The qualities which they acquired during this unsettled period found further scope while they were making good their footing in their new abodes. There, in the natural seats of civilization, the barbarian forgot his rudeness and submitted to the humanizing influences of the South. He developed a skill in the arts of life, and became acquainted with the rudiments of science to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He imitated the manners and customs of the races with whom he was brought into contact. He proved himself an apt pupil, too, and in process of time, by his ready power of assimilation, even eclipsed his teachers in those very departments of thought and action which he had learnt from them. Thus the countries which were the incentive to his desire for conquest became the instruments of his civilization.

CHAPTER IV.

ENVIRONMENT.

Influence
of their
environ-
ment.

Montes-
quieu on
the influ-
ence of
surround-
ings.

Bearing of
Evolution
on this
view.

Illustra-
tions of
effects of
climate in
the north
of Europe.

THE next factor in the chain of cause and effect is the influence of environment or domicile.

When Montesquieu, 150 years ago, published his great work, the promulgation of his views inaugurated an important epoch in the philosophy of history. He maintained that national development was conditioned by external circumstances. The principle that he enunciated has been pushed much further since his time. It is unnecessary to remind the reader that Darwinism imparted a fresh impulse to this doctrine; in fact, the principle occupies a most prominent place in Natural Selection, and with certain limitations it is true. Instances of its operations might be multiplied. The following is an example: it is well known that in the extreme north of Europe the fact that winter is the season when commerce is chiefly carried on has left its mark permanently on the mode of life. "In the summer," says a modern writer,¹ "there is a complete cessation from operations of this kind. The frozen surfaces of river, lake and creek are in consequence the natural highways." The results that this state of affairs has produced are interesting. In the Finnish language there exist native words for snow shoes and sledges, but the terms connected with road-making are absent from the original vocabulary. The latter are borrowed from their Slavonic or German neighbours.²

Though, as has been already intimated, peculiarities of soil, climate and country are not by themselves sufficient to

¹ O. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, p. 22.

² A. Ahlqvist, *Die Kulturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen*, Helsingfors, 1875, p. 125.

account for great social changes, yet when other influences are present too, the former are far from being unimportant.

The Greek and Italian are conspicuous instances of races Greece and Italy. being affected by the circumstances in which they lived.

Prominent among the geographical features of Greece and Italy which influenced their inhabitants was the configuration Configura-
tion of the
country. of the country. That Greece owed much of its maritime supremacy in historic times to the indentations of its coast, to its position on the threshold of Europe and its proximity to the Asiatic Continent, is well known to every student of Greek history. Yet in Greece itself the varied physical formation of the country influenced its inhabitants in various ways, and accounts for the diversity of character which was exhibited by the natives of different parts of the peninsula. The difference is well illustrated by the two typical States of historic Greece. The contrast between Sparta and Athens is borne in upon our minds in the political history of Greece. The one is conservative, the other democratic; the one exclusive, the other cosmopolitan. These characteristics are to some extent traceable to the conditions of their life.

Sparta was surrounded by three ranges of mountains; Sparta. between them lay the Spartan plain, which could not be approached except by high mountain passes. These in themselves afforded a natural barrier against invasion. At the same time the plain offered ample means of subsistence, and rendered the inhabitants independent of their neighbours. Hence the self-sufficiency, the exclusiveness, and a certain narrowness which characterized the Spartan.

The position of Athens was in most respects the very Attica. opposite of this. Its soil was dry and rocky, its crops poor, but its situation compensated for the comparative barrenness of the land. Its proximity to the Ægean Islands, to Asia Minor, and to the Euxine enabled it to command an important trade. But Attica possessed other advantages which stood it in good stead. Its accessibility, its acquaintance with the traditions of the mysterious East, its attractions for the foreign merchant, and the versatility of its people—all

these fitted it at a later day for the duties of a central metropolis of knowledge to the youth just risen into manhood, who resorted thither from distant lands for purposes of education. The soil was volcanic in origin, and vegetation was scanty, but there were compensating advantages in the distinctive beauty of the country. The bright hues of the hills, the softness of their lines, and the delicacy of their contour were brought out by the special purity, elasticity and clearness of the air of Attica, fit concomitant and emblem of the genius of Athens. The scenery of Attica fostered the love of the plastic arts and the eye for symmetry, which reached its acme in the sculptures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion.

Italy. The effect of geographical configuration on the minds of inhabitants is equally marked in Italy, though it made itself felt in a different way. Thus, it lent itself to the formation of confederacies, which were an important and characteristic feature of Italian history. Throughout the history of ancient Rome we are impressed by the circumstance that the geography of Italy was eminently propitious to the growth of an empire. Its situation in the middle of the known world fitted it admirably to be a centre of imperial administration; while, within the boundaries of Italy itself, the causes which favoured the formation of tribal leagues also enabled Rome eventually to bring the various tribes under her sway. She began by playing one against another, and ended by welding them into a compact whole and employing them in her own service.

Influence
of water.

The history of Babylon teaches the same lesson. It affords an example of the effect of water upon the development of national character. From a very early time, Babylon, seated as it was on the "Great River" Euphrates, developed an important trade.¹ Her neighbours, the Phœnicians, exhibited a similar bias. Though the coast of Palestine was deficient in natural harbours, it was the cradle of the

¹ Cf. R. von Ihering, 162-169.

mercantile marine of the Mediterranean. Situated upon her rock "in the midst of the deep," surrounded by alien races, and thus shut out from the mainland from the very beginning of her history, Tyre found a natural outlet for her energy upon the sea. Together with her sister commonwealth Sidon, she planted colonies all along the Mediterranean coast. She seized the islands as bases for her commerce, and according to time-honoured tradition, her mariners passed beyond the Pillars of Hercules, as the Straits of Gibraltar were once called.

Their daring in exploration, their skill in cutting canals, their knowledge of engineering and mining, specially fitted the Phoenicians for the conduct of such operations. Their ships visited every port; their purple dyes, tapestries, dried fish and other exports were to be found in every mart. Until the star of Greece arose in the ascendant the Phoenicians enjoyed an almost unchallenged monopoly of maritime commerce, so that if they did not originate, they performed a useful service in transmitting, the ideas, the inventions and institutions of the East to the ruder races of the West.

The effect that a maritime life produced upon Greek character in prehistoric times may easily be conjectured, and in more modern times clear evidence of its influence is forthcoming. The remark has been made by the Athenian philosopher that a seafaring life tends to foster the democratic spirit. This principle might be more widely applied. Then, as now, travel broke down the barriers that nature placed between country and country, or between race and race. It widened the mental vision, it facilitated mutual communication, it stimulated, if it did not produce, the versatility which proceeds from a knowledge of "the cities and the minds of many men."¹ Then, as now, the sea encouraged enterprise; invigorated the faculties; created the desire of acquiring knowledge and

Influence
of the sea
on Greek
character,

¹ Homer, *Od.* i. 1-3

the arts. Though the voyages of these early pioneers were limited in comparison with those of later times, yet even from these the mariner or the merchant returned richer in experience, because of hardships bravely endured and of dangers unflinchingly encountered.

and on
religious
ideas.

Further, the neighbourhood of the sea would have the effect of colouring religious ideas. Not only did nature impart a certain complexion to the mythologies of earlier races, but more than this, by dictating the mode of life it also directly influenced their religion.

Influence
of occupa-
tion on
religious
develop-
ment.

A parallel.

That the daily occupation followed by primitive races affects their mythological fancies is a fact familiar to those who have studied the customs of untutored tribes. Thus, it is well known that the myths of the Polynesians bear evidence of having sprung up among a race of husbandmen and fishermen, and their religious conceptions correspond entirely to the beneficent nature which surrounds them.¹ When we turn to Italy we are at once struck by the fact that Rome had little sympathy for the sea. Her maritime commerce was of comparatively late origin, and was only learnt from Greece. But if the Italians lagged behind in the race for maritime supremacy, and if, consequently, they borrowed most of their sea-gods and legends connected with the sea from their imaginative neighbours in Greece, on the other hand there was no lack among them of river-gods, or of nymphs of the stream or the fountain.

The
Italians
not a
maritime
people.

Italian
river-gods.

Neptunus is a god of water in general, not necessarily of the sea. A cycle of legends that gathered around the Greek god Poseidon was incorporated into Italian mythology and woven around his Latin counterpart. The hot climate and the dryness of the soil led the inhabitants to set a corresponding value upon stream and lake and river, and the duty of honouring or propitiating the genius² or presiding

¹ C. P. Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst, tot aan de heerschappij der wereldgodsdiensten*, Amsterdam, 1876, § 13.

² The epithets *iepos* and *sacer* are frequently applied to them. For instances of temples and statues erected in their honour, see Hom.

deity of the stream followed as a natural consequence. The sources of rivers or brooks were in the popular imagination invested with a peculiar sanctity. Father Tiber, with his "yellow sands";¹ Padus, the "king of rivers"; Clitumnus,² rich in herds and flocks, claimed their adoration. Nor were the rivers alone honoured in this way. Egeria,³ the nymph, with whom King Numa kept tryst; Juturna,⁴ at whose spring the gods Castor and Pollux watered their foaming steeds, after announcing to the assembled Romans the victory of Lake Regillus; these and a host of other native deities were regarded with the utmost veneration. Rivers and fountains, moreover, were credited with medicinal virtues, or shrouded in mystery, or surrounded with a halo of majesty. When the worship of Greek gods and goddesses was transplanted to Italy, the Italian devotee vied with the imaginative, quick-witted Hellene in paying homage to Nereus, with his train of nymphs and water-sprites, and to Proteus, the "old man of the sea," around whom Greek fancy had woven a wealth of legendary lore.

The connection between the physical aspects of the country and the mental and moral development of those to whose eyes its features are daily present is more marked in the earlier stages of society; also when the Greek and Italian races were growing to maturity, Europe presented an aspect very different from that which it now wears. Districts which

Influence
of forests,
mountains
and plains.

Od. xvii. 210. Cicero, *De Nat.* iii. 20. The festival of the Springs and Fountains (the *Fontinalia*) was held on the thirteenth of October. Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 8, 5, 6; Virgil, *Aeneid* vii. 31.

¹ Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 31. Horace, *Odes* i. 2, 13. It is so called from the Puzzolan earth on its bed.

² Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 146.

³ Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 12. The locality of the fountain where Numa held these mysterious interviews has been recently fixed. It lies in a hollow under some farm-buildings attached to the Villa Mattei, near the Porta Capena and behind S. Stefano Rotondo. See A. Hare, *Walks in Rome* i. 375, and R. E. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, London, 1892, p. 293.

⁴ This has been discovered in the Forum. The Temple of the Dioscuri, originally erected to commemorate the battle of Lake Regillus (496 B.C.), is situated near the spot.

are now cleared and barren were at that time covered with timber. And the influence of forests on the human mind has, on the whole, been favourable. The absence of plants in Australia, for example, has retarded progress. On the other hand, the ruins of Central America, the home of the Mexicans and Peruvians, bear eloquent testimony to the truth that mountains and forest-land, so far from discouraging advance, are conducive to a high civilization. This it does in more than one way. Firstly, the nature of the country goes far towards determining the kind of occupation which is suitable to the inhabitants. While the inhabitant of the plain is pastoral, and hardly ever rises above that stage, the native of the hills, mountains and woods naturally takes to hunting, and depends for his subsistence on the chase.

Forest-land determined the occupation of the inhabitants.

Colouring his religion.

Indirect influence of forests.

Secondly, as has been previously remarked regarding water, the occupation followed re-acts upon religious and mythological conceptions. This influence is to be observed in the case of some Negro tribes. "The religion of war-loving tribes," says Dr. Tiele,¹ "is sanguinary and cruel," while "among those Negroes who are engaged chiefly in industry and commerce, without neglecting cattle-breeding and agriculture, a much more humane and civilized worship prevails, in which, however, the spirit of trade betrays itself in a certain cunning towards the spirits." Similarly it will be seen at a later stage that there are reasons for thinking that both the barbarous practices and the milder customs in the religions of Greece and Italy bear a close relation to the occupations pursued by the inhabitants of those two countries.

Direct influence.

The primeval forest, the unchanging mountain and vast plain must have exercised an immediate influence upon the minds and religious beliefs of those who dwelt among them. The gloom of the forest was awe-inspiring to those who moved habitually in its shade: the mountain appeared in the light of some mysterious power to those who dwelt at

¹ *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, § 13.

its foot ; the silent solitude of the steppe was eloquent with mysteries to those who roamed over it.

The effect of physical surroundings may be traced in the popular creeds of India. The natural aspect of that country has operated on the natives in different ways. For the Hindu the luxuriant vegetation in jungle and grove, the tribes of beasts and birds, with their strange forms, their striking colours and passionate cries, have induced the worship of beasts and plants. It is needless to remark that in the Hindu religious system metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls into birds and beasts, occupies a prominent place. But on other minds the nature of the country has produced an opposite effect. The idea of space is all-absorbing in India. We are at once impressed with the vastness, the vagueness, the dreaminess on every side. Unlike the Hindu, therefore, the Buddhist is oppressed by an overwhelming consciousness of the power of Nature. That feeling is only natural in a country like India, with its peculiarities of formation and climate. There the treeless, unsheltered plains only reflect the blazing sky or parching rays of the sun. Not seldom Nature denies to the natives crops and fruitful seasons. The monotonous and unvarying landscape produces in the inhabitants a corresponding melancholy. They are, for the most part, far removed from the salutary, vivifying influence of the ever-changing sea. The outcome of these conditions of life has been a creed which holds out to its votaries, as a reward of life-long service, the prospect of annihilation.

The same susceptibility to the desolation of Nature is to be seen in Greece. We have already remarked upon the resources of the native imagination in creating a world of supernatural beings. We have likewise referred to the deification in Italy of the operations or phases of Nature under the name of *numina*—the alternations of the seasons, the changes of atmosphere, the varying aspects of the landscape, being ascribed to supernatural agents. But in the case of the Greek, certainly, if not of the Italian, another instinct

India.

Hindu
mythology.

Buddhism.

Greek
horror of
isolation.

was satisfied by the belief in beautiful spirits that haunted forest and field. The Greek was by nature sociable and joyful, and he was robbed of the pleasure of life if there was none to share it with him. He had a horror of blank desolation. He liked to believe, therefore, that he was surrounded by a race of airy beings, with whom he held communion, who helped him in emergencies, who watched over his person, who guided his fortunes and promoted his happiness.

Hence the belief in spirits

lent a purpose to natural objects.

Further, it lent a kind of purpose to the beauties of Nature, to the noble oak, to the murmuring brook and tinkling waterfall, to imagine that these natural objects formed the habitation, or ministered to the enjoyment of supernatural beings, the Dryad, the Oread, the nymph, the water-sprite, who certainly existed, though mortal eye could not discern them.

Influence of natural phenomena in Italy.

The mythology of Italy and Sicily furnishes another illustration. The geological formation of the Italian peninsula at the present day shows that it was at one time the theatre of immense volcanic changes, which were fraught with terror to the minds of those who dwelt in their neighbourhood. Underneath those lofty mountains, or within those yawning craters—so the tales ran—there lay monsters who once had plagued the earth, or rebellious spirits who had been quelled by the avenging thunderbolt, and hurled down to Tartarus to expiate their crimes—but not necessarily for ever. Tossing uneasily in their prison-house, or beating against the bars of their cage, the prisoners from time to time reminded men of their presence by angry roars deep down in subterranean caverns, by flames issuing from fissures, by upheavals which involved towns and villages in ruins. Who knew at what hour they might not be awakened into awful activity, and spread death and desolation around them? These natural phenomena, therefore, did much to colour the beliefs of the Italian. When the early Greek settler in Sicily heard the fire rumbling beneath Mount Etna, he seemed to hear

the fire-breathing Typhœus, who, having aspired to the sovereignty of gods and men, was now paying in his prison the penalty of his ambition.¹ When flames issued forth from the cave, near which stood the Ara Maxima at Rome,² the inhabitants said it was the work of Cacus the son of Vulcan.³

In like manner the mephitic vapours of Lake Avernus, in the neighbourhood of Cumæ, over which, owing to the deadly exhalations, "no bird could fly and live,"⁴ gave rise to the myth which made it the entrance of the lower world.⁵ The pages of the antiquarian poet Virgil offer many instances of such popular beliefs, and he has turned them to good account in his national poem, the *Æneid*.

¹ Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 18. Verg., *Æn.* viii. 716, identified Inarime (Homer, *Iliad* ii. 782) with Pithecusa; others place Typhœus in Cilicia, Mysia or Syria. The belief that these convulsions of nature were the work of malignant beings had apparently not died away in the early part of the nineteenth century. Lord Byron wrote from Missolonghi, during the Greek war of Independence, February 25, 1824: "On Saturday we had the smartest shock of an earthquake which I remember: and the whole army discharged their arms, upon the same principle that savages beat drums or howl, during an eclipse of the moon." The author alludes to the idea, common among the uncivilized, that an eclipse is caused by a dragon or demon devouring or otherwise assailing the sun or moon. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* i. 27; Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilization*, 229.

² Livy i. 7; Dionys. i. 390; Propert. iv. 9.

³ Vergil, *Æneid* viii. 190.

⁴ Hence the popular etymology Avernus, ἀρνός (*ārnos*, a bird).

⁵ The *Grotto della Pace* was called after a Spaniard, Pietro della Pace. It is near Cuma, ancient Cumæ, a Greek colony founded 1000 B.C. The walls of its Acropolis are still visible. The grotto is the *spelunca alta*, or "deep cave," spoken of by Vergil in the *Æneid* (vi. 126), and, from the steep slope leading down, the phrase *facilis descensus Averno* is derived. It ends near the shore of Lake Avernus. The water of the lake is 500 feet deep and fills the crater of an extinct volcano. The wildness of the scene, the thick wood which formerly surrounded the lake, and the malaria which prevails here in the hot season, in former times lent colour to the belief that it formed the entrance to the infernal regions. Hannibal and his army sacrificed on this spot, and many a superstition even to this day gathers around the place.

CHAPTER V.

EXTRANEOUS INFLUENCES.

Extra-
neous
influences.

The
foregoing
causes
internal.

HITHERTO we have dealt with the internal causes of development in Greece and Italy. We have seen something of the latent power and inherent capacity of the races which, if they did not entirely create the civilization of the two peninsulas, yet played a prominent part in its creation. We have seen that these faculties were called forth by the migrations which must have preceded their settlement. We have seen that nature exercised a powerful effect upon their growth. This has led some writers to regard its influence not merely as the principal cause, but as the only cause of their special characteristics. But there remains for consideration another influence, intimately important to our purpose, that is, the result of intellectual intercourse with external races.

Aryan
capacity
for civili-
zation.

Contact
with the
East.

Pre-
disposition
to this
view.

It has been already suggested that when the Aryan made his way into the Southern peninsulas, though his civilization, if it existed at all, was but slight, yet he brought with him great capacity for development. In consequence his arrival introduced a vigorous element into the forces working for civilization. It was an accepted axiom in former days that the civilization of Greece and Italy dated from contact with the East and South. The traditional view connected its origin chiefly with Egypt and Babylonia, the two centres of intellectual illumination in the ancient world. Phœnicia, it was believed, acted as an intermediary in transmitting Oriental ideas to Western shores. To this view modern scholars were predisposed for several reasons. Their training in the Hebrew Scriptures,

the imposing chronology of Egypt, the duration of the Babylonian Empire, all combined to give the student a bias towards the belief that the East and the South were the starting points of European culture. There was much to recommend this theory. The truth is, that the history of civilization is largely a history of trade. It is a woven warp of several threads, though these are difficult to unravel. Races are largely the pupils and inheritors of more reflective races with whom they are brought into contact. It is impossible, therefore, to pronounce positively how, when, and where the various elements made their way into Southern Europe. European civilization is a mosaic of elements, partly non-Aryan or survivals of previous strata, partly Aryan, partly Southern. Even as regards Greece itself, it is now affirmed on high authority that the Mycenæan culture was not a Greek creation. Though a Greek population shared in it, they were not necessarily the only or even the dominant element.¹ To this diversity of elements the Greek language, as we have seen, bears striking testimony.

Civilization
complex.

The "glamour of the Orient," then, for a long time held the investigators enthralled, but a reaction has ensued. Many years ago Ottfried Müller denied altogether the influence of Phœnicia and Egypt upon the early civilization of Greece. The renunciation of the belief that the Aryans came from some region in Central Asia, to which allusion has already been made, and the substitution for it of the theory that their earliest settlement must be looked for in Eastern or Northern Europe, has helped to break the spell exercised by the East. How far the pendulum has swung back may be gathered from Professor Brunn's bold theory that the sculptures of Nineveh betray evidences of Greek workmanship. The revolt against the traditional school came to a head with the publication of M. Salamon

Reaction
against
the
traditional
school.

Home of
the Aryans
no longer
placed in
the East.

Reinach.

¹ *Presidential Address* of the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1896, by A. J. Evans.

Reinach's essay entitled *Mirage Oriental*.¹ The author of this book has since reinforced his arguments. His views may be briefly stated. He argues that so far from the exaggerated pretensions of the East to influence over Europe being well-founded, Chaldean cylinders actually reveal vestiges of Western influence.² Europe, says he, evolved her civilization independently, and it was no exotic. Thus far M. Reinach. The truth would seem to lie between the two extremes. In speaking of religious beliefs we referred to the individuality that distinguished the Greek character; the fact is, that this remark might be extended and applied to Europe in general, or, at all events, to the Southern part of the European continent, as distinguished from the East. European civilization possessed a character of its own, for the origin of which we must look to the innate genius of the inhabitants, rather than to any foreign influence. While the East excelled in mechanical contrivances and material civilization, and while the physical sciences, so far as can be ascertained, took their rise in Asia, Europe possessed artistic qualities and an aesthetic sense to which Egypt and Babylon were strangers. The higher order of European civilization was the product of this native genius, and to it has been given the name of Ægean culture. It spread from an unknown centre. It ranged from Switzerland to Cyprus, and included Asia Minor in its area. Roughly speaking, it falls into two periods; the earlier is represented by the finds in the Island of Amorgos and elsewhere, to which the name Cycladic has been given.

Individuality of European culture.

Eastern art stiff and formal.

European art shows stronger aesthetic sense.

Ægean or Anatolo-Danubian culture,

as seen at Amorgos and Mycenæ.

Naturalism and individuality of Greek art.

The considerations which have led archæologists to this conclusion are profoundly interesting, but they hardly fall within the scope of this sketch of recent progress in Greek Archæology. One observation, however, is admissible. The same individuality, of which mention has already been made, as characterizing European civilization generally, was

¹ In *Chroniques d'Orient*, Paris, 1896, pp. 509-565.

² Cf. A. J. Evans' *Presidential Address*, p. 910.

carried into the region of art. It has been suggested that in the triumphs of the sculptural art of Greece and Italy in Classic times, the same artistic faculties re-appear which marked the work of the Reindeer Age. Of this period specimens survive in carvings of bone and ivory which have been discovered from time to time. Though as yet they were only rudimentary, they held out much promise of future development. It is probable, therefore, that the higher art that characterized that remote age was smothered by a Neolithic civilization, which, though inferior to that of the Reindeer Period, was its superior in material resources. What were the causes of this arrest of artistic development we can only conjecture. Whatever they may have been, this artistic instinct lay dormant for a long while, but in time it was re-awakened into a new life by contact with a Southern race. It shook off its trammels, reached its zenith in the products of Classic Greece, and ended by reacting on the older civilization of Egypt and Asia. But, however that may be, it is certain that a high civilization flourished around the basin of the Mediterranean anterior to the time when the influence of Egyptian and Babylonian art began to affect the European continent. Between the native and exotic styles a distinct difference is discernible. One is spirited and untrammelled, the other stiff and formal, one is individualistic, the other conventional.

Its
ultimate
source.

Differ-
ences
between
European
and East-
ern art.

But granting the independent evolution of European civilization, it would be strange indeed if we did not also find traces of an influence exerted on the Europe of that day by the two countries which formed reservoirs, as it were, whence ancient civilization flowed and whence much of modern culture has been derived. The civilization of Assyria and Babylonia goes back beyond human ken, and its origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, since it flourished at a time when Pharaoh had not tyrannized on the banks of the Nile nor Nimrod held sway in Nineveh.

Oriental
influence
indis-
putable.

To enter upon a detailed discussion of a problem so intricate, so far-reaching, and so full of uncertainty, as

so Influence
of Oriental
countries.

the relations between Europe and the East would be out of place in a chapter which is only intended to put the reader in possession of the main outlines of the recent results of research. It will, moreover, be necessary at a later stage to refer incidentally to the traces of Oriental influence in the several departments of thought and action which will arise for consideration. And are not these subjects handled in treatises by Tsountas and Manatt,¹ Hall,² and Ridgeway?³ Only a brief allusion, therefore, need be made here to the debt owed by Greece to the three representative races of the East.

Their high antiquity.

The further we penetrate into the history of the past the more we become impressed by the narrow field and the recent growth of modern civilization, as compared with the hoary antiquity of Eastern races. At a time when the ancestors of modern nations were running wild in the woods of Europe a high civilization flourished on the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates. Even when the inquirer has concluded his task, and thinks he has found the earliest records of Eastern races, vistas open before him in the dim distance which extend beyond the reach of human investigation.

Relative age of Babylonian and Egypt.

Of late years the accepted view as to the relative positions of Egypt and Assyria has undergone a momentous change. Assyriologists have completely reversed the individual claims of these two countries to rank as the pioneers of civilization.⁴ Until recently Egypt was believed to have possessed the older culture, for its records reach back as far as the first half of the thirtieth century B.C. Modern research, however, has sounded the knell of this as of a number of theories

¹ Tsountas, *Μυκῆναι καὶ Μυκηναῖος πολιτισμός*; Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, New York, 1897.

² Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, London, 1901.

³ Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, Cambridge, 1901.

⁴ The whole of the country embraced by the Tigris and Euphrates is geographically as well as historically one. Ancient writers spoke of the whole under the general name of Assyria, but Babylonia would have been a more correct designation.

relating to the history of the East. It has been shown that the history of Babylon preceded that of Egypt by a thousand years. Nor is this all. Evidence exists to prove that, much as the Babylonians were associated with Semitic races, their civilization was not of Semitic origin. The earliest occupants of Babylonia were Sumerians and Akkadians, whose origin is lost in antiquity. The only thing which can be safely asserted about them is that they spoke a language of an agglutinative type, that is, one in which roots are joined together to form words. But before the end of the millennium¹ a Semitic power appeared on the political horizon, which took possession of several of the cities of Northern Babylonia. This invasion effected no fundamental change in the civilization of the conquered country, for then, as so often since in the history of civilization, the victorious people became the pupil, not the teacher, and voluntarily placed itself at the feet of those whom it originally trod beneath its own. So complete was the adoption of the new culture by the invader that, although it is well nigh ^{im}possible to discriminate between the original elements and the system superimposed upon them, there is no doubt that the ideas and institutions of the conqueror were moulded by the conquered.

The Egyptian and Semitic races were doubtless connected at one time, according to the belief of Maspero, an unexceptionable witness; and at a very early time, at least as early as forty centuries B.C., a commercial intercourse existed between Egypt and Babylonia. But the latter took the lead in the march of progress. Not that Egypt derived its culture from Babylonia, for it is now stated on high authority that Egyptian civilization was no exotic, but sprang up in the valley of the Nile. This, however, is far from saying that it was free from the influence of Semitic races. On the contrary, there is clear

Early
connection
between
Egypt and
Babylonia.

¹ Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 116.

evidence that, while Egyptian influence on the Semitic world was slight, the influence of the Semitic races on Egypt, for a time at least, was considerable. This is seen from the fact that by the fifteenth century the Semitic dialect of Babylonia (the later "Assyrian") had come to be used as the language of diplomacy by the court scribes of Egypt.¹

Character
of Baby-
lonian
civilization
scientific
and
practical.

The civilization of Babylonia was marked by a scientific and practical character, and the fruits of Babylonian science are with us to this day in modern Europe. Astronomy is historically traceable to them. Mathematics also emanated from the same source, and in all probability the common methods of measuring time and space proceeded from the same quarter. Architecture, also, was a Babylonian creation, and the adoption of bricks in the oldest pyramids in Egypt, when there was an abundant supply of native stone, testifies to the influence of Babylonia on Egypt in the art of building.

The above-mentioned features fall within the limits of the historic period.

Baby-
lonian
influence
on Greece.

The influence of Babylonian civilization upon Greece is unmistakable. No evidence exists of any connection between the Babylonians and the pre-Mycenæan peoples, but it is clear that in the Mycenæan period Babylonian culture, constantly advancing Westwards, had established communication with Greece. Accordingly Babylonia has left its mark on Mycenæan handicraft and art, which bear distinct traces of the effects of Babylonian prototypes, as is seen, for instance, in early Ægean art. It shows itself in indigenous imitations of Babylonian cylinders; it is seen, too, in the assimilation of the primitive idols to Eastern models and it exerted an influence on the externals of cult.²

Greek art.

The
Egyptians
speculative
and philo-
sophical.

Unlike the Babylonians, whose aims were practical, the

¹ Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 119.

² A. J. Evans, *Presidential Address*, 918.

Egyptians displayed a speculative turn and a philosophical bias, and their superiority over the Babylonians in this respect is very conspicuous. In the domain of intellect Egypt outstripped its instructors. Even in matters of practical utility the Egyptians proved formidable rivals. In spite of assertions to the contrary by those who have justly vindicated the claims of Europe to a native civilization, the indebtedness of Greece to Egypt from a very early time must be acknowledged. "It is not a little curious," says a modern writer, "that the widespread civilization of Babylonia should have had so much less regular connection with and exercised so much less real influence upon the development of Mycenæan culture than the distant civilization of Egypt."¹

of Communi-
cation with
Greece.

That there existed an intimate intercourse between Europe and Egypt as early as the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasty is now known. It appears also that relations of some kind existed between Greece and Egypt in pre-Mycenæan days. This is shown on the one hand by the discovery of glass and ivory objects of Egyptian workmanship of the XIIth Dynasty in pre-Mycenæan sites and graves in Crete, and, on the other, by the discovery of black pre-Mycenæan pottery in company with objects of the XIIth and XIIIth Dynasties in Egypt.² Their transmission is probably traceable to inter-tribal barter, but some may be due to direct derivation. It can only be explained by the actual settlement of colonists from the Ægean side, and the abundant relics of Ægean ceramic manufactures found by Professor Petrie on Egyptian sites warrant the belief in a primeval intercourse with the valley of the Nile.

The allusions to Egypt in the Homeric poems are interesting. The only passage in the *Iliad* is the following, which cannot be later than the ninth century, for in

References
to Egypt
in Homer.

¹ Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 142.

² Hall, 143; Flinders Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, p. 42.

the eighth the glory of the city of Thebes had passed away :—

Θήβας
 Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλείστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κείται,
 Αἷ θ' ἑκατόμυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἄν' ἐκάστας
 Ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνέουσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.¹

The *Odyssey* exhibits a better knowledge of Egypt. It is a land of wealth,² of rich harvest,³ of physicians possessing almost superhuman skill.⁴ It is a land of mystery and fable, the dwelling-place of "the old man of the sea, infallible, the deathless Egyptian Proteus, who knows the depths of every sea."⁵ But neither the mysteries of this region, nor the dangers of the voyage deterred the reckless pirates of Crete from making descents upon the rich lands of the Delta.⁶

Indi-
viduality
of Greek
genius.

The early intercourse between Egypt and Europe, therefore, sufficiently accounts for the existence of Egyptian influence upon the early Greek culture. But after making all allowances for Eastern influence, the Ægean culture, with its many manifestations of artistic genius, so instinct with naturalism, so pronounced in its individuality, rapidly and completely assimilated the borrowed ideas. It stamped the stiff, traditional methods that it owed to the East with a vigour and beauty of its own, and finally emancipated itself from the yoke of Asia altogether.

The Phœ-
nicians
com-
mercial.

The channels by which these products of Greek and Oriental genius were exchanged, as already indicated, can be conjectured rather than actually proved. We now pass on to consider a race who are known to have played an important part in the Mediterranean basin in the dawn of

¹ ix. 381-384. "Egyptian Thebes, where the treasure houses are stored the fullest—Thebes of the hundred gates, whence sally forth two hundred warriors through each with horses and chariots."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*) Thebes was destroyed in the eighth century, during the conflict between the Ethiopians and Assyrians.

² iv. 127.

³ iv. 229.

⁴ iv. 231.

⁵ *Od.* iv. 365, 385. Proteus was an object of special veneration to the Cretans, and Mr. Hall has suggested that Cretan sailors probably located him at the mouths of the Nile.

⁶ *Od.* xiv. 257.

civilization. Yet concerning them also some doubt prevails. Formerly it was supposed that the Phœnicians were the transmitters of Semitic culture both to Greece and Italy. To such an extent was this view at one time carried, and so implicitly was it accepted that P. Volkmuth¹ and others undertook to prove that the Pelasgians were Phœnicians. But this view has been entirely exploded. Many years ago C. O. Müller had cast doubts upon the amount of influence with which the Phœnicians had been credited. It is now acknowledged that the estimate formed, especially by Movers and Oberhummer, of the part played by them has been exaggerated. The office of intermediary between East and West was no monopoly of the Phœnician. Not only is much more stress now laid on the importance of barter between tribe and tribe, as a means of communication, but an intimate intercourse between Europe and the East is shown to have existed at an early period. That about 1450 B.C., if not earlier, some connection existed is proved by the relics discovered in Egypt, which, with their seaweeds and marine creatures, are true products of the island world of Greece. But these discoveries do not dispel the theory that the Phœnicians fulfilled an important mission in bringing together the two Continents. Dr. Helbig, still pre-possessed by this doctrine, inclines to the notion that the engraved gems and seals found with Mycenæan remains are traceable to Phœnician importation, but he has not succeeded in carrying with him other investigators in the same field.

The many-sided activity of the Phœnicians is proved by the numerous settlements which they formed. Hemmed in by powerful nations, they adopted a seafaring life as much from necessity as from choice. In the fifteenth century² these enterprising traders had established regular routes with the interior of Asia, and maintained commercial dealings with the lands on the Euphrates and Tigris.

¹ In *Die Pelasger als Semiten*, Schaffhausen, 1860.

² Hall, 136.

With Egypt they must have had a close connection from an early time. Herodotus¹ speaks of a Tyrian quarter at Memphis. But we are chiefly interested in their operations in the Mediterranean.²

The Phœnicians in the Mediterranean waters.

Their presence in the Ægean Sea is vouched for in a variety of ways. Thither they appear to have made their way at a date not later than 1000 B.C. Arrived in these waters they turned the islands, the promontories and other points of vantage to good account, by the erection of factories and marts of commerce. In these regions they either dislodged or superimposed themselves upon the inhabitants. Chalcis,³ Malea,⁴ Cythera,⁵ Lemnos,⁶ Samothrace, Imbros, Samos,⁷ Thera,⁸ Rhodes,⁹ Cyprus,¹⁰ and Crete,¹¹ these are some of the points upon which they seized as affording exceptional opportunity for the prosecution of their trade. It has been stated already that the Phœnicians came into contact with Greece in the Mycenæan period, probably for the first time in Cyprus¹² and, as their cities appear already active in the fifteenth century B.C., and in constant communication with Egypt, in all probability the Phœnicians acted as intermediaries between Mycenæan Cyprus and that country. By the eighth century the Phœnicians had overrun the Ægean in all directions.

Character of Phœnician art.

To turn to the commodities in which they dealt, it is worthy of remark that the Phœnician civilization displayed but little originality, and that the chief characteristic of Phœnician art is its incongruous combination of foreign elements.¹³ With the exception of a few inventions the

¹ ii. 122.

² Thuc. i. 8.

³ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, 22-28; Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 227.

⁴ Max Duncker, *History of Greece* i., ch. iv., p. 151.

⁵ Hall, 228, 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 228; Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece* i. 196.

⁹ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, 27; Hall, 228.

¹⁰ Hall, 132, 261.

¹¹ A. J. Evans, *Presidential Address*, 919, 920; Hall, 228.

¹² Hall, 135, 136.

¹³ The so-called "syncretic bowls" are instances in point. They combine Egyptian and Assyrian decorative elements in alternate bands or parts of the same band. See Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 759, 779.

Phœnician artist did not rise above the level attained by his instructor. On the other hand, the Phœnician race was eminently fitted by nature for mercantile occupations.

Through their agency many products of Asiatic industry, original or borrowed, found their way to Western shores. Such was the Sidonian glass-work, for the manufacture of which the sands of the Belus may have afforded excellent material. Such were the purple dyes. These were probably a Babylonian invention procured from the *murex*, or shellfish, which was discovered along the coast. Phœnician purple fisheries were famous in antiquity, and it is a curious circumstance that the names of the two main tints of purple, dark red (*argāmān*) and dark blue (*tëkhëleth*), do not appear to be Phœnician. Whatever the origin of the word, the Phœnicians brought the art of purple dying to a high pitch of perfection and spread the knowledge of it far and wide. Indeed Duncker's ingenious suggestion that the purple stations were the oldest of all their settlements probably represents the true state of the case.

Arts and
Industries.

But many other arts and industries were associated in the ancient mind with the Phœnicians, and the tradition is corroborated by language. Many Greek names as well of stuffs, clothes and utensils as of the tunnyfish (*θύννος*) and peacock (*ταῶς*) bear evidence of Phœnician origin, and the terms for weights and measures bear the impress of the Phœnician mind.¹ Such are *ὀθόνιον*, "linen-cloth," *χιτών*, "under-garment," "frock," *μέταλλον*, "pit," "mine," "metal," *βάσανος*, "touchstone," and *δραχμή*, "drachma." But their operations were not confined to diffusing the arts and industries of their Eastern neighbours, nor even to improving upon the methods that they borrowed. In the character of slave-traders and kidnappers their sinister figures flit across the pages of Homer and are gone:—The swineherd relates to Odysseus² the story of his life, how

¹ Cf. A. Müller in *Beitrag z. K. d. indog. Spr.* i. 273.

Od. xv. 415.

he, the son of a king in the Isle of Syria, was carried away in childhood. The Phœnician "mariners renowned, greedy merchant men, with all manner of gauds in a black ship," corrupt a country-woman of their own found in the island, herself a captive slave, and propose taking her away with them. Thereupon she in her turn offers to bring the king's son, her charge, and convey him with her, for "he will fetch a great price, wheresoever he be taken for sale among men of strange speech."

Their
commer-
cial
methods.

Their methods are graphically delineated in the Homeric poems. We only catch stray glimpses of them; they are here to-day and there to-morrow. Now it is a Phœnician versed in deceit, "a greedy knave, who had already done much mischief among men." He arrives in Egypt and lures Odysseus away to Phœnicia. Afterwards he beguiles him to Libya, intending to sell him into captivity.¹ Now it is an itinerant chapman dazzling the eyes of his fair patrons with his trinkets. Thus, in the scene succeeding the compact between the female slaves and the Phœnician traders in the above story:—

"Ἦλυθ' ἀνὴρ πολυΐδρις ἐμοῦ πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς
Χρῦσεον ὄρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο.
Τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ δμῳαὶ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
Χερσίν τ' ἀμφαφύωντο καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρωντο
ᾠνον ἐπισχόμεναι· ὁ δὲ τῆ κατένευσε σιωπῇ.²

Evidence
of mytho-
logy.

Until the Greeks dispossessed the Phœnicians of the mastery of the sea, they enjoyed undisputed command of it, and probably many of the mythical names attest the enterprise of these bold navigators in exploring

¹ The fact that Odysseus to escape detection is inventing in this narrative does not diminish its interest as testimony to the usual methods of the Phœnicians and the estimation in which they were held.

² *Od.* xv. 459. The passage describes a messenger who tells the woman that the sailors are ready to start. "There came a man versed in craft to my father's house, with a golden chain strung here and there with amber beads. Now the maidens in the hall and my lady mother were handling the chain and gazing on it, and offering him a price; but he had signed silently to the woman." But the Phœnicians were capable of a benevolent action. In the *Odyssey*, xiii. 272, they are described as taking off the shore a homicide.

unknown countries which were realms of mystery. Some of their early adventures are enshrined in place names. The word Ἐυρώπη itself may be of that number. According to Hesychius it means the land of the setting sun, which leads Dr. Lewy¹ with much plausibility to connect the word with the Assyrian *êrêbu*, and *êrêb šamsi*, "sunset." Under the same category may be placed the legend of the sea-monster Skylla. The adventures of Odysseus in his perilous voyage past Skylla are told by Homer.² She dwells in a cavern, has six dragon throats and twelve sharp claws, and a body surrounded with dogs. To approach her means death. Usually the name Σκύλλα is derived from σκύλλειν, to mangle, but there is no allusion to this feature of the monster's character in Homer's Odyssey.³ Those who hold that the name and the legend bear an Eastern stamp have probability on their side. Dr. Helbig⁴ is of that opinion, and Dr. Lewy is inclined to regard Skylla as a name applied to the ogress Lamia. Once a queen, according to the Libyan legend,⁵ Lamia was robbed by Hera of all her children and then withdrew into a lonely cavern where she became a voracious monster tearing children from their mothers, and slaying them.⁶ Now the Hebrew *šakkûlâ* signifies the raging of a wild beast, and was especially applied to the fury of an animal deprived of its offspring. Not only so, but the fabled mother of Skylla is Κραταύς,⁷ and this again may be equated with the Hebrew, *hârâdâ*, to "terrify."⁸ It is certainly an attractive supposition that these crafty⁹ merchants, who from fear of encroachment took so much care to conceal the sources of their wealth, might go on

¹ Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, p. 139.

² *Od.* xii. 85, 124, 235.

³ xii. 256.

⁴ *Das Homerische Epos*,² 427.

⁵ Preller, *Griech. Myth.* i.³ 507.

⁶ Cf. Aristophanes, *Vespæ*, 1177, where her name is employed as a bugbear.

⁷ *Od.* xii. 124.

⁸ The Scholiast states that the father of Skylla was Δείμος, "Terror."

⁹ Cf. for instance *Od.* xv. 49.

to envelop in mystery the wonders and dangers of strange lands, and to invest with terror the monsters of the deep.

In the light of the above facts it would appear that there were good grounds for concluding that Greece was far from insensible to the glamour of the older civilizations of the Asiatic and African continents. What it did borrow, Greece, instinct as it was with individuality, assimilated, elaborated and brought to perfection; but the Greek mind was not enslaved by this Oriental influence.

But a further question arises. If, as may now be assumed, Greece evolved an independent civilization, we are led on to inquire at what centre the Ægean culture originated.

Upon this problem recent research has thrown a flood of light. Antecedently, it might be surmised that, in view of the geographical advantages offered by the islands of the Ægean, the cradle of the Mycenæan civilization should be sought there. They were accessible from the sea, yet comparatively safe from attack. They formed, so to speak, the advance-guard of Europe. They were, too, the natural stepping-stones between North and South, yet not immediately contiguous to the older civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia. What more likely than that they were the birthplace of the Mycenæan culture?

Yet further, tradition pointed to Crete. Around this island some of the oldest myths clustered. Here Minos had created a powerful maritime dominion, not only checking piracy but making himself master of the Ægean.¹ Here the same king had established a code of law and a system of political institutions, which afterwards became the model followed by the lawgiver Lycurgus of Sparta, for Minos had been instructed in the art of legislation by Zeus himself.² Hither Dædalus, the prince of artificers, had fled; here he constructed the famous labyrinth; here he became in legendary lore the embodiment of the earliest developments of the arts of sculpture and architecture.

Greece assimilated what it borrowed.

Birthplace of the Mycenæan culture.

Islands of the Ægean.

Tradition pointed to Crete.

¹ Thuc. i. 4; Strabo i., p. 48.

² Paus. iii. 482.

Hither had come the bull from the sea, in answer to the monarch Minos's vow, and here through the anger of Poseidon, Pasiphae conceived her fatal passion for the bull.¹ Here Ariadne, a king's daughter, for love of Theseus of Athens found him a way from death and furnished him with a clue to the bewildering mazes of the labyrinth, and in return for her toil was faithlessly forsaken.² Under the glare of modern criticism these accounts had been relegated to the limbo of exploded errors.³ Now these legends have been proved to rest on a solid basis of fact. Everything, therefore, pointed to Crete, and it was expected that the island might yield to the pickaxe of the archæologist a wealth of valuable material.

Nor have these high expectations been falsified. The explorations conducted by Professor Halbherr, of the Italian archæological mission, have produced interesting and valuable results. Thus, in the spring of this year, 1902, experimental excavations were begun at Hagia Triada, in the neighbourhood of Phæstos, and the month of May saw unearthed a portion of the basement of a Mycenæan palace. Its walls were decorated with frescoes, one of which presents a series of spirals interlaced with flowering plants. It is supposed that the place was the country residence of the kings of Phæstos, and among the objects already found are seals with pre-Hellenic characters and a number of terra-cotta figurines of the most primitive type. Still greater interest attaches to the discoveries of Mr. Arthur Evans in the island. Mr. Evans' earlier researches justified the expectation that still more important results might be looked for. Accordingly, following up the clues already in his hands, he proceeded to excavate on a site above

Recent discoveries in the island.

Halbherr and Evans.

¹ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3, I. iii. 3.

² These episodes in the history of this realm of mystery and romance were favourite subjects with painters; they figure frequently in the frescoes of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

³ Cf. Höckh, *Creta* i., p. 56.

Knossos, the traditional royal city of Minos. He was rewarded by the discovery of the basement of a large building of a pre-historic age, to all appearance a palace. It had perished in a conflagration, the work probably of invaders, who had swept down on Crete from the sea, sacking and burning as they went. Ever since they left its smoking ruins, the site had remained almost untouched. The discoverer is of opinion, for reasons which he states, that this act of spoliation cannot well have taken place later than the eleventh or twelfth century before the Christian era; more probably it was about the fifteenth. But the palace, even then, was an old building, for it bore evidence of more than one date, and among the ruins was found an Egyptian figure with inscriptions proving it to be now nearly four thousand years old. It is too early in the day to determine the full import of these finds, but one point may be mentioned as possessing a paramount interest and special significance. The *megara*, or halls, which have been disclosed are totally different from those which were discovered at Tiryns, and there is evidence of the existence of a vast upper story. But these are not the only novel features which these remains disclose. The corridors and halls, which have come to light, intricate enough as they are to deserve the name labyrinth, and the presence of the double axe, or *labrys*, point to the origin at once of the legend and the name. The frequent recurrence of the bull-figures suggests how the story of the Minotaur arose. The frescoes that cover the walls convey an idea of the inmates, one of whom, a young man with dark curly hair, a swarthy skin, but regular features, finds his counterpart in a type of face represented in the glens of Ida and the White Mountains at this day. Of the discovery of two sets of signs which are earlier by five hundred years than the Phœnician syllabary, the one pictographic, the other linear, we shall have occasion to speak by-and-by. Altogether, the objects that have been laid bare point to the evolution of a civilization in Crete

The significance of these discoveries.

which was independent of Egypt. Whether or not these discoveries may be considered to have definitely determined the birthplace of the Ægean culture, at any rate if they have not reversed, they have served to modify the ideas formerly entertained concerning the mutual relations between the East and the West; and a fresh page is now opened in the history of the world.

CHAPTER VI.

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE AND THEIR RESPECTIVE VALUE.

Object of
this
inquiry.

"No stage of civilization comes into existence spontaneously, but it grows or is developed out of the stage before it."¹ These words of Dr. Tylor's express concisely the principle underlying our inquiry into the evolution of thought in Greece and Italy. For the sake of clearness our object may be stated more fully. It is an attempt to reconstruct in imagination, from the material at our command, a picture of that obscure period that lies between the primitive phase of Aryan life on the one hand, so far as that period has been revealed to us by linguistic and craniological research, and on the other hand, the later stages of their development down to historic times. It has been seen² that there are no gaps, no sudden leaps in Nature. Accordingly it is not too much to suppose that the history of civilization in Greece and Italy, were it possible to trace it to its source, would in like manner exhibit an orderly progress.

The
Science of
Anthropo-
logy.

The evidence at our command is of a varied character. In the past the materials for a reconstruction of this extinct world of thought have been sought in one, or, at most, in two sciences, to the neglect of the rest. To the Science of Anthropology, adumbrated by Spencer, Fontenelle and De Brosses,³ and elaborated into a system by Tylor, Lubbock, Lang, Frazer, Jevons, Hartland and Waitz, is due the credit of enlisting several sciences for the purpose of

¹ *Anthropology*, p. 20.

² Chaps. I. and II.

³ Spencer in 1732, De Brosses 1760; Fontenelle died 1757. For an account of their contributions to the science, see A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* i. 31.

investigating the growth of the human mind. Thus, Anthropology has to a large extent been able to lift up the curtain that concealed the history of primeval times. Nothing comes amiss to Anthropology. Whether it be a figure on a Greek vase, or the curve of a letter, or a burial rite, or a fragment of a hymn, each is laid under contribution. Until the aid of all these auxiliaries was invoked, Philology, or the Science of Language, reigned supreme. It was considered that language was a solvent for all the difficulties attending the investigation of the past history of the human race. But now Anthropology, Mythology, Philology, and Archæology all contribute a share to the common stock of knowledge. This correlation of sciences in the interest of pre-historic research was employed with much effect by Victor Hehn. In his fascinating work, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, first published in 1883, he wrote the history of animals and plants, in many cases tracing their progress from Asia to Europe. While applying himself to this branch of inquiry in particular, he pointed out the way to other investigators, who have worked on a more comprehensive scale, or, like himself, have chosen some special subjects for consideration. He indicated, moreover, by his valuable notes, in what way lost links in the chain of evidence afforded by one science might be supplied from other sources at our command.

V. Hehn's
Kultur-
pflanzen
und Haus-
thiere.

Formerly, as has been already said, Comparative Philology held the field in this province of scientific study. There can be no question of its claims to speak of those portions of human history which lie beyond our ken, and have left no documentary evidence behind them. Language has been aptly termed by Emerson "fossil poetry," but the phrase might well be changed to "fossil history." Just as the fossil preserves in a petrified state the fauna or flora of past ages, so words effectually embody the evidence of the workings of the human mind, and chronicle human movements in bygone ages. These relics record, in a crystallized form, the gradual growth of social institutions, of elementary

Compara-
tive
Philology.

Language
as fossil
history.

One word
may tell
the story
of epochs.

ethics, of the development of the moral sense, and moral conceptions. They present to our view a kind of map indicating how high the tide of civilization flowed and at what point it began to ebb. Do we wish to know something of the earliest views of punishment? A comparison of the Latin *pœna*, *punire*, the Greek *ποινή*, and the Sanskrit *punîhi* reveals the fact that punishment in the first instance was looked upon as a removal of guilt. Do we seek the earliest ideas concerning the nature of bodily disease? The views that were at one time entertained concerning various maladies have come down to us enshrined in many words that are in use at this day. To the primitive mind disease is due to possession by an evil spirit, and this belief survives in our word epilepsy.¹ The original term is *ἐπίληψις*, and this again is derived from the Greek *ἐπιλαμβάνειν*, to "lay hold of," the demon being supposed by the popular imagination to seize and convulse the sufferer.² Do we seek for the theories held by the early Italic races with regard to the origin of mental disorders? The word *lunaticus* sheds light upon them; for in many countries besides Italy the moon, *luna*, has been, and is still, popularly believed to exercise an injurious influence upon the intellect. Of this belief we have a relic in the word *lunatic*, or "moonstruck," which we use to-day without thinking of its original signification. The same idea was shared by the Hebrews, as witness the verse in the Psalm: ³—

"The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night."

Indeed, the moon is considered by races the most diverse and distant from each other to produce mental aberration.

¹ Several words of this kind survive in the medical terminology of Classic and Hellenistic Greek. See W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, Dublin, 1882.

² An epileptic seizure on the day of the *comitia* or elections was regarded as an evil omen, and the proceedings were suspended for the time being. Hence the name for epilepsy, *comitalis morbus*. Cf. the later term *morbus sacer*, the accursed disease, Cælius Aurelianus, *Tarde Passionis*, i. 4.

³ cxxi. 6.

The admixture of races will account for the numerous extraneous elements which are to be found in the most fertile and flexible of ancient languages, the Greek. The fusion of tribes had another effect. It is shown by the duplicate names for various gods and goddesses, and the consequent syncretism in their religious systems, namely, the attempt to harmonize the various religious beliefs of the several races that amalgamated. The double names Pallas Athene and Phoibos Apollon are probably to be explained in this way. Sometimes the god of a conquered race is admitted, but he is relegated to an inferior rank. Sometimes a resemblance or relationship is traced between several deities and they are grouped together. When their natures could not be easily harmonized with one another, deities were assigned as consorts to a superior deity. The result is a mosaic of names attesting their derivation from several tribal religions.

Admixture
of races.

But while language is a valuable auxiliary, it is by no means infallible. The study of language is attended by many difficulties, and caution must be exercised in adopting its conclusions. Not more than half a century ago, Hebrew was commonly regarded as the parent speech from which other languages were derived, until Schlegel conjectured and Bopp and Jacob Grimm confirmed the hypothesis that the spoken languages of Europe were closely connected with Indian and Persian. The science of Comparative Philology now stepped from the misty regions of popular fancy to the firmer ground of scientific investigation. Then followed the fanciful pictures of the early Aryan drawn by another well-known school of philologists. It was believed that the Aryans before the separation possessed a high standard of civilization. It was a delightful picture which, according to this theory, the primitive family presented to view. Under the gentle rule of the head of the household, the "protector" or "supporter" (Sanskrit *pitár*, Greek *πατήρ*, Latin *pater*), the members lead a peaceful and uneventful existence. The mother is the "measurer" of the daily dole of corn, the

Language
by itself an
insecure
basis.

Idyllic
pictures of
the primi-
tive Aryan
based on
language.

brother is a "bearer of burdens," the sister a "consoler" or "pleaser"; the daughter is familiarly known by the term of endearment "little milkmaid." The chief means of subsistence are afforded by the ox, which is watched by the trusty dog. But a closer analysis reveals the fact that while this portrayal of the rude state of society contained elements of truth, life at that early time was the reverse of idyllic and peaceful. The picture was a very different one. It now proves that the primitive Aryan was in truth far from the civilized being he was then represented to be, and that he was constantly brought face to face with the stern realities of life: that the head of the household ruled with a rod of iron, and that his dependents, wife, children, and slave, were often the victims of no little barbarity.

Difficulties
of linguis-
tic evi-
dence.

Vagueness
and
changes of
meaning.

Correlation
in lan-
guage, or
counter-
sense.

Much of the difficulty attending the interpretation of early language lies in the circumstance that the meanings of words in the early stages of their growth are vague and uncertain, while in the later stages they change considerably. We may take two or three instances at random. It is characteristic of primitive races that in expressing to themselves some conception they must have the two opposite phases present to their minds at the same time. The consequence is that we find many primitive words which bear two opposite meanings.¹ This phenomenon meets us in some Greek and Latin words which are capable of two constructions; either of them suggests its correlative. Such are the Greek *σχολή*, "leisure" and "industry"; Latin *altus*, "high" and "low"; *cedere*, "go" and "come." In German also relics of this stage of growth are traceable, as in *borgen*, which signifies both to "lend" and to "borrow." There is this difference, however, between these languages and a primitive form of human speech, like Egyptian, that in the latter the opposite phase is not merely implied but expressed. Uncertainty attaches to other words, yet they

¹ Cf. *The Contemporary Review*, April, 1884, and Bain's *Rhetoric*, part i., p. 196.

shed an important light on the growth of civilization. Such are the names for plants. Thus, it is probable that the Sanskrit *yāva* at first meant any grain which yielded flour, but afterwards came to signify barleycorn, barley. With this the Greek *ζειά* (*ζαF-ιά*), corn, should doubtless be equated, but the meaning of *ζειά* is obscure also. It sometimes seems to signify "millet," and may well have been the grain grown at a time when husbandry was limited to digging with the hoe, and the products were of the simplest kind. The Greek *φηγός* affords another instance of a similar fluctuation of meaning, dictated by the changed conditions of the life of those who employed the word. It is certainly connected with the Latin *fagus*, beech tree. Its etymology is transparent, for the root is identical with that of *φαγέειν*, to eat.¹ Evidently, therefore, it signified a tree which bore edible fruit. This was the beech tree, with which the ancestors of the Greeks were already familiar in the region whence they came. But as they continued their way southwards they made the acquaintance of the chestnut and walnut trees, the fruit of which bore a resemblance to that of the beech. To these trees accordingly they applied the old name, *φηγός*.

Names of plants.

For a similar reason the names for some animals are not always easy to determine. They likewise showed that their meanings changed with the migrations of these primitive races and the widening of their mental horizon. We find this in the word for eel, the history of which it is possible to trace. The place of the eel in the animal kingdom was not clear in Homer's time. From fish it is distinguished in the *Iliad*,² where the phrase *ἐγγέλυες τε καὶ ἰχθύες* occurs. On the other hand, the word *ἔγγελυς* is doubtless to be assigned to the same group as the Greek *ἔχίς*, snake, *ἔχιδνα*, viper, Latin *anguis*, snake. We see here

Names of animals.

¹ Cf. the name of the Phrygian god, *Zeὺς Βαγαίος*, the god of the oak or beech tree. See Schrader, *Realex.*, 117.

² xxi. 203.

another illustration of the vagueness or hesitancy of early language and the gradual restriction of meaning as time goes on.

Science of Comparative Philology and Mythology.

But it is in the region of Comparative Mythology, above all, that Philology has run riot. Mythology offers a wide scope and many temptations for indulging in wild speculation. It was perhaps to be expected that the young science of language, full of youthful ardour and energy, and with boundless fields before it, would overrate its powers. The consequence was that large superstructures of theory were based on slender data, which advancing knowledge has demonstrated to be false and untenable.

The uses of Comparative Philology.

The case is different, however, with the later phases of the Greek and Latin languages. Here the changes in the meaning of words, and the testimony that they afford of a corresponding change of thought of which words were the outward expression, are unmistakable. While admitting, therefore, that in all cases mathematical certainty cannot be attained, the results may be considered as sufficiently decisive to offer a firm foundation to rest upon.

Survivals.

But we are not dependent for our information upon Philology alone. The science of Anthropology has helped to explain many customs apparently capricious and unreasonable, which are to be found even among the most civilized races. Some of these bear upon their surface the birthmarks of barbarism or even of savagery; others are not so easily explained. Who would have supposed that the hunting-whip placed on the coffin of a sportsman is due to the same feeling as that which prompted the Greek islander to bury his oar by a sailor's side? or that the custom of leading the caparisoned charger of the deceased at a general's obsequies is on a par with the Roman usage of immolating a horse on its owner's grave? Many such customs have come down to us from the classic Greeks and Italians. But those nations again in their turn inherited from an earlier age many of these practices that tell a tale of savagery.

Many modern customs derived from Greece and Italy.

The reason of the invincible tenacity with which such customs are preserved is not far to seek. There is inherent in the human mind a strong feeling of conservatism, especially with regard to things that are hallowed by tradition. The savage is the slave of innumerable precedents which determine every act and word, and it is in the domain of religion that this law operates most of all, according to the principle laid down by the Greek philosopher :—

Conservatism in popular usages.

Especially in the sphere of religion.

δεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ ῥηθῆναι τῶνδε ἕνεκα κατοικίζοντι πόλιν οὐτ' ἂν καινὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τις ποιῇ οὐτ' ἂν παλαιὰν διεφθαρμένην ἐπισκευάζηται, περὶ θεῶν γε καὶ ἱερῶν, ἅττα τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκάστοις ἰδρῦσθαι δεῖ καὶ ὄντων ἐπονομάζεσθαι θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρήσει κινεῖν νοῦν ἔχων . . . τούτων νομοθέτη τὸ σμικρότατον ἀπάντων οὐδὲν κινήσειον.¹

The historian Livy relates an incident which supplied food and fuel for the superstitious Romans, and illustrates the conservative feeling which so signally marked their character :—

“Eodem Appio auctore Potitii, gens cujus ad aram maximam Herculis familiare sacerdotium fuerat, servos publicos ministerii delegandi causa sollempnia ejus sacri docuerant : traditur inde dictu mirabile et quod dimovendis statu suo sacris religionem facere posset, quum duodecim familiæ ea tempestate Potitiorum essent, puberes ad triginta, omnes intra annum cum stirpe extinctos, nec nomen tantum Potitiorum interisse sed censorem etiam Appium memori deum ira post aliquot annos luminibus captum.”²

¹ Plato, *Laws*, v. 738, B. “These properties of number should be ascertained at leisure by those who are bound by law to know them ; for they are true, and should be proclaimed at the foundation of the city, with a view to use. Whether the legislator is establishing a new state, or restoring an old and decayed one, in respect of gods and temples—the temples which are to be built in each city, and the gods, or demi-gods, after whom they are to be called,—if he be a man of sense he will make no change in anything ; . . . The least part of these should not be disturbed by the legislator.”

² ix., c. 29. “By direction of the same Appius, the Potitian family, in which the office of priests attendant on the great altar of Hercules was hereditary, instructed some of the public servants in the rites of the solemnity, with the intention of delegating the office to them. A circumstance is recorded, wonderful to relate, one which should make people scrupulous of disturbing the established modes of religious solemnities ; for though there were, at that time, twelve branches of the Potitian family, all grown-up persons, to the number of thirty, yet they were every one, together with their offspring, cut off within the year ; so that the name of the Potitii became extinct, while the censor Appius also was, by the unrelenting wrath of the gods, some years after deprived of sight.”

In the
use of the
fire-drill

The fire-drill furnishes an instance of a popular usage dying hard. In Greece¹ and Italy the method of kindling a fire by means of driving a stick rapidly through a groove made in another piece of wood was probably common.² But when this primitive method was superseded by the use of the flint, in preparing the sacred fire or for other ceremonial purposes, the fire-drill continued to be employed. To this tradition Festus alludes when he speaks of the Vestal Virgins rekindling the sacred fire of which they were the guardians. He describes the wood employed as a *tabula felicis materiæ*.

and stone
knife.

The same conservative feeling dictated the custom of using a stone knife in certain sacrifices. Though knives made of metal had long been known, these survivals of the stone age were employed by preference. To the same sentiment may be ascribed the exclusion of salt from the sacrifice of victims, a regulation to which there is an allusion in a fragment preserved by Athenæus:—

Salt.

ὄθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν πρότερον μεμνημένοι
τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῖς θεοῖσιν ὀπτῶσι φλογί,
ἄλας οὐ προσάγοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὐδέποτε
εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην χρῆσιν ἐξευρημένοι.³

In law.

The following observance in the region of law affords another instance in point. When a murderer was put on his trial in an Athenian court of law, it was customary, up to a late period, to include the instrument with which the deed was committed in the culprit's condemnation. The formal pronouncement of the sentence on the axe or knife was a regular feature of legal procedure at Athens. To this feeling of conservatism, which is so marked a characteristic

¹ Called *πυρεῖα*. Cf. *τέρετρον*, *τύπανον*, and *terebrare*.

² The fire-drill is found in all parts of the world. The public museum in Dublin contains several interesting specimens.

³ xiv., § 81 (661), p. 92, Edit. Stereotyp. Lipsiæ, 1834. "Wherefore, even at this day, recollecting those that went before them, they roast the entrails with the flame to the gods, bringing no salt near, for it had not yet been discovered for such a purpose." Cf. Meineke, *Com. Fragm.* iv., p. 557; O. Schrader, *Reallex.* 701. The same prejudice survived in India: H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 413.

of early society, are to be ascribed many other anomalies that existed in the institutions of Greece and Rome. In short, the civilization of both countries is strewn with fragments of the superstitions of bygone ages, the origin of which had been forgotten. These had come to be regarded as mere symbols of former realities which later generations tried to veil or explain away.

It is natural to look to backward races or remote corners of the country for these relics of the past, and it is among such races and in such localities that we find them. The country districts of Greece and Italy clung to savage practices long after civilization had leavened the towns. Happily we possess the evidence of one who had seen many of these curiosities with his own eyes. For the remoter regions of Greece yielded an abundant harvest of such relics of barbarism to the antiquary and traveller Pausanias in the second century of the Christian era.¹ While they are profoundly interesting, they reveal an amount of credulity which would surprise us in a Maori or a Redskin.

Customs
die hardest
in rural
districts or
isolated
regions.
Greece.

The same condition of things seems to have obtained in Italy down to a late time. The truth of this statement is attested by the term *paganus*, which, from meaning countryman, afterwards came to bear the signification of pagan.² For while Christianity began to spread in the more populous centres,—indeed, after it had gained possession of the town,—a hundred dark customs of paganism lingered among the unprogressive peasantry who dwelt in remote valleys or on the desolate sea-coast.³ What, then, must have been the

Italy.

¹ Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, p. 257 (new edition).

² It would be interesting to know at what date the word began to mean "pagan." Dietz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1869, sub voc. *pagano*, seems to place it after the reign of Constantine the Great. "So hiessen die Bekenner des alten Götterdienstes, weil er sich seit Constantin d. gr. auf das platte Land hatte flüchten müssen." Cf. the German *heide*, Grimm, *Myth.*, 1198.

³ The old legends in Greece survive, veiled under Christian forms, at this day, stories relating to pagan heroes and gods being transferred

state of the inhabitants of sequestered districts, or the regions furthest from the Mediterranean in prehistoric ages?

to Christian saints. The exploits of Poseidon are credited to St. Nikola; the Blessed Virgin takes the place of Athene; and Elias is found to possess qualities in common with Helios, St. Paul with Herakles, and St. Dionysios with Dionysos. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, pp. 24, 25.

CHAPTER VII.

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE (CONTINUED).

It has been remarked incidentally, in speaking of language, that Myth is precarious ground on which to build theories in the study of civilization. Apart from the vague and shadowy character of the mythical periods of a nation's growth, the difficulty has been aggravated by the interpretations of myth that have been offered at various times. The science of Comparative Mythology has been dominated by successive schools. Thirty years ago the Sun-theory or Sun-myth was recommended as the open sesame of all mysteries in the region of Mythology. It was believed that the hero of many, if not most, of the Aryan myths was reducible to the Sun. According to this school of Comparative Mythologists the beautiful stories and the exquisite poetry to be found in the legendary lore of the Aryans were the result of decay. These legends began with the personification of natural phenomena. Every god and goddess, hero and demon, was a phase or an expression, it might be of the ever-changing firmament, or the many-twinkling smile of the sea.¹ Every object which men saw around them was endowed with life. When the sun set in soft light over the Western horizon it was believed that the dawn had come to soothe her spouse in his last hour. When the heavens withheld their rain, a dragon (men said) must have pent up the waters in a prison-house. Such was the simple language in which the primitive Aryan described the processes of nature. Afterwards the Aryan family broke up and carried with them a common

Myth as a source of evidence.

Former systems of Mythology.

Sun and sky myths.

Myth due to a disease of language.

¹ Æschylus, *Prom.* 90.

heritage of mythical tradition. In course of time this common property became corrupted. The original meaning of names for natural objects was forgotten; their agreeable features were distorted and too often disfigured, for they gave rise to gross and repulsive tales. Still, their earlier significance is not entirely lost to us, for where the Greek or Latin legend or language fails to supply the key, Sanskrit furnishes one. Phoroneus is clearly identical with the Indian god of fire, Bhuranyu; Hermes with Sarama; and the Phlegyai with the Bhrigu. Even where the exact explanation is not forthcoming, we need not feel any doubt about their interpretation. No longer does the sun decline and sink in the West; it is Selene coming to look on her beloved Endymion departing. No longer is the rain described as imprisoned in the clouds; it is the Sphinx which utters its dark sayings and is slain by Œdipus, the Sun. Such was said to be the explanation of all these myths, and not only the Sun-god, but the chief gods and goddesses, together with all the lesser deities that figured in their train, were thus cast into solution and melted away.

Ancestor-worship.

The theory that Ancestor-worship was the starting-point of religious beliefs usurped the place vacated by the Sun-myth, and has found able advocates. This idea was initiated by Mr. Herbert Spencer, and has been carried to absurd lengths. Thus Mr. Grant Allen committed himself to the opinion that a characteristic feature of the higher forms of religion was a "grotesque fungoid which clustered around the primeval thread of Ancestor-worship."¹ But this view is untenable as an explanation of social phenomena of so great an importance. The worship of ancestors does, indeed, play an important part in primitive religions (if what is practically a mere belief in ghosts may be dignified with the title of religion) that are to be met with among unprogressive races at the present day, for instance, in Australia.² Still, it

¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 28th, 1890. B. Kidd, *Social Evolution*, p. 23.

² Cf. A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, pp. 50, 51.

cannot be regarded as affording an adequate solution of the problem. Neither does Ancestor-worship any more than the Sun and Sky myth afford a sufficient basis to account for so universal a phenomenon.

Yet, used with caution, Comparative Mythology may render important service as an instrument in interpreting the past. The standpoint, however, from which myths in general are now regarded has shifted. Under the name of the Science of Folklore, Comparative Mythology now undertakes the interpretation not of the legends of one race alone, but compares the traditions of several races, finally taking into consideration the myths of the most widely separated countries. Thus, as will appear in the sequel, many of the legends of Greece and Italy find their counterpart among races who, though still left on a low level of culture, yet possess in varying degrees the mythopœic faculty. The following instance will serve to make the matter clear. The legend ran that the Greek god Zeus having heard that Metis, his consort, would bear a child greater than himself, determined to compass its destruction. He persuaded his wife to assume the form of a fly, and then treacherously swallowed her. Not long afterwards Athene was born out of his head.¹ The same story is told by the Greek poet Hesiod.² It bears upon its surface marks of having originated in an early and barbarous age.³ To this myth a parallel is offered by birth legends that occur in Scandinavia, in Mangaia, in Algonkin fable, and in Buddhist tradition,⁴ while a similar deception is practised by characters who appear in the *Arabian Nights*, and in the adventures of Taliesin of Wales.

Still Comparative Mythology is a valuable auxiliary.

Science of Folklore.

The diffusion of myth.

Parallelism in legends.

¹ The birth of Athene forms the subject of one of the pictures on a well-known Greek vase in the British Museum, B. 244. There Zeus is portrayed as wearing female dress.

² It is not told by Homer. Cf. the Scholiast on Hesiod, *Theogony*, 885.

³ "*Antiquitatem arguit ipsa figmenti cruda indigesta et agrestis indoles.*" C. H. Heyne.

⁴ So also in an old Irish version of the story of the Gospel. See *Sat. Rev.*, July 2nd, 1887.

Incidental
value of
myths

as evi-
dence of
civiliza-
tion.

Culture
legends.

The legend
of Prom-
etheus

But this is not all that Myths have to tell. Apart from the interest that attaches to the parallelism presented by the folklore of races widely distant and utterly different in most respects, and apart from the interesting way in which folklore mirrors the habits of thought and feeling in a primitive age, it incidentally furnishes an insight into the growth of civilization and chronicles its successive stages. To this head may be referred the "Culture legends" with which we meet in the legendary periods of various countries. Unable to comprehend the organic growth of their culture, whether material, moral or religious, the ancestors of the Greek and the Italian alike attributed many of their institutions to individual heroes or gods, around whom, in consequence, a halo of veneration has gathered in the minds of men.

The myth of Prometheus belongs to that class. Among the highly interesting features that this legend¹ contains, are the services rendered by this descendant of the Titans to suffering mankind. They are recounted in a memorable passage of Æschylus's *Prometheus Bound*.² The god is represented as teaching men architecture, astronomy, writing, medicine, and the art of working in metals.³ The poet doubtless here adds new features to the original legend. To the earliest version probably belongs the story of this hero stealing fire in a hollow tube from the father of the gods for the benefit of mortals:—

ναρθκοπλήρωτον δὲ θηρώμαι πυρὸς
πηγὴν κλοπαίαν, ἣ διδάσκαλος τέχνης
πάσης βροτοῖς πέφηνε καὶ μέγας πόρος.⁴

¹ For example, his creation of men out of earth and water (Apollodor. i. 7, 1) and his advice to Deucalion to build a ship (Apollodor. i. 7, 2).

² Lines 441-506 (Dindorf).

³ Cf. the passage from Moschion quoted by Stobæus, from which some lines are cited in Ch. I., p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* 109. "I obtained by stealth the source of fire, stored away in a fennel stalk; (that little spark) which has proved to mankind the teacher of every art and their great resource."—(PALEY, *transl.*). The speaker, Prometheus, seems to regard the pith as tinder. The modern Greeks use fennel as a means of transferring fire.

In all probability we have embodied here the discovery of the fire-drill which marked an epoch in the history of the human race.¹

Under the same category of legendary personages whose names are associated with the growth of civilization, falls the Asiatic immigrant, Cadmus. This name, too, formed a centre around which numerous legends crystallized. Many of them are purely fanciful, but they are all full of interest, as suggesting the quarter from which, as modern research has shown, many elements of European civilization have been derived. Greek writers are unanimous in regarding him as a Phœnician by birth; and certainly the customs and institutions imported by him are just those which are now commonly credited to the Phœnician race. He introduced from Egypt or Phœnicia an alphabet of sixteen letters.² He was the first to work the mines of Mount Pangæus in Thrace, and the Phœnicians, as we know, excelled in the art of mining. From him, thinks Herodotus, Melampus learnt the worship of Dionysos, which bears traces of an Oriental origin.³ These legends are specimens of a common class which embody widespread movements in persons and ascribe the foundation of institutions to individuals. The heroes who form their central figures are probably to be ranged with the Egyptian Toth, the Athenian Dædalus, and other reputed benefactors of the human race.

and Cad-
mus.

Similar
legends in
other
countries.

¹ The Indian tradition relating to Agni, the fire-god, bears some resemblance to the above story. The gods chose one of themselves to live on earth, an immortal among mortals—Agni, a friend to men. Born of the skybillows (the clouds), he came first down to earth as lightning, and when he again disappeared, Mâtariçvan, half god, half man, brought him back to men, to the Bhrigu (Φλεγύαι). Ever since then the Bhrigu can bring him back again. In many hymns he is celebrated as the child of the two pieces of wood, who are called his parents.—A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 50. Προμηθεύς is probably to be equated with the Sanskrit *pramantha*, or fire-drill. A Zeus Προμανθεύς, was worshipped at Thurii. Cf. the verb *manth*, used to express the motion of the hand in the operation of kindling fire. See A. Kaegi, note 121, and A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 36.

² Herodot. v. 58; Diodor. iii. 67, v. 57.

³ Herodot. ii. 49. Cf. Eurip., *Bacchæ*, 181.

The evidence of Classical Archæology.

Recent discoveries.

Greece.

The sources of evidence on which we have hitherto dwelt may perhaps appear too vague and impalpable to serve as a basis for a reconstruction of early society in Greece and Italy. We possess, however, testimony of a more concrete character, by which we are enabled to correct our conclusions. The last fifty years have witnessed an important advance in the study of Classical Archæology, in the more technical or narrower sense of the term. The success that attended Schliemann's lifelong devotion to the pursuit of investigations at Troy, Mycenæ, Tiryns and Orchomenos,¹ communicated an important impulse to the explorers of classic sites; for while a few of his conclusions have from time to time been reversed or revised by later discoveries, he achieved results of the utmost importance. His work has been carried on by Dr. Tsountas, and every year adds fresh acquisitions to the stores of prehistoric Archæology.

Italy.

Lake-dwellings.

One of the most fascinating fields of study opened up lies in the region of the Po, where the lake-dwellings of the Terremare have been brought to light. These remarkable structures are by no means limited to Italy, for they are to be found, either isolated or grouped together, in both hemispheres, in countries as widely separated as the Indian islands, Asia Minor, Colchis, Poland, Mecklenburg, Bavaria, Austria, France, Switzerland and Britain. Their origin and the character of their occupants are not easily determined, but doubtless they possessed many features in common with the lake-dwellings that have been seen and described by geographers, for example, among the Aryan Pæonians. The historian Herodotus thus describes their manner of living:—

ἰκρία ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξευγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔστηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου στενὴν ἔχοντα μὴ γεφύρῃ· τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἰκρίοισι τὸ μὲν κού ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ πολίται μετὰ δὲ, νόμῳ χρωόμενοι ἰστᾶσι τοιῶδε· κομίζοντες ἐξ οὐρεος,

¹ The results are recorded in his works, *Mycenæ*, 1878, *Ilios*, 1880, *Orchomenos*, 1881, and *Tiryns*, 1886.

τῷ ὄνομά ἐστι Ὀρβηλος, κατὰ γυναῖκα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησι ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συχνὰς γυναῖκας. οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἰκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν ἧ διαίτῃται, καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἰκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην· τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δεοῦσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτω, μὴ κατακυλισθῆ δειμαίνοντες· τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς, κ.τ.λ.¹

This, at any rate, is tolerably clear, that their occupants resorted to this expedient for the sake of safety, and so keenly was the necessity of some such precaution felt, that in dry countries marshes were artificially constructed as a refuge from the attacks of wild beasts and wilder men.

There is no reason to suppose that the lake-dwellings of the Terremare were unique as regards Italy. However that may be, the pile-dwellings in the Terremare are replete with interest. Until recently the descent of the occupants has been open to doubt. Pigorini and Strobel had ascribed these dwellings to the Celts. But Pigorini recanted his opinion and confessed his inability to trace the racial connection. That they were mainly Italic by extraction was regarded by Helbig and Nissen² as well established, though there may have been an admixture of an earlier

The inhabitants probably Aryan in the main.

¹ v. 16. "Platforms supported upon tall piles stand in the middle of the lake, which are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge. At the first the piles which bear up the platforms were fixed in their places by the whole body of citizens, but since that time the custom which has prevailed about fixing them is this: they are brought from a hill called Orbelus, and every man drives in three for each wife that he marries. Now the men have all many wives apiece; and this is the way in which they live. Each has his own hut, wherein he dwells, upon one of the platforms, and each has also a trapdoor giving access to the lake beneath; and their wont is to tie their baby children by the foot with a string to save them from rolling into the water. They feed their horses and their other beasts on fish. . . ."—(RAWLINSON, *transl.*)

For an exactly similar description of life on the marshes of the Nile, see Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, i. 11. According to Marco Polo (p. 330) a similar practice obtained on the coast of Hadramaut. For the differences between the lake-dwellings of the Po and those in Germany, see Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 44.

² Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, pp. 40, 41; Nissen, *Das Templum*, p. 99. The latter thinks that the Italians, on their immigration into the Apennine Peninsula, halted on the plain of the Po, and there laid the foundations of their peculiar national development.

population of whom the Ligurians were survivors.¹ Professor Ridgeway² attributes the pile dwellings altogether to the Ligurians.

Their mode
of life.

To turn to their occupations and habits, they apparently practised husbandry, cultivated the vine and paid more attention to cattle-rearing than to the chase. In the matter of food, weapons and personal cleanliness they probably stood upon the same level as the Germans so vividly portrayed by Tacitus in his *Germania*.³

Wealth of
material in
Greece.

If positive proofs of the existence of pile-dwellings in Greece itself are wanting, in other material Greece is remarkably rich, and it is to Greece that the attention of investigators has been principally directed. Archæology furnishes abundant evidence there of the gradual growth of civilization from a low level to the eminence that it afterwards attained.

Pausanias.

Happily, the traveller Pausanias's records of his tours through Greece in the first century of our era are still extant, and his book sheds a flood of light on the relics of barbarism that survived to his day. Such, for example, are the blocks of wood which are frequently referred to in his narrative. They hardly rise above the fetishes of the modern negro.⁴ As the native of the South Pacific islands will bring offerings of food to a block of pumice-stone, which he regards as the god of wind and waves, so the Thespians in Greece worshipped a stone named Eros.⁵ As the African rubs his fetish stone with ochre, so the faces of the gilded Dionysi at Corinth were smeared with cinnabar, and the superstitious man described in Theophrastus's

Relics of
barbarism
in
Pausanias.

Fetish
stones.

¹ Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen, 1896, p. 43. Similar strata of previous populations were the Siculi in Sicily, the Etruscans in Italy, the Iberians in Spain, and the Picts in Britain.

² *The Early Age of Greece*, vol. i., p. 355.

³ Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 41.

⁴ A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, pp. 303, 304. See De Brosses *Du Culte des Dieux Fétiches*, 1760, p. 150.

⁵ A. Lang, *Ibid.*, p. 275.

Characters would anoint the sacred stones with oil.¹ Indeed, instances of such fetishes and the customs connected with them might be multiplied in plenty. "Among all the Greeks," says Pausanias, "in the oldest times rude stones were worshipped in place of statues." It may be added that these were to the very last regarded with the deepest reverence as possessing a sanctity superior to that of the masterpieces of after ages.

The same author's writings reveal to us the gradual process by which the statues of Greek gods developed from these rude blocks to the works of art of the palmy days of Greece, the like of which history has not again to show. To the anthropologist the whole question of their progress is profoundly interesting from many points of view. It affords conclusive evidence of the rude, nay savage, state that marked the earliest history of the most cultured races of mankind. Thus, as we see from the pages of Pausanias, the earliest idols were mere blocks of wood and stone. But in Greece, as in Egypt, the sculptor was hampered by religious restrictions, for primitive thought flowed in well-worn channels. These limitations were in time broken through, and a life-like expression was given to the statues of Greek deities. The successive stages of progress from shapeless blocks to shapely statues may be traced by the aid of such collections as that arranged in chronological order in the archæological museum at Cambridge.

First, in order of development, appear the rude stones, the "oldest gods," as Pausanias calls them. Under this category would have fallen the large stone which, as tradition told, had been swallowed and disgorged by Cronos. It was preserved in the precincts of the Oracle at Delphi. The next step was to express the attributes of the deity. This was accomplished by sculpturing an image of the head, perhaps to denote the intellectual qualities.

The stages in the growth of Greek statuary.

Religion and art.

Religious conservatism.

The "oldest gods" were rude blocks of stone.

A compromise effected, by forming only the head.

¹ A. Lang, *Ibid.*, p. 274. Cf. Granger, *The Worship of the Romans*, p. 145.

Hence arose the terminal bust, which for religious reasons remained in fashion long after the art of sculpturing the full figure was brought to perfection.

Such idols are particularly interesting from another standpoint, as illustrating the gradual adoption of various material to work upon. First appear the rude objects in stone, of which mention has already been made. Next in the ascending scale occurs the wooden idol, a rude representation of some beast-headed god or goddess. These zoomorphic figures have the shape of the lower animals or the head and neck alone.¹ Such are the horse-headed Demeter of Phigalia, the cuckoo Hera, the Artemis with the fish's tail, the Zeus with the three eyes, productions which forcibly recall the pictures to be found on the walls of sacred caves among the Bushmen.² The adoption of bronze marks a third epoch in the history of the development of the Greek idol. The final stage was reached in the employment of marble and the combination of gold and ivory, which was seen to perfection in the Athene of Pheidias. Such were the successive steps in the growth of the statue of the Greek gods, but the development extended over a long period of time. Although the advance from these rude objects in wood and stone to the anthropomorphic works in marble or gold and ivory was immeasurable, yet the oldest representations retained their original sanctity; Zeus Kappotas, the fetish stone of the Argives, was as holy an object as the Zeus of Pheidias.

We pass on to the last source of evidence that calls for mention. The argument from analogy necessarily holds an important place in an inquiry of this kind, and the study of parallel customs in other countries forms an invaluable instrument in investigating the history of the earliest ages of Greece and Italy.

To a large extent the nations generally classed as Aryan consist at the present time of an amalgam of racial elements

Develop-
ment of
technique.

Blocks of
stone.

Wood.

Bronze.

Marble
and chry-
s-elephan-
tine
statues.

The evi-
dence of
parallel
usages.

Modern
"Aryans"
not pure
races.

¹ A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 275.

and must have lost some of their original characteristics. However that may be, the pure Aryan element sustained an important rôle in moulding the institutions and shaping the destinies of Europe. It impressed itself deeply upon the races with whom it came into contact, first colliding and intersecting, then intermingling and combining with them.

But the Aryan element was a powerful agent.

What light may be thrown by the customs of one country upon those of another may be seen, for example, in Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*. The author has traced to their common source in the classic periods of Greece and Rome, or even in an earlier age, many medieval institutions, usages and beliefs which live on still in modern Germany.

German customs.

But the analogy of India is perhaps the most pertinent of all, because of its wealth of material and its conservative character, to which we owe the preservation of a large number of interesting customs. The learned treatise by Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*,¹ reveals the remarkable resemblances that exist between India, on the one hand, and Greece and Italy on the other. No less valuable are Leist's *Græco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, *Altarisches Jus gentium*,² and *Altarisches Jus civile*.³ Dealing mainly with the rise of legal institutions, and marked by a clearness and lawyer-like precision, they serve to show what a vast field India opens up to the anthropologist.

India, a comparison,

But this is not all. India, while presenting many parallels, is also valuable by way of contrast, as illustrating the case of a nation stopping short in its development and lagging behind in the march of civilization. For while the Indian remained stationary, stunted and stereotyped, the Greek and the Roman, each after his own fashion, attained to a high pitch of perfection.

and a contrast.

Its arrested development.

Nor are savage races without their use in an investigation of this kind. It has, indeed, sometimes happened that too much stress has been laid upon the evidence of savage customs; whilst ethnological psychology, as it is called,

Ethnological psychology.

Savage races,

¹ Berlin, 1879.

² Jena, 1884 and 1889.

³ Jena, 1892, 1896.

how far
useful as
evidence.

involves us in the most intricate, if not insoluble problems. But they need not detain us here. Whether the first men were like existing savages, whether we are to recognize in the savages of the present day a resemblance to the first ancestors of our race, whether their superstitions represent the earliest phases of the mythology and religion of the Aryan or Semitic races,—on these points it is not necessary to dogmatize. Still, this does not imply that the savage has nothing to tell which may help us to understand the anomalies existing in the civilization of those races which, in most respects, are centuries in advance of him. Sometimes a custom found on Greek or Italian soil, viewed in its isolation, has baffled comprehension until it has become intelligible in the light of practices observed by rude races of the present day. The solution of the point will appear still more conclusive if, as often happens, a mean term can be discovered, such as the retention of the usage among unprogressive classes of people in a civilized country. The value of the testimony derived from races who are still in the savage state will become evident as we proceed. We may conclude this chapter with one illustration. It relates to a curious custom that obtained in Sparta, the most conservative of Greek states. The tradition is preserved in the legends relating to the mystical goddess, the Taurian Artemis. When Iphigeneia and Orestes returned from Tauris (the modern Crimea), they brought back with them the image of the goddess of that region. Accustomed to identify foreign deities with those of native origin, the Athenians admitted her to their Pantheon and, under the name of the Brauronian Artemis, her cult was established in Attica. Ultimately the worship of the goddess found its way to Sparta. There, with the appellation Artemis Orthia, her worship took deep root, and was attended by the following observances, as described by Pausanias. But the historian shall speak for himself:—

καί σφισιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γίνεται λόγιον αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν αἰμάσσειν· θυομένον δὲ ὄντινα ὁ κληῖρος ἐπελάμβανε, Λυκοῦργος μετέβαλεν

ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις μάλιστα, ἐμπίπλαται τε οὕτως ἀνθρώπων αἵματι ὁ βωμός. Ἡ δὲ ἱερεία τὸ ξόανον ἔχουσα σφίωιν ἐφέστηκε.¹

That this extraordinary rite was observed among the Mandans, Hottentots, and Australian aborigines is well known.² But the story may possess a deeper significance. The precise import of the custom is not easy to determine positively. Pausanias himself, following an ancient tradition, avers that it is a survival of human sacrifice which was practised at Tauris, the original seat of the worship of the Brauronian Artemis, and he relates a story which accounts for the change. Dr. Frazer dissents, and sees in it merely an ordeal or purifying ceremony which youths underwent on attaining to manhood. He supports this view with facts and parallels drawn from many parts of the globe. It may be, however, that Pausanias has some truth on his side. Artemis was the goddess of death. It is an attractive supposition that we have here another of the substitutes for human sacrifice which are often met with in Italy as well as in Greece. In the worship of Bellona the priests made incisions on their shoulders, and carried drawn swords in their hands, grasping them by the blade.³ Their blood was sprinkled upon the image of the goddess, and used in the sacrifice. It is possible, therefore, that the custom was retained as a symbol of a former reality. No longer is a life required; blood appeases the goddess of death.

¹ iii. c. xvi. "Thereupon they were bidden by an oracle to wet the altar with human blood. A man upon whom the lot fell was sacrificed, but Lycurgus changed the custom into that of scourging the lads, and so the altar reeks with human blood. The priestess stands by them holding the wooden image."—(FRAZER, *transl.*)

² Cf. A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, p. 270.

³ Lactant. i. 21.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE METALS.

The material civilization of Greek and Italic races.

ALTHOUGH our main object is to trace the development of thought in Greece and Italy in a Prehistoric Age, yet we cannot altogether dispense with a discussion of the material side of their civilization. For these external aspects of Greek and Italian life form, as it were, a background to the picture of primeval barbarism, and, moreover, bear an intimate relation to the ideas of the two races. Therefore, in order to comprehend clearly the position that these races or their ancestors occupied in the path of civilization, and their connection with other branches of the human race, it will be well at the outset to state approximately the point of time at which the Aryans appear upon the scene of the world's history.

The evidence of implements, weapons and ornaments.

To ascertain the period at which they first present themselves to view two methods may be employed. We may appeal to the evidence of Geology and Anthropology (in the stricter sense of that term), and see what material was used for implements, weapons and ornaments, so far as the explorations of dwellings, tombs and other ruins are able to enlighten us. The testimony of Geology and Anthropology concurs in showing that, as a rule, countries and races widely separated from each other passed in succession through the same stages of development, the Ages of Stone, of Bronze, and of Iron. Not that all races, without exception, follow this exact order, for from a variety of causes the progress of some races and countries has been arrested, diverted, or modified. Dr. Tylor¹ has recently shown that in Tasmania the Palaeo-

The Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron.

¹ Report of the British Association, 1900, p. 897.

lithic Age lasted till the English colonization, and so passed directly into the Iron Age. But such cases are exceptional, and a general survey of the course of civilization establishes the following law: the higher the civilization the more rapid is the development.

The higher the civilization the more rapid the development.

The remotest point in human history of which we possess any trustworthy knowledge is the Stone Age.

The successive ages in Mid-Europe

This embraces three periods, the earliest, when animals which are now extinct lived on this planet, and rough weapons of stone were in use. The middle period is that to which the name of the Reindeer Age has been given, when graving and modelling were introduced. The next period, namely the Neolithic or ground-stone Age, marks an important advance.

Stone ages: palaeolithic or period of unground stone: the reindeer period: the neolithic or period of ground stone.

The available evidence for the Palaeolithic Age shows that at that period the standard of attainment in the arts of life was a low one. Weapons and instruments were made of unground stone or bone or horn, and differed but little from each other. Animals which were afterwards unknown, the mammoth, the cave bear, the hyena, roamed at will in the aboriginal forests of Europe, and disputed the supremacy of man. Hunting and fishing furnished the chief means of subsistence. No houses were built, and caves or overhanging cliffs afforded the only shelter; no burial rites were practised; no pottery was used. Altogether, the conditions of life probably corresponded, roughly speaking, to the state of the Fenni, a German race, depicted by Tacitus:—

Life in the palaeolithic period.

Mira feritas, foeda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus. Sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopia ferri, ossibus asperant.¹

Yet with all this Palaeolithic man—especially in the middle or Reindeer period—afforded indications of the possession of an artistic instinct little in keeping with his sordid

¹ *Germ.* i. 46. "They are distinguished by a wonderful fierceness, a disgusting poverty; they have no arms, no horses, no household gods; they feed on grass, they clothe themselves with skins and sleep on the ground. Their only hope lies in their arrows, which, for want of iron, they point with bones."

surroundings. The rude sketches discovered on ivory of human beings present a curious anomaly with the presumed conditions of that age. Such relics had been brought to light in Europe, and baffled the comprehension of investigators, till it was found that races of the present day, in other respects backward and unprogressive, display an artistic power of a high degree.

And in the Neolithic Age.

The transition to the Neolithic Age marked an important step forward. Unlike his predecessors, Neolithic man ground and polished his weapons and implements; he bred animals; he cultivated plants; he achieved a rudimentary knowledge of the arts of baking, grinding, and weaving; and he buried his dead. Thus in most respects the Neolithic Age surpassed the Palæolithic, but, as will be seen presently, the aesthetic instinct remained in abeyance or disappeared from view during that period.

The Aryans appear for the first time in the Neolithic Period.

The evidence is conclusive in favour of referring the earliest Aryan culture in the main to the Neolithic Age, but at a stage when copper was beginning to be known. The transition from the Palæolithic to the Neolithic Age is involved in obscurity. That the Neolithic culture was introduced by an influx of new inhabitants appears probable. Dr. Schrader's opinion, based upon a close study of linguistic, archæological, and ethnological evidence, is of the utmost weight in this connection. He conjectures¹ that somewhere, perhaps on the border of Asia and Europe, the Aryans formed one people, and spoke one and the same speech. Under the influence of the oldest civilizations of the East, they exchanged Palæolithic for Neolithic conditions. This, however, as the author himself observes, is incapable of proof.

The Stone Age has left its impress upon language in various ways. That the original hammer was made of stone (probably differing but slightly from the axe and the hatchet) is indicated by the following group of words; the Sanskrit *ācman*, (1) "stone," (2) "thunderbolt," the Greek *ἄκμων*,

Traces of the Stone Age in language and mythology.

¹ *Realex.*, p. 825.

“anvil,”¹ the Old High German *hamar*, which in Old Norse still bears the meaning of “rock,” the Old Slovenic *kamenj*, “stone,” and probably the English and German “hammer.” Nor is mythology silent upon the point; the chief gods in various myths are armed with the hammer; the Indian Indra wields the *ácman*, the Greek Zeus the *ἄκμων*, and the Scandinavian Thor the hammer.

There is not like lead. But the hammer beats it.

These conclusions derive additional weight from the evidence of prehistoric archæology. Survivals of the use of stone are found from time to time in various parts of the globe. From the tombs at Mycenæ Dr. Schliemann brought to light stone arrow-heads which were found lying side by side with rich and artistic objects of gold. In Asia Minor, upon the supposed site of ancient Troy, he made the discovery that a people who used stone implements succeeded a people who used bronze. In Italy instances abound. Reference has already been made to the use of stone implements in religious ceremonies in that country long after the use of metal became general. The reason for the continuance is not far to seek. It was dictated by a feeling of conservatism, which is specially potent in the domain of religion, and aimed at the preservation of the time-honoured traditions of the Roman in all their integrity. Such was the use of the hatchet by the *fetiales*, the well-known college of priests, at the conclusion of a treaty with an enemy. In such cases custom prescribed the use of a stone instrument (*silex*).

And in prehistoric remains.

This view of the survival of stone far into the age of metal is reinforced by the testimony of history. We learn from Herodotus that some of the soldiers in Xerxes's expedition against Greece were armed with weapons of stone. Nay, among some German and Italic races the use of stone has in isolated cases come into contact with the use of gunpowder.

In history.

The introduction of the metals marks a departure of the highest importance. It exerted a profound influence upon

The metals.

¹ Cf. Hesiod., *Theog.* 722 and 724. *χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανόθεν κατιών*, perhaps a reference to a meteoric stone.

the growth of culture, and suggests some reflections of surpassing interest. First of all, we are led to inquire as to the source whence metals reached the Aryans; and the evidence points to the East, the home of mechanical contrivances. No doubt some sporadic attempts were made upon European soil to utilize the metals, but generally speaking the movement probably originated outside the borders of Europe. The derivation of the practices from the East is suggested by myth. Many legends relating to metallurgy lend colour to the idea that Europe owed its knowledge of the art of smelting and working in metal to previous strata of population, but whether these strata were Eastern or European, is a matter of uncertainty. The invention of the art of smelting was popularly ascribed to various mythical personages. Such were the Dactyli of Mount Ida in Phrygia, and the Telchines, who made the sickle of Cronos and the trident of Poseidon. Both groups of these fabulous beings have been pronounced to be Phoenician, perhaps with insufficient reason. Such also were the Curetes and the Cabiri, with whom the Dactyli were identified, mystic divinities, who figure in various parts of the ancient world. All these were invested in the popular imagination with supernatural powers; they were sorcerers or envious demons,¹ or the originators of formulae of incantation.² When it is borne in mind that in Greece, as in other countries, previous inhabitants were often credited by their successors with supernatural powers, and became transformed by the popular fancy into giants, elves or fairies, there is reason to think that in these legendary beings dim reminiscences survive of previous occupants of the country.³ But whether they were only an earlier stratum or of Eastern descent it is impossible

Probably
the use of
them an
Eastern
invention.

The
evidence of
myth.

¹ Eustath. *ad Hom.*, p. 941, and Suidas on *βάσκανοι καὶ γόητες*.

² The superstitious when seized with sudden fright would ward off the evil influence by pronouncing the names of the Dactyli. Plut., *De fac. in orb. Lun.* 30.

³ By a similar identification of the metallurgist and the magician, the Greek Fire-god Hephaistos was the maker of the *ægis* which possessed a magic influence. Cf. *Iliad* xviii. 417-421.

to determine positively, although there is evidence which may help towards a decision upon the point.

It has been shown by R. Andree¹ that a knowledge of the art of mining is not confined to civilized races. This statement is borne out by classical traditions relating to the Chalybes² and Tibareni,³ whose dwelling-place lay between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and who, though in other respects unprogressive, from an early time were credited with remarkable skill in the production of steel. Nor is evidence wanting of such knowledge in the North of Europe⁴ and in the Iberian peninsula at an early time.⁵

The art of mining not unknown among backward races.

The evidence of tradition.

But another explanation is possible. The fame enjoyed by the Phœnicians in this branch of industry has already been discussed. In antiquity they were credited with the invention of mining operations. Many of the sites on the Mediterranean,⁶ which they occupied, retain traces of extensive exploration by Phœnician miners. Dr. H. Lewy finds in the word *Ἰσπανία*, "Spain," the same root as the Hebrew *šāfan*, to "dig" or "mine." The Phœnicians are known to have exploited minerals in the silver-producing region of south-eastern Spain. Elements of the same word *šāfan*, to "dig,"⁷ probably survive in the name of *Σίφνος*, one of the Cyclades, where gold and silver mines were found.⁸ The name *Τεμέση* also suggests a Semitic connection. One place bearing this name was situated in the country of the Bruttii, and traces of copper mines have been discovered there.⁹ Tamassos occurs in Cyprus, and is also rich in ore.¹⁰ The name has doubtless been correctly explained by Grasberger¹¹ to mean "melting house." The author does not stand alone in this view. Dr. Lewy gives his adhesion.¹²

The Phœnicians were skilled miners.

Words for Semitic metals as elements in place names.

¹ *Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern*, Leipzig, 1884. ² Herod. i. 28.

³ Ezekiel xxvii. 13. ⁴ Cf. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 69.

⁵ Cf. Much, *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*, p. 248.

⁶ Their mines at Thasos are described by Herod. vi. 47.

⁷ Cf. *šāfūn*, "treasure."

⁸ Herod. iii. 57; J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 38.

⁹ Strabo, vi., p. 55. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* xiv., p. 684. ¹¹ *Ortsnamen*, p. 209.

¹² Cf. Hebrew *temes*, "melt," from the root *māsas*.

In view, then, of the predominance of the Phœnicians as miners in the capes and islands of the Mediterranean, it may well be that the legends of the Dactyli and the Telchines refer to Semitic corporations.

Perhaps the Phœnicians only introduced new methods of mining.

But a third explanation is admissible. Dr. Schrader has pointed out that the Phœnicians on their settlement in Spain found ready to their hand quantities of silver ore, for which they bartered with the inhabitants. Of these negotiations Diodorus speaks in the following passage. The writer mentions the discovery of ore through a forest fire. The conflagration raged for many days (whence the name Pyrenees, πῦρ being the Greek for fire),¹ and in consequence streams of molten silver flowed from the earth. Alive to the prospects of wealth, the Phœnicians stepped in:—

τῆς δὲ τούτου χρείας ἀγνοουμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἐμπορίαις χρωμένους καὶ τὸ γεγονός μαθόντας ἀγοράζειν τὸν ἀργυρον μικρᾶς τινοῦ ἀντιδόσεως ἄλλων φορτίων. Διὸ δὴ τοὺς Φοίνικας μετακομίζοντας εἰς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ἔβην μεγάλους περιποίησθαι πλούτους.²

It is not improbable, therefore, that the Phœnicians improved upon the primitive methods that they found already in vogue, and as a result were enabled to work the mines to greater profit.

The chronological order in which the metal came into use has been recorded by Lucretius:—

The three ages of metal.

arma antiqua manus unguēs dentesque fuerunt
et lapides et item siluarum fragmina rami,
et flamma atque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum.
posterius ferri vis est aerisque reperta.
et prior aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus,
quo facilis magis est natura et copia maior.³

¹ Cf. Lucret. v. 1252.

² V. 35. "As the natives were ignorant of its use, the Phœnicians who traded by sea and learnt what had happened, bought the silver by giving a trifling quantity of other merchandise in exchange. The Phœnicians consequently transported their purchase to Greece, to Asia, and to all other nations, and gained great wealth." Cf. Strabo iii., p. 147, and Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 170.

³ *De Nat. Rer.*, v. 1282. "Arms of old were hands, nails, and teeth, and stones, and boughs broken off from the forests, and flame and fire,

The correctness of this classification was established by C. J. Thomsen in his work *Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed*.¹ Though the principle admits of exceptions, since, as will appear in the sequel, these ages of metal overlap, it may be adopted as a convenient method of arranging archæological objects.

That the Aryans before their separation were acquainted with one metal is seen from their possession of a word in common; Sanskrit *áyas*, (1) "metal," (2) "iron"; the old Latin *ais* (gen. *ais-is*), *aes*, "metal," "bronze," and the Gothic *aiz*. The idea of brightness underlies these words, and is also found in the German *eisen*, "iron"; *erz*, copper; the English *iron*; the Latin *aurum*, gold.² The fluctuation and growth of meaning is discernible in the Latin *aes*, which was used to denote any crude metal except gold and silver. In order to distinguish copper from the other metals to which it was applied, *Cyprium* ("of Cyprus") was added to *aes*, because Cyprus was famous for its production. Afterwards *aes* bore the meaning of bronze.³

Vagueness of the early words for metal.

The term was doubtless applied originally to raw copper. Copper. For it has been shown conclusively by M. Much⁴ that many races in the Neolithic Age in Europe had some acquaintance with the art of smelting copper, as is proved by the survival of objects, such as weapons, which bear evidence of having been smelted.⁵

as soon as they had become known. Afterwards the force of iron and copper was discovered, and the use of copper was known before that of iron, as its nature is easier to work and it is found in greater quantity.—(MUNRO, *transl.*)

¹ Kjöbenhavn, 1836.

² So too, Irish *iarn*, iron (from *is-arn*); Welsh *haiarn*; Corn. *hoern*; Armor. *hoiarn*; A.S. *isern*; Eng. *iron*; A.S. *ar*, bronze; Eng. *ore*. The same idea is seen in a word which has no etymological connection with the above, viz., the Sumerian-Accadian name for bronze, *sabar*. P. Jensen, *Zeitung für Assyriologie*, i. 255.

³ Brass, as an alloy of copper and zinc, was hardly known.

⁴ *Die Kupferzeit in Europa*, Jena, 1893.

⁵ Dr. Schrader points out that the commonest classes of copper weapons and implements, like the flat axe and the dagger, are just those instruments which bear kindred names. *Reallex.*, p. 491.

From
what
source
it was
derived.

The list of terms already quoted does not aid us in discovering the source from which copper was derived in the earliest times. For evidence concerning this point appeal must be made to another group of words: the Sanskrit *loha*, originally "copper"; the Modern Persian *rôî*, *rô*; the Old Slovenic *ruda*, "metal"; the Latin *raudus*, a piece of brass used as a coin;¹ and perhaps the Sumerian *urud*, "copper." Additional weight is lent to this presumption by comparing the two words for axe; the Sanskrit *paraçú*, and the Greek *πέλεκυς*. These words have been equated with the Sumerian *balag* and the Babylonian-Assyrian *pilakku*, which have the same meaning. To the above consideration may be added the evidence furnished by archæological discoveries in what is now assumed, with much probability, to have been the European home of the Aryans, namely the south-east of the Continent. Taken altogether, language and archæology point to the derivation of copper from the East.

Bronze.

The importation of copper marked an important advance. Yet more significant was the discovery of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin. During the Bronze Age weapons and ornaments of this metal predominate, but, as has been seen, not to the entire exclusion of other materials. In Greece and Italy, for reasons which will appear in the sequel, the Bronze Age lasted for a shorter time than in the North of Europe.

From
what
quarter
bronze
came.

The advent of bronze almost certainly found the Aryan races already differentiated from each other, and, generally speaking, already settled in their separate abodes. Here again we are led to inquire from what quarter this metal made its way into Europe. The answer seems to be the same as in the case of copper, and this opinion is based upon the evidence of language, archæology, and mythology.

Evidence
of
language.

There exists a magic hymn in Accadian-Sumerian to the fire-god Gibil.² He is there addressed as the mixer of

¹ Gloss, *Philox.*, χαλκὸς ἀνέργαστος, *rudus*.

² See F. Lenormant, *Les noms de l'airain et du cuivre*, Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch. vi. 346. Cf. F. Hommel, *Die Vorsemit. Kulturen*, pp. 277, 409, and Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 200.

copper and tin. In the Assyrian version it reads as follows:—

Sa erî u anaki muballilsunu atta sa sarpi hurasi
 Of copper and tin their mixer (art) thou, of silver (and) gold
 mudammiqsunu atta.
 their purifier (art) thou.¹

The testimony of language points in the same direction. When we bear in mind that, while races which evidently employed bronze had no distinctive name for it, and that the three metals, bronze, copper and tin, are distinguished in the Sumerian-Accadian vocabulary by the names *zabar*, *urudu*, and *anna*, we ought doubtless to look to that quarter for the introduction of this metal among Aryans. This conclusion becomes irresistible when it is found that these people are proved to have obtained tin from the land of Midian, and copper both from the natives of the Caucasus, and also from Mâkan, in Arabia.² But, whatever may have been the source from which bronze was derived, it is certain that its introduction marked an epoch in the history of civilization, and imparted a powerful impetus to the development of technical skill. But it took a long time for bronze to supersede stone. This is proved by the co-existence of stone and bronze implements, as, indeed, was to be expected at a time when the metals were scarce. With the growth of civilization, however, and the increase of wealth, metals became more common, and the advantages that they offered came to be more generally recognized. Reference has already been made to Schliemann's discovery in Greece of bronze and stone objects in juxtaposition, while Helbig has shown that the same is true of Italy.

The Iron Age was now at the door, and its advent marked Iron.

¹ The Accadian version runs:—

Urudu anna XiXibi zae men guskin kubabbar kurûgabi zae
 Copper tin their mixer thou art, gold silver their purifier thou
 men.
 art.

² For a full discussion of this point see Schrader, *Reallex.*, pp. 200, 201.

a most important advance in the use of metals. The poet Hesiod has chronicled the change :—

τοῖς δ' ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκεοι δέ τε οἴκοι,
χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.¹

Vagueness
of the
terms used
to denote
iron.

But as to the introduction of iron much uncertainty prevails. That iron was known in Egypt at least as early as 3500 B.C. is considered certain. It appears probable that in the structure of some words for iron there survives an element of the Sanskrit *áyas*, and the Latin *aes*.² As to Greece, the introduction of iron in legendary lore is attributed to the Dactyli of Mount Ida in Phrygia, of whom mention has been made in a previous passage. The tradition is preserved in a fragment of an epic poem :—

Whence
iron was
intro-
duced.

Evidence
of myth.

ἔνθα γόητες,
'Ιδαῖοι Φρύγες ἄνδρες ὀρέστεροι οἰκί' ἔβαιον,
Κέλμης, Δαρναμενεύς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἄκμων,
Εὐπάλαμοι θεράποντες ὀρείης Ἄδραστείης,
οἱ πρῶτοι τέχνην πολυμήτιος Ἥφαιστοῦ
εὖρον ἐν οὐρέησι νάπαις ἰόντα σίδηρον
ἔς πῦρ τ' ἤμεγακαν καὶ ἀριπρεπέες ἔργον ἔδειξαν.³

Greece.

So far as it is possible to judge from the remains brought to light by antiquaries, iron seems to have been rare in the Mycenæan period of Greece. When it did arrive it was brought from the North and the importation was doubtless

¹ *Works and Days*, p. 150. "These had arms of bronze and likewise bronze houses, and with bronze they wrought: but there was not yet dark iron."

² This view, however, does not commend itself to M. Much, who connects it with the Sanskrit *ishirâ-*, and the Greek *ίερός*, "strong," "sacred." But see Schrader, *Reallex.*, pp. 174, 175.

³ The *Phoronis*; cf. Schol. on Apoll., *Arg.* 1, 1126. "Here (or where) dwelt sorcerers, Phrygians of Ida, men of the mountains, Kelmis and Damnameneus, the great, and Akmon, ingenious servants of Adrasteia of the heights. They it was who first discovered the handicraft of Hephaistos the wise, violet-coloured (dark) iron, in the woody mountain glens, and introduced fire and showed a noble work." Cf. O. Müller, *Archäologie der Kunst*, 1835, p. 38. The derivation of *σίδηρος* is uncertain. It has been traced to (1) Sanskrit *svid-itâ*, "smelted"; (2) Σίδη, Σιδήμη in the north of Asia Minor, and Σιδαρῶς in Lycia; (3) Latin *sidus*, Lith. *sidabras*, German *silafar*; (4) Caucas. *zido*, "iron." Dr. Schrader inclines to (4), and the importance of the Caucasus in the history of metals is undoubted. See O. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 177.

due to the Dorians.¹ After their invasion iron came to be used in the manufacture of weapons and implements.

The story of the treaty which Porsena, King of Etruria, Italy, made with Rome argues for the wide use of iron at that time. The victor imposed upon the vanquished Romans a condition that iron should be employed for agricultural purposes alone.² Accordingly we are warranted in drawing the conclusion that the Romans were acquainted with it at the time of the foundation of the city. But, as in the case of other metals, the transition was only gradual. Bronze was still employed for ornaments and handles of weapons, and iron for the blades. The slow extension of the use of iron is reflected in an interesting manner by language, the faithful mirror of stages of civilization and chronicler of its changes. Even after the introduction of iron *χαλκεύς*, a "copper-smith" became the stereotyped name for blacksmith,³ and the word *χαλκός* continued to be used as a common prefix to proper names.

The transition reflected in language.

To the foregoing considerations another may be added. In Rome, where, as has been said before, the rules of religious ritual were observed to the letter, *more maiorum*, and the slightest deviation from the traditional formulæ was held to impair their efficacy, strict regulations enjoined the use of bronze in certain ceremonies. A bronze plough was employed in making the first furrow or outline of a city, known as *sulcus primigenius*. The Vestal Virgins were commanded to convey fresh fire in a bronze sieve,⁴ if by some misfortune the sacred fire of Vesta went out. The *Flamen Dialis*, or priest of Jupiter, was obliged to use a bronze razor. No iron nails were allowed to be used in the *Pons Sublicius* over the Tiber.

And in ritual.

¹ But see Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece* i., 549.

² *Ne ferro nisi in agri cultu uteretur*. Pliny, *H.N.*, xxxiv. 39.

³ Cf. *Odyss.* ix. 391; Herod. i. 68; iv. 200. In *Odyss.* iii. 432 it is used for goldsmith.

⁴ Festus, Müller, p. 106; Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 80.

CHAPTER IX.

HUNTING AND PASTORAL LIFE.

Influence
of occu-
pation.

WHEN we considered the environment of the Greek and Italic races at an early epoch of their history we arrived at the conclusion that their surroundings influenced their social and religious life in a marked manner. The same remark applies to their occupations in the successive stages of the growth of their civilization. But before proceeding to point out some features in their character which betray the effects of their material civilization, it may be well to indicate briefly the salient features of the three periods through which they passed.

Three
periods:
Hunting,
Pastoral,
Agricul-
tural.

The transi-
tion slow.

The collateral and cumulative evidences furnished by scattered allusions in Greek and Latin literature and archæology point to the existence of three stages in their manner of growth, characterized respectively by the pursuit of hunting, pasture and agriculture. For the sake of convenience these three periods in their growth may be distinguished from each other. But as a matter of fact no hard-and-fast line of demarcation can be drawn between these stages. Just as in the case of the Ages of stone, bronze and iron, so in the periods when hunting, pasture and agriculture prevailed, the transition was slow, one period overlapping the other. Faintest of all is the boundary between the life of the hunter and the life of the herdsman. The evidence for these remote ages is naturally scantier than for later times, rendering it doubly difficult to delineate the period systematically. So far, then, from being strongly marked and clear-cut periods, these stages probably occupied several centuries, and glided imperceptibly into one another. The lines in Vergil's *Æneid*, where the

poet describes the contingent of men-at-arms furnished by a hill-tribe, suggests the mode of transition from one occupation to another in primeval antiquity. They are hardy huntsmen from the hills, inhabiting a barren soil :—

“Horrida praecipue cui gens, adsuetaque multo
Venatu nemorum, duris Æquicola glæbis.
Armata terram exercent, semperque recentis
Convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.”¹

That the undifferentiated Aryans were not a race of Hunting. savages, of mere nomads and hunters will be admitted by everyone who is familiar with the earliest evidences of their character. Nevertheless, it is tolerably certain that they depended for their subsistence largely upon the chase, and that in a yet earlier time, which lies beyond the reach of human investigation, hunting furnished the staple article of food. However, we are not left without witnesses to their habits even in this earlier phase from which they emerged.

The existence of names for certain animals which could Names of
animals. not have been tamed at so early a time, and doubtless were hunted for the sake of food, is substantiated by words in Aryan languages which belong to a common inheritance bequeathed to them all. Among them appear the following :—

Of the names for animals of the reindeer class several are Deer. peculiarly interesting, inasmuch as they reveal the feature in the beast's appearance which arrested the attention of those who saw it for the first time. Such a word is the Latin *cervus*, stag; here the feature seized upon are the antlers; for *cervus* is connected with the Latin *cornu*, the Greek *κέρας*, and the Sanskrit *çringa*, all of which signify “horn.” Akin to them are the Old High German *hiruz*, Welsh *carw*, Old Prussian *sirwis*, and the Latin *carina*, “keel.”

¹ *Æneid* vii. 746. “Whose people was rugged above other tribes, trained to constant hunting in the woods, the Æquicoli, whose soil was stiff and hard. They bear arms when they till the earth, and it is ever their delight to heap up the newly-taken booty, and to live on spoil.”

To another group belong the Greek βρένδον (ἔλαφον, "stag," Hesych.) and the Messapian βρέντιον, meaning the "stag's head."

Boar. To express the meaning of "boar" are found in Greek κάπρος, in Latin *aper*, in Old High German *ëbur*, in Old Slovenic *vepri*, and in Sanskrit *varāhá*.

Horse. Several words which appear to have been derived from the common heirloom of the Aryans indicate that the horse was known to them while they were yet undivided. The following are of the number:—

Greek ἵππος (ἵκκος), Latin *equus*, Sanskrit *áśva*, Lithuanian *arzwà*. A common root underlies these words which denotes sharpness, and suggests that it was the animal's fleetness that caught the eye of the primitive beholder. For the same reason the horse came to be regarded as the symbol of certain celestial phenomena, like the morning star, which was from immemorial antiquity an object of superstitious reverence.¹ That the horse was hunted in the Palæolithic Age is well known, and though no positive proof is adducible, it appears likely that the horse was used for food by the Aryans during the earliest period that they become known to us.

Hunting terms.

These animals were hunted for the sake of their hides or their flesh. But so far there exists no technical term for the chase.² To convey the idea of hunting, therefore, an expedient was employed, which is a familiar feature of early stages of other languages besides Greek and Latin; namely, certain words which bore a general meaning were narrowed down and adapted to the particular purpose in view. Such are the Greek *θηρεύειν*, from *θήρ*, "wild beast"; the Sanskrit *mṛgáyate*, "he hunts"; *mṛgá*, "wild"; the Greek *ἀγρεύειν* (*ἀγρα*) and *κυνηγέτης*, "hunter" (*κύων*, "dog," *ἡγείσθαι*, "lead"). Still, in Homer, as in the Rigveda, there are indications to show that game was eaten only

¹ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 625.

² Similarly no term is to be found for hunting as a branch of industry in the Rigveda.—A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 19, and note 44.

when the flesh of tame animals could not be procured, as in the following lines, where in the course of their adventures Odysseus and his comrades land on the island of the giant Cyclopes :—

Ἦρσαν δὲ νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
 Ἄγλας ὄρεσκόους, ἵνα δειπνήσειαν ἑταῖροι.¹

Again, in a like emergency, on the Enchanted Isle of the sorceress Circe, the same hero stalks a tall antlered stag, and bringing his quarry to his sorrowful companions bids them satisfy their hunger on the flesh of the beast.² But these are exceptional circumstances, and judging from the tenour of the lines as well as from similar references in early literature, and the remains of animals found in the pile-dwellings of Northern Italy, the flesh of domestic animals was preferred for food.

Still, hunting is a popular pastime with the Homeric heroes, previous to the devotion of the Dorian races to the chase. Their love of the pursuit is attested by the Doric form for huntsmen, *κυνναγός*, in other dialects. In historic times the sport had so far gained ground that beasts were preserved with a view to indulgence in this amusement, special breeds of hounds became renowned, and treatises were written on the subject.

Hunting
in Homer.

The early knowledge of the art of fishing is shown by the remarkable remains of the lake-dwellings which belong to the Neolithic Age, in which fish-bones and copper fishing-hooks have been discovered.³ But apparently the case was otherwise in the South, for Dr. Helbig⁴ denies the existence of any fishing implements in the pile-dwellings of the Terre-mare on the Po, and Dr. Tsountas⁵ speaks to the same effect of Tiryns and Mycenæ.

Fishing:
traces
found in
the lake-
dwellings
north of
the Alps.

But not in
early Italy
and
Greece.

¹ *Od.* ix. 154. "And the Nymphs, the daughters of Zeus, lord of the ægis, started the wild goats of the hills, that my company might have wherewith to sup."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

² x. 157.

³ Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 242.

⁴ *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 15.

⁵ In *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, Ἀθήνησι, 1891, p. 39. See also Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 243.

The
evidence of
language,

The evidence of the practice of fishing among the Aryans before the series of migrations from the main body set in, is of a doubtful nature. Neither do the Aryan languages seem to possess in common any words for fish, as is evident from a comparison of the vocabularies of representative languages, such as the Greek *ἰχθύς*, Latin *piscis*, and the Old Slovenic *ryba*, exhibiting, as they do, a wide difference in their formation; nor is there much more agreement in respect of expressions connected with the art of fishing, as witness the Greek *ἄγκιστρον* and the Latin *hamus*, both of which mean "hook." Nor is fishing mentioned, or at any rate mentioned as an honourable calling, in the early literatures of India, Greece, and Italy. In the Vedas¹ there is no allusion to eating fish, and in Homer the hero dines upon fish only when reduced to straits. On the contrary, as if to elevate his heroes in the estimation of his hearers, the poet is never weary of dwelling upon the mighty meat-banquets of the Achæans, and the eagerness with which they addressed themselves to them.² Whether the emphasis he lays upon their abstinence was due to a desire of distinguishing the landsmen, as being endowed with a more heroic cast of soul, from the races who lived by the sea and obtained their food from that element; or whether it was caused by a dislike of these animals, as is known to have been the case with the Caledonii of Britain;³ or was owing to prohibitions of certain forms of food for superstitious reasons, must remain a matter of uncertainty. Whatever the reason may have been, with an increased knowledge of the sea, and the growth of navigation, the art of fishing and the use of fish as an article of diet became general.

and
literature.

The cause
of the
prejudice.

Pastoral
lite.

But while hunting may for a long time have sufficed to afford the chief means of support, this mode of life gradually

¹ A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 19; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 235-245.

² Cf. Herodotus iii. 19, on the *ἰχθυοφάγοι*, or Fish-eaters; Strabo, 769; I. von Müller, *Die griechischen Privataltertümer*, München, 1893.

³ Dio Cass., *Epit.* lxxvi. 12. Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 244.

gave way to a more settled existence. The growth of population, the consequent changes in domestic economy, the greater complexity of social relations rendered necessary an improvement in organization which the savage community could not supply. Hitherto primitive expedients sufficed to meet the daily wants of the wild inhabitant. In maritime or well-watered countries he fished in the stream or among the rocks on the beach. In the woods he betook himself to the chase, an occupation ever ready to hand, which was exciting and demanded but little perseverance. But now he draws domestic animals around him, and constitutes himself the head of a brute polity. He feeds his herds and flocks on spontaneous vegetation, and then in turn he feeds himself on their flesh.¹

To this general law the Aryan ancestor of Greek and Italian conformed. However inconclusive the evidence may be with regard to the hunting stage in his development, no doubt whatever attaches to this second stage, the pastoral period. That the Aryans on their first appearance in Europe, at the dawn of civilization, were acquainted with pastoral methods is clear from a number of names for domestic animals employed by the several branches of the race, which point to a common origin.

The Aryans, when they emerge into notice were certainly pastoral.

The general name for cattle is full of interest. Many languages retain in some form the root *pac*, which recalls the practice of tethering animals. This collective term appears in the Sanskrit *pācu* (*pāca*, "band," "fetter"), the Zend *paçu*; the Gothic *faihu*; the German *vieh*; and the English *fee*. The root is probably *pag*, which is also found in the Latin *pango*, "fasten," *pagus*, a "district" (a place with fixed boundaries), *pagina*, a "page," *paciscor*, "bargain"; the Greek *πήγνυμι*, "make fast"; and *πάχνη*, "frost." Under this category come also the Latin *pecus*, "a flock," *pecunia*, "money," *peculium*, "property," for wealth was at that time estimated by the number of cattle.

Evidence of language

Aryan words for cattle,

as property,

¹ Cf. Newman on the Tartar tribes of the north of Asia, *Hist. Sketches* i., p. 3.

and for
their
domestica-
tion.

But some of the words belonging to the vocabulary common to the Aryans supply fuller details about the domestication of animals. The following groups are relics of the pastoral period:—The Latin *domare*, and the Sanskrit *dam*, “tame,” “domesticate,” the Greek *δάμαλις*, “calf,” and the Welsh *dafad*. Another group is formed by the Latin *vitulus*, “calf”; the Greek *ἰταλός*, “bull”¹; the last may be a loan word, but the Gothic *wīprus* and the Sanskrit *vatsá-* should doubtless be connected with the above words in Latin and Greek. The idea of selection or specialization is frequently associated with the idea of cattle. It is not improbable, therefore, that in the Latin words *egregius* (*ex*, “from,” *grex*, “flock”), and the German *ausgezeichnet*,² both meaning “distinguished,” “excellent” (that is to say, picked from the flock) there survives a reminiscence of the pastoral life.

Evidence
of archæ-
ology.

Upon the subject of the pastoral period archæology also has a word to say. It is stated that the occupants of the oldest lake-dwellings, for example in Switzerland, were in the main a pastoral people, dependent in but a small measure on a system of primitive husbandry.³

Domestic
animals.

The number of animals which, judging from the common inheritance of words, were domesticated by Aryans, is small, but their sparseness is compensated for by their peculiarly suggestive character and the part that the animals who bore these names played in an age of pristine barbarism. The sheep was one of the first to figure among the domestic animals. To denote it the Greeks used *ῥῆς* and the Romans *ovis*. With these words are rightly equated the names used for sheep in Northern Europe: the Lithuanian *ovis*, the old Slovenic *ovica* and the English *ewe*. The whole of this class of words are related to the Sanskrit *ávi*. Nor is this all. It appears that the collective word *pecus* and its kindred terms, to which allusion has already been made, was at an early

¹ Cf. Chapter x. p. 117. ² Cf. R. von Ihering, p. 717.

³ Fr. Ratzel, *Geographische Prüfung der Thatsachen über den Ursprung der Völker Europas*, 1900, p. 103; Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 914.

period appropriated by the sheep. The reason is obvious; it was highly esteemed for its valuable wool, an indispensable article in a primitive age, which was not shorn off but plucked with the hand.¹ To some races, for instance, the Dalmatians (from the Albanian *delme*, "sheep") and the Caeracates of Gaul (from the Irish *caera*, "sheep"), the sheep gave its name.²

But if much store was set upon the sheep, still more important a part was played in early civilization by the ox. The examination of the pile-dwellings of Europe has revealed the fact that cattle-breeding dates as far back as the Neolithic Age,³ and that traces remain of the existence of oxen both in the ruins of the lake-dwellings of the Po and in the tombs of Mycenae. What the precise species may have been it is difficult to determine positively. Antecedently it would seem likely that the small kind native to Europe were tamed, when they were amenable to domestication during stress of weather or dearth of food. Such an hypothesis finds support in the Old Slovenic *turŭ* and Old Prussian *tauris* (akin to the Greek and the Latin *taurus*, "bull"), which are still used to denote the wild ox. But however that may be, the acquaintance of the undivided Aryans with the ox is placed beyond question by the heirloom of words which has descended to the various races of the Aryan family.

The most interesting of all these words is the form which appears in the kindred Sanskrit *gô*, the Zend *gâo*, the Greek *βοῦς*, the Latin *bos*, and the Servian *govedo*,⁴ a collective name (neuter plural) equivalent to the German *hornvieh*, and the English *cattle*. Among the Indians, Greeks and Italians the ox was held in deep veneration, and

¹ As seen in the Greek *πέκω*, to "shear," "comb," and the Lithuanian *peszti*.

² Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 707.

³ Rüttimeyer, *Die Fauna der Pfahlbauten der Schweiz*, 1861, p. 130.

⁴ But the word is nearly universal and of great antiquity. From it is derived the Servian *govedar*, "oxherd." Cf. the Lettish *gōvs*, Great Russian *govjado*, Little Russian *hovjado*, Cech *hovado*. See Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, on *govendo*.

Importance of the ox.

The ox probably of the wild species.

Names for the ox.

India.

it imprinted itself upon their civilization. Nowhere was the ox more esteemed than in India, where, as occurs again and again in the Vedas, the *gô* (signifying "bull" or "cow" indifferently) was regarded as the symbol of welfare, blessing and riches. To the Indian it conveyed a meaning similar to the "milk and honey" of the Hebrews. From the word *gô* sprang several words which obtained a wider meaning and are applied to subjects of a wider range than the incidents of the life of the herdsman. Such is the word *gopá*, which from signifying "cowherd" came in process of time to bear the meaning of king, the *ποιμὴν λαῶν* of the Homeric poets. The same observation is true of the word *gopayati*, which was originally applied to protecting a flock, then gradually used to indicate protection of any sort; while the word *goshu*, a "fighter among the cows," extended its meaning to "warrior." Yet another instance is afforded by the word *gotrá*, a hurdle or hedge, which in the earliest times was used for an enclosure for cattle, and then for a town, until it came to represent the household or family living behind its own walls.

The ox in
proverb
and
phrase,

Upon Greece and Italy too the ox left its mark. Some features of its influence on life and thought must be discussed later; at this point a reference to the extension of its derivatives will suffice. The word appears in *βουστροφηδόν*, which is used of the earliest system of writing from left to right and right to left alternately, and also in such varieties as these: *βούπαις*, a big boy," a "hobbledehoy," *βουλιμία*, "ravenous hunger," *βουγάϊος*, a "braggart," all of which connote the idea of hugeness and monstrosity. The prominence of the ox in early language appears also in such expressions as the proverb, *βοῦς ἐπὶ γλῶσση βέβηκε*,¹ "an ox has his foot on my tongue," used of those who keep silence from some weighty reason, and such phrases as *ἐλπῖσι βουκολῶμαι*, "I feed myself on hopes."²

¹ *Theog.* 813; *Æsch. Ag.* 36.

² Cf. Valckenær on Eurip. *Hippolytus*, 157.

So, too, in legendary lore. The *bos arator*, the "ploughing ^{and legend.} ox,"¹ figures in early legends and coins, and according to tradition the Samnites represented the ox as the leader of their primitive colonies. Nor perhaps shall we be far wrong in recognizing in the epithet *βοῶπις*, ox-eyed, i.e. "ample-eyed," which is applied by the Homeric poets to the goddess Hera and distinguished women, another instance of the high estimation in which the ox was held. Again, these poets have preserved a record of a time when the ox was the unit of wealth and the medium of exchange. They estimate the value of a slave or the price of a wife by the number of beeves their sale would bring in. A much-wooed maid is *ἄλφειβοῖος*,² because she yields her parents many oxen as presents or purchase-money. A skilled slave is worth four oxen,³ but sometimes as many as twenty, as Eurycleia was, the trusty servant of Odysseus's family:—

Τὴν ποτε Λαέρτης πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἑοῖσιν
 Πρωθήβην ἔτ' εὐόσαν, ξεικοσάβοια δ' ἔδωκεν,
 Ἴσα δέ μιν κένδη ἄλόχῳ τίεν ἐν μεγάροισιν.⁴

Next in importance ranks the swine, for which a word ^{The swine.} exists, in one form or another, among Asiatics as well as Europeans. To this class belong the Latin word *sūs*, the Greek *ὄς*, the Sanskrit *sūkarā* (wild boar), the Old Slovenic *svinija*, the Kurdish *χῦ*. Yet, though such words exist in many parts of Europe and Asia, the practice of swine-breeding marks off the European from the Asiatic by a sharp line of demarcation. The aversion of the Semitic races from the swine is well known, unless the Babylonians form an exception to the rule.⁵ However that may be, the Eastern branch of the Aryans, as well Indian as Iranian, appear also

¹ Cf. *taurus arator*, Ovid. *Fasti*, i. 698.

² *Iliad* xviii. 593; *Hymn. Ven.* 119.

³ *Iliad* xxiii. 705.

⁴ *Od.* i. 430. "And Laertes bought her on a time with his wealth, while as yet she was in her first youth, and gave for her the worth of twenty oxen. And he honoured her even as he honoured his dear wife in the halls."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*). Cf. *Iliad* vi. 236 (bronze armour), xxiii. 703 (golden armour).

⁵ See Riehm, *Handwörterbuch* ii. 1462.

to have been ignorant of the custom.¹ But the same prejudice does not seem to have been entertained by the Aryans of Europe. Apparently the wild swine (the Latin *aper*, the Old Slovenic *veprŭ*, the Greek *κάπρος*) was domesticated at an early time. The evidence of the use of domestic swine is clear as regards the prehistoric period, for remains of such animals have been found both in the tombs at Mycenae and in the pile dwellings of the Po. Nor is evidence of the practice wanting in the Stone Age, as the discoveries in Scandinavia indicate.² The thick forests, with which Europe was covered, would furnish food in abundance, especially acorns, and this circumstance, combined with the fecundity of the swine,³ would at once recommend it to attention, and encourage its domestication.

The
horse.

The uses of the horse as an instrument of civilization⁴ attracted the notice of the primitive population of Europe at an early period. To the existence of common words for horse allusion has already been made. But a further question arises, in what quarter of the globe did the Aryans become familiar with it? The East is the natural home of the horse. The plateaux of Central Asia afford at once scope for its energies, and an abundance of grass for fodder. Therefore the horse is highly prized by the Mongolian of the steppes. It enables him to tend his sheep and cattle; it carries him when he goes to the chase. In time of war his fleet courser enables him to scour the plain, for from time immemorial the horse has been symbolic of war; as an Eastern sheik, portrayed in the Book of Job, regarded the

¹ Dr. Schrader quotes Ælian, *De Nat. anim.* iii. 3, ὃν οὐτε ἄγριον οὐτε ἥμερον ἐν Ἰνδοῖς γενέσθαι λέγει Κρήσιος.

² Montelius, *Die Kultur Schwedens in vorchristlicher Zeit* (übersetzt von C. Appel), Berlin, 1885, p. 26.

³ *Qua pecude nihil genuit natura fecundius.*—Cicero.

⁴ The horse occupied and occupies a yet more important place in the estimation of the inhabitants of the northern steppes and eastern plateaux. Hence "the Ottoman ordinances are to this day dated from the 'Imperial stirrup,' and the display of horsetails at the gate of the palace is the Ottoman signal of war. . . . The Turcomans and the Usbeks speak familiarly of 'the time of a gallop.'"—Newman, *Hist. Sketches* i. 4.

horse as the emblem of battle, so the ancient Saxon adopted him as his ensign in war. In time of peace it transported its owner from place to place, and rendered him independent of the soil, to him a liberty dearer than life. The consequence is that the ox is but slightly esteemed by the Oriental in comparison with the horse; the Turcoman despises it, and the Chinese do not generally use milk. Upon these grounds it has been usual to place the original ^{Its home.} home of the horse in Central Asia, whence he was supposed to have made his way into Europe through South Russia and Thrace. Natural historians, however, now declare it equally at home on European soil.¹

The domestication of the horse at a later time than that of ^{Its domes-} the ox is reflected in a curious way by the structure of the compound *ἵπποβουκόλος*,² "horse-herd" or "horse-keeper." It is formed from a combination of *ἵππος*, "horse," and *βουκόλος*,³ "neatherd," "a driver of oxen." When the pursuit of horse-rearing was adopted, the word *ἵππος* was prefixed to the term already familiarly employed for tending oxen. In like manner Homer applies the verb *βουκολεῖν* to mares:—He is describing the wealth of Erichthonius, a point in which he surpassed all other mortal men:—

Τοῦ τρισχίλιαι ἵπποι ἔλος κάτα βουκολέοντο
Θήλειαι, πώλοισιν ἀγαλλόμεναι ἀταλῆσιν.⁴

The horse served several useful purposes. Already the ^{Its uses.} great store set upon it by the inhabitant of the steppe or the desert has been touched upon. But the fleetness and fiery nature of the horse were not the qualities that excited the admiration of the early Aryan. It was valued for its hide,

¹ Cf. A. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der ältesten Haustiere*, p. 73; and Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 623.

² Soph. *Fragm.*, 891; but cf. Valckenär on Eur. *Phœnisæ*, 28.

³ Root, κελ-, seen in the Latin *celer*, "swift."

⁴ *Iliad* xx. 221. "Three thousand mares had he that pastured along the marsh meadow, rejoicing in their tender foals."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

sinews, and milk;¹ Homer, Herodotus, and Strabo speak of nomads who lived upon mare's milk. Its utility as a beast of burden only came to be recognized gradually. It was employed for drawing vehicles; we possess proof of this in the close resemblance of expressions connected with harnessing, the Sanskrit *śamyā*, "yoke-beam," the Greek *κημός* (a kind of muzzle or horse-collar), and the Armenian *samik*, "yoke-pins." Its value in time of peace would appear therefore to have been early appreciated. The case was otherwise with war. Many centuries must have elapsed before the horse was put to this use. In the heroic age, as described in the Homeric poems, the horse appears yoked to the chariot. Even there, however, the epithets applied to leaders like Nestor, *ἵπποτα*, "a charioteer," "a warrior fighting from horseback," and *ἵππόδαμος*, "horse-subduing," would seem to imply that the practice was only gradually gaining ground in the days described by the poets. As for riding, this accomplishment was the product of a still later age. Certainly mention is made of the art in the oldest songs of the Rigveda,² and in heroic Greece:—

The art of riding.

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἵπποισι κελητίζειν εὖ εἰδὼς,
 Ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ πολέων πίσυρας συναίρεται ἵππους,
 Σείας ἐκ πεδίοιο μέγα προτὶ ἄστρῳ δίηται
 Λαοφόρον καθ' ὁδὸν πολέες τέ ἐθήσαντο
 Ἄνῆρες ἦδ' ἑ γυναικες ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
 Θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, οἱ δὲ πέτονται.³

War-horses.

The writer clearly compares Ajax to a professional rider.

¹ Cf. Homer's *Iliad* xiii. 5. ἀγαθῶν Ἰππημολγῶν Γλακτοφάγων, "horse-milkers." Herodotus iv. 2. Strabo vii., p. 260, after Posidonius, places them in the north of Europe; though there is no direct evidence that the custom was general, it appears probable. Cf. Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 541. He also cites the Old Prussian *aswinan*, "horse's milk." The Tartars still make of horse's milk an intoxicating liquor which, under the name of *koumiss*, is used instead of wine or spirits.

² 5, 61, 2.

³ *Iliad* xv. 679. "And even as a man right well skilled in horsemanship, that couples four horses out of many, and hurrying them from the plain towards a great city, drives along the public way, many men and women marvelling on him, and firmly ever he leaps, and changes his stand from horse to horse, while they fly along."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*). Cf. *Odys.* v. 371 and *Iliad* x. 513.

Still, the superiority of the horse in war was now beginning to be recognized by the early Greek and Italic races, as by the Assyrians long before. Its fleetness, the characteristic which gave its name to it,¹ is the subject of praise in early writers. The pastoral life to which the shifting population had become habituated had been an unconscious preparation for service as mounted horsemen in war; a mounted shepherd is but one remove from a mounted soldier, differing only in the object of his excursions. No doubt considerations of this kind dictated the panegyrics of the horse in the well-known passage in the Book of Job² and the striking lines in the Iliad of Homer:—

Ὦς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτῃ,
 Δέσμον ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων,
 Εἰωθὸς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρείος ποταμοῦ,
 Κυδιῶν· ὕψου δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίται
 ὦμοις αἰσσοῦνται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθὸς,
 ῥίμφα ἔγούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων.³

Nor is this all the significance that the horse possessed; The horse
venerated. for it came to be viewed with well-nigh a religious veneration. Its association with the god of light, the swift element, is well known, and vestiges of this belief are met with in countries widely sundered from each other. Thus in the Ajax of Sophocles the Day arrives with its white steeds.⁴ In like manner Castor and Pollux, whenever they appeared to mortal eyes, rode white chargers.⁵ To this association of

¹ Equus, ἵκκος, ἄρνα.

² xxxix.

³ vi. 506. "Even as when a stalled horse, full-fed at the manger, breaketh his tether and speedeth at the gallop across the plain, being wont to bathe him in the fair-flowing stream, exultingly; and holdeth his head on high, and his mane floateth about his shoulders, and he trusteth in his glory, and nimbly his limbs bear him to the haunts and pasturage of mares."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

⁴ Soph. *Ajax*, 672.

⁵ The story ran that the divine twins helped the Romans against the Latins at the battle of Lake Regillus in 496 B.C., and three Corinthian pillars in the Forum belong to the Temple of the Dioscuri, erected to record that event. Near this place, at the pool of Juturna, the divine messengers watered their foaming steeds and announced the victory. Quite recently this *Lacus Juturnæ* has been excavated, and a horse, sculptured in white marble, has been unearthed on the same spot.

the horse with certain gods must doubtless be attributed the wide-spread practice of offering horses as sacrifice, in Greece to the Sun¹ and Poseidon,² and in Italy to Mars.³

Other
animals
known to
the
Aryans.

These three animals, the swine, the ox, and the horse, have been here chosen as interesting instances of the large acquaintance of the Aryans with the brute world and the process of domestication. The dog among domestic animals, and the bear among beasts of prey might have been added to the list. But it must suffice to have pointed out those which had the most immediate bearing upon Greek and Italic civilization.

¹ Pausan. iii. 20, 5.

² *Ibid.* viii. 7, 2.

³ Festus, on *equus*.

CHAPTER X.

AGRICULTURE.

WE have now arrived at a turning-point in the history of development of culture, at the step from pastoral life to the agricultural, the importance of which is not easily over-rated; for the influence that the adoption of agriculture produced on social institutions, on the growth of thought and on religious ideas was profound and far-reaching. Agricul-
ture.

The unsettled life of previous periods, a life spent in the pursuits of the chase or in breeding and nurturing, in flitting from place to place, as the season and convenience directed, was unsatisfying, and stable habitations in time became a necessity. With the rise of agriculture arose also a settled form of existence and ultimately villages and towns. But in speaking of agriculture we have employed a term which to modern ears suggests a somewhat different connotation.

The truth is, as has been said at the beginning, that the advance from one stage to the other is but slow, and periods of culture overlap each other. So it is in this instance. The transition from the hunting period to the pastoral, from the pastoral to the agricultural is hardly perceptible. Even after the ancestors of the Greeks had migrated into the southern peninsulas some tribes clung to a mode of life in which pasture predominated. So much is suggested by the names *Εὐβοία* (*εὖ*, "well," *βοῦς*, "ox"), now a bare and sterile region, and *Βοιωτία*, a tract of country in historic times renowned for its cattle pastures¹ and the rusticity of The transi-
tion from
pasture to
agriculture
gradual.

¹ Cf. Hesiod, *Fr.* 4 (146).

its inhabitants,¹ and also by the epithet ἵππόβοτος ("horse-feeding") an epithet often applied to Argos.² All of these words imply the existence of exceptional pasture, which was turned to good account.

But while the inhabitants of these parts are represented as occupying themselves with the peaceful pursuits of the shepherd and husbandman, others were wedded to the wilder and more exciting life of war and the chase. Such, in matter of fact, were the Dorians, and it is not a little curious that the terms κυναγός, "huntsman," and λοχαγός, "captain," in the Dorian dialect became stereotyped in Greek.

The beginnings of husbandry.

The methods primitive.

The existence of some kind of agriculture may be premised of the Stone Age. Although pasture was still the established occupation, yet at that time some sort of hoeing was practised to furnish vegetable food. The methods employed must have been of a primitive character, and in their nature resembled the system which has ever preceded and still precedes pastoral life and pure agriculture in various parts of the globe.³ The products cultivated were probably limited to a few kinds of bulbs and millet.⁴

Aryan terms connected with agriculture.

The terms connected with agriculture which appear in European languages exhibit a curious correspondence, and prove that those who used these tongues were familiar with

¹ Whence the proverb ὄς Βοιωρία, a "Boeotian sow," applied to the dull-witted.

² *Iliad* ii. 287; iii. 75, 258; vi. 152; iv. 246; xv. 30; xix. 329.

³ E. Hahn, *Die Hausthiere und ihre Bedeutung zur Wirtschaft des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1896.

⁴ This would explain the circumstance that the Eastern Aryans—the Indian and Iranian—differ from their European kinsmen in the terms for the products and progress of agriculture. In some respects they agree, as in the possession of these words: the Sanskrit, *ajrá*, "pasturage," which is identical in form with the Greek *áγρός*, "field," and the Latin *ager*, "field"; the Sanskrit *mar*, "to bruise," "grind," with the Latin "*molere*," "to grind"; the Sanskrit *jáva*, "corn," "barley," with the Modern Persian *jo*, "barley," and the Greek *ζέα*, "spelt." The explanation, then, would appear to be this—that a simple method of hoeing obtained before the Eastern and European branches parted company, and that, according to a common principle in early stages of language, the terms gained more precise meanings in Europe. But much obscurity overhangs the whole subject. See Schrader, *Reallex.*, pp. 9-11.

primitive husbandry at the time. Illustrations of the remarkable resemblance that exists between the vocabularies of various languages are afforded by the following:—

Their
resem-
blance.

<i>Ploughshare</i> —	Greek	. . . .	ὄφρις.
	Latin	. . . .	vomis.
	Old High German	. . . .	waganso.
<i>Seeds</i> —	Latin	. . . .	semen.
	Old Slovenic	. . . .	sēme.
<i>Reaping</i> —	Greek	. . . .	ἀμάω.
	Old High German	. . . .	mâd.
<i>Grinding</i> —	Greek	. . . .	μύλη.
	Latin	. . . .	molere.
	Lithuanian	. . . .	mâlti.

But all correspondences cannot be explained in this manner. Some of the terms employed in different countries widely separated from each other are not due to direct derivation, but to the operation of common laws of the human mind.

The methods of land measurement consequent upon the introduction of agriculture and the divisions of land that ensued reveal a striking correspondence in the vocabularies of various races. In the Oscan *vorsus*, *versus*,¹ the Russian *versta* ("verst," or Russian mile), and the Old Prussian *ainwarst*, "once," "one time" (equivalent to the German *einmal*), we probably have the survival of a prehistoric term. The word *wârstas*, a very old expression in Lithuanian, originally denoting a turn of the plough, which was afterwards employed to signify a piece of arable land, illustrates best of all the growth of the thought. Under all these terms lies the idea of turning the ox at the end of the furrow.² Again, a comparison of the Latin *iugum*,³ *iugerum*, "acre,"

Land
measure-
ment.

¹ Latin *verto*, "turn." Cf. Quod Græci plethron appellant, Osci et Umbri vorsum. Frontin, *De limit.*, p. 30; Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 526.

² Furlong or "furrowlong," the distance which a team of oxen can plough conveniently without stopping to rest. See Lubbock, *Beauties of Nature*, pp. 106, 107.

³ Iugum vocant, quod iuncti boves uno die exarare possint.—Varro, *De Re Rust.* i. 10.

as regards the form with the Middle High German *jiuch*, and as regards the idea with the Modern German *morgen*, and the French *ournée*, calls to mind the time when the acre was roughly represented by the amount that a team of oxen were supposed to plough in a day. Sometimes paraphrases, or fuller expressions, were employed to convey the thought. Thus in Homer's *Odyssey* :—

ὄσσον τ' ἐν νεῖῳ οὖρον πέλει ἡμινοῦν.¹

The husbandry simple and primitive.

The probability therefore is, that even before the separation of the Aryan family, husbandry of some kind was practised during the pauses that occurred in the progress of these waves of population. But it is husbandry of a simple primitive character; the methods were primitive, and the implements rude and clumsy in their make.

Agriculture considered as meaning.

The humble and unimportant character of this primitive husbandry is indicated by the prejudice that was long entertained against agriculture in comparison with the pastoral life, a feeling shared by unprogressive races at the present day. "Many races here in Africa," says a modern writer,² "practise husbandry, but the cultivation of plants counts with them as only a demeaning, secondary and almost unworthy occupation . . . their hearts are with their flocks, which form the centre of their life." To a similar purport speaks Herodotus in regard to the ancient Thracians :—

ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμώτατον.³

and apparently the observation would be no less true of the Germans of Tacitus' time.⁴ The reason is not far to seek. Agriculture was an exacting employment, affording little liberty for the favourite pursuits, war and the chase. These scruples, however, must have been overcome in Greece, for

but in Homer a respectable pursuit.

¹ viii. 24. The poet is describing a foot-race. One of the competitors outstrips the others "by the length of the furrow that mules cleave in a fallow field."

² E. Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft*, Freiburg, 1896, quoted in Schrader's *Reallex.*, p. 914.

³ v. 6. "To be idle is most honourable; but to be a tiller of the soil, most dishonourable."

⁴ *Germ.* 14.

in the Homeric poems agriculture is evidently a respectable occupation; noble and prince do not disdain to ply the hoe.¹

Thus far the Aryans in general. When we pass to the periods that succeeded the settlement of the Greek and Italians in their final abodes, agriculture appears established as the chief means of livelihood. The pile-dwellings of the Terremare, explored by Chierici, Pigorini, and Strobel² afford evidence of having been first occupied by a pastoral people. Apparently cattle-rearing there gave way to husbandry and the culture of the vine.

Agriculture in Italy.

The pile-dwellings of the Terremare.

The evidence of nomenclature, legend and tradition confirm the truth of these discoveries of a change of life and of the adoption of agriculture in the Terremare. Under the guidance of a steer, *vitulus* (so ran the legend), the hardy warlike races of the North penetrated as far as Sicily. There is also a clear connection between this legend and the traditions relating to King Italus.³ Of this leader Aristotle speaks in the *Politics*:—

Nomenclature and tradition.

φασί γὰρ οἱ λόγοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων Ἰταλόν τινα γενέσθαι βασιλέα τῆς Οἰνωπρίας, ἀφ' οὗ τό τε ὄνομα μεταβαλόντας Ἰταλοὺς ἀντ' Οἰνωτρῶν κληθῆναι . . . τοῦτον δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τοὺς Οἰνωτροὺς ὄντας ποιῆσαι γεωργοὺς, καὶ νόμους ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς θέσθαι καὶ τὰ συσσίγια καταστήσαι πρῶτον.⁴

The proper names of some of the tribes of Italy also shed a ray of light upon the economic changes. Such are the national names *Osci* (*Opsci*), "field-labourers," a primitive people of Campania, and *Siculi* (*Sikeloi*), "reapers," who once occupied

¹ *Odyss.* xviii. 374. So too King Janaka in the *Ramayana* i. 66.

² Cf. *Le antichità preromane della provincia di Reggio nell' Emilia*, Reggio, 1871; and also *Notizia archeologiche dell' anno 1872*, Reggio, 1873.

³ Varro, *De Re Rust.* ii. 15; Gell. xi. 1, 1; cf. Curtius, *Gr. Etymol.*, on *ἰταλός*; Mommsen, *Unterital. Dialekte*, p. 260, quotes *viteliū*, from inscriptions on Oscan coins.

⁴ *Politics* vii. 10 (iv. 10). "According to the local antiquaries there was a certain king of Oenotria called Italus, from whom the name of the Oenotrians was changed to Italians. . . . This Italus, as the story goes, converted the Oenotrians, who until then had been a nomad people, into agriculturists, and besides other laws that he gave them, was the first to establish the system of common meals."—(WELLDON, *transl.*)

territory on the Tiber, and afterwards gave their names to Sicily.

The Pelasgians.

Turning to Greece we find agriculture associated with one stratum of population in particular—the Pelasgoi, a people whose origin and character is veiled in much mystery. Before the domination of Greece by the Achaians, the Greek world, according to tradition, was occupied by Pelasgoi. But whether they were of Aryan origin it is impossible to determine definitely; some of the elements of culture connected with their names bear an Aryan, others an un-Aryan stamp. The name Pelasgoi would seem to indicate a period or phase of culture rather than a race.¹ However that may be, in view of the traditional association of the Pelasgoi with husbandry,² the names of places or persons which bear record of their presence, especially in Thessaly, assume some significance. Such were the Aleuadae, a princely family in Thessaly; as their name denotes, they were “threshers.” Such were Ephyra, Argos, and Larissa, meaning respectively a “place of look-out,” a “fertile plain,” and “rich soil.” Moreover, Larissa in the legend is represented as the daughter of Piasos, a name which recalls the word for “rich,”³ and is suggestive of fertility.

Changes produced by agriculture.

Animals are tamed.

The adoption of agriculture brought with it important changes; indeed, it may be said to have revolutionized domestic and social life, as will become clear in the sequel. Here one or two points may be briefly noticed. The domestication and employment of animals for the purpose of draught were immediate consequences of the exchange of the life of the herdsman for the life of the husbandman. Hitherto, animals were kept in flocks and herds for the sake of food and clothing, and the distinction between the wild and the domesticated animal had been drawn, but their

¹ The legend (*Æsch. Suppl.*, 250) makes Pelasgos the son of γηγενης Παλαίθων, and Strabo vii. 1 and 2, states that the Molossians and Thesprotians called old women πελιας. Cf. the name Γραικοί (Aristotle, *Meteor.* i. 14, 15), an older word for Greeks than Έλληνες. But see Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 83.

² Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 398.

³ Cf. *Odyss.* ii. 328; *Iliad* xviii, 541.

use as beasts of burden or draught was not yet realized. Now they were accustomed to the hand of man (*χειροθήτης*, *mansuetus*), and set to work. As the ox had been highly valued in the pastoral period, so it bore a prominent part in the agricultural. Various were the uses to which the ox was put. It was yoked to the plough. It was harnessed after a primitive fashion to the rude cart.¹ So important a feature had the ox become in the household economy of the Aryan that Hesiod mentions it as indispensable to the primitive establishment :—

οἶκον μὲν πρότιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτήρα.²

But little less importance was attached in course of time to the horse. The various qualities that distinguish it, its keen instinct, its endurance, its fidelity, now gained general recognition. Valued in the first instance mainly as a source of food and clothing, or as an acceptable sacrifice to god or goddess, used afterwards for riding, and especially for the war chariot, and finally employed for humbler purposes, the horse supplemented, but did not supplant the ox.

With regard to the relations of mankind to the animal world in general, it is usual only to dilate upon the services of the brute creation to their master man, in supplying him with the necessaries of life. But it must not be overlooked that the action is reciprocal, and that advantages accrue to the dumb servant from its connection with its master. The three stages of hunting, pastoral life, and husbandry, show us the moral influences which have been exerted on man by the brute. When in the very earliest ages a precarious existence had to be maintained, in the face of wild beasts and amid the rigours of climate, the chase developed the qualities of cunning, courage and endurance which man maintained in ordinary life. When in the pastoral period, and still more in the agricultural, man and

¹ Cf. the Sanskrit *anaḍvāh*; 1, cart-drawing; 2, bull.

² *Works and Days*, 405. "First of all get a house and a woman and a ploughing ox."

beast became habituated, nay, essential to each other, the new conditions created could not fail to humanize the feelings, soften the manners, and influence character, morals and religion beneficially. Not without reason, then, does Homer call the nomad Scythians "drinkers of mare's milk,"¹ and on the other, the "most just of men." In that simple folk² may have been discerned the historical characteristics and the moral rectitude, honesty, and hospitality, which the degradation of ages has not obliterated from the character of their modern representatives.

Agri-
culture as
a stimulus
to the
inventive
faculties.

The
plough.

The adoption of agriculture operated in yet other directions. Thus, it stimulated the inventive faculties and sharpened men's power of observing the processes of nature. To adduce one solitary instance: that the European Aryans were acquainted with some kind of ploughing may be gathered from what has been said about the origin of husbandry and also from the existence of a common word for plough, the Greek *ἀροτρον*, the Latin *aratrum*, and the Old Norse *aror*. The correspondence, however, does not hold good of the Eastern Aryan. True, the Greek *ἀροῦν* and the Latin *arare* belong to the same root as the Sanskrit *ar*. But in the age when the ancestors of Indian, Greek and Italian all lived together the word had not yet acquired the specific meaning of ploughing. The Indians themselves attribute their knowledge of the plough to a previous population, who, "by sowing cereals with the plough brought great prosperity to the Aryans."³

¹ *Iliad* xiii 5; Strabo vii. 3; Herod. iv. 46. Nicolas Damascenus remarks that, as their mares were in themselves a commissariat, they were difficult to conquer. Cf. Newman, *Hist. Sketches* i., pp. 4, 6; also note in Ch. ix. p. 110.

² The epithet *ἀγαροί*, "noble," in the passage doubtless refers to the simplicity of their life.

³ H. Zimmer, *Allindisches Leben*, p. 235. The German *pflug* furnishes a parallel case of borrowing. Tacitus states that the *Æstii* formed an exception to the general run of Germans, who preferred the excitements of war and the chase—*frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant*. Accordingly the Slavonic word for plough, *plugŭ*, became incorporated in the German language, and passed from there to the Celts.

The adoption of the plough marked an important depar- ^{Its} ^{adoption} ^{important.}
 ture in the knowledge of agriculture. The structure of the
 implement itself and the names for it indicate the progress
 of the art of ploughing. The Greek name for ploughshare,
ὑνυς, would seem to derive its name from the swine's snout.¹
 The earliest plough consisted solely of a hook-shaped branch
 of a tree,² possibly with a horn or stone at the point as a
 harder substance than wood. A survival of this exists in the
 term *ἄροτρον αὐτόγυον*, viz., of one piece.³ This was super-
 seded by the *ἄροτρον πηκτόν*,⁴ viz., compacted, put together,
 which may have been introduced from a foreign country. It
 was elaborated yet further by the separated races, for the
 terms applied by them severally to the different parts of the
 plough, and indeed to agricultural operations generally,
 exhibit the widest divergences. Such are the Latin *temo*,
 "beam," *stiva*, "handle," and *bura*, "plough-beam," the
 equivalents of the Greek *ἰστοβοεύς*, *ἐχέτλη* and *γύης*.

Yet another result of the adoption of agriculture was a ^{Agri-} ^{culture} ^{gave} ^{greater} ^{stability.}
 more settled mode of life. This change is probably trace-
 able to the practice of planting trees,⁵ the vine in particular.
 Dwelling places now assumed a more permanent character,
 and the change from nomadic or partially nomadic habits to
 a settled life exercised a corresponding effect upon the growth
 of civilization. Earlier generations had spent much of their
 time in roaming far and wide; in this migratory period their
 wives, children and chattels would be conveyed in covered ^{Dwellings.}
 waggons. This kind of locomotive dwelling, which still
 survived among the children of the steppe, excited the
 wonder of the historians and poets of Greece and Rome.

¹ Cf. the Sanskrit word *vrka*, (1) wolf, (2) plough, the idea being that
 of a wolf ripping up the ground.

² Cf. the Finnish *kara* and the Ind. *spandana*, both meaning (1) branch,
 (2) plough. Such an implement is used in some parts of Russia to this
 day. Cf. J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 97.

³ V. Hehn, *Kulturpfl.*, p. 457; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 425.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad* x. 353; *Odys.* xiii. 32.

⁵ φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλάς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη ἀλλὰ
 μεταναστάσεις τε οὐσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες,
 βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀεὶ πλείονων.—*Thuc.* i. 2.

The traveller from the South and the West gazed with astonishment on the huge wattled houses set on wheels,¹ and drawn by oxen ;² the steppe offered but scanty materials for more durable dwellings, and when occasion called, the primitive inhabitants were content to avail themselves of the shelter afforded by rude tents, consisting of stakes covered with hides, or by caves and other hollows in the earth.³ When their descendants embraced agriculture, their dwellings underwent a corresponding change ; houses⁴ were now built on the surface of the ground. They must, however, have been of the rudest construction. Their shape was probably round, and it may not be fanciful to discover in this an evolution from the tent.

The introduction of brick.

A fresh advance was marked by the introduction of brick-making, which was an Eastern invention ; indeed, it may not be too much to say that the art of building in the modern sense of the term was due to Oriental influence. The progress of the art of building northward from the south-eastern shores of the Mediterranean is reflected in the adoption of words from the Greek and Latin languages, which, in their turn, owed them to the East. Homer, too, reveals an acquaintance with an advanced form of art :—

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τοίχον ἀνὴρ ἀράρη πικνοῖσι λίθοισιν
 Δώματος ὑψηλοῦ, βιάς ἀνέμων ἀλεείνων,
 Ὡς ἄραρον κόρυθές τε καὶ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσα.⁵

The importance of a settled habitation.

But more important than physical comforts and the improvements in the methods of building were the sense of

¹ Cf. Hesiod, *Frag.*, 189 ; Æschylus, *Prom. Vinc.*, 708.

² The ox-cart or waggon was a very early invention, as is shown by the common terms for the various parts of such vehicles. In accordance with the spirit of conservatism which is so potent in religious tradition the ox waggon continued to be used in certain ceremonies by the priestesses of Hera at Argos.

³ The οἰκίαι κατάγειοι of the Armenians. Xenophon, *Anab.* iv. 5. 25.

⁴ Sanskrit *damā*, Greek *δόμος*, Latin *domus*.

⁵ *Iliad* xvi. 212. "And as when a man builds the wall of a high house with close-set stones, to avoid the might of the winds, even so close were arrayed the helmets and bossy shields."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS. *transl.*)

security and stability, the social condition and the religious ideas, which gradually developed with the fixity of the home. The change is reflected in language; words arose which called up to the mind the social well-being and religious character of the family, rather than the material aspect of it. Ever since the introduction of these words a most significant meaning has been attached to them and they awaken the tenderest associations. Such was the word *οἶκος*,¹ signifying the domicile of the human beings composing the household. As *δόμος* refers primarily to the structure of the dwelling, so the idea which is uppermost in *οἶκος* is the suggestion of home life. Such, too, are the words *ædes*² ("habitation," "sanctuary"), *ara*,³ originally indicating the fireplace, afterwards the altar, and *Vesta*, the "goddess of the sacred hearth."

It may seem that undue stress has been laid in these pages upon the connection between agriculture and mental and moral development. But the more the civilization of Greece and Italy is studied, the more clearly will it appear that the occupations of the two races deeply impressed themselves upon their life. There is hardly an institution, custom or tenet of the Greeks and Romans that does not tend to show that the pursuits followed by their ancestors tinged their ways of thinking, moulded their habits and coloured their beliefs. Of these influences, however, something more will have to be said in the sequel. Meanwhile, it will be enough to point out in general outline the effect that agriculture produced; an effect, indeed, of which the ancients themselves were not unaware. This is proved by Greek myths and speculations upon the origin of the primitive culture of Greece.

Summary.

The influence of pasture and agriculture on the growth of civilization.

¹ Sanskrit *vēçā*-, Latin *vicus*.

² Connected with *αἶθω*, to "burn," with reference to the eternal flame kept burning at the hearth, or with the Greek *ἔδρος* and *sedes*, "seat."

³ Connected with the Sanskrit *āṣa*-, "ashes," the Greek *ἑσχάρη*, "hearth," the Gothic *azgo*, "ashes." The fireplace naturally became the altar of sacrifice; originally no doubt it consisted simply of a hole dug in the ground.

Demeter.

The position of the goddess Demeter in legendary lore is full of significance. According to time-honoured tradition she was the patron goddess of the fruitful land and of husbandry. But she was more also; she presided over marriage, the institution upon which family and state, upon which culture and civilization, were primarily based. She is entitled *Θεσμοφόρος*, the guardian of laws and ordinances.¹ She is, therefore, at once the originator of culture and the upholder of the moral relations between man and man.

The Cyclopes.

No less significant, as showing that agriculture constitutes a line of demarcation between the civilized man and the barbarian, is the poetic account in Greek legend of the Cyclopes, a race of giants who live in morose seclusion outside the pale of society, and upon the outskirts of civilization. They practise no husbandry; they have no laws, no cities:—

Κυκλόπων δ' ἐς γαίαν ὑπερφιάλων, ἀθεμίστων
 ἰκόμεθ', οἳ ῥα θεοῖσι πεποιθότες ἀθανάτοισιν
 οὔτε φυτεύουσιν χερσὶν φυτὸν οὔτ' ἀρόωσιν,
 ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' ἄσπαρτα καὶ ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται,
 πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ ἦδ' ἄμπελοι, οἷτε φέρουσιν
 οἶνον ἐριστάφυλον, καὶ σφιν Διὸς ὄμβρος ἀέξει.
 τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες.²

The momentous step from barbarism to civilization had now been taken. From agriculture sprang the arts of life, the institutions, the principles which reached their maturity in classic Greece and Rome, and in course of time, yielding to the natural law of decay, perished. Under the fostering influence of the Christian religion they revived, germinated afresh, and finally burst into full bloom in the civilization of the Western World.

¹ Cf. Diod. Sic. v. 5.

² *Odys.* ix. 106. "And we came to the land of the Cyclopes, a froward and a lawless folk, who, trusting to the deathless gods, plant not aught with their hands, neither plough: but, behold, all these things spring for them in plenty, unsown and untilled, wheat, and barley, and vines, which bear great clusters of the juice of the grape, and the rain of Zeus gives them increase."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*) The several stages through which agriculture passed are almost suggested here: (1) the gathering of the wild corn; (2) the introduction of the vine, a most important element in horticulture; and (3) lastly, the highest form of agriculture, with a settled mode of life and its accompaniments.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FAMILY AND ITS FORMATION.

THE conceptions formed of the family are of deep import in the growth of human society. Every step in the progress of humanity involves the formation of societies of some kind, but the most natural is the family, and "if any union existed before the family, it must have been a herd, not a state."¹ It is itself the germ out of which all social and political life grew. It is asserted by modern travellers that certain tribes exist which have made some progress in civilization, yet possess but elementary ideas of this institution—a deficiency which is proved by the poverty or even the complete absence of terms connected with the family relationship. The dialect spoken by the Hos of India, for example, is said to contain not a single term of endearment, and the language of the Algonquins, one of the richest tongues in North America, is said to include no word for "loving." The consequence is, that the laws that unite such races together are not based upon the system of this natural association of kindred by blood.

Absence of the idea of the family.

Whether this was ever the case with the Aryans at any time is not easy to determine positively. But, however that may have been, that the family tie in the heroic age of Greece was invested with sanctity and viewed with reverence is plain from the frequent allusions to family life in the pages of Homer. There the family is not in process of an uncertain development, but matured and governed by established rules and fixed order. It is placed under the protection of the

The gradual growth of the family among Aryans.

¹ Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. i., p. 88.

Erinyes,¹ or Furies, who wreak vengeance upon those who violate the sacred duties of kindred. Still, there is evidence to show that the institution of the family in cultured Greece also attained to its maturity only by slow degrees, and that there existed in the marriage rites of Greece and Italy down to historic times vestiges of an original barbarism and of a low standard of morality. Several Greek legends testify to the observance of the marriage tie, and at the same time to a reaction against the licentiousness of the customs, especially Asiatic customs, with which the Greeks came into contact. Such is the lesson inculcated by the description of the uneasiness of Odysseus's conscience while consorting with the enchantress Circe and with the goddess Calypso in the island of Ogygia. Such, too, are the protests against the violation of the conjugal unions by Theseus's desertion of Ariadne, the Cretan Princess, and by the perfidy of Paris of Troy in his intrigue with Helen of Mycenae. Their conduct is visited with severe censure. In the first two stories the heroes discard their foreign concubines, and their action, it is implied, is justifiable; in the last mentioned the breach of hospitality and morality involved in the conduct of the two lovers leads to the Trojan War and the ruin of a kingdom.

Polyandry. The question whether polyandry, *i.e.*, plurality of husbands, prevailed in the early stages of civilization has been often debated. It has been argued with much plausibility by Bachofen, MacLennan, Morgan, Giraud Teulon, and Robertson Smith,² and Lang inclines to the same opinion, that is, that at one period the practice of women having more than one husband at the same time was the rule. On the

¹ Ἐρινύς, the "swift goddess" of vengeance. Cf. Sanskrit *saranyū*, "hastening," "swift"; *Saranyū*, the consort of Vivaswant, and mother of Yama and Yami.

² J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861, and *Das Lykische Volk und seine Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Alterthums*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1862; MacLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, Edinburgh, 1865; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, New York, 1877; Giraud Teulon, *Les Origines du mariage et de la famille*, Genève, Paris, 1884; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, 1885.

other side Maine and Starcke¹ have held that while, owing to various causes, polyandry may have existed, yet this state of things was exceptional. Agnation (*i.e.*, relation in the male line) according to their view does not rest on the form of marriage, but on the patriarchal power of the head of the family. While there is nothing to compel assent, the cumulative force of the evidence points to the prevalence of polyandry at a very remote epoch. The cases cited cover a wide area. The usage is said to have existed among the Iberians,² the Egyptians,³ and the Etruscans,⁴ and the ancient Agathyrsi⁵; there are also clear evidences of the observance of the custom by Eastern Asiatics,⁶ Arabians,⁷ the Tsonnotouan Iroquois,⁸ the Todas of the Nilgheri Hills,⁹ Malays,¹⁰ and Picts.¹¹

Instances.

The reasons which led to polyandry may have differed, but one of the commonest causes doubtless was the dearth of food, especially when sustenance depended on the fortunes of the chase. To the same cause must be ascribed the custom of exposing children, particularly females, of which we shall have to speak at a later stage. The practices of marriage by capture and exogamy are closely connected with polyandry.

Causes and features of Polyandry.

The custom among the Lycians of tracing relationship through the female line, and ignoring paternity, is attested by several Greek authors, such as Nicolaus Damascenus,¹² who

The maternal name used as a designation of descent.

¹ Maine, *Early Law and Custom*, London, 1883; Starcke, *La Famille Primitive*, Paris, 1891.

² Strabo, iii., p. 165, says that among the Cantabrians husbands brought presents to the wives, and property passed through the daughters.

³ Schmidt, *Papyrusurkunden*, p. 321; cf. *Sanchoniathon*, p. 16, Orelli.

⁴ The inscriptions on Etruscan tombs are said to bear out this statement.

⁵ Herodotus iv. 104.

⁶ Giraud-Teulon, *La Mere*, p. 50.

⁷ W. Robertson-Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885.

⁸ Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains*, vol. i., p. 555.

⁹ *Open Court* iv. 2322.

¹⁰ Post, *Grundlagen des Rechts*, Oldenburg, 1884, p. 92.

¹¹ Zimmer in *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte* xv., p. 209 seqq., and Dio Cassius lxxvi. 112.

¹² *De mor. gent.*

says they honour women more than men, and take their names from their mothers; they leave their property to daughters, and not to sons; and Heraclides Ponticus¹ calls the Lycians women's servants. Herodotus furnishes fuller information on this point. He says:—

νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται· ἐν δὲ τῷδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων. καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἶη; καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας.²

It is interesting to notice that in the inscriptions found among the Termilae, who have been identified with the ancient Lycians (see this same chapter in Herodotus) the children are named after their mothers, not after their fathers. It has been also observed³ that the national heroes of Lycia, for example Sarpedon, trace their descent in the female line.⁴

Under this system it follows, as a natural consequence, that the maternal uncle becomes the natural protector of the children. Of this usage Tacitus speaks in the *Germania*:—

Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor.⁵

The position of the maternal uncle.

¹ *De Re Publ.* 15, ἐκ παλαιοῦ γυναικοκρατοῦνται.

² i. 173. "Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian; but they have one peculiar to themselves, in which they differ from all other natives: for they take their names from their mothers and not from their fathers; so that if any one asks another who he is, he will describe himself by his mother's side, and reckon up his maternal ancestry in the female line."

³ Cf. J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 193.

⁴ Similarly in the Welsh "Mabinogi of Math," the King Math is succeeded not by his sister's son Gwydion, but by the son of a daughter. See *The Welsh People*, by Rhys and Brynmor Jones, p. 37. In the Indian *Mahabharata*, Vasouki, the Naga (serpent) King wished to have an heir, but instead of taking himself a wife he found a partner for his sister Djaratkarou. The sister's son succeeded to the throne.

⁵ c. 20. "The sons of sisters are as much the objects of their uncle's regard as their father's." A famous passage in the *Mahabharata* tells how the five brothers Pandara "married the fair Draaupadi with eyes of lotus blue." The legend relating to these princes is so marked with the stamp of polyandrous institutions that the very terminology of polyandry is retained. Grand-uncles are here, as with some Red Indians, called grandfathers, and uncles fathers.

The matriarchal principle, then, is a recognition of the kinship of children to the mother, as the corner-stone of the family; no other clue to relationship is possible in certain conditions of primitive life. The result was that, when ideas of property assumed form and consistence, its transmission was arranged so as to benefit the maternal lineage. But this system could not last for ever. Accordingly, as this method of tracing descent and transmitting property declined, the higher principle of the supremacy of the father developed spontaneously, and to this he attained by the acquisition of property of his own through his individual exertion.

Central feature of "Mother-right": matrimony preceded patrimony.

Such are some of the characteristics of polyandry and of the matriarchal principle as it existed in countries contiguous to Greece and Italy. That the Aryan people practised polyandry or recognized it as an institution is proved by no evidence whatever. On the contrary, it may be laid down as a general principle that in both countries relationship was reckoned through the father and not the mother. In them the wife's connections are not looked upon as relatives but friends;¹ here the maternal uncle occupies a subordinate position. All the evidence, therefore, points in the opposite direction. For, whereas the existence of a name for paternal uncle at a very early time is proved by a comparison of the Sanskrit *pítṛvya*—the Greek *πάτριος*, and the Latin *patruus*, it cannot certainly be ascertained whether a prehistoric term for maternal uncle existed at all. Hence, generally speaking, the Aryan words for the uncle on the mother's side are derivatives from the words for grandfather, as the Latin *avunculus* from *avus*. Moreover, the contrary assumption that the mother and kinsmen at one time dominated the Aryan family runs counter to the whole spirit of Greek and Italic society. But this does not preclude the possibility that, as with other Aryan races so with Greek and Italian, their ancestors may have been acquainted

No proof of its existence in Greece and Italy.

¹ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, pp. 213, 214.

India, a parallel.

with the practice. India furnishes an illustration of the way in which polyandry was found in possession and eliminated. There, too, such a ménage was repugnant to the better judgment of the inhabitants. It betokened degeneracy. Usually in Hindu law, which is "saturated with the primitive notion of family dependence,"¹ kinship is traced through the male line; while in Hindu genealogies the names of women are generally omitted altogether. This rule seems to have been universal originally.² But in course of time the opposite usage crept in. Still, it was regarded as a repellent innovation, frowned upon, and chiefly, if not altogether, confined to un-Aryan tribes.

It may be justly supposed, therefore, that as in India so also in Greece and Italy, the matriarchal principle never rooted itself, but was an exotic taint contracted from the previous occupants of the country; was, in short, the relic of an imperfect condition of social law which was in due time abandoned in favour of the commoner usage.

Polygamy. But if polyandry was viewed with a sentiment approaching abhorrence, no scruples appear to have been felt in Greece or Italy as regards polygamy, for there are abundant evidences of its existence down to a late time. The feeling of various races with regard to polygamous marriages has been influenced by different considerations. It often depends upon climatic conditions. In warm zones, where the climate is genial and life easy, polygamy is common; where, on the other hand, the climate is cold and inhospitable, as in Northern regions, or where domestic cattle are rare or wanting altogether, or, again, where provision for a family is a difficult matter, there monogamy is the rule. There may be other conspiring causes—an anxious desire for male issue or the wish to extend family connections. But these are reasons which would be expected to affect only or chiefly the powerful and wealthy. "In India," says Delbrück,³

¹ Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 150.

² Cf. Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 325, 326.

³ *Verwandschaftsnamen*, p. 540. Cf. Zimmer, *Allindisches Leben*, p. 324.

"a man might possess several wives. Thus, Manu has seven, but as a rule four is the customary number mentioned as belonging to a prince. In the regulations relating to sacrifice and domestic life called the Sutras, it is presupposed that a man possesses only one wife, or at least, only one head-wife."¹ Apparently a similar state of things obtained among the Persians,² Thracians,³ Slavs,⁴ and Germans.⁵ The German princes in Cæsar's time took to themselves more wives than one for political reasons.⁶ Nor does the above list by any means exhaust the number of primitive races, Aryan as well as un-Aryan, who practised polygamy.

The Homeric poems present to view the results of a long process of development. The institution of the family is by now established, and to this consummation the native genius and strong character of the Greek women probably contributed. One of the women of the household assumes pre-eminence. She is the lawful, wedded wife, *κουριδίη ἄλοχος*.⁷ She is the lady-mother, *πότνια μήτηρ*.⁸ She receives the chief honour at the hands of the household as well as

The place
of the wife
in Homeric
Greece.

¹ Cf. Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 323, 324.

² Herodotus i. 135. ³ *Ibid.* v. 5. ⁴ O. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 635.

⁵ Grimm, *Geschichte der Sprache* i., p. 18; Poesche, *Die Arier*, Jena, 1878.

⁶ Judging from Tacitus, *Germ.* 18, the custom does not seem to have predominated in the West, but it was the rule in the North. Cf. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, pp. 219 and 248, and Tacitus, *Germ.* 46.

⁷ The phrase is used in opposition to illicit concubinage. "Ἄλοχος, like the Anglo-Saxon *gebedda*, means *consors tori*. Cf. the Church Slavonic *salogŭ* with the same sense. The epithet *κουριδίος* is applied to the husband also. Its derivation is uncertain, but it is probably connected with *κοῦρος*, "a youth," and probably connotes the idea of free birth. In that case it affords a parallel to the Anglo-Saxon *fréo-lic wif*, "free-born," "legitimate wife," on which see F. Roeder, *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen*, *Stud. zur eng. Phil.* iv. 72, and Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 254.

⁸ The word *πότνια* is clearly connected with the root *poti-s*, which appears in several words for husband or lord, such as *πόσις* and *δεσπότης*. Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 635. In India the wife occupies a corresponding position. A passage in the Atharvaveda reads:—"Go to thy husband's house that thou mayest become the lady of the house" (*grhapatnī*) as the husband is lord (*grhapati*).

of her husband; yet at the same time her consort, far from being a strict monogamist, considered himself at liberty to acquire several other wives and concubines.

Gradual
growth of
the institu-
tion of
marriage.

Although, as has been said, evidence exists to show that in respect to marriage some Aryan races remained on a low level of civilization, the ancestors of Greeks and Italians in course of time divested themselves of these cruder ideas. The institution of marriage is the basis of the family, and the family, as has been observed, is the nucleus of the civilized community, and ultimately of the whole social fabric.¹

The
evidence of
tradition.

That marriage was an established institution at an early time is implied in the descent of mankind from a single pair, which forms the subject of several Aryan traditions. Under this class falls the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, the sole survivors of the flood with which Zeus in his anger overwhelmed Hellas. Upon this divine visitation Deucalion, a son of Prometheus and Clymene, built himself a ship, and stored it with provisions. After floating for nine days the ship, according to common tradition, rested on a mountain-top, and he and his wife landed. When the wrath of the god had been appeased and the waters had gone down Deucalion offered a prayer, accompanied by sacrifice, that the Father of the gods might be pleased to restore mankind. The answer came; the pair were bidden to cover their

¹ Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* i. 17. "Quum sit hoc natura commune animantium, ut habeant libidinem procreandi, prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia. Id autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium reipublicae." Ratzel, *Völkerkunde* (transl. by A. J. Butler, 1896-8), vol. i., p. 87, after a survey of a much wider field than was open to Cicero, speaks to the same effect:—"The fundamental basis of the family is the union of the sexes in a common home in which the children are brought up. Within the wide limits of this definition we find marriage universal. Where marriage has been supposed to be absent, even among the most promiscuous nomads of the forest and desert, its existence has sooner or later been in every case established. Extraordinary as has been the spread of polygamy, extending even to the possession of thousands of wives, as a rule the establishment of the family begins in the union of one man with one woman. Even elsewhere one wife remains the first in rank, and her children have, as a rule, the rights of primogeniture."

heads and throw their mother's bones behind them while walking to the sanctuary of Themis. Interpreting the bones to mean the stones of the earth, they threw stones behind them, and lo! from those thrown by Deucalion sprang up men, and from those thrown by Pyrrha women.¹ It is recorded too, on the testimony of Suidas,² that marriage owed its origin to Cecrops, the first king of Attica, and it is certainly a curious coincidence that, as in the Australian myth the foundation of marriage is attributed to the lizard, so the king to whom it is ascribed in Attica, should be represented as an earth-born being, the lower part of whose body was that of a dragon.

The earliest terms relating to the marriage union shed an interesting light upon its nature, and the growth of the ideas entertained concerning it. But if we expect to find marriage terms common to the Aryan races, we shall be disappointed. The truth is that we look in vain for any term in an age anterior to the historic period, for, as Aristotle observes:—

ἀνώνυμον ἢ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς σύζευξις.³

The reason is obvious. It is because the woman as yet has little or no status in society, and the positions of husband and wife are not parallel to each other. He is the master, she the servant. He is the owner, she is his property. He is the representative of the family, she a dependent. Consequently the necessity of possessing a term to denote the idea of the marriage relation has not yet made itself felt. But in the absence of any terms for marriage that take us back to the earliest times, an analysis of the expressions that afterwards came into vogue, yields some interesting results. It is noteworthy that the Lithuanian *wedù*, "conduct,"

¹ The story exhibits considerable variation in local legends. See L. Diestel, *Die Sintflut*, Berlin, 1876. The foregoing version gives the general outline. See Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, under "Deucalion." It survives in Modern Greece. The shepherds on the slopes of Olympus and the labourer on the plains of Boeotia still tell the tale. Cf. Bernhard Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1877.

² 3102. ³ *Politics* i. 3, "The union of man and wife has no name."

"marry," Old Slovenic *veda*, "conduct," and the Sanskrit *vadhū*, "young bride," recall the custom of conducting the bride to her new home.¹ Such, too, is the idea underlying the Latin phrase *uxorem ducere*, and the Greek *γυναικα ἄγεισθαι*, which both mean to "lead (home)," *i.e.* "marry a wife." Indeed, most of the early terms relating to marriage recall some feature of the marriage ceremony. To the same class belongs the Latin word *nuptiæ*, "bridal," which summons up to the mind the custom of veiling the bride. Hence, too, the word *nupta*, "bride," and *νύμφη*, "bride," may be referred to the same root. Under other words, like the Sanskrit *janitvā*, and the Latin *matrimonium*, lies the idea of motherhood. In many languages the expressions for "husband" and "wife" consist merely of the words for "man" and "woman"; of this usage the Greek *γυνή* and the Latin *vir* afford illustrations.

Exogamy.

When we are considering the ideas relating to marriage which are to be found among races low down in the scale of civilization, it is necessary to divest ourselves entirely of the associations connected with this institution in modern life. For the nature of the marriage system and the household ménage depended at that time largely on the standard of the material resources available. It can hardly be doubted that the earliest Aryans, like other races at the beginnings of their history, were obliged to obtain wives from neighbouring tribes by force, fraud, or compact. To this practice may be attributed the presence of various elements in Aryan society, such as polyandry, which, as we have seen, were repellent to the better judgment of the Aryan, and were afterwards expelled and placed under a ban. The introduction of foreign wives, or wives of another tribe, whether of another Aryan tribe or tribes entirely external to the Aryan pale, was one of these necessary evils, and there is no doubt that these wives were actually viewed with disfavour. The

¹ From the root *vah*; Latin *vehere*, "carry"; Greek *ἄχος*, "chariot"; and German *wagen*, "carriage." Cf. the Avestan, *upa-vaḍay-yaēta*, "he may marry."

prejudice against these mixed marriages may be easily understood. It was natural for the man to prefer a wife who spoke his own language, and was familiar with his own habits, his own ways of thinking, and the traditions of his race. Such a wife, moreover, would ensure him support, and enable him to contract more useful alliances. Above all, such an arrangement would preserve the purity of the race unimpaired. This surmise on our part is corroborated by the evidence of Roman law of a later day. Ever mindful of the importance of the family, and the paramount claims of the commonwealth, in the interest of which the individual was to sink his private prejudices and predilections, and to lose them in the welfare of the community, the Romans viewed with suspicion the importation of foreign wives. Such marriage alliances were termed *connubia*. They were recognised as marriages, but not Roman ones, and they entailed serious disabilities.¹ Thus it came about that a kind of "protection" was created in the interest of the native women. But these legal enactments were of comparatively modern growth, and they attest the prevalence of an earlier custom, which, with the increase of material prosperity and the growth of national sentiment, died out in time. Unquestionably the practice of exogamy can be traced to no other cause than to the scarcity of women, and this scarcity in its turn was due to the exposure of female children—a practice of which Roman civilization preserved distinct traces, till Christianity leavened society, and succeeded in expelling the abomination.

Scarcity of women.

Passing on to the motives which influenced the individual, whether Greek or Italian, in founding a "hearth" or home, it must be borne in mind that the purpose in view was a high one. Strabo,² speaking of a race in ancient India, bears record that "they marry many wives. . . . Some of them they marry, hoping to find in them obedient attendants, and others for pleasure, and others to fill their homes with

The motives of marriage.

¹ R. von Ihering, *The Evolution of the Aryan*, p. 337.

² xv. 54

children." The observation is so far true, but the historian might have proceeded to point out the main consideration that weighed with the individual in entering upon the married state. Usually the step was not taken with a view to material comfort or sensual gratification, or if this was the case, these motives were subordinated to a higher purpose. Rather, it had a deep social and religious significance—the maintenance of the continuity of the line. The responsibility for this rested mainly upon the representatives of the family, that is, the father and the eldest son. Of all the obligations that were incumbent upon them the most important was the duty of keeping up the worship of the ancestral spirits without intermission. The neglect of this was attended by the most serious consequences, and woe betide the man who incurred the displeasure of the ancestors of the house.¹ If the daily sacrifice were suspended, the ancestor's place in heaven would be jeopardized, or indeed altogether forfeited, and he would have to be born again.² The chief representative of the family was, therefore, bound in honour and self-interest, present and prospective, to maintain uninterrupted the sacred fire on the hearth and the offerings to the dead, whose welfare was in some mysterious manner believed to be bound up with the fortunes of the living. Accordingly, towards securing this solemn object all the precautionary measures, whether unwritten custom or legal ordinances, concerning the family were mainly directed. But the family possessed a social aspect also, and its unbroken continuance was not dictated solely by religious reasons. The adult Aryan had a duty to fulfil towards his tribe, race, or nation. He was a member of a community. He had a stake in the common-weal. He owed it to his fellows to maintain his household unimpaired. The family, then, formed the unit of society both in Greece and Italy. An obligation attached to the man to seek a

Religious
ancestral
worship.

The duties
of the
representa-
tives of the
family.

Social
reasons.

¹ So much is implied in the phrase *placare manes*. Cf. Leist, *Altarisches Jus gentium*, pp. 100-102.

² Cf. Macrindle, *Ancient India*, London, 1901, p. 57, and Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Bonn, 1847-1862.

wife, if possible amongst his own people, if not amongst the enemy. How strongly these reasons appealed to the statesmen and legislators of a later day may be gathered from the legal enactments relating to marriage at Rome.¹ Hence the penalties with which celibacy was loaded.² True, these laws were passed in historic times; but is it reasonable to suppose that these considerations pressed less heavily upon the ancestors of the Italic stock, and that the necessity was less felt in an age when the nation was coming into being?

No less marked was the anxiety on the part of the wife to continue the family line, and this feeling on her part is by no means confined to Greece and Italy. In Hebrew history, as appears again and again in the sacred Scriptures, the fruitfulness of woman is one of her chief recommendations in the eyes of the community, as well as in those of her husband. To bear more girls than boys, or only girls, was a misfortune; to bear no children at all a crime. But nowhere does this feeling find more frequent or more plaintive expression than in the Vedas. The Indians, who are portrayed in these hymns, thought that if the family was lost all was lost. "Why is it," asks an Indian writer, "that every creature, rational as well as irrational, longs for a son? It is that by means of a son fathers are able to overcome mighty obstacles." The gods spake to the man, "This being (woman) is ordained to the end that she may reproduce thee." Throughout Vedic literature runs this thought of the preservation at all hazards of the family line; the son must maintain the sacred flame; the son must propitiate the ancestors; the son must keep up the sacrifice in the father's memory when he is dead and gone.

This consideration carried equal force in Italy from time immemorial. The importance of marriage in the maintenance of human society as in its first formation was never

Responsibilities of the wife.

India.

Italy.

¹ Cf. R. von Ihering, pp. 348, 349.

² To evade this penalty bachelors sometimes resorted to a mock marriage, and consequently the *Censor* imposed an oath *liberorum quaerendorum gratia se uxorem habere*.

lost sight of, and the thought is in keeping with the whole tenour of Roman life and the whole fabric of Roman society. So essential an element was the preservation of the family considered that priest, statesman, and lawgiver co-operated in imposing stringent restrictions upon celibacy, and in giving encouragements to a married life.

CHAPTER XII.

MARRIAGE.

WHATEVER forms the union of the sexes may have taken in the earliest ages of the Aryan races, they now lie beyond the reach of investigation; but, as regards marriage, sufficient evidence is available to trace the steps by which that institution gradually advanced till it became a universal usage.

The history of the rise of marriage is of profound interest and of paramount importance in the development of culture. Upon the whole, the evidence at our command points to the existence, at one stage of Aryan civilization, of the practice of marriage by capture. The prevalence of this custom in other countries far removed from each other is abundantly attested; but whether it has been observed in all parts of the globe is open to doubt,¹ and it is possible that some of the symbolic actions connected with the marriage ceremonies of a later day, and supposed to be survivals of actual capture, may have been dictated by other considerations. It may have been that forcible seizure was regarded as an enterprise worthy of a warrior, and that the stealing of a wife was the required proof of fitness to possess one.² But this view hardly appears to offer an adequate explanation of a widespread custom which is so fully authenticated alike by explorer and historian.

Of the observance of this usage among backward races of modern times it is not necessary to speak here except so

¹ Cf. Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie*, p. 105.

² H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, vol. i. pp. 652-653.

far as the symbolic practices employed may serve to illustrate many details of the marriage ceremony in Greece and Italy. It will be remarked that the less reality there is in the custom, the more capricious is the form which the symbolism takes. To mention some survivals, it is stated on good authority that among the Esquimaux, when a suitor seeks the hand of a maiden, she indulges in violent expressions of grief, felt or feigned. Such an outburst of emotion public opinion requires of her on the occasion, and it is said to be a survival from bride capture in a stage of primeval barbarism. Again, in a district of East Melanesia, at a marriage the boys of the village await the arrival of the bride's relations, and proceed to shoot arrows at them. Sometimes the symbolism assumes the form of a sham fight between the relatives of the bride and the bridegroom after the wedding feast, or the bridegroom is obliged to buy his bride, and she herself must pay for permission to depart in peace.¹ In the Loyalty Islands custom prescribes that the newly-married pair must only meet in secret.² But such symbolic practices were widespread. Even after the diffusion of Christianity, though the stern reality of bride capture had long been abolished, a similar symbolism survived, for example, in India,³ Lithuania,⁴ Wales,⁵ and England.⁶ But any further discussion of the instances in point which may be found in civilized countries—and they are numerous—would carry us too far afield.

The evidence as regards Greece is of a varied character. Fable lends colour to the view that bride capture prevailed there at one time. Such is the drift of the legend of the

Survivals
in Chris-
tendom.

Greek
legend.

¹ F. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, p. 119.

² *Ibid.*

³ The term *rakṣā* for a form of marriage which was confined to the military caste points to its existence in India. See Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, pp. 201, 207. The same practice may perhaps be traced in *vadhū*, the "yokefellow" or "wife brought home." Max Müller, *Autobiography*, p. 149.

⁴ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 652.

⁵ Roberts, *Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, p. 162, and *Notes and Queries*, series viii., vol. 3, p. 325.

⁶ Vaux, *Church Folklore*, 1902, p. 131.

Dioscouri, Castor and Polydeuces, who, struck with the beauty of the daughters of Leucippus, Phoebe, a priestess of Athene, and Hilaeira, a priestess of Artemis, carried them off and made them their wives.¹

Turning to the evidence of historians, we learn that the custom was at one time practised everywhere in Greece. Testimony
of
historians. The existence of the practice among the Dorians is attested by Plutarch,² and the Spartans are specially mentioned as having retained it.³

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the practice of carrying off wives at one time obtained in primitive Italy. The symbolical practices which obtained at the Roman marriages in historic times cannot be explained away as legal fictions or mock ceremonies. Rome.
The rape of
the
Sabines. The rape of the Sabines furnishes an illustration in point. Whatever complexion later writers may have imparted to the legend, there can be no doubt that it preserves the tradition of a time when bride capture was prevalent. The story is a familiar one. Romulus, finding his followers too few to support him in his ambitious schemes, resolved to augment their number by offering sanctuary to malefactors and slaves, and such as were desirous of novelty. Each day added strength to the new community, and it seemed only to want women to secure its duration. Being unable to form treaties to obtain the rights of legal marriage (*connubium*), he made overtures to his neighbours, the Sabines. Upon their rejecting the proposal with disdain, Romulus determined to wrest by force what he could not gain by entreaty. In pursuance of his purpose he proclaimed the celebration of games in honour of the god Consus, which the Sabines, as he had expected, attended with their wives and daughters. The sequel is well known.

¹ Hygin., *Fab.* 80; Schol., *ad.* Pind. *Nem.* x. 112.

² *Lycurg.*, c. 15.

³ See K. F. Hermann's *Lehrbuch d. Griech. Antiq.*, Freiburg, 1882 (edited by H. Blümner), p. 272, n. 8. Leist, *Altar. Jus gentium*, 127. The clandestine interviews between the newly-married, which, according to Strabo and Xenophon, were customary in Crete and Lycia, may have been symbolic survivals of marriage by capture.

At a preconcerted signal, while the strangers were most intent on the spectacle, a number of Roman youths rushed in with drawn swords and carried off the virgins by main force.¹ Hence arose a bitter feud and bloody war, and these were only terminated by the intercession of the wives, who effected a reconciliation between the combatants. The legend cannot be accounted for by representing it, as Rossbach² does, simply as typifying the conquest over maidenly modesty. Rather it is a "mythical motive of the Roman marriage act—an etiological myth."³ The story doubtless records a signal instance of the high-handed method of obtaining wives which was prevalent in the earliest stages of Italic civilization. This method, as we have already seen, was rendered necessary by the scarcity of women, and it was ultimately traceable to the exposure of female children.

Marriage
customs.

But legendary lore is not the only source of evidence of bride capture in Italy. Marriage ceremonies plainly retain vestiges of this usage. Does the Esquimaux bride make a show of yielding to compulsion by wringing her hands and yielding to paroxysms of despair? So did the Roman bride take refuge in her mother's bosom, from which she was removed by force. Does the Australian aborigine assert his authority over the captive of his spear and bow? So did the Roman husband pass a lance (*quiris*) over the head of the bride in token of her subjection to his will and power. In view of the parallelism presented by the marriage customs of different races, these relics can only be interpreted as survivals of the institution of marriage by capture. Though the stern reality of bride capture had become obsolete, the symbol was retained.⁴

¹ Cf. Dion. Halic. ii. 30.

² *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, Stuttgart, 1853, p. 207.

³ Cf. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, i. p. 468, and R. von Ihering, *The Evolution of the Aryan*, p. 336.

⁴ "The Circassian buys his wife, but at the same time he is obliged *pro forma* to steal her, and carry her off furtively; this is the only respectable manner of obtaining possession of his bargain."—Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, p. 8, note.

The next stage in the development of marriage is the custom of purchasing wives; the contract was often concluded when the future wife was still a child, and occasionally even before she was born. We shall probably be right in regarding this system as an evolution from the preceding practice of bride capture. For it seems likely that the price paid represents the fine or compensation given to the offended parents.¹ However that may be, there is no doubt that marriage by purchase prevailed widely as well among Aryan as un-Aryan races—for example, among Thracians,² Germans,³ Celts,⁴ and Slavs.⁵ Marriage by purchase.

The Indian forms of purchase are particularly instructive in this connection, and enable us to understand both the features of the practice and the causes of the abandonment of it in Greece and Italy. The statement made by the geographer Strabo⁶ to the effect that bride purchase was a recognized institution in that country is borne out by the testimony of others. The bridegroom pays a yoke of oxen.⁷ His act is plainly looked upon as a purchase. His gifts may be India.

¹ The Saxon laws contained some provisions which are interesting in this connection. If through his own poverty or the avarice of the prospective father-in-law, the suitor was balked of his prize, he might seize and carry off the maiden. A law of Ethelbert ordained that in such an event the abductors should pay a fine of fifty shillings, and afterwards buy his bride at a reasonable price.

² Herod. v. 6. ἀνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων. Xen. *Anab.* vii. 2, 38. εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ ἀνήσομαι Θρακίῳ νόμῳ.

³ Tacitus, *Germ.* 18. *Dotem non uxori marito sed uxori marito offert; boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framae gladioque.*

⁴ Caesar *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 19.

⁵ Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 272, and Schrader, *Reallex.* 109. The custom is apparently not an unmitigated evil in some parts of the East. "The Eastern girl sees in her purchase-price the test of her own value—the higher the offer the greater her worth. . . . Their parents know that a better lot awaits them there (in Turkey) than at home, and the girls willingly go to Turkey, where, as this traffic has existed for centuries, they constantly meet their kindred. In their own homes, moreover, the Circassian men are rough and imperious, and the women are slaves to all kinds of drudgery and menial labour; whereas the Turk is a patient and kind husband and a tender father."—Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, pp. 9, 10.

⁶ C. 709. Cf. xv. 54.

⁷ Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 310.

proportioned to his wealth and position.¹ But in course of time the custom fell into disuse; it was first forbidden to the *Brahmanas*, and finally the prohibition was extended to the other castes.²

Greece. To turn to Greece. It may suffice to cite Aristotle as a witness:—

Aristotle. τὸν γὰρ ἀρχαίους νόμους λίαν ἀπλοῦς εἶναι καὶ βαρβαρικούς, ἐσι-
δηροφοροῦντό τε γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐωνόουντο παρ'
ἀλλήλων.³

Legend. The supersession of bride-capture by purchase finds an echo in several Greek legends, where the suitor is described as obliged to fulfil some serious task before receiving the hand of the woman he seeks. The story of Theseus and Peirithoos is of the number. Aidoneus, a king of the Molossians, is the father of Core.⁴ Theseus has obtained the help of Peirithoos in an earlier exploit, and determines to reward his companion with the hand of the Molossian princess. Presenting themselves at the king's court, they are received as well-meaning suitors. Accordingly the prospective father-in-law imposes a trial of bravery. Peirithoos must fight and conquer the hound Cerberus. Meanwhile, Aidoneus discovers the original intention on the part of the visitors to carry off his daughter by force. Thereupon Peirithoos is slain, and Theseus made captive. But instances of this trial of skill or strength, or other formidable feats required at the hands of an aspirant might be multiplied, and they are doubtless connected with the system of bride purchase.

Italy. The Italic races probably fell into the same law of development. As regards Rome, the argument must rather rest

¹ Rigveda I, 109, 2.

² Roszbach, *Die Römische Ehe*, p. 205. See also Leist, *Altar. Jus gentium*, p. 127.

³ *Politics* ii. 8. "It may be said that there is an indication of this truth in the facts of history, as ancient customs are exceedingly rude and barbarous. For instance, the Greeks always carried daggers and purchased their wives from one another."—(WELLDON, *transl.*)

⁴ The story may be a version of the sacred rape of Persephone; it certainly bears the appearance of a later interpretation of that story. But this does not diminish its significance as evidence of marriage by capture and by purchase.

upon analogy. We are tempted to see in *coemptio*, the form of marriage consisting of a mutual mock sale, by which the wife was formally freed both from the *tutela legitima*, i.e., the legal protection or guardianship, and also from the family *sacra*, or house-worship, a survival of bride purchase in Italy also. The term is, however, merged in considerable obscurity, and by itself offers too slender a foundation for concluding that the system of purchase was a recognized Roman institution.¹ But we need not, for that reason, reject the conclusion altogether, and Roman law lends us a ray of light in our investigation. It has already been seen that there are grounds for thinking that bride capture once obtained at Rome. On the other hand, it is also placed beyond controversy that many of the institutions and customs connected with home life in Roman society belonged to a common inheritance which was derived from an earlier stage of Aryan society. Therefore it appears probable that *coemptio* really represents an earlier stage intervening between bride capture and the orthodox and respectable *confarreatio*, in which the contracting parties offered bread (*far*) in the presence of the *Pontifex Maximus* or the *Flamen Dialis* and ten witnesses. If this view be correct, then the original system of bride purchase was succeeded by the ceremony of buying, and the latter in its turn gave way to the custom of *confarreatio*. While recognizing that, logically considered, the analogical argument is not convincing, but may be psychologically persuasive, we may conclude that bride purchase was well known to the Romans likewise. To suppose that the Romans were exempt from the law of development through which the Greeks had to pass on their way to higher conceptions of the marriage union is to reverse the positions of the two races in the path of progress, to run counter to the spirit of Roman institutions and the course of Roman civilization.²

Roman
law.

¹ Cf. Karlowa, *Römische Ehe*, pp. 3, 4.

² So, too, in Iceland, "the marriage itself remained till the latest times a matter of sale and barter in deed as well as name. The wife came into the house, in the patriarchal state, either stolen or bought from her nearest male relations." Dasent's *The Burning of Njal*, xxvi.

Con-
nec-
tion of
marriage
customs
with the
occupation
followed.

The question of the price that was paid by the prospective bridegroom suggests some interesting reflections. It has been seen in a former chapter that the occupation followed must have exercised an important bearing upon the ideas of marriage. For at a time, when the chase furnished the chief means of support (precarious at best), infanticide, especially in the case of females, was resorted to without any feeling of compunction.¹ But with the growth of cattle-rearing, and, above all, with the adoption of agriculture humaner ideas gained ground. Not only so, but the improved mode of life and the gradual advance of civilization is reflected in customs connected with marriage. Among the features of the marriage ceremony, which betray the influence of the occupation pursued, is the price paid by the bridegroom to the parents of the bride. Now, it has already been pointed out that cattle formed the chief medium of exchange in mercantile transactions. Accordingly the price of a wife was paid in oxen, and Indian and Greek literature present to view a curious correspondence in this particular. A hundred cows is the price mentioned in the Veda² and in Homer, the suitor offers the same number :—

The price
paid in
oxen.

πρῶθ' ἑκατὸν βοῦς δῶκεν ἔπειτα δὲ χίλι' ὑπέστη
αἴγας ὀμοῦ καὶ ὄϊς.³

In India as well as in Greece that number could be exceeded if the suitor chose. Moreover, we have seen⁴ that, as in India, so also in Greece the price might be proportioned to the wealth at the command of the aspirant. The daughter is habitually appraised according to the number of oxen she

¹ A similar stress appears to have been felt by the Norse settlers in Iceland with similar results :—"Down to the change of faith the practice of exposure—which points terribly to the difficulty felt in supporting a family—prevailed in full force."—Dasent, *The Burning of Njal*, xxv.

² Leist, *Altarisches Jus gentium*, p. 127.

³ *Iliad* xi. 244. "First, a hundred kine he gave and thereafter promised a thousand goats and sheep together."

⁴ Cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* 18 ; Leist, *Ibid.*, 127, 128 ; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 429.

will bring in. She is "worth four or nine beeves."¹ Her father receives the *ἔδνα* or "gifts." He is said *ἔδνοῦσθαι θύγατρα*, *i.e.*, to "betroth" or "give away his daughter." Telemachus, the son of Odysseus, complains of the suitors for the hand of his mother Penelope:—

οἱ πατὴρς μὲν ἐς οἶκον ἀπερρίγασι νέεσθαι
 Ἰκαρίου, ὡς κ' αὐτὸς ἐδνώσαιτο θύγατρα
 Δοίη δ' ᾧ κ' ἔθελαι καὶ οἱ κεχαρισμένος ἔλθου.²

Enough has been said to prove that the practice prevailed widely at one time. But as the years passed the public conscience became more refined and sensitive, revolted against the system, and brought about a change. Yet this was probably the work of centuries. To achieve this happy result two alternatives presented themselves. With the conservatism characteristic of early society, a point to which an allusion has been made more than once, the Greeks clung to the time-honoured tradition, but retained it only as a mere matter of form in a marriage ceremony. While the reality was discountenanced, the symbol survived.³ The second method which might be adopted was the substitution of the dowry for the price that used formerly to be paid by the bridegroom, retaining the name *ἔδνα* with a new connotation. Under the new rule the father or guardian received, indeed, the money from the hands of the favoured suitor, but remitted it. We read in the *Iliad*:—

Τρεῖς δέ μοι εἰσι θύγαρες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπῆκτω,
 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα

The substitution of the dowry.

Retention of the symbol.

¹ The custom was widespread. In early Saxon society the father's wealth was often estimated by the number of marriageable daughters that he possessed, and the number of cattle they were worth. Among the Slavs the custom survived to a late date. Vladimir the Great (A.D. 988), who married a Byzantine princess, although he had won his wife with his sword, paid her relatives for her. Ewers, *Das älteste Recht der Russen*, p. 226, Dorpat, 1826; R. von Ihering, p. 29.

² *Odyss.* ii. 53. "They are too craven to go to the house of her father, Icarus, that he may himself accept the gifts of wooing for his daughter and bestow her on whom he will, even on him who finds favour in his sight." Cf. *Iliad* xvii. 365, 369, 381; xxii. 470-472.

³ For a parallel state of things in India see Leist, *Altarisches Jus gentium*, p. 132.

Τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλῃσι, φίλην ἀνάεδνον ἀγέσθω
 Πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω
 Πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐῆ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί.¹

The state
of transi-
tion in
India.

The transition from the purchase-money to the dowry may be illustrated from a passage in the Indian *Apastamba*, or Aphorisms of the Sacred Law.² The Veda prescribes that at the nuptials a gift shall be given to the father of the bride in order to satisfy the legal requirements. He (the suitor) shall therefore give a hundred cows . . . this gift he (the father) shall make of no profit (by returning it to the giver)."³

In Greece.

The history of the change is likewise reflected in the growth of meaning in the Greek word *ἔδνα* or *ἔεδνα*⁴ originally employed, as has been seen, to denote the price offered by the suitor;⁵ in course of time it came to bear the meaning of dowry.⁶ To this change of signification Sanskrit supplies an interesting parallel. The word *ḥulka* has also developed in a similar way; originally, like *ἔδνα*, it meant the price paid for the wife; afterwards it denoted dowry.⁷

The evolution of the institution of marriage has now been traced. In bride capture the relatives of the bride are viewed by the bridegroom as enemies, in bride purchase as friends. In the former they possess no rights which need be respected; in the latter they stand on an equal footing. In the former

¹ ix. 144. "Three daughters are mine in my well-built hall, Chrysothemis and Laodike and Iphianassa; let him take of them which he will, without gifts of wooing to Peleus' house; and I will add a great dowry such as no man ever yet gave with his daughter."

² See *The Sacred Laws of the Aryans*, translated by G. Bühler, ii. 6, 12, 13.

³ Cf. Leist, *Altarisches Jus gentium*, p. 132.

⁴ Connected by Prellwitz with the Lithuanian *vedū*; Church Slavonic *veda*, "lead," "marry."

⁵ As in *Odys.* i. 277; ii. 196.

⁶ Other terms for presents exchanged at marriage are *δῶρα*, "gifts" (*didónai*, cf. Sicilian *dotina*, Latin *dos*) presented by the bridegroom to the bride; *μείλια*, presents from the father to the daughter. Cf. *μείλιχος* and Slavonic *milo* (root, *mar*, "rub," "make soft").

⁷ The Sanskrit *tindsra* has passed through parallel stages of development. Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 544. A similar transition may be observed among the Northmen of Iceland. Dasent, *The Burning of Njal*, xxvi.

the scene of action is laid in foreign territory, in the latter the negotiations proceed between families comprised within the same tribe. This change of attitude betokens an important advance. It remains to indicate two broad features in the history of marriage, which illustrate the views with which early society regarded the institution.

The first point relates to the intimate connection of the marriage customs with husbandry, which shows that while some form of marriage had been observed from time immemorial, yet its establishment as a social institution dates from a period when agriculture had become the chief pursuit. To this association of marriage with husbandry various terms bear witness. When the marriage was contracted, the object of the institution was expressed in agricultural terms, *ἐπὶ παίδων γνησίῳ σπόρῳ*, or *ἀρότῳ*.¹ When the marriage union was celebrated in due form, one of the terms used was *confarreatio*. The following rites were observed. The bride and bridegroom first passed round the altar from the left hand to the right, accompanied by a lad carrying the hymeneal water fresh from the spring. Then they cast an offering of meal or *far*, the earliest food of the Romans, into the fire. When the bridal pair arrived at their future home, nuts and other kinds of fruits, *καταχύσματα*, emblems of fertility, were showered over them by their well-wishers.² Unquestionably many modern customs are lineally descended from the above usages, and take us back to the

Con-
nection
of
marriage
with hus-
bandry.

Marriage
formulæ
and their
import.

Connection
of marriage
with
agricul-
ture.

¹ Cf. the use of *ἄλοξ* in Eurip., *Phoenissæ* 18, and Sophocles, *Oedipus tyrannus* 1219; K. F. Hermann, *Lehrb. d. griech. Antiquitäten* iv., Bd. Freiburg, 1882.

² Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 312. In India a relative sprinkles rice over the head of the bride before the actual wedding ceremony. Dr. Schrader quotes Johannes Lasicus's (1615) description of the custom in the Baltic regions. *Ad singulas fores circumspergitur tritico, siligine, avena, hordeo, pisis, fabis, papavere, sequente uno sponsam cum sacco pleno omnis generis frugum*. Probably bridecake is a survival of this usage; but it is found in countries as distant and different from each other as North America, Burma and Fiji. When the wife installed herself in her husband's home she used the following formula: *Ubi tu Gaius, ego ibi Gaia*, "Where thou plougest I plough with thee." The word *γαίος* was explained by the Greek lexicographers to mean "the ox." See R. von Ihering 392 and note, and Festus on *Gaia*, p. 71.

dawn of Aryan civilization.¹ It is also noteworthy, as showing the above connection of marriage with agriculture, that both were placed under the tutelage of the same gods and goddesses. In Greece Demeter,² the goddess of corn, presided over marriage and husbandry; in Rome this rôle is sustained by her counterpart Ceres, or by Tellus, "Earth." But the question how far religion entered into the idea of the marriage contract and the marriage ceremony is involved in much uncertainty. The ceremony does not appear to have been essentially of a religious character, but the customs connected with the event exhibit so much variety that no common principle can be laid down. In India, the classic ground of religious ritual and complex ceremonial, where hardly any step is taken or act performed without being hedged in with a thousand regulations, marriage is accompanied by a host of religious ceremonies, but even these partake more of the nature of witchcraft or magic. In Greece and Italy the marriage ceremony was not necessarily accompanied by any religious ceremony in the proper sense of the term. But the institution of marriage both in India and in Italy exhibit striking resemblances. One of these relates to Agni, the Indian god of fire.³ To him an offering was made in the course of the marriage ceremony. The bridegroom led the bride three times

Religious
sanction of
marriage.

Ritual.

The use of
fire in
India and
Italy,

¹ Cf. Mannhardt, *Kind und Korn in Quellen und Forsch.* xli., p. 365. "Nüsse und Baumfrüchte sind erst in *historischer Zeit* über Kleinasien nach Europa eingeführt während die feste Stellung des Beschützens mit einer *Getreideart* innerhalb eines bei Indern und allen europäischen Indogermanen . . . in fast allen Stücken, sogar in der Reihenfolge der Begebungen übereinstimmenden Kreises von Hochzeitsgebräuchen es höchst wahrscheinlich macht, dass dasselbe mit irgend einer Halmfrucht schon von dem nur ganz *primitiven Ackerbau* treibenden, vorzugsweise dem Hirtenleben ergebenen Urvolke *vor der Völkertrennung* geübt wurde." Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 358.

² Plutarch, *Conjug. Praec.* init.

³ Agni probably belongs to the same root (*ag*) as appears in the Latin *agilis*, "nimble"; Slavonic *agnŭ*, Lithuanian *ugnis*; and Latin *ignis*, "fire." Agni would therefore mean primarily the "rapid moving," "sweeping element." Cf. A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 50. For a full account of the Indian ceremony see Leist, *Altar. Jus gentium*, p. 402.

around the fire at the hearth, into which an offering of grain was thrown. A pitcher full of water was placed on their right hand.¹ The wedded pair were plenteously besprinkled. We shall doubtless be right in regarding the practice as parallel to the Roman *aquae et ignis communitio*, which formed a part of a Roman wedding. Fire and water are the two elements on which human life largely depends.² They were used as striking symbols in the marriage ceremony, and according to Servius³ the ceremonies correspond in almost every detail to the Indian practice which has already been described. Nor were customs of the kind unknown in Greece (though the resemblance is not so striking here), and in other European countries.⁴ Throughout them all runs the idea, that as fire and water furnished the essential elements of life, and consequently upon them depended the existence of the individual and of the family, both should be symbolized at the momentous epoch of marriage, an institution which was at once the basis of the family, and the avenue by which man attained to his fullest development.

and of
water.

Another consideration serves to show that marriage was not primarily considered as a religious act. The absence of a priest from a ceremony in which religion at present occupies a prominent place seems strange from a modern point of view. But the fact remains that in India, Greece, and Italy the priest was not required. Tacitus speaks in the same strain of the Germans, "*Intersunt parentes ac propinqui ac munera probant,*"⁵ and doubtless the analogy holds

The
absence of
the priest.

¹ Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 356.

² This explanation is given by Festus, p. 2, and he furnishes other illustrations of its use: *aqua et igni tam interdici solet damnatis* (outlaws forbidden fire and water) *quum accipiuntur nuptiae* (brides, weddings) videlicet quia hae duae res humanam vitam maxime continent. Itaque *funus prosecuti* redeunt ignem supergradiebantur aqua aspersi (funerals). Quod purgationis genus vocabant suffitionem. Cf. Dion. ii. 30, where Romulus and his companions married the Sabine virgins whom they had carried off, *κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἐκάστης ἐθισμοὺς, ἐπὶ κοινωρίᾳ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος ἐγγυῶν τοὺς γάμους.*

³ In *Aeneid* iv. 167.

⁴ See Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 356.

⁵ *Germ.* c. 18. "The parents and relatives take part and approve of the gifts."

good of other races to which they were akin. Whether any official assisted at the preliminary betrothal or at the actual ceremony is open to doubt. It would appear, therefore, that primitive marriage in Europe was mainly, if not entirely, a concern of the family or the tribe, and with religion, apart from some superstitious practices, marriage had no connection.¹

India. But, as time went on, marriage was invested with more of a religious character. With the growth of anthropomorphic ideas in religion many of the gods were represented as husband and wife. The deities who appear in the early literature of India marry and are given in marriage.² The union between the Sun (Sūryā) and Moon (Soma) is held up as a model of what a human marriage should be. The god and goddess render mutual service and lend mutual support to each other, and take their turn in watching and illumining the world. On their harmonious co-operation depends the prosperity as well of animate as inanimate nature, and the ordering of life, both of mortals and immortals. Men and women should therefore regulate their lives according to this heavenly pattern, doing their duty by each other, and working together for common ends.³

Greece. In like manner the earliest divinities who figure in the Greek Pantheon were said to have been united in wedlock. Zeus and Hera, Ouranos and Ge, Hephaistos and Aphrodite were among that number. Even in Italy, where anthropomorphism was never developed to the full, or at least not to the same extent as in Greece, some of the oldest divinities appear in pairs. Such were Saturn and Ops, Mars and Nerio, Neptune and Salerna. But it is significant, as showing the arrested development of the principle of anthro-

Italy.

¹ Dr. Schrader remarks very pertinently that if a heathen priest had been in the habit of assisting at marriage ceremonies, the Christian Church at a later time would not have experienced so much difficulty in obtaining power over these functions.—*Reallex.*, p. 361. Cf. Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen* i. 377.

² Cf. Atharvaveda 14, 2, 32.

³ Rigveda 10 85, 18, 19; Zimmer, *Alt. Leben.*, pp. 315, 316.

ptomorphism in Italy, that in such cases there is no issue of their union, and that the gods and goddesses of Italy possess no such genealogies as gather around their counterparts in the rich mythology of Greece.

To the above consideration another may be added, as indicating the religious aspect of the institution of marriage at a later time, though not originally—it was placed under the protection of various deities. To the patronage over marriage exercised by the Greek deity Demeter and the Latin Ceres, with whom she was identified—both goddesses of fruitfulness—reference has already been made. Roman marriage was the special concern of Juno, the queen-mother of the gods, and various titles were bestowed upon her in this capacity, according to the functions she fulfilled. She was Domiduca, Iterduca, Unxia, Pronuba, Lucina. In course of time, with that astonishing facility for the invention of *numina* which forms the chief characteristic of the Roman religion, each of these attributes or qualities assumed a separate existence, and marriage became encompassed with a cloud of these shadowy beings, who made marriage and its attendant circumstances the object of their special forethought.

Goddesses
preside
over
marriage.

CHAPTER XIII.

TREATMENT OF CHILDREN.

WHEN we contemplate the Aryan family in the light of the facts mentioned in the foregoing chapter, we find that so far from offering an idyllic picture, pervaded by general equality and mutual tenderness, the domestic relations were coarse, blunt, and brutal. And there is another feature which must come home to the onlooker, who views the facts dispassionately—it is the absence of domestic attachment. The truth is, however, that this state of things is in keeping with the general tone of society at that time, whether in Greece, Italy, or other countries. In this connection several considerations have to be borne in mind. To an uncivilized mind the idea of humanity in the abstract is inconceivable. Even at a much later time than the period under discussion, man simply as such possessed in the eyes of his fellow men no peculiar dignity. A Greek or a Roman commanded consideration, not in virtue of his being a member of the human race, but on the ground of his Greek or Roman citizenship. The Greek's consciousness of inalienable superiority led him to regard outlying portions of mankind with ineffable arrogance and scorn. They were classified together under the vague designation of *βάρβαροι*; they spoke a jargon which was unintelligible to Greek ears; they could not even speak articulately.¹ The feeling was the same among the

The idea of
humanity
was
absent.

¹ So much is implied in the word *βάρβαρος*. For its derivation see Ch. on Hospitality. The Chinese, as is well known, entertain a similar contempt for races other than themselves, as the following passages from Mr. Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa* will show. "What seemed to perplex him about Europeans, or, 'barbarians,' as he (quite innocently) termed us, was our amazing energy. 'Why should we trouble ourselves so

Romans. Hence Roman law exempted those who enjoyed the Roman franchise from degrading and barbarous punishments. These were reserved for those who lay outside the pale of Roman citizenship. Far then from possessing a claim upon their consideration, the stranger was viewed as an enemy. So much appears from the gradual extension of the term *hostis* from "stranger" to "foe." Nay more, even within the limits of Roman citizenship the quality of sympathy seems either to have been dormant or seldom called into play. Even in the most enlightened age instances rarely occur of any demonstration of sympathy with misfortune. When in the reign of Nero a theatre collapsed and buried nearly 50,000 spectators, it is recorded that physicians and medical appliances were despatched to the scene of the disaster. When Pompeii and Herculaneum perished in the eruption of Vesuvius, the Romans displayed unusual promptitude in coming to the help of the survivors.¹ But these efforts attracted notice for the simple reason that they were exceptions to the general rule.

From the absence of the idea of the claims of humanity it followed that human life was not held sacred. In the callousness with which they regarded human suffering, the early Greeks and Italians were upon much the same level as savage races of the present day. The gladiatorial shows, while they served, if they were not actually started, to promote courage and instil a contempt for death,² afford sufficient proof of the inhumanity of the average Roman. The treatment of slaves in Rome is even more conclusive. They were looked upon as fit for nothing but the cross, the stake, or the

Human
life not
considered
sacred.

much, and take so much pains about anything on earth?" p. 135. "The story ran that the Bangas were taught how to build their state houses by a 'man' (i.e. a Chinese), who was promised good pay in the shape of deerskins, &c." p. 149. "As the American could not speak Chinese, and had no interpreter, the mandarin actually sent for a Pepo-Hoan to translate; he in his ignorance of foreigners believing that one barbarian language was as good as another." p. 238.

¹ See Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 16 and 20. Dion Cassius lxi. ch. 21.

² Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* ii. 17.

arena.¹ For any conception of the sanctity of human life we look in vain in the first city of the Roman world.

The feeling of humanity fostered by Christianity.

The origin of the sense of humanity must be sought in the influence of Christianity. If Christianity did not create the sense it contributed in the highest degree to the growth of the feeling of humanity, for which we look in vain in pagan races. Even with the Hebrews humanity is the result of a slow growth. Throughout their sacred Scriptures evidence exists which shows only too clearly that the habits and sentiments of the race were tainted with the gross cruelty which characterized the Gentiles. Such a lack of feeling may be traced to various causes, partly to the brutal treatment to which they were exposed at the hands of those who reduced them to subjection, partly to a thirst for revenge. But doubtless it was mainly the outcome of the low level of their own civilization. However, granting their deficiencies to the full, still the Hebrew writings reveal a gradually advancing tendency towards the sentiment of humanity.

The next step was of the highest importance. The advent of the Founder of Christianity was the foundation of a new era of sentiment. To Him the immediate victims of wrong, the outcast, the destitute, the slave, owed the relaxation, if not the absolute removal, of their miseries. To Him who recognised the treasure lodged in every human form, and taught the sanctity of the body, the issues which depend upon life, and the brotherhood of mankind, were directly due the merciful spirit, the tender care for human suffering, and the reverent respect for man as man, which characterizes civilized nations at this day.

The treatment of children.

The value attached to numerous children.

The treatment of children affords a conspicuous example of this disregard for the sacredness of human life, which is an attribute of barbarism. The respective attitudes towards child-life of the Aryan races in the East and the West betray striking resemblances, although—candour compels the con-

¹ Tacitus records that on the murder of Pedianus by one of his slaves, about the year A.D. 61, the rest of the household slaves, numbering four hundred souls, were executed (*Annals*, 42-45).

fession—the East benefits by the comparison. According to many passages in Eastern literature the possession of a numerous offspring is a source of happiness, a guarantee of prosperity, an object of prayer, and a subject of congratulation. This desire for a numerous progeny finds expression in many hymns to Indian gods:—"Bring," cries the votary, addressing the deity Savitar (the quickening and vivifying principle¹), "Bring us to-day the blessing of many children."² In like manner a large family was the pride of the Persians. Herodotus³ states that next to bravery in battle the possession of a numerous offspring was the strongest proof of manliness, and to such as could exhibit the greatest number the king used to send presents every year.

An Eastern
charac-
teristic.

The same sentiment appears in the legend of Niobe, the wife of Amphion, king of Thebes. The mother of six sons and six daughters, she rashly deemed herself superior to Leto, who had given birth only to a son and daughter. This display of motherly pride proved her ruin, and cost her children their lives, for Apollo and Artemis, indignant at the presumption, slew all her children, and Niobe herself was changed into stone.⁴

Legendary
lore.

The Greeks and Italians, on the whole, do not appear to advantage in this particular, for although they showed considerable anxiety to secure a son who should continue the family line and uphold the family honour, there are reasons for thinking that the children's portion, at all events in the early stages of Greek and Italic civilization, was unenviable. There are conclusive proofs that parents took measures to relieve themselves of the trouble and to shirk the responsibility of rearing their children. The shortest way of effecting this was to destroy them before their birth. The prohibitions of the practice which occur in the

Greece
and Italy

¹ From the root *su, sù*: Pres. *suṽati*, Aor. *asavit*. Cf. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 192.

² *Rigveda* 5, 82, 4. Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 318.

³ i. 136.

⁴ Similarly Castor in Crete, "Ruled like a god, blessed with riches and sons." *Odyss.* xiv. 205.

literatures of the Eastern Aryans, both Indian and Persian, bear testimony to the existence of the abuse, but at the same time evince a growing repugnance to it. The case was otherwise in Greece and Rome, where legal penalties attaching to the crime were of comparatively recent origin. But, as a rule, it may be concluded that the enormity was seldom perpetrated by those who were married, for the Greek and Latin *patresfamilias*, though not so markedly as their Indian and Persian kinsmen, still regarded a numerous progeny as a source of strength and power, a safeguard of their interests and a security for the permanence of the line.

Children in
the historic
period.

Rome.

We pass on to indicate the general position of children at a more civilized period. Although some progress had been made in the treatment of children their position still left much to be desired, and we cannot acquit either Greek or Roman society of inexcusable barbarity in its attitude towards child-life. True, the children are distinguished from the slaves of the household by the title of *liberi*, "free-born."¹ Nevertheless, the paternal power (*patria potestas*) was absolute, and the observations of a well-known authority on Indian institutions are applicable to the Roman family. The father (*grhin-*) rules over his family, like a king over his subjects, or a teacher over his pupils. His wives and servants owe him unconditional obedience, and even his sons remain dependent upon him as long as he lives, even when (at their sixteenth year) they have attained their majority. In course of time limits were set to the exercise of the father's power,² but even in the historic period there are clear proofs that the *patria potestas* was no mere matter of form, but that the authority was at times wielded with merciless rigour.³

¹ See Ch. on Class Distinctions; *pueri*, "children," comes from the root *pu*, which in the form *pu* appears in *pubes*, "youth," "adult," *pullus*, "young animal."

² For these later limitations of the *patria potestas* see Marquadt, *Privatleben der Römer*, i. 3.

³ This disregard of the value of child-life, or certainly the small store set upon children, probably accounts for the silence of Roman historians on the subject of the massacre at Bethlehem.

The position of the Roman *paterfamilias*, as we have seen, affords a forcible illustration of the survival of Aryan usage, and the conservatism which marked Roman institutions. This trait is in keeping with the general character of the Roman, to whom has been assigned in a previous chapter¹ the special attribute of a deep reverence for authority, law, and duty. The Roman preserved this traditional trait to the end. On the other hand, the love of liberty distinguished Greek life, and the attitude adopted by the Greek with regard to the position of children in the social organism is faithful to this tendency of the Greek mind.

Rome and
Greece
compared.

There is not much evidence by means of which we may define the authority of the head of the household in early Greece, but what evidence is adducible points to the development of family life up to a certain point on the same general lines as in Rome. But there the parallel ceases. Here, too, paramount authority was vested in the head of the family. The history of the word *δεσπότης* illustrates the strength of his power. The word is certainly connected with the Sanskrit *dāmpati*, and both words can be further resolved into the following elements: *dem-*, *poti-* (house-lord). But *δεσπότης* gradually gained the meaning of unlimited master, and in that sense came to be used of despots, like the King of Persia and other Oriental potentates, whose power knew no limit.² There is a reasonable presumption in favour of supposing that in Greece also the *patria potestas* had at one time been much greater. It has been shown, too, in various ways that evidence exists of a time when much greater power resided in the hands of the father than would appear from his position in historic times.³ However that may be, restrictions were placed upon the rights of the

Greece.

¹ Ch. ii., p. 22.

² Herodotus iii. 89; Thuc. vi. 77: cf. its application to the gods, Eurip., *Hipp.* 88; Xen. *Anab.* 3, 2, 13.

³ See a valuable article on *Kin and Custom*, by Professor Jevons in *Journal of Philology*, xvi. 103.

head of a household; at Athens certainly a man attained his majority two years after reaching puberty.

Daughters. But whatever the lot of the sons may have been in ancient society, the daughters fared far worse. We have already had occasion to notice the preference shown to sons over daughters, and the pretext, though inhuman, is intelligible. The son preserved the family from extinction. He maintained the family worship. In case of peril he championed the rights of the family. All these causes conspired to enhance the importance of the son in the estimation of his parent and of the community. Hence a Lithuanian who has three sons and two daughters, if asked how many children (*wāikūs*) he has, will as a rule reply *turiù tris waiikūs*, ignoring the existence of the female children.¹ Hence, too, the Indian devotee expresses a heartfelt desire in the Vedic hymn :—

“A daughter give to someone else, grant me a son.”

and again—

“Daughters are a sorrow ; sons are the fathers’ pride and glory.”²

Infanti-
cide.

The foregoing considerations account for a practice which bespeaks a state of savagery. However much we may desire to defend the honour of the Greek and Italic races from imputations against the national character, however much we may be dazzled by their achievements in historic times, we cannot blind ourselves to their essential barbarism and inherent cruelty. Unnatural as was such conduct, it cannot be doubted that children, chiefly of the female sex, were cast away, and fell a prey to wild beasts or starvation. Not to mention outlying portions of the globe, the practice was recognized in India up to the British occupation, and it

¹ *Wāikas*, “boy.” See Delbrück, *Verwandschaftsnamen*, p. 831; Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 427.

² Atharvaveda, 6, 11; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 318, 370. The same feeling appears in the Greek islands to-day. Cf. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 179.

continues in China to this day.¹ If therefore in these two ^{Its causes.} ancient and comparatively civilized empires certain circumstances, such as the excess of women and dearth of food, were supposed to justify a discrimination between a son's or a daughter's claims to life, still more practical and pressing reasons could be alleged for the leniency towards the one and severity towards the other in primitive times. Female children were then thought to be an encumbrance, useless for purposes of war and the chase, and at the same time liable to be carried off by the enemy.² Even males did not escape this summary method of extinction if they appeared to be unfitted for manly avocations. But in the case of the boys another consideration operated in the direction of mercy, namely, the thought which was ever present to the parent's mind and was often expressed in words:—

“Every mortal . . . continues his seed through child and grandchild, when his Âditja³ lead with gracious guidance to overcome all misfortune.”

So much for the motives that have actuated the savage, whether of modern or prehistoric ages, to commit the enormity of infanticide. Before proceeding to inquire whether this attribute of barbarism survived in Greece and Italy, the evidence from two other Aryan races, one European the other Eastern, may be advantageously ^{India.} brought forward to confirm or correct our conclusions.

The practice in ancient India is well authenticated. Mytho- ^{Myth.}logy affords evidence of the custom. Aditi, the goddess of the

¹ Cf. Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa*. “While the status of the parent is so well secured, the position of the female children is deplorable, and infanticide is common throughout the empire, in spite of Buddhistic humanity” (p. 58). “The people informed me that they had brought the practice over from the mainland; and I discovered that the aborigines, both civilized and savage, look with horror upon the Chinese for their inhumanity in this respect” (p. 61).

² In Tahiti girls rather than boys were thus disposed of, because they were of less use in war and fishing.

³ Rigveda 10, 63, 13. The Âditja are the personifications of light, and dwell in the highest realm, or bright regions of heaven, but do not belong to the highest order of gods.

Eternal and the Imperishable,¹ exposed her child to death; she thereby established a precedent and gave her sanction to the practice amongst mortals. Accordingly we find passages which clearly enjoin the practice. In the *Taittirīya-Samhitā*² occurs the following sentence:—*tasmāt striyam parāsyanti, ut pumānsam haranti*. Attempts have been made to explain it away, but repellent as the sentence sounds, it cannot in the light of kindred practices in India and other countries be interpreted in any other sense³ than the following:—“Therefore a girl is exposed, a boy is taken up,” i.e., from the ground at birth, when his fate is trembling in the balance, and awaits the decision of the father. But, in matter of fact, this passage is only one of several bearing upon the custom,⁴ which lasted on till 1834, when steps were taken to abolish it.⁵

Greece.

Myth.

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the practice was countenanced by public opinion in Greece also. The gods of Olympus likewise lent their sanction to it. Thus, Hera, the only really married goddess among the Olympian circle, the patroness of marriage and the birth of children, by her treatment of her son set the example of unmotherly conduct, and in this matter proved a worthy daughter of Cronos, who (so ran the story) swallowed his children.⁶ The god of fire, Hephaistos, was delicate and weakly from birth, as a flame arises out of a little spark. With a genuine Greek aversion from physical deformity, his mother, Hera, took a dislike to her offspring, and, to rid herself of the encumbrance, dropped him from Olympus.⁷ The lesser

¹ Kaegi, *Der Rigveda* p. 194. Cf. Max Müller, *Vorlesungen über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Religion*, Strassburg, 1880.

² 6, 5, 10, 3.

³ See Schrader, *Reallex.* 53, and Böhtlingk in *Z. d. D. Morgenl. Ges.* xliv. 494.

⁴ Cf. A. Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 5, 54, 260; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 319.

⁵ So, too, among the Northmen, Dasent, *The Story of Burnt Njal*, xiii.

⁶ Apollodor i. 65.

⁷ See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, sub. v. *Hera*.

luminaries of the Greek pantheon were not slow to imitate the example set by the goddess, and we find in legend Tyro, the wife of Cretheus and the beloved of the river-god Enipeus in Thessaly, exposing her child to death. Hence mortals need not feel any scruple. Accordingly Laius pierces his new-born son's feet, binds them together, and casts him away on Mount Cithaeron. Pelopia exposes her child Aigisthos immediately after his birth, but he was fortunately found by shepherds, rescued, and suckled by a goat, a circumstance from which he took his name.¹ Under the august patronage of gods and demi-gods the practice continued to flourish in Greece down to a late time.

Sparta illustrates the principles that underlie the usage, and it requires no abstruse explanation to account for this. It is a commonplace of history that the very existence of the Spartan commonwealth depended upon the maintenance of its male population. It was founded upon the ruins of an earlier race, who had been reduced to serfdom and were kept under by a periodical massacre, the *κρυπτεία*, conducted by night. The sternness of the discipline observed in the Spartan state was proverbial. Its constitution, the life of its citizens, and the whole system of training its youth aimed at securing a high military efficiency. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find female infanticide practised here on a large scale. Such proves to be the case. Nay, more, when the child was weak and sickly, exposure was compulsory, with the proviso, however, that the father should bring it to the eldest of the tribesmen² for inspection. The actuating principle in this instance lies on the very surface; since war thinned the ranks of the men and spared the women, the greatest store was set upon the possession of male children.

But the custom was by no means confined to Sparta, and

¹ *αἴξ*, "a goat." Hygin., *Fab.* 87, 88; Ælian., *V.H.* xii. 42. Shepherds are familiar figures in such legends. Cyprus was given to a herdsman to be exposed and was saved; and Oedipus was discovered by a shepherd in the service of King Polybus, of Corinth. Very often the ties so contracted were considered more binding than blood itself.

² *πρεσβύτατοι τῶν φυλετῶν*. Plut. *Lycurg.* c. 16.

Significance of the custom at Sparta.

other motives co-operated; the sentiment of a couplet in Stobaeus:—

υἶὸν τρέφει τις κὰν πένης τις ὦν τύχη,
θυγατέρα δ' ἐκτίθησι, κὰν ἦ πλούσιος.¹

bears witness at once to the commonness of the practice and the callousness of the public mind.

Technical terms.

The technical term for casting out children to the mercy of wild beasts or starvation is ἐγχυτρίζειν, to expose in an earthenware vessel (χύτρα), which afterwards came to mean “make an end of,” as in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes:—

ἀνὴρ παχὺς ἤκει
τῶν προδόντων τὰπὶ Θράκης·
ὃν ὅπως ἐγχυτρίεις.²

According to the Scholiast on the same passage the word ἐγχυτρίστρια was applied to women³ who performed the office.

Rome.

Legend.

Nowhere was the paternal authority stronger in theory and more strictly enforced in practice than at Rome, and as might be expected, exposure was not considered repugnant to national morality. The earliest story connected with the foundation of Rome, after we pass from the misty region of mythology to historic ground, opens with the exposure of Romulus. The legend bears a close resemblance to stories which were current among other races, and is doubtless derived from the same source. It was to the following effect: Amulius, the uncle of Romulus, found means to supplant Numitor, a brother, and not content with the crime of usurpation, he added to it the sin of murder. Numitor's sons fell a sacrifice to his ambition, and he doomed his brother's only daughter to perpetual celibacy by making her a Vestal Virgin. But his precautions were frustrated in the event and her children by the god Mars were flung into

¹ *Serm.* lxxvii. 7. “Even if a man be poor he rears a son, even if he be rich he exposes a daughter.”

² 288. “For a man of substance, one of those who betrayed our interests in Thrace, has come; see that you *pot* him.”

³ Cf. καταχυτρίζειν in the same sense, *Arist. Frag.* 626.

the Tiber, only to be suckled by a wolf and saved by Faustulus, the king's herdsman.¹

But evidence exists other than that which is supplied by ^{Law.} legendary lore. It was recognized in historic times also that the father had an inalienable right to rear his children or not at his will. Did the Indian or Greek "take up" his new-born son (*παῖδας ἀναρπείναι*)²? By a similar formality the Roman father owns his child (*tollere, suscipere liberos*). Unquestionably the Latin phrase also refers to the literal lifting up of the child from the bare ground and handing it over to the women to be reared. Was the motive that weighed with the Spartan father a desire to rear a race of warriors? We cannot conceive a different principle actuating the fathers of the Roman state, who were bent upon the conquest of the world.³ Did the laws of Sparta, in order to prevent abuse or deception, insist upon the production of the child and examination by the heads of the tribe? So, in like manner, a law attributed to Romulus, himself a victim of the cruel custom, required that the child should be brought into the presence of five witnesses⁴ before its fate was decided, and if the father, without these preliminaries, consigned it to destruction, a heavy punishment awaited him.⁵ The above mentioned enactment did not include any female children within its scope except the firstborn, and even as regards sons it is clear that at a later time the law fell into abeyance or was openly disregarded. Under the Republic new-born children, whether male or female, were exposed to death with impunity. True, evidence is forthcoming of

¹ Livy i. 4; similarly in Herodotus i. 110, Cyprus is exposed by the command of the king Astyages; his life is preserved by the herdsman Mithridates, and his wife Spaco, the equivalent of the Greek Kuno.

² Cf. *Iliad* xvi. 8; Plut. *Anton.* 36; Arist. *Clouds*. 531. For the Indian expression see the passage quoted from the *Taittiriya-Samhitā*, above, p. 162.

³ Cf. Marquadt, *Privatleben der Römer*, p. 3, 1; p. 81, note 1.

⁴ Dionysius, *Halic.* ii. 15.

⁵ Cf. Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, xxiii. A precisely similar formality was observed in India, Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 320; and in Germany, Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, 455; Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen*, 75; *Altnordisches Leben*, 260.

Juvenal on childhood. a distinct improvement in the position of children, and the Roman nation at a later day fully felt the moral obligation on the part of parents towards their children. The poet of the first century of our era, in a satire on home influence, sounds a note of warning against their neglect:—

“Maxima debetur puero reverentia.”¹

Infanticide abolished. and he doubtless does but echo the public sentiment, which was dictated as much by political or national considerations as by tenderness of feeling. But granting all this, the father could not be deprived of the right over his children's life and limb. Only in the time of Hadrian was the custom pronounced a crime and finally abolished.²

Children in Homer.

The attitude taken up by the Greeks towards the question of child-life, as we have had occasion to remark, exhibits a superiority over public sentiment among the Romans. There is clear evidence that in the period portrayed in the Homeric poems human ideas had gained ground. The Greeks of that day exhibited a strong parental tenderness.³ This is most striking in the *Iliad*, as, for example, in the passage⁴ which describes how Hector soothes his son's alarm at his helmet's nodding plume. Again, the deeply pathetic scene where the widowed Andromache laments the lot of her orphan child,⁵ is perhaps unsurpassed in the Homeric poems. It may be that this is the language of a poetic idealism, and that the characters portrayed are a creation of the poet's fancy. It may be also that these calm scenes of home life were invented by the poet purposely as a contrast to the horrors and the glories of war. Still, the naturalness of the descriptions points at once to the fact

¹ Juvenal *Sat.* xiv. 47. “A child has a claim to the deepest respect.”

² Cf. Brunnenmeister *Tötungsverbrechen*, p. 148.

³ Cf. *Odyss.* xi. 452; vi. 153; xi. 538. *Iliad* iv. 130; xii. 433. Unnatural conduct on the part of the parent, as seen in the mother of Eurypylos, is viewed with abhorrence. *Odyss.* xi. 521.

⁴ vi. 466. Cf. v. 406.

⁵ The position of the orphan is implied by contrast in the striking word in Homer for a child whose parents are both living. ἀμφιθαλής xxii. 496. “Flourishing on both sides.”

that such domestic relations were frequent and familiar features of Greek life, and led to an improvement in the position of children and to an appreciation of them.

In like manner the child cherishes deep respect for the parent, and of this filial regard the scene in which Priam supplicates for the body of his son Hector affords an interesting illustration.¹ The conqueror Achilles, embittered by the loss of his bosom friend Patroclus, has long turned a deaf ear to all entreaty. Neither the rights of god nor of man have any weight with him. But the sight of the aged king of Troy breaks down his resolution; it brings vividly before him his own father at home, and he yields.

The attitude of children towards parents.

Nevertheless, admitting the alleviation of the lot of children in historic Greece and Rome, it is a far cry to the modern conceptions of the duties owed by age to childhood. Whether Christianity dictated the final extinction of infanticide in the time of the Roman Empire we need not inquire. However that may have been, it was Christianity that sounded the knell of the maltreatment of children, and with every successive generation society recognized more and more that their helplessness constituted a claim on the compassion of adults.²

Christianity and childhood.

¹ *Iliad* xxiv. 486.

² The eighteenth century furnishes us with an instance to show how little value is set on child-life when the sanctions of religion lose their power. It is stated on unimpeachable authority (his own) that Rousseau sent his five children to the Foundling Hospital. Even in the Nineteenth Century there were ominous indications of a similar callousness arising from a similar indifference to religion. Some years ago a French writer, J. K.-Huysmans advocated the legalization of infanticide, and denounced St. Vincent de Paul for his "odious precautions in deferring for years the death of creatures without intelligence." See the *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1888, p. 673. This was in the writer's atheistic days. Since then he has been received into the bosom of an "infallible Church," and has related his mental conflicts in his novels, *En Route* and *La Cathédrale*.

CHAPTER XIV.

TREATMENT OF THE AGED.

Importance of the subject.

THE way in which the aged are treated is an index at once to national character, and to the grade of civilization attained. As regards Greece and Italy, the attitude assumed towards old age is on a par with the treatment of children, which has been discussed in the previous chapter. The absence of the filial instinct is closely connected with the indifference to child-life, if not a direct consequence of it. For the barbarity in the treatment of the child would in its turn bear fruit in a retaliatory treatment of the parent. We miss among the early Greeks and Italians that reverence for parents which is rewarded by the promise of long life and prosperity among the Hebrews.¹ It would be wrong, however, to adopt the modern standard of taste and propriety, or expect to find in the tenth century before Christ came the moral principles which are acknowledged in the twentieth century of the Christian era.

Respect for age the result of a slow growth.

To modern Europeans who have breathed the atmosphere of Christianity with its sympathetic tenderness towards suffering or weakness, or even have fallen unconsciously

¹ Exodus xx. 12. "Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Cf. Pythag. 4; *Iliad* i. 214; xvii. 301; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 331; Theogn. 819; Phocylid. 6; Plutarch, *de Frat. Amor.* p. 479; Xen. *Mem.* ii. c. ii. 13; *ibid.* iv. c. iv. 20; Virg. *Georg.* iv. 548; *Aeneid.* ii. 606; Ovid, *Heroid. Epist.* xiv. 53; Catull. ix. 61. The advantage in this particular lies with the East rather than the West. No race surpasses the Chinese in filial devotion; with them it is the first commandment and the basis of the whole moral law, and no race has more conspicuously inherited the promise of length of days in the land allotted to them which the Hebrew writings hold out to reverence for parents.

under its indirect influence, any harshness in the treatment of infirmity or infancy is naturally repugnant. Under the influence of the Christian religion, as has been seen, an idea of humanity has arisen which was foreign to the ancient world. Respect for age has now received a moral and religious sanction. But in reality it is the result of a very gradual growth; indeed, no institution or idea affords a clearer proof of the evolution of the civilization of Greece and Rome from a primitive barbarism.

It is impossible to escape from the conclusion that in the earliest times of which we have any record the aged were put to death. The practice of exposing or otherwise disposing of the aged or infirm was widespread. It is found to have existed among the un-Aryan Massagetae,¹ and other races who occupied countries contiguous to Greece, or were connected by race with the Greeks. But so common was the usage that we must confine ourselves to one or two instances which are most relevant to our purpose. The Indians, according to the Atharvavedá, invoked the spirits not only of their ancestors who had been regularly interred or burnt, but of those who had been exposed.² In conformity with this custom we find a prayer offered over the cradle of the newborn son to the following effect:—"May he not strike his father, nor neglect the mother that bare him."³ The abundant evidence of the practice which is at our disposal leaves us in no doubt whatever as to the motives which influenced the relatives and friends in resorting to the practice and methods that they employed.

Hunger sometimes forced them to take this step; for primitive races have no more formidable foe to encounter than famine. Of this state of things the following incident affords an illustration:—"My attention," says an American author, "was directed to a very aged and emaciated man

The aged put to death in the earliest times.

Prevalence of the custom.

The causes: famine.

American Redskins.

¹ Herodotus i. 216; Strabo xi. 8, 6.

² Atharvaveda 18, 2, 34; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 328.

³ Rigveda 10, 95; Zimmer, *Ibid.* 327.

of the tribe, who he told me was to be exposed. The tribe was going where hunger and dire necessity compelled them to go, and this pitiable object, who had once been a chief, and a man of distinction in his tribe, who was now too old to travel, being reduced to mere skin and bones, was to be left to starve, or meet with such death as might fall to his lot, and his bones be picked up by the wolves. . . . His friends and his children had all left him, and were preparing in a little time to be on the march. He had told them to leave him; 'he was old,' he said, 'and too feeble to march.' . . . This cruel custom of exposing their aged people, belongs, I think, to all the tribes who roam about the prairies, making severe marches. When such decrepit persons are totally unable to go, unable to ride or walk, when they have no means of carrying them, it often becomes absolutely necessary . . . that they should be left; and they uniformly insist upon it, saying, as this old man did, that they are old and of no further use, that they left their fathers in the same manner, that they wish to die, and their children must not mourn for them."¹ It is impossible to doubt that the Aryan races in their progress into unexplored regions, beset by hostile populations, would be reduced to a similar plight, and that we have in the picture presented here a scene which would be often enacted in the early history of Aryan nations. For, as has been observed in a previous chapter, the pressure of hunger drove them onward to seek new homes in the more genial climate and fertile countries on the Mediterranean. Nor did they escape the danger of famine by their migration. Even their permanent or final settlement in the Southern continents did not free them from apprehensions on this score. Now, all food supplies belonged to the community,² and care had to be

Aryan
races.

Migration.

¹ Catlin, *North American Indians*, Letter 27. Cf. Gumilla, *Histoire de l'Orinoque*, Avignon, 1758; Steller, on *Kamtchatka*, pp. 294, 295, 395; and Count von Benjowski in Foster's *Collection of Notable Modern Travels*, p. 380.

² See Chapter on Property.

exercised in husbanding the resources available. The rule was that he who could not fight should not eat. Accordingly, the aged and infirm, who would be the first to feel the pangs of hunger, would be the first to be sacrificed to meet the emergency. We should then expect to find that a ^{Germany.} warlike race like the Germans would be peculiarly susceptible to that argument, and, as a matter of fact, there is abundant evidence of the influence of such considerations among that people.¹ To the same cause the historian Strabo² ascribes the practice of the custom or law (*νόμος*) ^{Greece.} in Ceos, one of the Cyclades. He states in effect that in that island a law required all those who were over sixty years of age to take poison, in order to avoid depriving the younger members of the community of proper means of subsistence. In like manner speaks Heraclides Ponticus. He says: "Old men do not wait for their end, but before they fall sick or become cripples take themselves off by means of poppy or hemlock juice." We shall doubtless be justified in concluding that in early Europe failure of crops or reverses in border warfare or similar calamities frequently reduced the population to extremities. In such emergencies it would be found that the infirm could best be spared, useless as they would be for the chief demand upon the strength of the tribe, namely, warfare, and the chief sources of subsistence, the chase and husbandry.³

The stern exigencies of war perhaps more than any other circumstance tended to quench the instincts of pity. While they were engaged, as must have been the case down to a late period, in endless tribal and border wars, the weak were felt to be not merely a drain upon the public supplies, but an embarrassment on the march. When the aged therefore were no longer able to bear arms and, besides, proved

The aged
despatched
in time of
war.

¹ See Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, 488; Von Ihering, p. 332.

² 486. Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 37. For an echo of this tradition in Modern Greece see Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 324.

³ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 488, on the practice of Gipsies and North American Indians.

an encumbrance, they were often despatched. It is well known that such was the practice of the Bactri,¹ the Wends, the Lithuanians, and the Germans of the mainland, and in all probability we can predicate the same of a nation so warlike by instinct, so devoted to the pursuit, and so self-sacrificing in accomplishing their military ambitions as the Romans.²

As a relief
from the
miseries of
life.

Suicide.

Melanesia,
a parallel.

Buddha.

Sometimes the aged were killed from motives of compassion. The sensibility of savages to the miseries of life is attested by the frequent practice of suicide in cases of incurable disease or misfortune. The horrors of the system of despatching the infirm which has come under our notice is somewhat mitigated by the reflection that it was sometimes not merely prompted by prudential reasons or selfish motives, but for the sake of relieving the aged of the burden of life. Of this feeling we find an illustration in Melanesia.³ We read the following account:—The aged mother had been thrown into her grave, “and she was not dead.” The writer proceeds—“She had implored them to take her life, as she did not want to survive her daughter, so they bound the living and the dead together, and then trod the mother to death. . . . The deed was done by her own sons, and I suppose they thought they did her good service.” The truth is that savages set little store on life, and, as has been remarked before, frequently rid themselves of the evils attendant upon old age by taking their own lives. The incident which led Gautama to embrace a hermit’s vocation, and spend his years in solitude and meditation is related in Indian literature.⁴ It was the mournful sight of a man spent with age, worn out with labour, and undermined with disease. This reflection strikes the keynote of the Buddhist

¹ Strabo xi. 11, 3.

² Cf. Grimm, *Ibid.* vol. i. ch. iv.

³ How, *The Life of Bishop J. Selwyn*, p. 152. Cf. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. 59. He cites a parallel case from Fiji. Helvetius, *De l'esprit* ii. 13, remarks that the natives of the Congo despatched chronic invalids:—“C'est—disent ils—pour les épargner les douleurs de l'agonie” or “pour les arracher à la douleur.”

⁴ Cf. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop* i. p. 211.

religion founded by Gautama, which professes to hold out no more than a means of refuge from the sins and sorrows of this miserable world by annihilation. Such also was the sad estimate of old age which the Heruli, a German tribe, had formed. The historian Procopius informs us that they were in the habit of cutting short the life of the aged and the diseased :—

οὔτε γὰρ γηράσκουσιν οὔτε νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς βιοτείνειν ἐξῆν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τις αὐτῶν ἢ γήρᾳ ἢ νόσῳ ἀλώη, ἐπάναγκές οἱ ἐγίνετο τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζειν.¹

This people resorted to this expedient in the belief that they were thus ensuring the happiness of their kinsman, and failure to carry out the wishes of the invalid was a dereliction of duty. Other instances might be adduced to show that the relatives in such a case thought they were doing their kinsman service by helping him to his grave by exposure, a cup of poison or a bowstring,² and in most cases no objection was raised by the victims themselves. Though there is no positive evidence of the existence of this motive among the Greek and Italic races, it would be unsafe to assume that it did not weigh with them also. On the contrary, the general spirit of Greek and Italian life would appear to warrant the conclusion that this argument would appeal to them as much as, if not more than to other races of the same blood.

The necessity of propitiating angry divinities was ever present to the ancient mind, and afforded another justification of their treatment of the aged. This blighting superstition, as is well known, has at all times led to the observance of human sacrifice, to which, in spite of all efforts to

The aged offered in sacrifice.

¹ *De Bello Gothico* ii. 14. "For if they were growing old or diseased they were not allowed to live; but when any one of them was overtaken by old age or disease, he was obliged to request his kinsmen to cut him off from among men as soon as possible."

² Cf. Garcia Lasso de la Vega, on the Peruvians, vii. 17, and Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, ii. ch. 28; Zeiler, *Episteln*, 529; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 486. Dr. George Brandes, in his *Impressions of Russia*, p. 27, gives an illustration of the Russian indifference to death in the time of the Crimean War, when the comrades of a wounded soldier buried him alive—out of pity.

palliate the crime or explain away the evidence, it is clear that Greek as well as Roman resorted with a view to averting public calamities. Since, therefore, it is idle to deny the existence of the practice even in the historic period, there is a reasonable presumption that in earlier times the usage was at once more common and more terrible. Neither can we doubt that the aged would be among the first to fall victims to the anger of the gods. The same thought doubtless lies at the root of another custom which obtained apparently in more than one country, the inhabitants of which were of Aryan descent. It is well known that on the Ides of May figures of men, twenty-three in number, called *argei*, were thrown into the river Tiber from the *Pons Sublicius*.¹ It was the general belief of the ancients that these effigies took the place of the earlier human sacrifices, offered presumably to the river god Tiberinus, who frequently flooded the land which lay on his banks, and the tradition doubtless rests upon an historic basis. True, the Roman antiquaries, jealous of their countrymen's honour, repudiated the notion, but in the light of other institutions at Rome and similar customs in other countries, the usage does not admit of the explanation which their patriotism prompted them to offer. Festus doubtless represents the true state of the case when he says, *Sexagenarios de ponte dejiciebant*,² but he proceeds to suggest another solution. According to this theory men of that age were no longer admitted to vote in the *saepta* or enclosures in the Plain of Mars, and if they tried to enter they were thrust down from the bridge that led to them. But the history of other races furnishes parallels to the sacrifice of old men. Such a custom obtained in Egypt, where human beings were offered to the Nile.³ Such appears to have been the practice among the Wends, for there exists a Low German saying which, as the oldest inhabitants declare,

The *argei*
at Rome.

Analogous
customs.

Germany.

¹ Varro, *L.L.* 7, § 44, Müller; *Ov. Fasti*, v. 621.

² P. 334, Müller: "They used to throw men of sixty years (of age) from a bridge." Cf. Varro *ap. Non.* 523, 21.

³ Lindemann, *Gesch. der Meinungen*, part vii., 181.

was once used as a prayer when the old men were sacrificed to the river god. It ran as follows:—*Kruup unner, Kruup unner, de Welt is di gram*.¹ Altogether it may be safe to conclude that the Latin terms *argei*, *depontani*, and *sexagenarii de ponte* are nothing but reminiscences of an ancestral custom² by which the aged were literally offered to propitiate the god of the stream. Additional weight is lent to the presumption by the substitution elsewhere of similar effigies or figures for the original human beings. Of these pious frauds we shall have occasion to speak later. Here one illustration will suffice. The oracle had enjoined the sacrifice of a man³ (*φώς*) in the words:—

Pious
frauds.

καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδη καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα.⁴

The worshippers interpreted this to mean not human heads and human life (*φώς*), and by a play upon words a light (*φῶς*) was substituted for the original offering.

Another reason why the aged were put to death remains for consideration. It will be remembered that the early Greek and Italian, like many savage races of to-day, regarded the future life as a continuation of the present. Accordingly the physical condition of the dead would be the same as when they departed this life. We find a suggestion of this in Homer's description of the Shades below. He makes Odysseus seek their haunts, and among these unearthly visitants appear "brides and youths and worn-out men."

Bearing
of views of
a future
life on old
age.

¹ Von Ihering, p. 356. "Creep under, creep under, the world is grievous to thee." Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 487. Baring Gould, *Curious Survivals*, p. 32, states that while building a new bridge at Halle, which was completed in 1843, the people wished to immure a child in the foundation to ensure its stability.

² Cf. Cicero, *pro Sexto Roscio* 35. Habeo etiam dicere, quem contra morem maiorum, minorem annis lx. de ponte in Tiberim deiecerit.

³ Dionys. i. 19. "And send heads to Hades, and to thy father a man." Macrob. i. 7, 28.

⁴ xi. 38. Lines 38-43 were rejected by Zenodotus as being inconsistent with the detailed scenes. Vergil imitated them in *Georg.* iv. 471. Cf. *Æn.* vi. 306.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the desire to embark on a new career before bodily decay had set in reconciled the aged Greek or Italian to being hurried from the scene of this present world. His tastes and faculties too would find exercise, whether as hunter or warrior, in the world to come. As, then, the victim would wish to depart with a healthy and sound frame, so his kinsmen would feel less compunction in releasing him from his sufferings on earth.

No punishment for parricide.

The harsh treatment of the aged lies beyond dispute, and, further, it throws light upon another striking circumstance connected with the early legislation of Greece and Italy. It is a fact that in the laws enacted by the early legislators there is no provision for the punishment of parricide. The omission is significant. It would appear at first sight as if the crime was inconceivable, and that therefore the contingency was not contemplated or the thought entertained. But plausible as the explanation may appear,¹ and creditable as the sentiment would be to the feelings of the race, we shall doubtless be justified in dismissing it. The probability is that at that time, when the power of the head of the household depended upon force, when his will was undisputed and he did what was right in his own eyes, the community was unable or deemed it imprudent to interfere with domestic government.

Old age still viewed with repugnance.

The growth of civilization, and especially the increase in the comforts of life, wrought a change in the condition of the aged, and this leads us to what may be considered as a second stage in the treatment of them. The feeling of repulsion with which old age was viewed lasted long after the practice of putting the aged to death was altogether abandoned or became a rarer occurrence. To the æsthetic joy-loving Greek a feeling of repugnance against decrepitude with its attendant miseries constantly clung, and it finds utterance

¹ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 38, and Brunnenmeister, *Das Tötungsverbrechen*, p. 190.

in legend and literature. The story of Tithonus reflects the sentiment. In answer to the prayers of Eos, the goddess of the Morn, who loved him, he obtained of the gods the gift of immortality, but not eternal youth or freedom from the taint of bodily decay. The consequence was that he wasted away in his old age, and implored to be released from the burden of the flesh.¹

Legend of
Tithonus.

To the same sentiment the German rhyme gives expression :—

50 jahr geht alter an,
60 jahr ist wolgethan,
70 jahr ein greis,
80 jahr schneeweisz,
90 jahr der kinder spott,
100 jahr gnad' dir Gott.²

The estimate which Homer appears to have formed would appear to have been a melancholy one. Old age is depicted by him as full of misery :—It is *χαλεπόν*, “grievous”; *στυγερόν*, “loathly,” or “hateful”; *λυγρόν*, “miserable,” “wretched”; *ὀλοόν*, “baneful,” “destructive”;³ and the aged are “full of labour and sorrow” (*πολύτλητοι, πολυπενθεῖς*).⁴ The poet sings in a similar strain in one of the hymns attributed to him :—

Homer.

*γῆρας οὐλόμενον, καματηρόν, ὃ τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.*⁵

Nor does Hesiod form a higher opinion of old age, for he makes “Old age the destructive” a son of Night and brother to Deception and Strife.⁶

¹ *Hymn in Ven.* 219, Hesiod, *Theog.* 984.

² Grimm, *Das Alter*, p. 41.

Fifty years old age comes on,
Sixty years is well done,
Seventy years an old man,
Eighty years snow-white,
Ninety years the children's laughing-stock,
Hundred years, God help thee!

³ *Iliad* viii. 103; xix. 336; v. 153; xxiv. 487.

⁴ *Odyss.* xi. 38; xiv. 386.

⁵ *In Ven.* 246, “Old age, destructive, burdensome, which the gods themselves loathe.”

⁶ *Theog.* 225. Cf. Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1234; Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 639. *γέρον τύμβος*, Eurip. *Med.*, 1209; *Herc. Fur.*, 167; Aristoph. *Lys.*, 372; and Plautus “capuli decus,” *As.* 5, 2, 42.

Greek
ideal of
manhood.

The reason for this repugnance to old age is not far to seek. To the Greek mind, imbued as it was with a sense of harmony, the perfection of manhood consisted in a happy adjustment of a healthy mind and a healthy body. The educational system of Athens was directed to the attainment of this end, and vigorous health was the highest wish of the Athenian :—

Ἕγχαίειν μὲν ἄριστον ἀνδρὶ θνατῷ
δευτέρου δὲ φῦν καλὸν γενέσθαι,
τὸ τρίτον δὲ πλουτεῖν ἀδόλως,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἡβᾶν μετὰ τῶν φίλων.¹

The
mental
faculties of
the
Homeric
hero unim-
paired by
age.

But the ideal was not absent from the Greece of Homer. We see there that as Odysseus by the combination of mental and physical graces commanded admiration, so for want of them Thersites excited aversion.²

But there is no evidence that in the Homeric conception of old age decrepitude was attended by dotage. On the contrary, what old age lost in bodily infirmity, it gained in experience and wisdom, as was the case with Ægyptus, who was "bowed with age, and skilled in things past number."³ Age now forms a title to consideration; the typical old man in Homer, thanks to the simplicity of his life, retains his bodily vigour to a ripe age. When he was young his pursuits were war and the chase. He could shoot at the mark and wield the lance with the best of them. He, too, was fleet of foot, and he stood in the forefront of the battle. Those days are gone. But he lives by reflected glory. He lives again in his representatives, his sons or his sons' sons, who bear his name, and uphold the family honour. He rejoices and takes pride in their skill in hurling the spear or bending the bow.⁴

¹ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* 3, 1289, 8. "Good health is the greatest blessing to a mortal man; the second to be of handsome stature; the third to be wealthy without guile; and the fourth to company with his friends in his prime." Cf. the Indian's desire, *Rigveda* 2, 21, 6; Kaegi, p. 44.

² *Iliad* ii. 211-271.

³ *μυρία ἦδη*, *Odys.* ii, 16.

⁴ Cf. *Odys.* iv. 206; *Iliad* ix. 255.

There is a significant distinction between the Dorian and Ionian in this respect. Of this difference a well-known anecdote in Greek history affords an interesting instance. It happened at Athens during a public representation in the theatre, that an old man arrived too late to find a place suitable to his station. As he stood, out of countenance, he was exposed to the ridicule of the whole assembly. Thereupon some Lacedemonian ambassadors who were present observing his predicament, beckoned him to them, rose up to a man and received him with every sign of respect. Touched by this exhibition of tenderness, and ashamed of their own degeneracy, the whole audience greeted the act with thunders of applause, and the remark was made, "The Athenians understand what is good, but the Lacedemonians practise it." But perhaps the cause was more deep-seated, and is to be looked for in the different circumstances and character of the Dorian and Ionian races. It may have been due to the simpler habits of the warlike Dorian, which shielding him alike from indulgence and indolence, conduced to a longer life and a halier old age than the luxurious habits of the Ionian. It may be also that the importance attached by the Ionians to brilliant talent and capacity, and especially to power of speech, tended to throw influence into the hands of the younger generation. But whatever the cause, the fact remains that the aged were held in deeper reverence at Sparta than at Athens. "They honour old men," says Nicolas of Damascus, "no less than their fathers."

The treatment of the aged at Sparta is a survival from the Homeric period in historic times; for in Homer the old man, far from being a butt of scorn, is an object of solicitude. He stands in the position of a father to the young and middle-aged. He is therefore addressed as *ἄττα*, "good father" (a very old form of endearment), and not only by those of his own kindred.¹ He is revered as a

Veneration
for the
aged in
Homer.

¹ *Iliad* ix. 607; *Odysseus* xvi. 31. Cf. Sanskrit *attā*, "mother"; Gothic, *atta*, "forefather"; Church Slavonic *atīci*, "father."

father,¹ and looked upon with veneration (*αἰδώς*).² His very helplessness constitutes a claim upon the public regard. Nor is this all. He is honoured by the gods,³ who resent any affront offered to him, and visit the offender with condign punishment.⁴

The care of
parents.

This change of attitude towards old age reacted upon the position of parents. No longer are they cast out to wild beasts and birds of prey, but care of the aged, especially in the case of parents, is now inculcated as an imperative duty.

Roman
and Greek
laws.

The duty of cherishing parents, if only out of gratitude on the part of the children for their own nurture and the care bestowed upon themselves, is strictly enjoined in Roman law.⁵ The Athenians went still further. They required at the hands of a candidate for office proof of the satisfactory performance of his duties towards his father and mother.⁶

To offer violence, and still more to kill a father or mother, was an offence of the deepest dye⁷ (*ἀπόρρητον*, "unspeakable"). It called down the vengeance of the Erinyes, who would brook no insult to parents unreturned and no injury unrequited.

Literature.

No less important is the duty in the estimation of the poets, for example, Hesiod.⁸ The poet is balancing the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, and observes that the unmarried man will have no one to care for him in old age, and he will leave his property to strangers. The hero

¹ Hermes says to Priamos, *Iliad* xxiv. 371, φίλω δέ σε πατρί ἔϊσκω.

² *Odyss.* iii. 22.

³ *Iliad* xxiii. 788.

⁴ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 329; *Iliad* xv. 204 and xxiii. 788; *Odyss.*, xiii. 141; Antholog. Gr. Epig., book I, c. 16; Phocylid. 207; Xen. *Mem.*, II, c. iii. 16; Cic. *De Offic.* I, 34; Ovid. *Fast.* v. 57; Juv. *Sat.* xiii. 54. Leviticus xix. 32, "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God; I am the Lord."

⁵ Cf. Leist, *Grücoital. Rechtsgesch.*, p. 13, § 4.

⁶ εἰ γονέας εὖ ποιεί. Cf. Meier and Schömann, *Der Attische Process*, 203 (in Lipsius' edition).

⁷ The terms were *πατραλοίας* and *μητραλοίας*. Cf. Meier and Schömann, *Ibid.* 483. At Rome parricides were scourged, and then sewed up in a leathern sack with a live dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and so cast into the sea. Cf. Cicero, *Rosc. Am.*, 25, 70; *Q. Fr.*, I, 2, 2, § 5; Suet. *Aug.* 33; Juv. *Sat.*, 8, 214.

⁸ *Theog.* 605.

Achilles in the Lower World is disturbed by the thought that his aged father, Peleus, who is left behind in the land of the living, may be exposed to the affronts of neighbours. Penelope, encompassed as she is by perils, trembles for the safety of her son, on whose stout arm she hopes to lean in her old age.¹ In the tragedians the terms *γηροβοσκός* and *γηροβοσκεῖν* (to "nourish in old age") are of frequent occurrence.² Parents lament the loss or absence of children who should tend them in their declining days.³ But granted the possession of those who will cherish them when old age overtakes them, a long life is not regarded with horror; a short life is now to be deplored rather than desired. Thus, old age, from being an object of reproach and contempt, challenges respect and veneration.

The note struck by Telemachus in the *Odyssey* is at once significant of the change that has come about in the treatment of old age, and foreshadows the influence which the aged were to attain in time to come:—

Αἰδῶς δ' αὖ νέον ἄνδρα γεραίτερον ἐξέρεεσθαι.⁴

Πρέσβυς is now a term of honour. In the *Iliad* it is applied to the goddess Hera,⁵ in the *Odyssey* to a mortal.⁶ The transition from the idea of age to rank is easy, and consequently *πρεσβεύειν*, from meaning to be the elder or eldest, comes to bear the signification of taking precedence.⁷ The suitors for the hand of Penelope, especially Eurymachos, display their insolence by acting rudely to the aged, and threatening them with personal violence.⁸ The salutation *μαῖα*, which is used in addressing aged women, though they be menials,⁹ likewise testifies to the reverence paid to age,

The change of attitude reflected in language.

πρέσβυς; the growth of its meaning.

Old servants.

¹ *Odys.* xxi. 117. Cf. ii. 130, and *Iliad* viii. 281.

² Cf. Soph. *Ajax*. 570. Eur. *Med.* 1033. *Alc.* 663.

³ Eur. *Suppl.* 923. *γηροβοσκὸν οὐκ ἔχω παῖδα.*

⁴ *Odys.* iii. 24. "A young man may well be shame-faced to question an elder." The respect for age is specially characteristic of Telemachus.

⁵ v. 71; viii. 383.

⁶ iii. 452.

⁷ Soph. *Ant.* 720; Plato, *Legg.* 752E. Cf. the phrases *antiquius habere*, "to deem more important," and *antiquior fides*, Livy vii. 31.

⁸ *Odys.* ii. 177. Cf. 243.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 349.

and it is noteworthy that their age is specially mentioned as a ground for indulgence towards them. When the news of Odysseus' return is brought to the gentle Penelope, his wife, the mistress says that if any but her aged attendant had disturbed her at an untimely hour, it would have gone ill with her, but "this time her old age shall stand her in good stead."¹ Altogether, the evidence points to the fact that a superior dignity was accorded to the aged.

The aged
in council.

This circumstance will explain a further fact, which is of primary importance in the history of social institutions. The aged as well in public councils as in private concerns carry weight from their superior knowledge and experience, for they are "able to look behind and before."² A place of honour is accorded to an Anchises or a Nestor. He is the repository of tradition. His opinion commands a hearing and respect in the assembly whether in peace or war. Nay, he is equal to the immortals.³

Senates,

and other
offices of
trust.

The way has now been paved for a further advance. With the formation of states, the old men assume an official position. They are the ambassadors to whom are entrusted the interests of the commonweal in a foreign country, *πρεσβευταί*. The knowledge of customary law is supposed to be almost their monopoly, and consequently the administration of justice resides, in a large measure, in their hands. The king in his council (*βουλῆ*) draws around him the wisest heads,⁴ and these venerable counsellors have the chief voice in the determination of important issues which are brought before the public assembly.⁵ Here lies the nucleus of the councils of elders which played such a prominent part in later history. It is interesting to know that they flourished more especially among those races which were characterized

¹ *Odys.* xxiii. 24. It is worthy of notice that the article is generally prefixed to words for old man, *γέρον* and *γεραιός*, as usually to titles of rank.

² *Iliad* iii. 108; *Odys.* xxiv. 451; cf. *Iliad* xviii. 250.

³ *Iliad* iii. 246, 409; vii. 366. Cf. for the general sentiment, xv. 204; xxiii. 788; *Odys.* xiii. 141; *Anthol. Gr. Epig.* i. 16; Xenoph. *Mem.* ii. 3, 16.

⁴ *Iliad* iv. 322.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 53.

by a simplicity of habits and a devotion to warlike pursuits. In the Dorian states the *γερονσία* occupied a prominent place;¹ in the Roman commonwealth the *senatus* became the model for subordinate states to copy.

When we look back to the early days of Greek and Italian civilization, and measure the improvement in the condition of the aged in Homer the contrast is striking. The picture of the old man there is a pleasant one. While some of his faculties become blunted, and his sensibilities dulled, his inner perception of right and his eye for good grow with years. He keeps in closest touch with youth, and his eye lights up at a tale of adventure or an heroic deed. He rejoices to see the assertion of truth and justice and the outburst of natural virtue. The greatest gift from the gods to a king is "a gentle death, which shall end him foredone with smooth² old age, and the folk dwelling happily around him."³

¹ According to Nicolas Damascenus, at Sparta attainment to the age of sixty and an unblemished character qualified for admission to the senate.

² Cf. *Odys.* xix. 368.

³ *Odys.* xi. 135. The lines are probably an addition from the Cyclic Epic called "*Telegonia*," but they convey a good idea of the Homeric conception of old age. Cf. Ovid. *Metam.* iii. 347; Diog. Laert. *De Vit. Solon.* i. 54; Plin. *Ep.* i. 12; Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* i. 6; Genesis xv. 15.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONDITION OF WOMEN.

The treatment of women as a criterion of progress.

THE position of women in society offers one of the best tests by which the standard of culture may be judged, for according to the grade of civilization attained so will be the treatment of the female sex. This is not a mere gallant common-place. For, doubtless, the best hopes for the advance of civilization rest upon the recognition of the just claims of women to respect and honour. The Moors furnish an instructive contrast to the rest of the Mahommedans in this respect. With most Mahommedans woman is the born slave of man. The Moors, the only Mussulman nation which has ever exhibited a chivalrous feeling towards females, have attained to a high plane of civilization principally through the influence of that sentiment. When we turn to Greece and Italy, woman's abject condition at first and the steady, though slow, improvement in the relations of the sexes, of which the history of the family furnishes proof, affords testimony to the evolution of Greek and Roman society from a pristine barbarism.

The low position of women among savages, and its causes.

It has already been indicated that among savage and untutored races the condition of women is degraded. This is true as a general principle,¹ but it admits of some exceptions. Such are the cases of barbarous tribes in which women are regarded with superstitious reverence and take the lead in sacrificial functions.² Such also were the rare instances in which, as we have seen, the matriarchal

¹ Cf. A. H. Post, *Die Anfänge des Staats und Rechtslebens*, p. 32.

² "The females seem to be the privileged priestesses of the Pepo-hoan religion: and the younger women are, I believe, initiated into the mysteries of this occult ceremony." Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, p. 151.

principle prevailed. But making all allowances for these evidences of progress, the fact remains that with savage races, as a rule, a woman is subject to the control of some man, if not of her husband, and in the estimation of the male sex she holds a place but little higher than that of the slave. Moreover, it must be remembered that the mind of the savage is hedged in by the circle of ideas which sufficed for his ancestors; the opinions and the habits which he has inherited he will transmit to his descendants. He does not act according to reason but according to prescription. Custom and tradition surround him with endless prohibitions and privileges. The privileges apply to the males, the prohibitions to the females.

The position occupied by women in Greece and Italy at one time exhibited the same features as among the unprogressive races of the present day, but it also illustrates the improvement of their relations with the stronger sex. This state of things is due to a variety of causes. The innate capacity that marked the Aryans as a race doubtless accounts for no small share of the high consideration which their women eventually won. The stress of life and the pressure of circumstances in the earlier stages of the history of the Greeks and Italians, and the stirring scenes through which they passed contributed in a high degree to calling forth the latent abilities of the weaker sex. But, on the other hand, Aryan women laboured under one disadvantage. The organization of labour has much influence in forming the character and fixing the place of women in society, and their participation in the responsibility for the maintenance of the household is fraught with the happiest consequences. It was this circumstance which elsewhere raised their position, bestowed upon them rights of property, and established the principle of matriarchate. The case was otherwise in the Aryan family; there the sole responsibility rested upon the head of the household.¹ Did he admit his wife to a share

Their position in early Greece and Italy.

¹ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 917.

in the toil of husbandry, it was not with a view to relieving himself of a responsibility or to relinquishing his prerogatives, but to shifting an irksome task upon her shoulders. Without doubt this circumstance militated against the rise of women to power.

Prehistoric period.

That the original position occupied by Aryan women was mean and debased is plain from various passages in the literatures of India and Greece. Dr. Leist¹ seems to have formed an exaggerated estimate of their importance in the early society of the Aryans. The writer assigns to woman in ancient India a high place, but apparently without sufficient warrant. True, she assisted in certain ceremonies in the household and from this fact the author deduces the conclusion that the wife stood on a par with her lord. But does this prove anything more than that she was present at the function as a helper or servant? The fact is, that evidence exists of a time when the presence of women at sacrifices was positively prohibited or sanctioned only under certain conditions. Such was the sacrifice to Mars, *pro boum valetudine* ("for the health of the oxen") where the law ordained: *Mulier ad rem divinam ne adsit neve videat quomodo fit.*² So, too, at the Indian ceremony of the Pravargya: "If the ceremony of the Pravargya is fulfilled, the wife of the officiant veils her head."³

The true picture.

India.

The real picture of the position of women, judging from the general tenour of Indian, Greek, and Italian literature, is something very different. No less an authority than the god Indra had said, "Woman's wit is hard to know aright, and her intelligence is small."⁴ Another dictum pronounces

¹ *Altarisches Jus Gentium*.

² Cato *De Re Rustica*, 83. "A woman shall not be present at the divine function, nor see how it is done."

³ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 216.

⁴ Rigveda, 8, 33, 17; A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, page 114; cf. W. Ward, *The Hindoos* iii. 280, and also the saying of Odin in *Hávamál*, 84.

that "With women there is no friendship; their hearts are like those of hyenas."¹

The Greek writer, Simonides Amorginus (660 B.C.), Greece. writing in jest or earnest, committed himself to a similarly low view of the character and capabilities of the sex:—²

χωρίς γυναικας θεός ἐποίησεν νόου
τὰ πρῶτα.³

Whether the writer must be interpreted literally or not, there can be no doubt that his sentiments are in accord with the idea regarding the relations of the sexes at a much later day, which may be briefly adverted to here. Arrived at a marriageable age, a daughter's hand is bestowed by her father on whom he wills, regardless of her wishes. Neither is her condition bettered, nor is her independence increased by her change of home. She has been bought for a price, and therefore, in the strict letter of primitive law, she is the property of her husband. She lives in subjection to her husband, and entire subordination to his will. She passes into his hand (*manus*).⁴ She does not enjoy undisputed possession of her husband's affections, for he may acquire by capture or purchase as many wives as he pleases. Her husband has power to sell, slay, or give her away. Her life counts for little in the eye of the law. Severe penalties were exacted for the murder of men, but little count was taken of the lives of women. The ideal woman is seldom or never seen out of doors, and within the home circle she acts as a domestic drudge, spinning and weaving, or plaiting mats. Altogether the life of the woman was the reverse of enviable.

¹ Rigveda 10, 95, 15. "A woman is a hyena," is a saying of the Bogos. More favourable opinions, however, are expressed in some Indian writings. See Kaegi, *Ibid.*, p. 229.

² Bergk, *Poetae Lyr. Graeci*, 738.

³ "God made women at the beginning without intellect." The text, however, is uncertain.

⁴ Maine has conjectured that the term *manus*, or hand, was at first the sole general term for patriarchal power among the Romans, and that it became confined to one form of that power. See *The Early History of the Property of Married Women*, p. 7. Cf. also the use of the Old High German *munt*, and the Old Saxon *mund*.

Necessity
of main-
taining the
family
line.

The light in which women were regarded in primitive society is illustrated strikingly in regard to marriage. It has already been seen that the object of marriage was the rearing of children, especially sons, to perpetuate the line, to keep alive the family name, and to fulfil the obligations owing from the family to the community. Bearing in mind, then, the emphasis laid upon the maintenance of the family honour and upon the continuity of the family, it is not surprising to find that any infraction of the bond by the wife was visited with severe penalties. It was an offence not only against the husband and the family but also against the larger society of which they were units. Marriage only accentuated the inequality of the sexes and brought the inferiority of the woman into more striking relief. In comparison with her husband the wife fared ill indeed. Her lord and master was free to form attachments at will, provided he did not trespass on his neighbours' domain. Under the head of polygamy we had occasion to observe that the husband was at liberty to add to his household not only wives but concubines, and the means by which they passed into his possession are reflected in language. That they were generally drawn from the slave class is attested by the circumstance that concubine is synonymous with slave. Such is the deduction which may be drawn from the Old Indian *dâsî*¹ - (or *Dâsawife*), meaning at once slave and wife. Such too is the import of the Greek words *παλλακίς*, *παλλακή* and *πάλλαξ*, connected as they are presumably with the Old Slovenic *člověkŭ*, "man," and *člověcica*, "maid."¹ The list might be easily extended. Far otherwise was the case with the wife. According to the original conception of the family the wife existed for its continuance, and any violation of the marriage bond on her part was rigorously punished. This feeling was not confined to primitive times. Afterwards, when custom had passed into law, the law, ever lenient and indulgent towards the frailties of the husband, bore with a heavy hand upon the offending wife.

Different
position of
the hus-
band and
wife.

The
licence
allowed
the
husband.

The re-
strictions
on the
wife.

¹ See Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 66.

The law was explicit upon this point. It directed the injured husband to kill the offenders. So the law was interpreted by Cato:—

Unfaithfulness in Roman law punished by death.

“In adulterio uxorem tuam siprehendissis, sine iudicio impune necares: illa te, si adulterares sive tu adulterarere, digito non auderet contingere, neque ius est.”¹

In like manner at Tenedos a similar severity was exercised towards those who were found guilty of infidelity. The law prescribed that offenders caught ἐπ' αὐτοφάρῳ were to be slain with the axe.² At Athens milder methods obtained, but there, too, after such lapses from virtue, the women received but scant consideration compared with the men.³ Ultimately the asperity of the law was softened and divorce was substituted. The grounds for divorce were various, but those only call for mention to which special significance attaches, and they need merely be briefly enumerated here. Adultery was one of these. Formerly, as has already been shown, the aggrieved husband might take the law into his own hands, and put the dishonoured wife and her paramour to death without fear of consequences. But now the severity of her punishment was mitigated, and justice was vindicated by the mere infliction of a public stigma or degradation or the forfeiture of rights. As for the guilty paramour, it is clear that his position was hardly distinguishable from that of any thief or trespasser on another's property. So much, indeed, appears from the circumstance that the head of a family would hold equally guilty and punish any illicit intrigue with any female relative or even any woman belonging to his household. Thus, with the lapse of time, the penalties attaching to such misdemeanours were modified.

Greece.

Grounds for divorce.

Adultery.

¹ In *Gellius* x. 23. “If you had caught your wife in adultery, you would have slain her without a trial; if you committed or submitted to adultery she would not dare set her finger on you, nor is it right.” See Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 156.

² See Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 254. Nicolas Damascenus dwells frequently upon the dishonour and severe penalties which the Greeks attached to adultery in the various states.

³ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 161; Müller, *Die griech. Privatalt.*, p. 152.

Nevertheless, the law still allowed the aggrieved party to take the life of the invader of his domestic felicity.

Substi-
tution of
children.

Another transgression which was held to justify divorce was the substitution of children. Under the pretence that they were their own offspring Roman women not infrequently palmed off adopted children upon their husbands.¹ The temptations to practise this deception were very great for reasons that became clear in the foregoing pages, from which it appears a strong stress was laid upon the possession of many children as an element of human prosperity. As a wife's happiness and honour depended largely upon her motherhood, so childlessness brought with it only contempt and misery. From what has been said it is plain that the lot of women was far from answering the description which some writers have given of it. Nor did her hardships end with her husband's death.

The posi-
tion of the
widow.

The desolation of widowhood in the East at this day, and still more before European influence made itself felt, was nothing short of deplorable. In Hebrew literature it passed into a proverb.² Not only did she share the disabilities and disadvantages under which the sex generally laboured. Bereft of her natural protector she was exposed to all manner of contempt, oppression, and wrong. The position of the widow in India is well known.

"The perpetual degradation and starvation," says a modern writer,³ "to which those widows are reduced whom they permit to live sinks them below many of the most savage tribes."

In Rome.

This condition of things has not been without its counterpart in the West. We gather from Terence that the position of the widow in Roman society was not to be envied:—

Non, ita me Dii ament, auderet facere haec viduae mulieri Quae in me fecit.⁴

¹ Von Ihering, p. 345; and Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 161.

² Cf. Exod. xxii. 22; Deut. x. 18; xxiv. 17; Job xx. 19; Isaiah i. 23; Prov. xv. 25.

³ W. Ward, *The Hindoos* iii. p. 280; cf. 167.

⁴ *Heaut.* v. 1, 81. "By heaven he would not dare to treat a widow as he treated me." Such is the probable meaning.

The legal prohibition of second marriages is also significant. It is stated on the authority of Pausanias that in Greece widows were not allowed to marry again:—

Second marriages in Greece.

πρότερον δὲ καθεστήκει ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἀποθανόντι χηρεύειν.¹

The reason is obvious, and naturally flows from the view with which the wife was regarded. The wife was the property of her husband. On his death she did not gain her independence, but passed into the charge of her husband's family. But her position will become clearer in the sequel. The inequality in the relations existing between husband and wife finds eloquent expression in the absence from early language of a word for widower.² It only affords a fresh instance to show that the advantage lay on the side of the husband, who when robbed of one wife could console himself for the loss in the company of other wives, and in the event of his not possessing a second experienced no difficulty in acquiring one.³

The consummate egoism of the male sex is borne out by another custom of a much more repulsive nature, which appears to have been common. The Indian term *suttee*, which, originally derived from *sātī*, "a true, virtuous wife," has been incorporated into the English language, and the institution of the self-sacrifice of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband, as a seal of her fidelity, is supported by the strongest testimony. It suggests several reflections of surpassing interest. Apparently the practice existed from an early time. It is declared to be a primitive custom (*dharma*

Voluntary death of the widow.

India: *suttee*.

¹ ii. 21, 18. "But before that time it had been the custom for women to remain single after a husband's death." The same regulation was enforced in India also, according to Delbrück, *Verwandschaftsnamen*, p. 553, and there are proofs of its existence in Germany. Tacitus, *Germ.*, 19, *in quibus tantum virgines nubunt*. Professor Schrader quotes a provision of the Lex Salica to the same effect.

² The words for widower, the Latin *viduus*, Old Slavonic *vidovič*, are of later origin, and were formed on the analogy of *vidua*, "widow." Cf. Delbrück, *Verwandschaftsnamen*, p. 442.

³ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 958, and Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Süd-slaven*, p. 527.

purāna)¹ but it was not universal. On the contrary, we read in the Rigveda, an older document than the Atharvaveda, "Arise, O wife, to the world of the living; the breath of him by whom thou sittest is fled; as for him, who clasped thy hand and freed thee, with him thy marriage is ended"; so widows might marry again;² nor are indications wanting in the Atharvaveda also of this permission being accorded to them.³ But it is a matter of history that *suttee* has flourished in India for two thousand years down to comparatively recent times, and its perpetuation was due to a text in the Vedas which bestowed upon it a religious sanction. The passage in question possesses a melancholy interest, since the alteration of it has ere this caused untold misery. It occurs in the Rigveda and reads,—“May these women, who are not widows, but have good husbands, draw near with oil and butter. Those who are mothers may go up first to the altar without tears, without sorrow, but decked with fine jewels.”⁴ Thus the change of one letter has occasioned the needless sacrifice of a million lives.⁵

But though the Brahmans raised the custom of *suttee* to a settled institution, they must be acquitted of the charge of inventing it. The truth is, the custom by no means stands alone. It was in use among Slavs and Germans.⁶ Pausanias states⁷ that it was not unknown in Greece. He alludes to Greek wives despatching themselves on their husbands' tombs. This instance finds its counterpart in Greek legend, as in the story of Capaneus, one of the seven heroes who attacked Thebes. During the siege (so ran the legend) he rashly boasted that even the fire of Zeus should not prevent his scaling the walls. But he paid the penalty of his pre-

Greece.

Legend.

¹ Atharvaveda, 18, 3, 1; cf. Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, pp. 328-331.

² Rigveda, 10, 18, 8; 10, 18, 7. ³ Cf. Atharvaveda, 9, 5, 27.

⁴ Cf. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop* ii. 36; Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 106; Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* i. 132 (ed. Cowell).

⁵ The original sentence ran: *ā' rohantu jōnim āgre*, "The mothers may go first to the altar." This was altered into: *ā' rohantu jōnim agnēh*, "They shall enter the womb (*jōnim*) of fire (*agnēh*)." For modern instances see Ward, *The Hindoos* ii. 96.

⁶ C. V. Müllenhof, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* iv. 313. ⁷ iv. 2, 7.

sumption, since he was struck by lightning. While his body was burning his wife Evadne leapt into the flames and perished.¹ The devotion of Brunhild in following Sigurd to death is the subject of many an eulogy. "If," said his faithful spouse,² "I follow him the heavy door of the Lower World falls not on his heel." But these are only typical instances. Nanna dies with Baldr, Gunnhild with Asmund.³ The fact is, widow sacrifice takes the mind back to a remote antiquity and its origin is lost in obscurity. But the feeling by which it was prompted is not hard to trace. Some have sought the motive which dictated it in idealism. It has been urged—and certainly the thought appeals to the imagination—that this voluntary self-immolation was an act of heroic devotion which the sacerdotal classes consecrated and elevated to a religious duty. But however alluring, in the light of the general condition of women in the early stages of culture, this supposition may appear to be, it should probably be rejected. It has been ascribed also to the desire on the part of the new representative of the family, on his accession to power, to secure his position by the removal of his father's favourites. Such a view might derive countenance from the history of more than one Eastern Court, where bitterness, dissension, intrigue and murder have ever been the commonest sights, and almost the natural order on such occasions as a transference of power from father to son.⁴ But neither does this explanation suffice to solve so widespread a phenomenon. Rather it took its rise from the deep-seated ideas regarding a future life which once obtained widely, and still obtains equally among the Indians of the East and the Red Indians of the far West. To the savage

Norse legends.

¹ Eurip., *Suppl.* 980; Apollodor. iii. 7, 7; Ovid, *Tristia* v. 14, 38; *Ars. Am.* iii. 21; Hygin. *Fab.* 243.

² *Völs. Saga*, c. 31; cf. Grimm, *Geschichte der d. Spr.*, p. 98.

³ For cases of such self-immolation among Slavs see Kotljarevshij, *Pogrebaĭnychŭ obyčajachŭ jazyčeskichŭ Slavjanŭ*, Moskva, 1868; Karamsin, *Gesch. des Russ. Reichs.*, Riga, 1820, i. 50. Instances among the Scandinavians are given by Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 451.

⁴ Cf. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 19, § 3.

mind, alike in the ancient and in the modern world, the life beyond the grave was merely a continuance of the life on this side of it, attended by all the comforts with which the deceased had been familiarized on earth. We cannot credit the early Greek or Italian in dooming his wife to death with any other high motive than that which actuates the modern Redskin who directs that his dog shall be buried at his side, to be the companion of the chase in the Happy Hunting-grounds.

The transition.

The elevation of womanhood and its causes.

So far the life of women in the earliest stages of the Greek and Italic races differed but slightly from their situation among modern races who have hardly yet risen above the savage state. But a brighter day was in store. No doubt various causes contributed to the amelioration of the position of women. The spirit of the warrior's wife was evoked, and her character formed by a long course of migration, and by a later series of wars which preceded the settlement of the several Aryan races in the South. The gradual increase in the means of support rendered existence easier generally, and was accompanied by a relaxation of the strain of life and by the spread of humaner ideas. This improvement in outward circumstances could not fail to react upon the condition of women, and enable them to emerge eventually from their degradation. Such a reformation can be clearly traced in Greece and Italy.

Rome.

Death without trial the punishment of adultery.

The earlier history of Rome reveals this state of transition. The status of woman is defined by Roman law. She is subject to the power (*manus*) of her husband. Until the *Lex Julia de adulteriis* was passed to set limits to the arbitrary power vested in the man, the aggrieved husband could adopt summary measures; he was even permitted to slay upon the spot the culprit taken in adultery. One signal instance has been placed on record. It was the case of Egnatius Mecenius¹ who put his wife to death on the charge of having drunk

¹ Serv. ad *Æn.* i. 737; Plin. 14, 13. But see Rossbach, *Die römische Ehe*, p. 20, who doubts the story.

wine.¹ But though such cases are rarely recorded, we are warranted in concluding from the necessity of such an enactment as the Lex Julia, that the power given to the injured husband must have been frequently and flagrantly abused.

No less significant is the prohibition of the sale of wives, a practice of which we occasionally get glimpses in Roman history. Plutarch,² for example, alludes to it when he says that the duty of sacrificing to the Infernal God was enjoined upon any one who sold a wife. But stringent measures had to be passed to check the perpetration of such acts.

Ultimately, in spite of the technicalities of Roman laws dealing with the treatment of women, the sex were at last successful, not only in freeing themselves from disabilities, but also in acquiring by degrees an influence both in their households and on social life. Yet it was still a far cry to the age of the Veturias and Cornelias, who afterwards played no small part in training statesmen and soldiers to shed lustre upon the Roman name. The ideal of womanhood finds elegant expression in an epitaph of a comparatively late period, which furnishes a portrait of an exemplary Roman matron:—

Hospes, quod deico, paullum est. Asta ac pellege.
 Heic est sepulchrum haud pulcrum pulcraî feminae.
 Nomen parentes nominarunt Claudiam,
 Suom mareitum corde deilexit sovo.
 Gnatos duos creavit horunc alterum
 In terra linquit, alium sub terra locat;
 Sermone lepido, tum autem, inessu commodo,
 Dumum servavit, lanam fecit. Dixi. Abei.³

Sale of
wives.

The ideal
Roman
matron.

¹ Cicero divorced his new wife Publilia for testifying joy at the death of her step-daughter Tullia.

² *Rom.* 22.

³ Burmann, *Anthol.* iv. 147. "Stranger, what I say is brief; stand by and read. Here is the unlovely tomb of a lovely woman. The name her parents gave her was Claudia. She loved her husband with her whole heart. She bare two sons. One of them she leaves on earth, the other she buried beneath the earth. She kept her home with graceful conversation and becoming demeanour, and worked the wool. I have spoken. Depart." The mention of wool-spinning, the time-honoured occupation of the women in an Aryan household, as a moral quality is both characteristic and common in Roman epitaphs, as in the following: *Optima et pulcherrima, lanifica pia pudica frugi casta domiseda.* Cf. Orelli, 4639, and Mommsen, *Roman History*, p. 61.

That this amelioration of the position of women at Rome reacted beneficially upon society at large may be seen from the contrast presented by the stagnant and stationary civilization of the Hindu races, compared with the progress made by the Romans and the races which were influenced by Roman institutions. Among the Hindus the authority of superstition and law has concurred to depress and degrade the female sex.

Greece.

As regards Greece, the evidence is of a somewhat different kind; the legal aspect of the position of women in the social fabric does not obtrude itself to such an extent as at Rome, but information is not wanting here to prove the steady, if slow, emancipation of the sex.

The heroic age.

In the Homeric poems the position of women is still undefined, but the age whose manners are there depicted marks an advance upon the earlier period which we have been considering. Women now possess a voice in domestic affairs. Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinous, King of the Phæacians, has come to the rescue of the shipwrecked Odysseus, and advises him to repair to her home and to supplicate her mother. The women appear on public occasions, chiefly at the solemn sacrifice, when, like the women-folk in India, the ladies of Nestor's household invoke the god in sacrificial chant.

αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν

Θυγατέρες τε ννοί τε καὶ αἰδοίη παράκοιτις
Νέστορος, Εὐρυδίκη πρέσβα Κλυμένιο θυγατρῶν.¹

On the other hand, a retired life was considered befitting to the women. Accordingly, when Penelope appears among her wooers, to chide the bard for awaking her "comfortless sorrow" by his song, her son replies:—

Ἄλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
Ἴστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε

¹ *Odyss.* iii. 450. "And the women raised their cry, the daughters and the sons' wives and the wife revered of Nestor, Eurydice, eldest of the daughters of Clymenus."—(BUTCHER AND LANG, *transl.*)

Ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· μῦθος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει
 πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.¹

The noblest matron was one who offered herself least to the public gaze. Her place was in the women's apartments, or *γυναικωνίτις*. Her pride should lie in the gifts bestowed by the goddess Athene. To men it belonged to give counsel and superintend public affairs.

Undoubtedly the humble position occupied by woman, and her subjection to the will of the opposite sex must be attributed in a large measure to the primitive conception of the marriage relation. Acquired by capture or purchase, her position could not be other than debased, and her hold on her husband's attachment is likely to have been precarious. The theories of succession to the family name and family property must have contributed to her submission. Passing, as the name and property clearly did pass among Aryan races, through the father and not the mother, these ideas threw power into the hands of the male members of the family, to the prejudice of the mother's position. But as society in the course of time, to adopt Emerson's phrase, "accepted the hint of each new experience," the wife won her way to recognition, and assumed higher responsibilities. The inherent capacity which the Aryan women shared with men,² the improvement in material well-being, the admission by the husband of the wife's connections among his own kinsmen, the influence of social and political movements, all these circumstances contributed a share towards modifying the relations between the sexes, and elevating women

¹ i. 356. "Howbeit go to thy chamber and mind thine own house-wiferies, the loom and distaff, and bid thy handmaids ply their task. But speech shall be for men, for all, but for me in chief; for mine is the lordship in the house." The lines were rejected by Aristarchus, and the form of address does seem harsh here, but compare *Odyss.* xxi. 350.

² Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, p. 223, speaking of the Armenians—an Aryan race—remarks that "the social position which woman occupies . . . opens a prospect for the attainment of a higher grade of civilization, especially as the Armenians are peculiarly endowed with intellectual advantages, which constitute them a connecting link between Europe and Asia."

generally in the estimation of men. Still, however, these results were achieved only by a slow process, and down to historic times the pattern woman confined herself to the duties of the household. The Athenian statesman Pericles, in pronouncing an oration over those who had lost their lives in war at a time when Athens was at the zenith of her culture and prosperity, had only this cold comfort to administer to the forlorn women:—

Thucydides.

Εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς ὄσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι, βραχεῖα παρανέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. Τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἢ δόξα, καὶ ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾦ.¹

¹ Thuc. ii. 45. "If I am to speak of womanly virtues to those of you who will henceforth be widows, let me sum up in one short admonition. To a woman not to give way to weakness that is natural to her sex, and not to be talked about for good or for evil among men is a great glory." The turning-point in the social history of women really was the introduction of Christianity. Under the Hebrew dispensation "a man should not salute a woman in a public place, not even his own wife." In like manner at the Hebrew services women worshipped apart from the men, but on the first page of the first history of the Christian Church their presence at public worship is specially mentioned. Acts i. 14.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FAMILY.

HITHERTO we have dwelt upon those features in the family which are repugnant to modern canons of morality, such as the crudeness of the marital relations, the bluntness of feeling, and the insensibility to the sacredness of human life which they exhibited. We now turn over a page and proceed to consider the main elements in the constitution of the family, which, though as yet only rudimentary, forms the nucleus of other organizations of momentous import. For just as the acorn has within it the oak of the future, so in like manner the Aryan family contains potentially and implicitly institutions of a much wider range, the tribe, the king, the machinery of government, and ultimately the modern state. This chapter will be devoted to focussing at one point the salient features and the central figures of the early family.

Throughout the life and history of India, Greece and Italy, evidence of various kinds, etymological, mythological, and historical, is forthcoming, which points to the importance attached in ancient society to the domestic hearth. To draw out in detail the correspondence between the three countries in this particular would carry us far beyond the limits of this inquiry, but a few points may be selected by way of illustration.

The Greek and Italian vocabularies contain many terms connected with the hearth, which, taken with the rest of the evidence which is adducible, conclusively prove the common origin of the main ideas entertained concerning it. The

The hearth.

The hearth in language.

The hearth
personi-
fied.

connection between the Greek Ἑστία and Vesta, both meaning the goddess of the eternal flame, and guardian of hearth and home, may be regarded as established.¹

It becomes
an altar.

Antecedently it would be natural to suppose that the transition from the meaning of hearth to that of altar would be short, and this surmise is borne out by the evidence of language. The primitive hearth doubtless was of the simplest character, consisting of a mere hollow dug in the ground. About the hearth, in the centre of the dwelling, lay the chief room, around which, in course of time, it became the fashion to erect other apartments.²

"Hearth"
synony-
mous with
"family."

But besides being the sacrificial centre the hearth possesses a social significance also. The erection of a hearth is symbolical of the establishment of a household and is synonymous with it.³ To kindle a new fire was the first step taken after marriage, in order to mark the establishment of a family.⁴ At the hearth the head of the household exercised authority. At the hearth asylum was afforded to fugitives. At the hearth oaths were taken of so solemn a character that any violation of them called down the vengeance of the gods.⁵ So it comes about that the hearth is the symbol of the unity of the family, of family property

¹ Their antiquity is shown in mythology by the myth which makes Hestia, the daughter of the primeval deities Cronos and Rhea, and in language, by the epithet "hoary," viz. venerable, ancient πολῶς Ἑστία and *Cana Vesta*. Hestia takes precedence of Zeus in the most solemn oaths. Cauer, *Delect. Inscr. Græc.*, § 121, quotes an oath in which the person swears by Ἑστίαν τῶν ἐν πρυτανείῳ.

² The formation of some words for altar reveals the progress from one meaning to the other. Such is the Greek ἑστία, which, from being the fireplace, becomes the altar at which sacrifices were offered on behalf of the family or the state, as we have already seen. The name is constantly applied by the tragedians to the Delphic shrine which was regarded as the centre of Greece as the hearth was the centre of the family. Cf. Eurip., *Ion* 462; but it is used also of the domestic hearth, e.g. Soph., *O.C.* 1495. The word ἐσχάρα exhibits a precisely similar development. Such also are the Latin *ara* (Umbrian *asa*) and kindred words; in Sanskrit *asa-*; and in Old High German, *arin*, *erin*. See R. Meringer, *Das indog. Herd*, in *Mitt. Wiener anthropol. Gesell.* xxi. 150, and Heyne, *Das deutsche Wohnungswesen*.

³ Cf. Herod. v. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 176.

⁵ *Odyss.* xiv. 159.

and inheritance, the centre of family worship, and the repository of family memories.

The hearth, then, was the pivot around which the family life of the Aryan revolved. If we penetrate deeper and try to find the source of its importance and influence, it appears that they were owing in a large measure to two conspiring causes.

The special importance of the hearth due to

First, the hearth was the place where the eternal flame was kept burning.¹ It is well known that in the early customs, myths, and languages of the Aryans, various considerations concurred to lend importance to fire. The discovery of this element marked an era in human history, and formed an important link in the development of mankind. According to the Greek legend it was stolen from heaven and given to mortal men.² The importance attached to fire gradually gave rise to a personification of the element, and it was only a step further to elevate it into the position of a god. The growth of the legend of Agni in Indian mythology affords an instance of this theogonic process. For, as might be shown by documentary evidence, in him the fire, embodying the concepts of warmth, light and life, was raised in course of time to the position of a divine and supreme being, the maker and ruler of the world.³

the sacred fire.

From what has been said it will be seen that the necessity of keeping the fire alight formed the central idea in the thoughts of a Greek or Italian household. The maintenance of the fire was in some mysterious manner connected with the fortunes of the family; this care was therefore imposed as a solemn and sacred duty upon the shoulders of the representative of the family for the time being.⁴ But religious associations of another character clustered around

Importance of maintaining the fire.

The hearth a burial place.

¹ Similarly among the Northmen.—Dasent, *Story of Burnt Njal*. xxxviii.

² Cf. Ch. vii., p. 77. ³ Cf. A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, pp. 50-53.

⁴ To take an illustration from a Western race; in Wales, as in India, the hearth occupied an important place. With the ancient Welsh the *aelwyd*, or hearth, was the centre of the home, and the witness to the rights of kindred. The head firestone, fixed against the central pillar of the primitive Welsh dwelling or hut, was a memorial of land and homestead (*tir a thyle*), and its importance as such is attested by one of

the hearth. It was the resting-place of departed ancestors. To the Greek and Italian mind life was not a mere personal adventure or enterprise, but a link in a long line of tradition received and handed down, a debt paid, a duty fulfilled. This conviction dictated the prayers which they addressed and the sacrifices which they offered to their ancestral spirits; and flames were popularly supposed to be the means of communication between the dead and the living. This is apparent from the prayer in the Rigveda, which was recited at the fireplace, and ran as follows:—"Thou, O Agni Jatavedas, implored, hast carried the offerings which thou hast rendered sweet; thou hast given them to the Fathers; they fed on their share. Eat, O god, the proffered oblation."

Nor are such ideas confined to ancient Greece and Italy. The truth is, that almost every religion which recognizes burnt offerings is at the same time distinguished in varying degrees by a reverence for the sacrificial fire itself. In such creeds the fire burning on the altars of temples or on the hearth of a house are the principal manifestations of religious worship and religious faith. However that may be as regards other countries, in Greece and Italy—and the same remark is true of India—the fireplace was the centre of the house. The hearth was an altar also. At this place the head of the household officiated, surrounded by his wife, children, and slaves, and the members of the household communed with the house spirit which hovered around them.

What has been said in the preceding pages will serve to show that weighty responsibilities resided in the hands of the

The powers of the *pater familias*.

the Welsh triads. Among the three testimonies concerning land we find the "firebackstone of the plaintiff's father, or of his grandfather or great grandfather, or other of his kindred" (*Leges Wallicæ*). Many superstitions gathered around the hearth in the mind of the Celt. It was the sanctity of the hearth and home which made the Celt cling to them with such tenacity. But these pagan beliefs were obscured, if not altogether obliterated, by ecclesiastical influences. See a paper by the author on some parallels between Celtic and Indian institutions in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1901, p. 115; and F. Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*.

father of the family. They rested upon a threefold basis. He was the guardian of the hearth, and the maintainer of ancestral worship. His chief desire was to perpetuate his family. He had an eye also to his own peace of mind hereafter when he should have passed among the ancestors, for his happiness would then be in a great degree dependent upon the attentions of the living.

Thus far we have confined ourselves to the religious aspect of the paternal power. We pass on to its more secular side. The family was a natural association of kindred by blood, but in form it rather resembled a monarchy, in which the head of the household is master. Master he was in a very real sense, as the following terms will show. The word *familia* itself, which has been incorporated into almost every European language, and in its derivative forms now summons up the tenderest associations, in its original form suggested servitude. Under it were included in the eye of the law alike wife, children, and servants. They could hold neither property, liberty, nor life except by the goodwill of the head of the family; they enjoyed no rights, no responsibilities, and owed no duty save obedience. But in the earlier stages of civilization, when the power of the supreme authority was undisputed, and was often exercised without scruple or remorse, it was a question rather of prescription than of law, for as yet law had not taken shape, and custom was still the guiding principle.¹

The *patria*
potestas
mon-
archical.

Familia.

¹ The derivation of the term *familia* affords striking confirmation of the subordination of the rest of the family in the earliest times to the will of the father. It comes from the Latin *famulus*, "a slave," which is identical in form with the Oscan *famel*, and this also bore the meaning of "slave." This, however, does not appear to have been the earliest meaning. When we analyze the word, the root seems to have indicated the occupants of a house, which the Oscan verb *faamat*, "he dwells," and the Sanskrit *dhâman* closely resemble in the extension of their meaning. The word meant "dwelling-place," "home," especially the seat of the sacred fire, and finally of the dependents of the household: Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 222. This latter meaning was preserved in the Latin *paterfamilias*, which always retained the archaic termination of the genitive case. But the word has passed through other stages signifying successively the servile property or the master's thralls; afterwards it

Names for
the head of
the house-
hold, as
ruler.

The absolute power of the head of the household is conveyed by the terms which are applied to him. The word *δεσπότης* affords an illustration in point. Upon analysis it yields the following results. It is one of the oldest terms used to express the meaning of supremacy in the family circle, and possesses roots in common with words in other languages. Thus it corresponds closely, both in form and meaning, to the Sanskrit *dampati*, lord or master of the house, and may be resolved into the following elements:—*δεσ*-[*δε(μ)σ*-], Sanskrit *dam*, Greek *δόμος*, Latin *domus*, all of which are used for “house” and afterwards for “family.” *-πότης*: with this part of the word may be compared the Sanskrit *pāti*, “ruler,” “master,” “husband”; the Greek *πόσις*, “husband”; and the Latin *compos*, “master of,” “sharing in,” “guilty of,”¹ and *pot-i-ri* “to take possession of,” “acquire.” *Dominus*, “master,” “lord,” is another name by which the head of the household was known, and it perhaps contains the same root as its correlatives, the Greek *δάμαρ*, “wife,” and *δμῶς*, a “servant.” *Dominus* then would be the active form, *δάμαρ* and *δμῶς* the passive. The form of family government which prevailed among the rude and uncultivated Cyclopes, therefore, may in the light of the foregoing facts be regarded as typical of the primitive condition of the Greek and doubtless was at one time universal:—

θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.

included other kinds of domestic property, and finally in the Romance languages, English and German it came to be applied to all the persons who could prove themselves to be descended from the same ancestor. Theoretically, therefore, the authority of the head of the family over all its members was unlimited, although the children were distinguished from the slaves by the title of *liberi*, “freeborn.”

¹ The root is the same as in the Sanskrit *pá*, “protect.” Cf. the Greek *νέποδες*, “brood”; Latin *nepotēs*, “grandsons”; and Sanskrit *naṣat*, “descendant,” “son,” so called in each of the above languages in opposition to the head of the family. A similar idea underlies the Greek *κασίγνητος* and *κάσις*, “brother,” with which may be equated the Old Bactrian *katī*, “lord of the house.” *κασίγνητος* therefore would mean “of the same lord.”

The relation of the head of the house to his children is expressed, for instance, by Greek *πατήρ* (*πα-τήρ*), Latin *pater*, Sanskrit *pitár*, "father." The idea in these words is probably that of "nourisher,"¹ "guardian," "protector" (root *ṛá*),² but it may have been merely an expression of endearment. The father's right of property in his children is by no means confined to Greece and Italy. It is common to all early communities before laws were framed. Even in later times, when custom was superseded by codes of law, the principle abrogated in theory often survived in practice.

Relations of father and children.

The father as a protector in Homer.

The duty of protecting his wife and children is nowhere more forcibly inculcated by precept or example than in the pages of Homer. Of the Trojans it is said, that though fewer in number they burned for the fray in defence of wife and child :—

*μέμασαν δὲ καὶ ὡς ὑσμῖνι μάχεσθαι,
χραιοὶ ἀναγκαίῃ, πρό τε παίδων καὶ πρό γυναικῶν.*³

The following passage affords an insight into the paternal care of the Trojans. Dolon the spy is describing the results of his expedition :—

*ἔπικουροι
Εὐδουσι· Τρωσὶν γὰρ ἐπιτραπέουσι φυλάσσειν·
Οὐ γάρ σφιν παῖδες σχεδὸν εἶται οὐδὲ γυναῖκες.*⁴

But the exercise of authority and assurance of protection were not the only duties appertaining to the head of the household. To the power of a ruler he joined the functions of a priest and judge. In his sacerdotal capacity he performed the simple rites of his faith, offered sacrifice at the family hearth to the fire spirit, at the family sepulchre to good spirits (*manes*), and at the boundary to the boundary

The head of the household as priest and judge.

¹ *Odys.* ix. 114. Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* x., 10, 13; *Pol.* i., 2, 7.

² Cf. *πέ-παμαι*, "possess," there being a close connection between possession and mastery. Cf. the proverbial use of the word in Theocritus xv. 90, *πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε*. Vid. Curtius, *Griech. Etym.*

³ *Iliad* viii. 56, viz. from "moral compulsion."

⁴ *Ibid.* x. 420. Their "allies are sleeping, for they entrust to the Trojans the duty of watching, since they have not their wives and children lying near them." Cf. viii. 186, ix. 590; xvi. 833; *Odys.* xiv. 163.

The rise of the priest. spirits. These acts owed their efficacy to his own position as the depository of the family life. The priestly functions of the chief of the household disappeared or declined in importance, as time went on, and this disappearance or declension of his power was doubtless due to the growth and encroachments of a priesthood.

Besides fulfilling the duties of a ruler and a priest, he dispensed justice to slave, wife and child. Like the Cyclopes in the passage already quoted, each one uttered the law to his children and his wives.¹ Against his word there was no appeal; indeed, in theory the power over flocks and herds was not more absolute than over sons, slaves and wives. The husband was king in his own household.²

Emancipation of the members of the household

But a brighter era was beginning to dawn on the members of the family, in the proper sense of the term, a change by which the position of the slave was not unaffected. This movement lay in the direction of emancipating the members of the household from the absolute control of their head. Formerly, as has been seen, they were held in strict subordination, if not stern subjection. Now the barriers were broken down. This change of attitude manifested itself in various ways. Hitherto the paternal power over the whole of the persons and possessions of the family had been identical in character. Thenceforward different kinds or degrees of power were recognized: material possessions were subject to the *dominium*, "right of ownership," the children to his *potestas*, "power," "authority," and the wife to his *manus*, "hand," "legal power."³

Differentiation of the paternal powers.

Our next step will be to take the several members of the

¹ *θεμιστεύει* means "administers the *θέμιστες*" or "laws and ordinances."

² Cf. Plato, *Legg.* 680, E. (οἱ πάλαι) πατρονομούμενοι καὶ βασιλείαν πασῶν δικαιοσάτην βασιλευόμενοι. Among the heathen Northmen who settled in Iceland the father of the family wielded a similar power. Cf. Dasent, *The Story of Burnt Njal*. xiii.

³ To these three terms may be added a fourth, *mancipium*, which was applied to free persons who were in the service of the family. *Mancipium* (1) "the act of seizing with the hand in the presence of five witnesses. (2) "the thing bought," especially a "slave."

family one by one and trace some of the stages by which these liberating principles were carried to their legitimate issues, and the final emancipation of women was achieved. The liberation of women has proceeded more slowly than that of the other members of the family group. It is still merely in progress in enlightened Europe, and has only gradually worked its way to recognition in all progressive societies. But the beginning of the movement can be faintly traced at the dawn of history. The subject of the unimportance of women in early civilization has already been discussed; but the native ability of the Aryan women eventually earned them a higher place in the estimation of society. No longer the toy or tool of her lord and master, the wife gained esteem, respect, and authority. No longer known as *γυνή*, or *femina*, names which suggested the functions of child-bearing and nursing, or as *δάμαρ*, which recalled her subjugation,¹ or as *mulier*, which indicated the characteristics of the softer sex,² she is now dignified with a higher title. Sometimes she is designated *δέσποινα*,³ "mistress," "lady"; this is the correlative of *δεσπότης*, "lord," "master."⁴ The way in which she attained to this prerogative was probably this. Polygamy was lawful, if not universal, and was practised mainly by princes and others who could afford the luxury. Of the wives one was marked out by special favour, and she assumed the management of

The wife.

Her change in position.

Reflected in the terms for wife.

¹ That is, if *δάμαρ* is connected with *δαμάω*, "subdue," in which case it is parallel to *παρθένος ἀδμής*, "unmarried maiden." *Odyss.* vi. 109. But more likely it is to be referred to the roots of *δῶμος* and *ἀρτίω* (Latin *art-em*); hence "house arranger," or "manager," "housewife."

² Probably connected with *mollis*, "soft," "effeminate," and Greek *μαλακός*, "soft," and *μῶλvs*, "feeble."

³ The Sanskrit *patni*, (1) "lady," (2) "wife," and the Greek *πόνια*, feminine corresponding respectively to *pati* and *πόσις*.

⁴ The combination *pater et mater* marks an advance. *Parentes*, like the Greek *οἱ τεκόντες*, indicates the "begetters"; *pater et mater* emphasizes the moral relations between husband and wife. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* i. 14, *alii parentem alii matrem patriae* (Augustam) appellandam censebant. Dio Cass. 57, 12, in relating the incident, gives *μητέρα* and *γονία*. See Vaniček on *pario*. The following passages in Homer show the estimation in which wives were held, *Odyss.* iv. 264; xi. 441; xviii. 254, 266; xxiii. 166; *Iliad* ii. 292.

domestic affairs, commanded respect, and became virtually the mistress of the house. Sometimes she is described as *ἄλοχος*, or sharer of her husband's bed.¹ She is present at religious ceremonies, and participates in them. She is the trusted guardian of her husband's home.² Unlike the barbarian, the Greek husband now treats his wife with respect, and he prides himself on the position of his helpmeet in social life, in which she is esteemed by himself, honoured by the children, and obeyed by the slave:—

μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
χαιμαίπετες βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί.³

The
triumph of
mono-
gamy.

No doubt the position achieved by women was directly due to the native ability and the higher qualities of the sex among Aryan races, which distinguished them as much from the women of the races of the East as from the women among prehistoric populations, whom the Aryans found in possession of the countries which they afterwards inhabited. But other circumstances conspired with these inherent virtues to produce this result. The climatic conditions of the North of Europe, rendering life harder, the difficulty of extorting from nature the means of subsistence, the recognition by the husband of the wife's connections as his kinsmen, the religious ceremonies which gradually grew up around the institution of marriage, and various social considerations—all these paved the way for the final triumph of monogamy.

The son.

Next to the head of the household interest centres chiefly in the son, upon whom devolved all the prerogatives which were previously enjoyed and the responsibilities which were previously borne by the father. Throughout all these arrangements, and indeed through the whole of the relations existing between father and son runs the idea which we have

¹ With the addition *μηστή* and *κουριδίη*, *Iliad* vi. 246; *Odyss.* i. 36.

² The Agamemnon of Æschylus is instructive in this connection. The wife is *δαμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ*, 914, and *πιστή*, 606.

³ Æsch., *Ag.* 918. "Salute me not, as if I were some Eastern king, with cries and prostrations." Cf. Leist, *Altarisches Jus gentium*, p. 88.

already mentioned, that is, the perpetuation of the family. This thought cannot be emphasized too strongly. It was uppermost in the mind of the father, and it governed the mutual attitude of father and son. But special considerations co-operated with this principle. Not only were the sons indebted to their father for their very existence, but they had also to thank him for its continuance. The connection between children and parents rested primarily, doubtless, upon a physical basis, but it was transmuted into a moral relation by the conspiring influence of mutual love, regard, gratitude, and divine sanction. And this thought furnishes an adequate explanation of a curious custom mentioned by Plutarch.¹ From the passage it would appear that in ancient times fathers never went out to supper without being accompanied by their children, however tender their age. The reason was that the life of the son was indissolubly united to that of his father, and his father's presence afforded him protection.²

Perpetuation of the family the chief consideration.

The son's life linked to the father's.

But parents have a personal interest in their children. They begin a new life in them. If, then, the son is beholden to his father for his life, the father on his part lives again in his son.³ His only hope of preserving the family line lies therefore in the possession of sons. When he is gone they will undertake the duties which were formerly fulfilled by him.⁴ To the Homeric heroes martial valour especially appealed, and their dearest wish is to see their sons emulate

The father looked to the son to perpetuate the family name.

¹ *Roman Questions*, 33.

² The same motive may underly the *couvade*. This custom, by which the father takes to his bed at the birth of a child, is widely found among savages. Apollonius, *Argonaut.* ii. 1009. Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* v. 148. The usage appears to have prevailed in Corsica. Diodorus v. 14: παραδοξότατον δ' ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ γινόμενον κατὰ τὰς τῶν τέκνων γενέσεις· ὅταν γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ τέκη, ταύτης μὲν οὐδεμία γίνεται περὶ τὴν λοχείαν ἐπιμέλεια, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἀναπεσὼν ὡς νοσῶν λοχεύεται τακτὰς ἡμέρας, ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ κατοπαθούντος. So too in Spain, Strabo iii., 4, 17. Cf. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, ii. 274; Granger, *The Worship of the Romans*, 126; Starcke, *La Famille Primitive*.

³ *Iliad* v. 154; *Odys.* iv. 12. Cf. the plaintive reproach in Genesis xv. 3.

⁴ The native pride of race is a conspicuous feature in the character of Æneas, both in the *Iliad* and the *Æneid*. Cf. *Iliad* xx. 203.

their deeds. When Odysseus returns after ten years absence, and is preparing for the slaughter of the rebellious Ithacans, he bids his son Telemachus remember the traditions and renown of his house, and do no discredit to the family fame; and Telemachus responds to the call. No less significant is the delight of Laertes at witnessing the prowess of his son and grandson. When Agamemnon and Athene wish to fire the ambition of Diomedes, they know no better way of effecting their purpose than to bid him be as brave as was his father Tydeus before him. But none of the passages exceed in pathos the scene in the underworld, where Odysseus tells Achilles of the courage and wisdom of his son, and the shade of the departed rejoices at the recital:—

Ὡς ἐφάμην, ψυχὴ δὲ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
 Φοῖτα μακρὰ βιβᾶσα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
 Γηθοσύνη ὃ οἱ υἱὸν ἔφην ἀριδείκετον εἶναι.¹

And to assume authority after his death.

The same sentiment explains the son's assumption of government over the household at his father's death. In this capacity he takes charge of the members of the family. Telemachus wields authority in the house of Odysseus. He has the right to bestow his mother's hand in marriage and to give the bridal presents.² He is recognized as the head of the household and its members yield him willing obedience.³ Such was the usual practice; authority was transmitted through the hands of sons. But the son might, if occasion called, proceed a step further and seize his power by force. We are speaking, be it remembered, of an age when might was right, when bodily strength and vigorous health formed the chief recommendations, nay, were

The position of the first-born rests upon a physiological basis.

¹ *Odys.* xi. 505-538. "So I spake, and the spirit of the son of Æacus, fleet of foot, strode with long steps along the meadow of asphodel, glad at heart that I had told him of his son's renown." Cf. Vergil, *Æneid* ii. 549, where Neoptolemus in irony bids the adversary, whom he is about to slay, tell his father in the other world of his degeneracy, "Degeneremque Neoptoleum narrare memento."

² *Odys.* xix. 529; xx. 342; Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 328.

³ The word *senior* as a title of the first-born, which has in various forms come down to us in the Romance languages, *signore*, *seigneur*, *sir*, and others, testifies to the privilege of birthright.

absolutely necessary to a ruler. Accordingly the deposition of parents was sanctioned by law. Deposition of parents.

Nor was there a lack of celestial precedents for the practice of setting aside the parent in favour of the son. The tumultuous times which, according to Greek mythology, ushered in the creation of the world, witnessed many such scenes. Ouranos, one of the primeval gods, experienced this fate. He hated his children, and as soon as they were born hurled them into Tartarus or the Nether Regions. Afterwards, at the instigation of his mother Gaia (Earth) Cronos, one of the victims of this unnatural conduct, deposed his father and himself ascended the throne of heaven. The usurper, however, did not enjoy it long. He in his turn succumbed to the rising power of Zeus, who obtained the dominion of the world. Mythology.

The same feeling appears in the sublunary sphere described by Homer. Laertes, worn out with care and labour, resigns the reins to his son Odysseus, who is better able to wield the government of his island kingdom.¹ The old man retires to spend his declining days in his upland farm.² The probability is, therefore, that such a forcible seizure was not the normal custom; as a rule, the duties devolved in due course upon the son. Homer.

To sum up the responsibilities resting upon the shoulders of the son, his paramount duty related to the household worship.³ We learn on the authority of Plautus that The son's responsibilities.
House-worship.

¹ The epithets applied to the suitors who are unruly and insolent bespeak the difficulties of the task, which Telemachus realized to his cost.

² We see here the genesis of the "parents' dower" on landed property.

³ The necessity of keeping the fire on the hearth alight and maintaining the hearth inviolate was felt so strongly that when the liberties of Greece were threatened by the Persian army under Xerxes, Leonidas led to guard the Pass of Thermopylae a contingent of three hundred "who had children," that is, representatives who would take care that the obligations were fulfilled and the religious duties duly discharged. Herodot. vii. 206. Cf. *Iliad*. xv. 497. At Rome the pontifical and civil law required the performance of the household sacrifice: *Sacra privata perpetua manento*.

the maintenance of the family altar was an expensive matter :—

Cena hac annonast sine sacris hereditas.¹

And again he speaks of an estate exempt from such an encumbrance :—

Sine sacris hereditatem sum aptus ecfertissumam.²

Ancestral
worship.

Moreover, closely connected with the guardianship of the family fire was the perpetuation of the worship of ancestors who watched over the fortunes of the household. As their forefathers were buried in the haunts of the living, their spirits were always present, and everything that could not be ascribed to obvious causes was supposed to be due to their agency. If anything miscarried it was because the rights of the dead had not been respected, and then adieu to all hope of happiness and prosperity. To forfeit their goodwill was to imperil the very existence of the family. Their favour was in consequence as earnestly desired as their wrath was deprecated.

The
worship of
the gods.

The representative of the family has duties to fulfil towards the gods also, for they take an interest in human affairs and require a return at the hands of men. Accordingly men, on their part, endeavour to fulfil the unwritten eternal laws which are the sources of all morality, and by duly discharging religious observances to establish a claim to divine favour. Such a belief runs through the life and conduct of Odysseus. Of these ceremonies sacrifice forms an important factor. The head of the family takes care to assemble his sons around him, and they often assist in the household rites. Thus the children are from an early age imbued with pious sentiments and are trained to fulfil those responsibilities which will in time devolve upon themselves.

¹ *Trinummus* ii. 483, "with provisions at the present prices, a feast is a fortune without encumbrances."

² *Captivi* iv. 1, 8. "I have lighted upon a most ample inheritance without encumbrances." The old Welsh custom known as *dadenhurdd*, or uncovering of the family hearth, the picturesque and symbolic action by which the eldest son asserted his claim to hereditary property (H. Lewis, *Ancient Laws of Wales*, p. 547), is of a similar nature.

We have now arrived at a point where we can appreciate the advance made in the development of the family. If we carry our thoughts back to the earliest times of which we can catch glimpses, we find that the head of the household knew no law but his own caprice. Women were kept in a state of stern subjection; children and the aged were ruthlessly exposed to death. To realize the progress achieved we may compare the social conditions of the earliest ages with the pictures portrayed in the legends that have gathered by the fifth century around the person of King Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, his unhappy wife, and Orestes, the troubled child of their union. The living forms of pride, passion and temptation that stalk across the stage in this thrilling tragedy, the black mysterious woe worked at the banquet, the spectres of remorse and death and judgment, all turn upon the conflict¹ of the family relationships and the outrages against family love.

The plot opens with the departure of the fleet for Troy. Agamemnon is appointed to command the expedition, which is to avenge the affront offered to his brother Menelaus and to demand reparation for the invasion of his rights by the Asiatic Paris.² The fates have ordained that Troy must fall, but the plans of the invaders are frustrated for a time. At Aulis, the meeting place of the Greek army, Agamemnon accidentally kills a stag which is sacred to Artemis and aggravates his impious act by irreverent words. Incensed by the desecration the goddess sends a pestilence upon the assembled Greeks and produces a complete calm. The

Fraternal
affection
com-
mended.

¹ Cf. R. von Ihering, p. 36.

² The mutual relations of the brothers Agamemnon and Menelaus at a later period are an attractive feature of the Homeric poems. Agamemnon's care for his younger brother Menelaus appears in the encouragement he gives him to persevere in the course which duty demanded; in his advice against embarking in a perilous enterprise with Diomedes, and in his solicitude over the wound inflicted by Pandarus. On the other side, Menelaus is heartbroken at the tidings of his brother's murder. He is agonized by the reflection that, while he was still on foreign soil, his brother should have fallen a victim to treachery, and the thought casts a shadow upon the rest of his life.

grim goddess demands that the most beautiful maiden in Greece must die. Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter, enjoys the unhappy pre-eminence. The fleet remains idle, the goddess implacable. Agamemnon, therefore, in order to appease the divine anger devotes his daughter as an atoning sacrifice to the common cause, but the intended victim is spirited away in a mysterious manner and she becomes the priestess at the altar of the goddess to whom she had well nigh fallen a victim. Meanwhile the tempest is gathering at home. Ægisthus, who has been brought up under the same roof and at the same board as Agamemnon, perfidiously avails himself of the chief's absence at the wars to corrupt Clytemnestra, Agamemnon's wedded wife. By this time Troy has fallen, and Agamemnon returns. Landing at Argolis he repairs to his home only to meet his death. He is accompanied by Cassandra, King Priam's daughter, whom he has received as guerdon for the part he has borne in the war. Stung by the importation of a foreign concubine, but urging the murder of her daughter in extenuation of her misdeed, Clytemnestra¹ wreaks her vengeance by butchering her unsuspecting husband at a feast, and cools her jealousy in Cassandra's blood.² The interest is now transferred to Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. Eight years have elapsed since the act of treachery was perpetrated when Orestes arrives at Mycenae and determines to avenge his father's death—a resolution in which he is confirmed by the Delphic oracle. Repairing to the tomb of the departed he makes an offering of a lock of his hair. By means of this his sister recognizes him. They unite together to compass the death of the offenders and proceed to put their plan into execution. Orestes slays the guilty pair with his own hand and gains great fame among mortals. The drama now enters upon its third stage. Orestes has committed the sin of matricide and flees from the wrath of the gods. Pursued by the

The father sinks his paternal feelings in deference to public opinion.

Infidelity of the wife revolting to conscience.

The wife is jealous of a rival and resents her daughter's death.

Filial affection applauded.

Fraternal relations.

Love of the father overcomes the love of the mother.

¹ So says Æschylus, *Agamem.*, 1492.

² *Odys.* iii. 253.

Avenging Furies¹ the fugitive seeks refuge at Athens, where he places himself under the patron goddess of the city. He is acquitted of the charge. A sister's self-sacrifice finally brings salvation to the brother. Iphigenia, who had been snatched from destruction, reappears at Tauris, where human sacrifice was the established custom among the Scythian savages inhabiting the country. To her has been allotted the task of preparing the strangers who land on the coast. Fate brings Orestes her brother to the perilous shore; he is doomed to die. While the preparations for his sacrifice are in progress the sister recognizes her brother; their ties of relationship are too strong for her sense of duty and they both take flight.

The curse
of
matricide.

Such is the main outline of the legend. But with it is interwoven the description of the friendship between Orestes and Pylades, a worthy counterpart of family love, but a feeling to which society seems in early ages to have been a stranger.

Friend-
ship.

¹ The word 'Ερινὺς has been equated with the Sanskrit *Saranjus*. The Arcadian legend of Demeter Erinus (Pausanias iii. 25) and the Vedic legend of Saranjus exhibit a curious correspondence.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROPERTY.

The ques-
tion of
property.

To the subjects of the preceding pages the maintenance of the hearth, the transmission of authority, and the mutual relations of father and children, the question of property is closely allied. For the father could not be indifferent to the retention of his possessions in the family. This was the reason why Odysseus expressed a wish that the Phaeacian king might enjoy an abundance of blessings in his lifetime, and transmit his property to his sons.¹ Phainops, on the other hand, bemoans his own lot in leaving no heir, since his sons have been slain.² So, although the subject of property, viewed in its just dimensions, is far too large for a sketch of this kind, it holds such an important place that some allusion to it is indispensable.

First of all, we must dissociate our minds from the elaborate systems of tenure and ownership which obtain in Europe at the present day, systems which represent the accumulated wisdom of Roman, medieval, and modern jurists. Still, even the crude ideas of the ancient Aryan, at the threshold of civilization, are not devoid of interest in this connection, illustrating as they do the origin of the conceptions of private and public property, and the gradual growth of these ideas from inception to maturity.³

¹ *Odyss.* vii. 148.

² *Iliad* v. 153.

³ The line of the development of ideas relating to property in early Europe is indicated by the absence of definite terms for "property" and "owner" from the early stages of the Aryan languages. To make up for the deficiency, those who spoke them resorted to a periphrasis, or the pronoun was extensively employed for the purpose. Of this expedient Roman law affords several illustrations. If the speaker wished to assert

The imperfect ideas relating to property are attested by language. It has been pointed out¹ that the common expression *meum est*, which was used in the legal process known in Roman law as *vindicare* (literally to "lay legal claim"), originally did not mean "it belongs exclusively to me," but "it belongs to the household community." It is highly significant also that Greek, a language which, generally speaking, is so rich in its vocabulary, so well adapted to express exuberance of thought and new ideas, so capable of conveying refined distinctions of meaning, included no special term for owner. The words *δεσπότης* and *κύριος* were afterwards employed for this purpose. The Latin *dominium* was used in a similar sense, but it is clearly a makeshift, and is of comparatively recent origin.

Absence of Greek and Latin words for owner.

The main principle underlying all the primitive ideas of property consists in the feeling of unity on the part of a tribe, clan or family, and the consequent sense of joint ownership. The size of the group was conditioned in a great measure by the means of subsistence which was available. So long as such a community led a wandering life, the common ownership would of necessity apply to movables only. But as the boundaries became circumscribed through the proximity of other communities, and as the place of habitation was in some measure fixed by the needs of an incipient agriculture, landed property began to develop itself. This evolution we shall endeavour to trace.

Communal ownership.

Private property in movables preceded private property in land.

The first point to be noticed, then, is that land originally belonged to the community, and not to the individual, or even to the family. The idea of individual existence is of comparatively recent growth, and in nearly all ancient countries the life of the individual is so absorbed in the life

Communal ownership of land.

his right to any object he expressed his claim thus : *aio hanc rem meam esse* ("I assert that this thing is mine"). That this custom was not confined to Rome, but rather was at one time a universal usage, is seen from the parallels to be discovered elsewhere. Such is the Sanskrit term *mamedam*, "This is mine."—Schrader, *Reallex.* 171.

¹ Leist, *Altar. Jus civile* ii., p. 298.

of the community that he cannot be conceived in isolation or separation from the rest of its members. The reason for this is obvious. It simply expresses the evident truth that each man is dependent upon his fellows.

Property still belongs to family, not to the individual

The foregoing facts furnish some data for inferences concerning the growth of the idea of private property, but considerable caution has to be exercised in connection with the subject. If we expect to find established at this early era any system of individual ownership, we shall be disappointed. It has to be remembered that even after the modification of communal ownership the individual is still unrecognized. The truth is that private property is first vested in the family and not in the individual. This applies to movables as well as to land.

From the description of the royal family of Troy¹ it would appear that the Trojans had not risen above this plane of development. King Priam's palace was occupied by his sons and daughters. Marriage made no difference. "In it were fifty chambers of polished stone, builded hard by one another, wherein Priam's sons slept besides their wedded wives."

The parallel cases of Indian races,

The analogy presented by the backward races akin to the Greeks and Italians is most pertinent here. In India property is still sometimes reserved to the family:—"The combined family in India," says a writer who speaks with authority on this subject,² "rests upon a community of dwelling, meals, worship and property. The common preparation of the food and the fact of their taking meals together is the surest outward sign of relationship, and the members of the family are therefore strictly denoted as the community of the *ekapākena vasatām*, viz., "those who cook in common." The Southern Slavs, too, whose character is distinguished by a strong conservatism, retain the custom of family ownership.

and Slavs.

The probability is, therefore, that a practice which is now confined to these unprogressive races once obtained among

¹ *Iliad* vi. 243.

² Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 76.

those who have made more rapid strides in civilization. The property, then, belonged to the male members of the family. Under the category of things enjoyed by the family in common would fall not only the produce, but cattle too; in short, all that is comprised within the Sanskrit term *rê, râ*,¹ and the cognate in Latin, *res*, which appears, for example, in the phrases *rem augere*, to "increase one's income," and *res familiaris*, "family property." Over this property the head of the household wielded in the earliest times an almost unbounded authority. But how far his power was defined it is impossible to speak positively, dealing, as we are here, with an age anterior to the establishment of any legalized system of property or ownership. At the same time it must be remembered that, whatever that power may have been in the earliest days, at a later period it was abridged both in Greece and Rome.

It has been made clear that in primitive society land belonged to the community and was cultivated on the communal principle for the public benefit. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the origin of individual ownership. Individual ownership originated in the difficulty of dealing with movable possessions. In Sanskrit they are called *dravîṇa*,² in Greek *ἀφανής οὐσία*³ as opposed to *φανερά* (real property, like land), because they can be put out of sight and made away with,⁴ and, again, in Latin *res mobiles*. Movable property formed the basis and the standard of all private property. Even in regard to movables it is necessary to speak with some qualification. For what has been said in previous pages concerning the joint possession of land applies in a large measure to movable property also. In the first instance this likewise belonged to the community as a whole.

Private property began with movables.

Cattle would in the nature of the case form the chief part Cattle.

¹ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 171.

² Cf. *dru*, "to run."

³ Cf. *ἀφανής πλοῦτος*, opposed to *γῆ* in Aristoph., *Eccles.* 602.

⁴ Cf. Menander, *Δύσκολος*, 2, 16. *πλοῦτος ἀφανής ὃν σὺ κατορύξας ἔχεις.*

of the property. It has been already mentioned that the ox was the measure of wealth and the medium of exchange. It was the standard by which the value of armour was estimated; the price of a slave was paid in oxen; each tassel on the aegis of Athene¹ was worth a hundred oxen.

Allusion has already been made to the derivation of the word *pecunia*, "property" in stock, from *pecus*, "flock," and its subsequent development into "money." We find in Festus a passage which illustrates the transition and is otherwise interesting in this connection:—

Peculatus furtum publicum dici cœptum est a pecore, quia ab eo initium eius fraudis esse cœpit, siquidem ante æs aut argentum signatum ob delicta poena gravissima erat duarum ovium et xxx. bovum . . . quæ pecudes, postquam ære signato uti cœpit P. R. Tarpeia lege cautum est, ut bos centusibus, ovis decusibus æstimaretur.²

Branding
and
marking
cattle a
survival of
com-
munism.

The age of primitive communism has left its impress on language; nay, there are survivals of the primitive usage among us at the present day. When, as we have had occasion to notice, pasture land belonged to the community, and was open to the herds and flocks of several owners, it became usual to distinguish the flocks and herds by a peculiar mark (*signare*). To this custom the poet Vergil alludes in the *Georgics*:—

Post partum cura in vitulos traducitur omnis ;
Continuoque notas et nomina gentis inurunt.³

Sheep and goats required a different treatment, for the growing wool and hair would conceal the brand. Accordingly they were marked with colours. This custom throws light upon a point of Roman law. The jurist Gaius refers to the

¹ *Iliad* vi. 236 ; xxiii. 705 ; ii. 448.

² *Ed. Müller*, p. 237, quoted in Schrader's *Reallex.*, p. 281. "A theft from the public came to be called "peculation," from *pecus*, "cattle," because the offence originated with cattle, for before bronze or silver were coined the heaviest penalty for misdemeanours consisted of two sheep and thirty oxen. After the Roman people began to employ bronze coin it was provided by the Tarpeian law that an ox should be valued at a hundred asses, a sheep at ten."

³ iii. 157. "After birth all the care passes to the calves in turn ; and straightway they brand the mark and name of the race."

case in which it was necessary to determine the right of ownership over cattle, and refers to the methods of evidence.

“Ex grege vel una ovis aut capra in jus adducebatur vel etiam pilus inde sumebatur.”¹

The reference is clearly to the tuft of wool which bore the mark of ownership painted in colours. Such precautions served a double purpose. They prevented confusion, especially in the event of an animal straying from the herd, and at the same time supplied a clue to its recovery in the case of theft.

Personal property, then, in the strict sense of the term, was limited to what was worn or otherwise used in everyday life. The male possessed his implements and his weapons, the female her clothes and ornaments—and these accompanied them to the grave.

We have seen that the community comes first among the social sanctions of the ancient world. The effect of this idea is visible in various countries and various circumstances. Traces of the collective ownership of land are to be found in the most distant and different parts of the globe, as well among the East Indians² as among the American Redskins.³ Still more pertinent to our purpose is the existence of communal ownership among races closely connected with the Greeks and Italians. We learn on the authority of Caesar that such a system obtained among the Germans,⁴ and his statement is supported by Tacitus,⁵ while, as is

The interests of the community paramount.

Communal ownership among un-Aryan races.

Among Aryan races.

¹ iv. 17. “Either a sheep or a she-goat used to be brought into court, or even a tuft used to be taken from it.” Cf. R. von Ihering, p. 15, n.

² Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, and Phear, *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*.

³ Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 455.

⁴ *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 22, and iv. 1.

⁵ *Germ.*, c. 26. In the north and middle of England traces of common ownership are still to be found. “Most of the meadows lie in parallel undulations or rigs . . . They seldom run straight, but tend to curve towards the left. At each end of the field a bank, locally called a balk, sometimes three or four feet high, runs at right angles to the rigs. The fields were originally common, and for fairness of division were arranged in strips or rigs, no man being allowed two continuous rigs.”—Lubbock, *Beauties of Nature*, p. 106.

well known, the system exists in Russia down to the present day. We now pass to the evidence which shows that the custom existed in Greece and Italy.

Common words for landed property.

It may be mentioned that the Indian, Greek and Italian races possessed in common a word for land as the staple of subsistence. That word appears in the Sanskrit *budhna*, the Greek *πυθμήν*, and the Latin *fundus*. Its connection with the Old High German *bodam* and the modern German *boden* is undoubted,¹ nor are we left in the dark as regards the derivation. Underneath all the forms lies the idea of digging, i.e. tilling, as the chief means of support.²

Traces of common land system in Homer.

The following passage in the *Iliad* probably alludes to the re-measurement of common-land as a precaution against the encroachments of the dishonest upon a neighbour's share.³ The only way to detect dishonesty was to re-measure the plots of ground. Thus we read in the *Iliad* :—

οὔτε ποτ' αἰχμηταὶ Δαναοὶ Λυκίους ἐδύναντο
τείχεος ἄψ' ὤσασθαι, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα πέλασθεν.
ἀλλ' ὡς τ' ἄμφ' οὔρουσι δὴ' ἀνέρε' δηριάσθων,
μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ἐπιζύνω ἐν ἀρούρη,
ὃ τ' ὀλίγῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης,
ὡς ἄρα τοὺς διεέργεον ἐπάλξιες.⁴

Communal ownership in historic Greece.

Early legislation.

Traces of the early usage by which land was held by the tribe or family in common are to be found in historic Greece. In Sparta, Leucadia, and Locris the alienation of land was prohibited. Still more definite and significant were the laws laid down and the theories propounded by the early legis-

¹ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsch. Wörterbuch*, sub. v. *Boden*, and Fick, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*, p. 131.

² The following groups of words are cognate: Sanskrit *ava-bādha*, "dug out"; Greek *βαθύς*, "deep," *βόθρος*, "pit"; Latin *fodio*, "dig," *fossa*, "ditch" (for *fodsa*, as *fundus* for *fudmus*).

³ Unprotected orphans were especially exposed to fraudulent dealing. Cf. *Iliad* xxii. 488, 489.

⁴ *Iliad* xii. 419. "Nor could the warlike Danaans drive back the Lykians from the wall, when once they had drawn near thereto. But as two men contend about the marches of their land, with measuring rods in their hands, in a common field, when in narrow space they strive for equal shares, even so the battlements divided them."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

lators of Greece. Aristotle explains that the open-field system was extinct in Greece,¹ but had once prevailed.² It is stated that Lycurgus advocated an equality (*ισότης τις*). Such, too, was the purpose kept in view by Phaleas of Chalcedon and Philolaus of Thebes. The frequency of the term *ἀναδασμός*, namely, redistribution of land, and the evidence for the operation also points in the direction of communal ownership during the early history of Greek civilization.

The facts already adduced from the province of the law-giver and the domain of the philosopher are strikingly confirmed by the history of the word *κλήρος*, which was universally used for lot or inheritance. Thus, in Homer the phrase *οἶκος καὶ κλήρος*, "house and a parcel of ground," occurs more than once, as in these lines:—

The testimony of language.

Οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης
 Τεθνάμεν· ἀλλ' ἄλοχός τε σὴν καὶ παῖδες ὀπίσσω
 Καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλήρος ἀκήρατος, εἴ κεν Ἀχαιοὶ
 Οἴχωνται σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.³

But *κλήρος* does not necessarily mean anything more than that the right to a share in the open field shall be safeguarded.

As regards Rome, the evidence is somewhat obscure, but it cannot be doubted that there also absolute ownership was originally unknown, and that the development of the ideas of property proceeded on the same lines as in Greece. The use of the word *sors* presents an exact parallel to the word to which reference has just been made. Like *κλήρος* it indicated a patrimony;⁴ but it really carries the mind back to an earlier

Italy.

¹ *Pol.* ii. 4, 1263 A.

² Cf. *Pol.* i. 2, 1252 B.

³ *Iliad* xv. 496. "Lo, it is no dishonourable thing for him to fall fighting for his country, but his wife and his children after him are safe, and his house unharmed, and his lot of land, if but the Achaians fare with their ships to their own country."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*). Cf. *Odys.* xiv. 62, where the swineherd Eumæus laments the long absence of his master, who would have given him "somewhat of his own, a house and a parcel of ground and a comely wife, such as a kind lord gives to his man."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*). Cf. the adjective *πολύκληρος* (*Odys.* xiv. 211).

⁴ Cf. Festus, Müller, p. 297.

time when property was divided by lot (*sors*). Such, too, is the meaning implied in the word *consors*, which was used for those who participated in a community of goods.¹

Mythology.

Mythology is a rich source of information upon the social institutions of primitive times, indeed, the oldest of all witnesses; and it throws light upon the growth of property.

The golden age of King Saturn.

The mythic age of King Saturn is depicted as a period when communism prevailed, and it is not devoid of significance that communism coincided with the reign of a king to whom was ascribed the introduction of agriculture,² the arts and habits of civilized life and social order. But there is yet more direct testimony than any that mythology can afford.

The *ager publicus*.

Such evidence is presented by the existence of the *ager publicus*, or common lands, which were the property of the state. In earlier days they proved a bone of contention between patrician and plebeian, when the former attempted to monopolize them to the disadvantage of the latter without having acquired any title to them. In later days the subject formed a battle-ground on which the rival claims of aristocracy and democracy were fought out. The stubborn and protracted controversy and the agrarian laws to which it gave rise led to the most stirring episodes in the history of Republican Rome. Thus, throughout many centuries community of property in pasture land was maintained in the Roman commonwealth.³

The hunting and pastoral stage.

So far we have seen the general tendency of the laws of property. But it may be possible to trace more precisely the successive stages of the development of the ideas on the subject, and we may be guided in our attempt by the three-fold division of the periods of civilization which we laid down in a former page, namely, into the ages of hunting, pasture,

¹ For an examination of the evidence regarding the later development of conceptions of property see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* iii. 1, 24; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 518.

² This is signified by the name, which is connected with *serere*, "to sow." Similarly his wife is Ops, the goddess of plenty.

³ See De Laveleye's well-known work, *De la propriété et de ses formes primitives*, 1874.

and agriculture. The beginnings of the conceptions of property are hardly discernible in the periods when the chase furnished the chief means of subsistence, unless weapons and clothes can be called by the name. When life was of the rudest description, and the scanty wants of the individual were supplied by hunting or fishing, the idea of property, whether communal or individual, had not yet taken shape; indeed, the necessity of any disposition or adjustment of property had not been felt; nor had society advanced beyond the communal system in the pastoral period. The pasture grounds of the family or the tribe were open to all.

The rise of agriculture, as was observed in another chapter, marked an important advance in the social economy. Still, long after husbandry had been introduced, and the cultivation of the soil had become familiar to the primitive Aryans, they remained on the same level as before in the matter of the ownership of land. As pasture had been held in common previously, so was arable land now. But an advance in the direction of a system of individual ownership is visible, and the several steps towards its achievement may be traced.

The rise of agriculture.

The first was when the land was cultivated jointly by the community, and the produce was divided among those who had shared the labour. That such a method obtained widely may not be doubted in the face of varied testimony that can be adduced. We have it on the authority of Diodorus Siculus that the Celt-Iberian races observed this principle:

Joint cultivation.

οὔτοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος διαιρούμενοι τὴν χώραν γεωργοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς κοινοποιοῦμενοι μεταδίδουσιν ἑκάστῳ τὸ μέρος, καὶ τοῖς νοσφισαμένοις τι γεωργοῖς θάνατον τὸ πρόστιμον τεθείκασι.¹

But this is far from being an isolated instance of this archaic mode of cultivation. It has existed in countries as

¹ v. 34. "These cultivate the land, dividing it each year, they put the produce in a common stock, and give each his share; if farmers appropriate anything, death is the penalty prescribed."

different and as distant from each other as Ireland and Mexico.¹ It is a matter of history that such a system prevailed in the Middle Ages in Italy and France. It still obtains among the Slavs, who, as we have often had occasion to observe, have lagged behind in the path of civilization, and have clung with stubborn tenacity to usages which are obsolete elsewhere. Such is the custom still in some parts of Servia and Croatia. Now, it is contrary to all historical precedent that the less perfect system should supplant the more perfect. We may therefore conclude that at one time communism was generally practised.

Re-
allotment
of the soil.

The next step marks an advance from an economical point of view. It was the periodical interchange of the plots by which the cultivated land was parcelled out among several families. Under this arrangement a temporary right of occupation was allowed to the individual. A similar custom was observed in Germany. A similar method exists in Russia also, and judging from the provisions of certain old Slavonic laws, it would appear to have been common at one time in that country. This method of husbandry was not without its advantages. For the prospect of obtaining full and undivided possession of the produce, the work of his hands, served to stimulate the holder to further exertions and imparted an invaluable impetus to agriculture. The industrious husbandman looked for a larger return for the labour expended than his slothful neighbour. Consequently a premium was set upon industry, and the community benefited in proportion. From the establishment of this ownership it was not a long step to the recognition of personal property. It appears probable that the new departure dated from the adoption of agriculture, which induced a feeling of settlement and a sense of security.² Above all, horticulture tended to deepen this idea of fixity.

Beginning
of personal
property
in land.

¹ Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 458.

² Cf. the transition from the meaning of dwelling to that of ruling, in such words as the Sanskrit *kṣī*, Latin *sedere* and *possidere*, German *sitzen* and *besitzen*.

The tree requires to be nurtured; while the corn crop takes twelve months to mature, and enjoys but a short period of maturity, the tree continues to yield fruit year by year.

The introduction of property among the Romans was by legend ascribed to Romulus. At the foundation of the city he distributed the arable land by giving every citizen two acres (*jugera*) in perpetuity (*heredium*). The method of distribution of land in Greece during the heroic period is merged in obscurity. This much, however, is tolerably clear, that Greece in this respect exhibits an advance upon the state of things which, according to Cæsar and Tacitus,¹ prevailed in Germany, for there the possession was only temporary.

The story of Meleager is instructive upon this point. The Ætolian hero, whose arms have hitherto been crowned with victory, in consequence of a mother's curse holds aloof in the war between the Calydonians and Curetes. Among the brilliant promises made to him by the old men of the town, if he will again join in the fight, is a gift of land:—

τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες
 Αἰτωλῶν, πέμπον δὲ θεῶν ἱερῆας ἀρίστους,
 Ἐξέλθειν καὶ ἀμῦναι, ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον.
 Ὅππῳθι πιότατον πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἐρανιῆς,
 Ἐνθα μιν ἦνωγον τέμενος περικαλλὲς ἐλέσθαι
 Πεντηκοντόγρον, τὸ μὲν ἦμισυ οἰνοπέδιοι,
 Ἥμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι.²

The transition from public to private property is also marked by the growth of terms for hedges and boundaries. Stone walls or ditches served a two-fold purpose, as precautions against trespass and as symbols of ownership.³ That

¹ Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 1; vi. 22.

² *Iliad* ix. 574-580. "And the elders of the Ætoliens sent the best of the gods' priests and besought him to come forth and save them, with promise of a mighty gift; to wit, they bade him, where the plain of lovely Kalydon was fattest, to choose him out a fair demesne of fifty ploughgates, the half thereof vine-land and the half open plough-land."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *trans.*)

³ If, as is possible, orchards were the first form of private property in land, hedges would come into use for the purpose of protecting them from intruders. Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* ii. 371; Isaiah v. 2.

such means were employed in Homeric Greece is evident, for example, from the farm scene described in the Shield of Achilles. Here are found a *κάπετος* or "trench," and a *ἔρκος* or "hedge."¹

Signifi-
cance of
bound-
aries.

The adoption of boundaries and land-marks is still more significant of the changes introduced in regard to property. But, as may be imagined, they were of comparatively late origin. The reason is not obscure. It has already been made clear that land belonged in the earliest times to the community; the need of marks of individual ownership, therefore, did not make itself felt. The following instance occurs in Homer. The poet is describing a strife between the Olympian gods. After an angry altercation Ares launches his spear at Athene's tasselled *aegis*, or mystic shield; upon this the goddess hurls a stone at her opponent:—

Κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε,
Τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὔρον ἀρούρης.²

Vergil in his imitation of the line adds a touch which recalls the object for which landmarks were originally instituted:—

Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte iacebat,
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis.³

Boun-
daries
in the
settlement
of dis-
putes.

The abuses of the boundary stone, which are denounced and prohibited in early laws, afford an interesting insight into the social conditions that called such land-marks into being. Judging from the frequent prohibitions which occur in the early literature of various countries, we may infer that encroachments were not uncommon. An old law at Rome

¹ *Iliad* xviii. 564. Cf. the story told by Apollodorus i. 8, 1, of Oineus, King of Calydon, slaying his son Toxeus for leaping over the fence.

² *Iliad* xxi. 403. "That lay upon the plain, black, rugged, huge, which men of old time set to be the land-mark of a field."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

³ *Aeneid* xii. 897. "An ancient huge stone, which by chance was lying on the plain, set up as a boundary, to keep off quarrels from the fields." Cf. Tibullus i. iii. 43; Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 600; Lucan i. 215.

enacted that not only the offender but also the oxen which were instrumental to the trespass were accursed :—

“eum qui terminum exarasset, et ipsum et boves sacros esse.”¹

The circumstance that these boundary stones or *termini* were in Italy ascribed to Numa Pompilius, pre-eminently the lawgiver and saint of the line of Roman kings, attests both their antiquity and their sanctity. He placed them under the protection of the god *Terminus*. Every year sacrifices of cakes, meal and fruit were offered, but it was unlawful to stain the boundary stones with blood. Italy
Numa.

“Numa Pompilius, a just man and politick withall, one who knew well how to govern, and that by the rule of Philosophie, caused his territorie to be confined between him and his neighbour nations, and called those frontier bonds by the name of *Terminus*, as the superintendent, overseer and keeper of peace and amitie between neighbours ; and therefore he supposed that this *Terminus* ought to be preserved pure and cleane from all blood and impollute with any murder.”²

In Greece such stones were consecrated to *Ζεὺς ὄριος*, the god of boundaries. We shall doubtless be right in inferring that there is a close connection between the worship in Greece and Italy. It will be seen that the cult or worship of the Greek god Zeus closely corresponds to that of the Roman Jupiter, and in matter of fact, for various reasons on which we need not expatiate, *Terminus* is no other than Jupiter himself. Greece.

The general result of our inquiry into the growth of ideas of personal property on Greek and Italian soil leaves upon our minds the following impression. It has been seen that in the earliest ages of which we have any knowledge private property did not exist. Everything belonged to the community in general or to the lesser circle of the family. The nearest approach to individual ownership is to be found in Review of
the ideas of
property.

¹ The old German laws dealt severely with those who removed their neighbour's landmark.—Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 308; Anton, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft* i. 64. But nowhere was the sin regarded with greater detestation than in Palestine. Cf. Deut. xix. 14; xxvii. 17; Proverbs xxii. 28; xxiii. 10.

² Plutarch, *Romane Questions*, § 15.—(HOLLAND, *transl.*)

the possession of weapons or ornaments for one's own use. The movement in the direction of recognizing personal property began with movables. In course of time the new system reacted upon the tenure of land. Whereas formerly private possession of land, whether arable, pasture or forest, was unknown, the precedent established in favour of individual ownership of movables led to individual ownership of land also. But in both cases, movables and land, the evolution proceeded from common to individual possession.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SLAVERY.

To the modern mind imbued with ideas of Christian philanthropy, and habituated for centuries to free institutions, the practice of the ancient world in regard to slavery is naturally abhorrent. It must be remembered, however, that the principles which are regularly established and tacitly assumed among us at the present day are really the result of a protracted struggle and of a slow evolution. The reasonableness of slavery was never doubted for a moment by the finest thinkers of antiquity, and its abolition in these latter days has been due to the operation of humanitarian ideas, working slowly but surely deep down in the conscience of civilized mankind.

Slavery
now
repugnant.

The
abolition
of slavery
the result
of a slow
growth.

In contemplating the attitude of the early Greeks and Romans towards slavery, three points have to be borne steadily in mind.

The
attitude of
Greece
and Rome
towards
slavery :
three
considera-
tions.

The ancient world, as we have had occasion to mention before,¹ was unfamiliar with the idea of humanity, and of the sanctity of human life. These were the products of a much later age. Indeed, it may not be too much to say that in early antiquity these ideas could not have come home to the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans with the same force. The world was young and vigorous, life was simple, the race robust. The stranger and the beggar were under the protection of the gods, as they are among primitive races at this day; they had claims, which were always acknowledged, on the consideration of every householder to whose roof they

The
absence of
the idea of
humanity,
of philan-
thropy,

¹ Ch. xiii., 154, 155.

and human
brother-
hood.

repaired. But these courtesies were reserved by Greeks and Romans for men of the same blood as themselves. Even the Greeks shared the placid self-satisfaction and self-adoration of savages, and the Romans avowed a contemptuous indifference to the rest of the human species. We have already alluded to these attributes of barbarism. Where such sentiments were entertained it is not singular that the obligations towards foreigners were not realized to the full. This forms one of the most striking contradictions of the Greek mind. Usually so much alive to the value of personal freedom, so jealous of any encroachment on their rights, the Greeks did not extend their sympathy to the "barbarian." Even Plato, the idealist philosopher of Greece, in discussing the question of slavery, premises that no Hellene shall be reduced to servitude in his Utopia or Ideal Republic.¹

The slave
had no
rights.

The bondsman, therefore, in primitive conditions of life, lay outside the pale of humanity. He was destitute of legal rights, he could claim no protection. He was naturally a slave.² He was a "body," σῶμα,³ nay, mere "animate property."⁴

That other races besides the Greeks and Italians at a later period attached no intrinsic value to humanity is evident from the statements of various writers. Such were the

¹ v. 469. Cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 7, 6. This principle had been anticipated in Egypt. The Roman view was that no citizen could serve another.—Plaut., *Trin.* ii. 4, 144. The Romans affected no scruples in enslaving prisoners taken in war with other Italian states.

² Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 5.

³ It is curious to find this use of σῶματα in the New Testament. Rev. xviii. 13. These practices died hard. See e.g. Ducange 1, 514; Agathias, Book ii.; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 343, 344. A similar state of things existed in Denmark. Kolderup-Rosenvinge, *Grundriss der Dän. Rechtsgeschichte* (übers. von Homeyer), Berlin, 1825, p. 18. So again in Moslem law the slave is looked upon as unconditional property. Arist., *Pol.*, i. 13 and 3, οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων. On the other side, see Philemon, *Fragm.*, 410, Meineke. The poet is certainly in advance of the philosophers.

⁴ Xenophon, *De Rep. Athen.* i. 10, mentions a custom characteristic of the age. He says it was forbidden to strike a slave at Athens for fear of hitting a freeman by mistake.

ancient Germans.¹ Though, as a rule, they treated their slaves leniently, they regarded them as so many "bodies," sold them as property, beat them, and killed them at will.²

Parallels :
Germany.

The principle which we have enunciated was doubtless the main argument in the eyes of a Greek or Roman for the institution of slavery. But there are other things which should be taken into consideration, and these, if they do not palliate or justify the system, at any rate serve to render it intelligible. The truth is that in certain conditions of civilization, and at certain stages of development, slavery may be a necessity and a substitute for worse evils. This is the opinion of Herbert Spencer, and anyone who views dispassionately the earlier history of culture will acknowledge that he has some truth on his side. "It is quite possible," says he,³ "to hold that when, instead of devouring their captured enemies, men made slaves of them, the change was a step in advance; and to hold that this slavery, though absolutely bad, was relatively good, was the best thing practicable for the time being." A representative of a very different school expresses similar sentiments. No less an authority at once on the slave-trading countries and on the spirit of Christianity than General Gordon had something to say in palliation of it. He drew a clear distinction between slave-raids and domestic slavery; against the former he relentlessly waged war, to the latter he was in a measure reconciled.⁴ But this is far from implying that the system is in itself desirable, or that it ought not gradually to be exterminated.

Mitigating
circum-
stances.

Slavery a
necessity
at certain
stages of
develop-
ment.

The second point which has to be observed is, that among races that have only attained to a low level of culture

Slavery in
certain
grades of
civilization
not galling
nor
degrading.

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterth.*, 1854, pp. 343, 344.

² Tacitus, *Germ.*, 25. But the historian claims that the slaves' condition compares favourably with their position among the Romans.

³ *Study of Sociology*, p. 253.

⁴ See his letters from the Soudan, edited by G. Birkbeck Hill, and entitled, *Gordon in Central Africa* (Index, *Slavery*), and Oxford House papers, second series, p. 79.

subjection to the power of another is not so galling nor so repulsive as it appears to the modern mind, which possessing, on the one hand, an exquisite sensibility, is, on the other, imbued with a lively sense of the horrors of slavery, and familiarized with all the evils incidental to the system. Nay, in many respects unprogressive races appear to advantage as compared with the civilized races of antiquity. Such are some of the negroes of Africa, among whom custom, in the absence of law, prescribes that no slave-mother shall be sold without her suckling.¹ The customs affecting the owner breathe a similar spirit. He is held responsible for the acts of his slave. Such, too, were the ancient Mexicans, who often liberated their slaves, and punished the murder of one of them as if he were a freeman.² "The bondage and vassalage of Germany in the past," says Grimm, writing in 1828,³ "was in many respects easier and more amiable than the depressed existence of our peasants and factory hands."⁴ Such was the deliberate decision of a German who had devoted his life to a study of German institutions in all their bearings.

We proceed to trace the early history of slavery, noting, as we proceed, the hardships, the alleviations of the slave's lot, the vicissitudes which the system experienced, and the abolition of it.

Italy and
Greece.

That in primitive times the menial duties devolved upon the freeborn members of the Italian household would be a natural supposition, and, as a matter of fact, Latin writers make direct statements to that effect. Such is the testimony of the antiquarian Pliny :—

Panem faciebant Quirites mulierumque id opus erat olim sicut etiam nunc in plurimis gentium.⁵

¹ Waitz, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1872, ii. 213.

² *Ibid.* iv. 87. ³ *Deutsche Rechtsalt.* xv.

⁴ Cf. O. Flügel in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, xii. 57.

⁵ xviii. 28, 1. "The Quirites (a dignified term for Romans) made bread, and it was the women's task, just as now among most nations."

But he does not stand alone. Columella,¹ Vergil,² and Ovid³ bear out the assertion.

The historian Herodotus states that in the earliest times the Greeks did not possess slaves, and he refers to an episode which is interesting in this connection. He is speaking of the expulsion of the Pelasgoi from Attica, and cites the evidence of an earlier historian, Hecataeus. The Athenians justified their action in driving them out of the country for this reason:—

No slaves
in the
earliest
times of
all.

κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησῶ, ἐνθεύτεν ὄρμεω-
μένους, ἀδικεῖν τάδε. φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρως θυγατέρας τε καὶ
τοὺς παῖδας ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκροννον· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν
χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλληνσι οἰκέτας· ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐται,
τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιάσθαι σφεας.⁴

Similarly Athenæus mentions that in unprogressive regions, like Locris and Phocis, the menial service of the household was performed by the younger members:—

εἰθίσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκειακαῖς διακονεῖν τοὺς νεωτέρους τοῖς πρεσ-
βυτέροις.⁵

In support of his statement that there were no slaves in the olden time he cites Crates, a poet of the Old Comedy:—

Α. ἔπειτα δούλον οὐδὲ εἰς κεκτήσεται οὐδὲ δούλην,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δῆτ' ἀνήρ γέρων διακονήσει.⁶

We have here doubtless a relic of a primitive age.

These survivals of a very primitive period lasted in some parts of Greece to a later time than elsewhere. But, as a

¹ xii., *Pref.* 7.

² *Aeneid* viii. 410.

³ *Fasti* iii. 741.

⁴ vi. 137. "The Pelasgians, they say, while they lived at the foot of Hymettus, were wont to sally forth from that region and commit outrages, as follows. The Athenians used at that time to send their sons and daughters to draw water at the fountain called The Nine Springs, inasmuch as neither they nor the Greeks had any household slaves in those days, and the maidens, whenever they came, were used rudely and insolently by the Pelasgians."—(RAWLINSON, *transl.*)

⁵ vi. p. 264 d. Meineke. "For that it was a custom in their households for the younger men to minister to the elder."

⁶ vi. 267 e. "Then not one shall own one male or female slave but each, be he never so old, shall attend to himself."

rule, in the earliest ages of which we can catch glimpses the slave appears as part and parcel of the domestic household. Still his condition is not slavery properly so called. In the Homeric age the contrasts of nationality have not as yet found a clear expression.¹ In the early Roman family the children are distinguished from the slave by the term *liberi*, but in other respects their position is not widely separated from that of the slave.

The origin of slavery in the strict sense of the term should probably be sought in the institution of war. Slavery is based on the idea that only foreigners can be enslaved. We are therefore enabled to fix to some extent the time at which slavery, as a system, came into being. The time probably coincides with the earliest epochs in the history of the Aryan races, *i.e.*, after they had parted company with their sister races, and assumed a separate existence. Various considerations concur in lending colour to this belief. This was the time when the migratory hordes would be brought into contact with other races, especially with strata of population who were previously in possession of the conquered country. The presumption is, therefore, that this was also the time when a separation arose between the bond and the free. The institution of slavery, then, is closely connected with that of war, and war was the chief though not the only means of acquiring slaves. It appears highly probable that in the hunting-stage² prisoners of war were despatched for obvious reasons. During the absence of their masters there would be no one to guard them, except women and infirm old men. Their maintenance would be a burden, especially considering that in such conditions of existence the means of support could not be other than precarious. But when the transition took place to the pastoral and agricultural stage, as civilization advanced step by step, and as life became more settled and food more plentiful, a more lenient treatment of prisoners taken in war became possible. Yet even under

Origin of slavery.

It dates from the earliest epochs of the separate races.

Slavery and war.

The hunting stage.

Pastoral and agricultural stage.

¹ Curtius, *History of Greece*, i. 138.

² Ch. ix.

these altered circumstances discretion was exercised and a distinction was drawn. That the inhabitants of a wasted country or captured town were neither massacred nor spared indiscriminately may be gathered from such episodes as that described in the following passage in Homer:—

Ἐνθ' ἡμέων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτανον ὄξείϊ χαλκῶ,
Τοὺς δ' ἀναγον ζώους, σφίσιιν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνάγκη.¹

The evidence of language bears out this surmise. The terms for slave, when resolved into their component parts, shed light upon the origin of slavery, and are in many instances pathetically eloquent. Light thrown by etymology.

It has been already seen that in India the victorious race was called *ārya-vārṇa*-, a fact which is particularly instructive in view of the racial characteristics which, as we are led to believe, marked the Aryan.² For *vārṇa* denotes the distinctive complexion³ of the two races that came into contact in that region. On the other hand, the vanquished population was called *dāsa-varṇa*-. Indian terms. Persia presents to view both a parallel state of things and an equivalent expression. Persia. The term *dā'sa* doubtless should be equated with the Zend *danhu* and *dagyū*, which bear the meaning of "province." Thus in the Cuneiform inscriptions Darius styles himself King of Persia and King of the *Dahyus*, namely, the conquered people or provinces.⁴

The wholesale enslavement of subject populations and their reduction to serfdom evidently preceded the settlement of Aryan races in Greece. Serfdom in Greece. Of this fact evidence survived down to historic times. Indeed, this circumstance served to shape the destinies of at least one Greek state. The most

¹ *Odys.* xiv. 272. "There they slew many of us with the edge of the sword, and others they led up with them alive to work for them perforce." (BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*) The speaker, Odysseus, is inventing this narrative, but this circumstance does not invalidate his testimony to the laws of war in the age described.

² For the significance of *ārya*- see Ch. ii., p. 12.

³ Cf. Ch. ii., p. 19, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. Lassen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. vi., p. 12. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, ii. 187.

The Lacedæmonian
helots.

conspicuous case is Lacedæmon, where an earlier wave of population was reduced in the first instance, and afterwards kept down with a heavy hand. These were the *helots*, a name which, being in all probability derived from ἑλεῖν, the aorist form of αἰρέω, "take," bears upon its surface evidence of its original signification. Afterwards they were in emergencies enrolled in the army,¹ and under restrictions even admitted to certain civil rights.² But their presence in Lacedæmon was a constant menace and anxiety to their conquerors. Accordingly violent measures were resorted to from time to time with a view to keeping them in check. Sparta occupied the position of a garrison in a hostile country, and this fact lies at the root of its frequent precautions against surprise. Its free citizens were drilled and trained. Its youth was inured to hardship and suffering from the cradle. Nicolas of Damascus, in a few masterly strokes, delineates the character of the Spartan constitution, and we shall be safe in concluding that many of the institutions and practices to which he alludes were directed to the systematic suppression of the serfs as well as to the gratification of national ambition. Thus, we are informed, that "the Lacedæmonians considered it a disgrace to learn any arts other than those which would be serviceable in war; to engage in trade was demeaning." Again, "foreigners were not allowed to live in Sparta, nor were Spartans allowed to travel abroad." The next remark is thoroughly consonant with the military character and spirit of the Spartan constitution. "They all pride themselves on their submission to their magistrates." It may, indeed, be said that Sparta was a standing army as much as a state; and, as if these precautions were insufficient, the serf population, when it assumed formidable proportions, was thinned by a periodical massacre. This was known as the *κρυπτεία*, or secret commission (from *κρυπτεύω*, "conceal"), which was conducted by the young men, who waylaid and cut off the obnoxious

¹ Thuc. iv. 80.

² Cf. Müller, *Dorians*, iii. 3.

serfs.¹ The traditional reason alleged in extenuation of this drastic measure was the refusal of the helots to pay to a former king the tribute which he had capriciously imposed upon them. Its real cause was a dread of their rising. Under the same category fall the Thessalian *πενέσται*. The conquest of Thessaly gave rise to a similar state of things in that country also. When the invaders arrived in the north of the region that was afterwards known as Greece, they found another race in possession, the Perrhæbi and Magnesians. After bringing them under their yoke they gave them the name of *πενέσται*, a name which is doubtless connected with the Latin *penes*, "in the power of."² They formed a link between the freeman and the born slave, and their numbers were swelled by the accession of prisoners of war.³

Thessaly.

We pass on to the legal position of the serf. When, as we have seen, the conquering population obtained possession of their new territory, they found it impracticable to reduce the whole population to servitude. Accordingly, without altering the actual condition of the conquered population, they invested it with a legal form, namely, bond-service. The bondsmen therefore occupied a different position from that of the slave. The relations of master and bondsmen in Germany are pertinent here. Tacitus, speaking of the serfs, says:—

The condition of serfs.

Germany, a parallel.

"Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit; frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis, ut colono injungit et servus hactenus paret."⁴

The historian makes two points clear. The bondsman owed only a limited bond-service, and he possessed a household of his own. The same observation held good

¹ Arist. in Plut. *Lycurg.* 28; Heraclid. Pont. 2.

² Cf. *penus*, "provisions"; *penum*, "the interior of a temple"; and *penetrare*, "to penetrate." Cf. Curtius, *Gr. Etym. in verb.*

³ See Arist., *Vesp.* 1273; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3, 36; vi. 1, 11.

⁴ *Germ.* c. 25. "Each has an abode and a house of his own to govern. The master levies upon him a contribution of corn or cattle, or clothes, as on a farmer, and the serf so far obeys."

of the serf in ancient Greece and Rome. He was bound to the soil (*ascriptus glebæ*); he had certain duties to fulfil for his master and dues to render, but his earnings belonged to himself. We see, therefore, that the master did not exercise unlimited sway, but that the serf was protected against arbitrary conduct on the part of his owner.

The slave.

Prisoners of war the property of individuals.

Not so the captive of sword or spear. Unlike the populations of a country whose supervision was a matter of national concern and national policy these prisoners passed into the possession of the individual conquerors. The pages of Homer abound with descriptions of cities sacked and of the scenes that ensued. The following is a typical instance:—

ᾠχόμεθ' ἐς Θήβην, ἱερὴν πόλιν Ἡετίωνος,
τὴν δὲ διεπράθομέν τε καὶ ἤγομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα·
καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰ δάσσατο μετὰ σφίσιν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν,
ἐκ δ' ἔλον Ἀτρεΐδῃ Χρυσήϊδα καλλιπάρηον.¹

Some terms for slaves.

Both the Latin and Greek languages contain terms for slave which at once illustrate the capture of slaves on the battlefield, and afford an insight into their condition. The Greek *αἰχμάλωτος* thus betrays its origin; it is obviously "the captive of the spear" (*αἰχμή, ἄλωτός [ἐλεῖν]*).

Ἀνδράποδον is another term which takes our thoughts to the battlefield. The old derivation from *ἄνδρως* and *πούς* suggests a pathetic picture, that of the captive crouching at the feet of his conqueror, in token of submission and in entreaty for his life. But though the picturesqueness of this explanation is alluring, the origin of the word is probably more prosaic. The root has been also sought in *ὄπ-αδός*, "attendant"; *ἀνδρόπαδον* (*ἀνδρ-οπ-αδον*) according to this view should be traced to the root meaning "to follow," and was changed by a popular etymology to *ἀνδράποδον*. But the

¹ *Iliad* i. 366. "We had fared to Thebe, the holy city of Eëtion, and laid it waste and carried hither all the spoils. So the sons of the Achæians divided among them all aright, and for Atreides they set apart Chryseis of the fair cheeks." (LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*) Even those of princely blood were not exempted from slavery. Cf. xxi. 34.

difficulties of this theory are not slight. Altogether, probability points in another direction, though admitting that the constituent elements are, as in the above-mentioned etymologies, *ἀνὴρ, πούς*. We shall doubtless be right in regarding *ἀνδράποδον* as constructed on the analogy of the Sanskrit word for slave, *dvīpada*—properly “biped.” *Ἀνδράποδον*, then, was *πρόβατον*,¹ or property, which was provided with human feet, in contradistinction to cattle.²

The word *εἴρερος*, which occurs in the following simile, transports us to scenes of carnage and misery:—

Ὡς δὲ γυνὴ κλαίῃσι φίλον πόσιν ἀμφιπεσοῦσα,
 Ὡς τε εἴης πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσσειν
 Ἄσπεϊ καὶ τεκέεσσιν ἀμύνων νηλεὲς ἦμαρ·
 Ἢ μὲν τὸν θνήσκοντα καὶ ἀσπαίροντα ἰδοῦσα
 Ἄμφ' αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγα κωκυέ· οἱ δὲ τ' ὄπισθεν
 Κόπτοντες δούρεσσι μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὤμους
 Εἴρερον εἰσανάγουσι, πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ ὄζύν·
 Τῆς δ' ἐλεεινοτάτῳ ἄχεϊ φθινύθουσι παρειαί.
 Ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐλεεινὸν ὑπ' ὄφρυσι δάκρυον εἴβει.³

The word *εἴρερος* (**serseros*) is probably derived from to “string,” or “fasten together in rows.”⁴

But war was not the only means of acquiring slaves. That in the times and countries described by Homer a thriving traffic in slaves was carried on around the shores of the Mediterranean is testified by a number of passages in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Other sources of slave supply.

¹ *πρόβατον, πρόβασις* (*προβαίνω*), “live stock,” as opposed to *κεμήλια*, “inanimate property (*κείμεαι*). See Prellwitz.

² Dr. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 810, compares the Old High German *nanahoubit*, “menschenhauptiges (*Vieh*).”

³ *Odys.* viii. 523. “And as a woman throws herself wailing about her dear lord, who hath fallen before his city and the host, warding from his town and his children the pitiless day; and she beholds him dying and drawing difficult breath, and embracing his body, wails aloud, while the foemen behind smite her with spears on back and shoulders, and lead her up into bondage, to bear labour and trouble, and her cheeks waste with a most pitiful grief, even so pitifully fell the tears beneath the brows of Odysseus.”—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

⁴ Or perhaps from *ἐρώω*, to “drag off.” The Church Slavonic *врѣти*, and the Sanskrit *vārate*, “stopped,” “hindered,” are doubtless traceable to the same source. But see Prellwitz, *Wörterbuch*.

Sale and
kidnapping
of Phœ-
nicians.

The Phœnicians, true to their national character, were the earliest to realize the possibilities of the slave trade as a source of revenue. At one time it was almost a monopoly of this enterprising race, and in the capacity of kidnappers and slave traders they often earned for themselves an unenviable notoriety. They were the first (so ran the tradition) to gain a footing on the African coast,¹ and to establish commercial relations with the natives. What opportunities were afforded by these expeditions may be gathered from various references in Homer and Herodotus. No branch of industry was more lucrative than the barter of their commodities for human lives, and they experienced no difficulty in obtaining in exchange for their Asiatic clothes, weapons or glass, children and youths of both sexes for conveyance to their slave-marts.

But they did not confine their depredations to the barbarians of the coasts of the Atlantic. Along the seaboard of the Black Sea and Mediterranean, amid the islands of the Ægean, they plied their trade, sometimes making descents on the defenceless population, but oftener swooping down upon unsuspecting individuals.

The traffic in human lives is recognized in the following passage:—Odysseus, on his return to Ithaca, conceals his identity, and inquires of the swineherd Eumæus his history:—

᾽Ω πόποι, ὡς ἄρα τυτθὸς ἐὼν, Εὐμαιε συβῶτα,
Πολλὸν ἀπεπλάγχθης σῆς πατρίδος ἠδὲ τοκῆων.
ἼΑΛΛ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατὰλεξον,
ἼἩὲ διεπράθετο πτόλις ἀνδρῶν εἰρνώγνια
ἼἩὲ ἐνὶ ναιετάασκε πατῆρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἼἩ σέ γε μουνωθέντα παρ' οἴεσιν ἢ παρὰ βουσὶν
ἼἩ ἄνδρες δυσμενέες νηυσὶν λάβρον ἠδ' ἐπέρασσαν
Τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς πρὸς δώματ', ὃ δ' ἄξιον ὄνον ἔδωκεν.²

¹ Herod. iv. 42.

² *Odys.* xv. 381. "Ah, Eumæus, how far then didst thou wander from thine own country and thy parents while as yet thou wast but a child! But come, declare me this and plainly tell it all. Was a wide-wayed town of men taken and sacked, wherein dwelt thy father and thy lady mother, or did unfriendly men find thee lonely tending sheep or cattle, and shipped thee thence, and sold thee into the house of thy master here, who paid for thee a goodly price?"—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

As had been already said in speaking of this same Eumæus, the Phœnicians were notorious kidnappers.¹ That the poet is not drawing upon his imagination in depicting the methods employed by these professional slave traders is apparent from a scene described by Herodotus, though it belongs to an era scarcely historical. The historian at the beginning of his work is trying to account for the first collision and long-standing conflict between the East and West, Greek and Barbarian, in which such tremendous issues were involved, and in this connection he has a tale to tell.²

According to the Persian version of the quarrel, the Phœnicians were the original authors. The leading state in Hellas at the time when the historical drama opens, was Argos. These indefatigable merchants and busy mariners landed on the coast of Argos and exposed their merchandise for sale. A great number of women, attracted by the foreign novelties, came down to the shore, and among them Io, the daughter of King Inachus. While the visitors were standing at the stern of the vessel and bargaining for what took their fancy, the Phœnicians seized Io, together with other damsels, hurried them on board and set sail for Egypt. "Such is the Persian version," adds the author, "but the Phœnicians" (as might be expected) "do not agree with them."³

Thus, Phœnician and kidnapper were almost synonymous, and they introduced what may be called the plantation system. But other races imitated their Asiatic rivals successfully, and retaliated upon them. The Taphians, a tribe of the Leleges, who lived partly on the western coast of Acarnania, partly upon the islands, were famous for their piracy and for their skill in navigation. These islanders

¹ Ch. v., p. 56.

² The historian frequently makes far reaching movements turn upon trifling incidents, on the principle enunciated by Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 3, 1, *ἐκ μικρῶν ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ μικρῶν γίνονται αἱ στάσεις.*

³ Pausanias thinks this account may be true, ii. 16.

were no less given to the slave trade. "Out of Sidon I avow that I come," says the nurse in the story of Eumæus:—

Ἄλλά μ' ἀνήρπαξαν Τάφιοι λήϊστορες ἄνδρες
Ἀγρόθεν ἐρχομένην πέρασαν δέ με δεῦρ' ἀγαγόντες
Τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς πρὸς δώμαθ'. ὁ δ' ἄξιον ὄνον ἔδωκεν.¹

Prisoners
of war.

Slave
markets.

The slaves
as a
medium of
exchange.

The Taphians do not stand alone, for other Aryan races on the seaboard or islands of the Mediterranean were in the habit of selling their prisoners of war into captivity. His booty secured, the slave trader would repair to Sicily, or Etruria, where he found ready buyers. At Chios slaves were bought on a large scale.² There are frequent allusions to the commodities for which slaves were exchanged. The Thracians bartered slaves for salt,³ others for wine.⁴

The incidental references to the slave trade which we find in Homer, where it is taken as a matter of course, point to its prevalence. But these instances fade into insignificance beside the slave system of a later time. The common names for slave in classic Greece and Rome, in the former *Δάος* and *Γέτης*, in the later Geta, Lydus,⁵ Surus, Cappadox, and Æthiops,⁶ attest the wide range within which the slave traders conducted their nefarious operations.⁷

¹ *Odys.* xv. 427. "But Taphians, who were sea robbers, laid hands on me and snatched me away as I came from the fields, and brought me hither and sold me into the house of my master, who paid for me a goodly price."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

² Athenæus vi. 2656.

³ Cf. Suidas on *ἀλωητόν*: οἱ γὰρ Θρᾶκες ἀνδράποδα ἀλῶν ἀπεδίδοτο.

⁴ *Iliad* vii. 475. ⁵ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 27. Quis unquam Græcus comediam scripsit, in qua servus primarum partium non Lydus esset?

⁶ Cf. Martial, vii. 87, 2.

⁷ The condition of things in Northern Europe at a later period is analogous. The name of the Slav, reduced to bondage by the Germans, probably came to be synonymous with slave. This conversion of a national into an appellative name appears to have arisen in the eighth century in Oriental France. Professor Schrader compares the Anglo-Saxon *wealh*, which meant both Celt and slave. Cf. Ch. iii. p. 31.

CHAPTER XIX.

SLAVERY (CONTINUED).

WE have seen that war and piracy were the chief means by which the slave market was supplied. But they were not the only sources. In early times insolvency placed the debtor at the mercy of his creditor, and there was no indignity, no injury to which he could not be subjected. He was sold abroad (*trans Tiberim*).¹ This power rested upon the assumption that a man's body possessed a certain value in the market.

Though later in chronological order than the evidence afforded by countries like Greece, the early laws of Rome furnish us with most instructive instances of the merciless application of this principle. The law was inexorable, and the creditor could, if he so willed, carry it out with rigour. There are grounds for believing that some of the features of Roman law which dealt with the relations of creditor and debtor are not peculiar, but date from the Aryan period. The Aryan debtor must have stood on a par with a malefactor.² He was publicly pilloried at a stake and exposed, tightly bound with ropes, to the public gaze, and left there till his relatives or friends redeemed him. There he stood bound hand and foot, exposed day and night to all weathers. Meanwhile the creditor was at liberty to vent his anger by flogging his unfortunate victim. These tortures were applied with a view to wringing from him the secret of concealed hoards or to working upon the compassion of his friends.³

¹ Gell. xx. 1, 45.

² The Sanskrit *rna* meant (1) "guilty," "thief"; (2) "debt," "loan."

³ Cf. the word *βαρυστοραι* (translated "tormentors") in the Parable of The Unmerciful Servant, St. Matthew xviii. 34.

If he did not possess the means of satisfying the claims upon him, the exhibition of the culprit in a public place might quicken the interest of the public in the case, and stimulate his friends to come to his rescue. If they failed him, then he was left to his fate. Even death did not end his disgrace.¹ The creditor retained possession of the corpse. He thus kept in his hands a means of bringing pressure to bear upon the relatives of the dead man. He might withhold the rites of burial (*iusta*) which were indispensable to a passage over the River Styx and admittance to the regions of bliss. He might throw him to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field—a calamity which was spoken of with bated breath. The *Lex Julia de vi publica* prohibited the practice of refusing burial.

Roman
debtors.

*Actio in
personam.*

Such appear to have been the earliest customs in dealing with debtors. Of this several features survived in Rome, and the law did not err on the side of leniency. The laws of the Twelve Tables, the earliest code of the Romans, empowered the creditor to seize the debtor, and to convey him to his home with a view to bringing him to terms. For, as in some parts of the East to-day, it is almost a point of honour not to pay except under compulsion, so in Rome at that time no depth of poverty precluded the possibility, or at least excluded the suspicion, that the debtor might possess a secret store. Having thus gained possession of the debtor's person, the creditor chained him up. He brought him out on three market days, and proclaimed the amount of the debt, a measure which would ensure the circulation of the news among the prisoner's friends. He was also permitted to glut his ferocity² by lacerating the man in his power. But time softened the asperities of the laws regarding debtors; later

¹ Cf. R. von Ihering, pp. 54, 55.

² *Tertiis nundinis partis secanto, si plus minusve secuerunt se fraude esto.* The right to lacerate the debtor in early Roman law is unquestionable. Cf. Kohler, *Shakespeare vor dem Forum der Jurisprudenz*, pp. 19, 20; but the custom must have died out early. Dio Cass. *Fragm.* Ed. Gros. i. p. 70; Aul. Gell. xx.

legislators disallowed this severity, and slavery was substituted for the above legal tortures. Yet though the physical horrors were mitigated, if not removed, the moral stigma remained. The theory and practice of Roman law allowed the sale of insolvent debtors into bondage. This was not all, for since the wife and children, as we have seen, were technically the property of the *paterfamilias*, the right of sale extended over them also.¹

The same phenomenon occurs elsewhere. If we have dealt at some length with the Roman law regarding debt, it is because in this, as in other departments of thought, the Romans retained many primitive practices in their entirety, or with slight modification, rather than because these customs occupy a unique position in the history of civilization. The truth is that traces of some sort lived on among kindred races. The same principle, namely, that the person of the debtor belonged of right to the creditor is visible in ancient India. India. Here, too, the debtor could be put in fetters. Here, too, he could be taken away, and immured in the creditor's house. The unlucky gambler in the Rigveda² bemoans his fate in the following lines. He is speaking of the lot of the gambler:—
 “He sallies forth with his dice to the spoil. Strange hands are laid on his wife. Father, brother, and mother disown him, and cry, ‘Off with him into bonds.’”

So, in like manner, Tacitus relates of the ancient Germany. Germans:—

“Aleam exercent tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, quum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate ac de corpore contendunt. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit. Quamvis juvenior, quamvis robustior alligari se ac venire patitur.”³

¹ The same principle obtained in the original law of the Hebrews, Levit. xxv. 39, 41; Exod. xxii. 3. Afterwards the rigour of the law was tempered by more merciful provisions.

² 10, 34.

³ *Germ.* c. 24. “They gamble with such unconcern, whether they win or lose, that when all has failed, at the last and final throw, they put their freedom and persons to the hazard. The beaten player incurs voluntary slavery, and, be he ever so young and healthy, allows himself to be bound and put up for sale.”

Greece.

The oppression of the poor by the rich at Athens in the time of Solon often led to the enslavement of the lower orders. So deeply were some of them in debt to the rich that they were obliged to pay their creditors a sixth part of the produce of the land, or else to engage their persons, which might be seized on their failure to pay. Some were sold to foreigners; others were forced to sell their children.¹

The abolition of the practice of enslaving debtors at Athens was the work of Solon. This legislator claims to have achieved the following results:—

ὄρους ἀνείλον πολλαχῆ πεπηγότας
πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας, πατρίδ' εἰς θεόκτιτον
ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
ἄλλον δικαίως.²

The
treatment
of slaves.

But the custom continued in other Greek states.³ The data that we possess relating to the earlier phases of Aryan civilization do not enable us to form a very clear conception of the condition of slaves in the social structure. Still, we are not entirely without evidence, and we are warranted in trying to trace the steps by which the position of the slave was ameliorated.

Humane
treatment
in the most
primitive
times.

When slavery first came into existence it is probable that the life of the slave differed but slightly from that of the masters, and this common life could not fail to humanize the relations between bond and free. They lived and worked together. The harder work, however, fell to the lot of the bondsman, who dug the ground with a primitive hoe or dragged a rude plough, consisting of the crooked branch of a tree sharpened at the end,⁴ and performed the menial services which had in yet earlier ages devolved upon the sons and daughters. It may be laid down as a general principle that

¹ Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 15, δανείζειν ἐπὶ σώματι.

² Bergk, *fr.* 36. "I took away many mortgage tablets set up in various ways, and brought back to Athens, the country created by the gods, many who had been sold, one unjustly, another justly." Cf. Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 15.

³ Isocr., *Plat.* 19.

⁴ See Chapter x., p. 121. Cf. Th. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 97, and Sir C. Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, p. 52.

the slave was more humanely treated in proportion to the primitive character and condition of the race.

The truth of this statement is borne out at the present day. Waitz and Post have adduced abundant evidence, for example, from the interior of Africa to show that the simplest Negro tribes treat their slaves well. But the parallels presented by races who bear an intimate resemblance and relationship to the Greeks and Italians are still more to our purpose. Happily, in dealing with them we are able to avail ourselves of the testimony of contemporary writers. Of the Germans Tacitus speaks in the following words:—

Modern
Negro
tribes.

Ancient
Germany.

Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas : inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat.¹

Again we read:—

Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum : occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est.²

To return to Greece and Italy. The great gulf which separated the master from the slave at a later day was as yet unknown. Plutarch, speaking of the early age of Italy, remarks,³ "They dealt very mercifully with their domestics at that time." The narrowness of the line of demarcation between bond and free in the primitive household is attested by the constituent elements of some of the terms for slave. Of this feature the following furnish interesting illustrations:—

Greece and
Italy.

Δμῶς is probably connected with *δῶμος*, "house," and

¹ *Germ.* c. 20. "You could not distinguish master and slave by any fastidiousness of their nurture. They live among the same cattle, on the same ground, till age distinguishes and bravery determines the superiority of the freeborn."

² *Ibid.* c. 25. "They seldom beat a slave and force him with bonds or labour. They do kill them, not by rigorous discipline, but on a sudden impulse and in a passion, as they would kill an enemy—except that the assault entails no consequences." Cf. Mauricios, c. 5, quoted by Schrader, *Reallexikon*, 811. Their condition in Old Russia was not very different. Cf. W. Thomsen, *Ursprung des Russ. Staats*, p. 26.

³ *Coriol.* 24. ἐχρῶντο πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπιεικεία τότε. Cf. *Cato. Maj.* 21.

Some terms for slaves.

οἰκέυς, οἰκέτης with οἶκος, with the meaning "inmate of a family."¹ The explanation of δοῦλος which Hesychius offers points to the same idea. He gives οἰκία as a gloss upon the word. Accordingly this also would appear to have denoted "household slave" originally. But it afterwards bore the more invidious meaning of born "bondman," and was distinguished from ἀνδράποδον, a slave taken in war and sold into captivity.²

Symbolical usages connected with slaves.

The methods employed to bind or attach the slave to his master's house and service were of a symbolical character, and attest the simplicity of the age during which they originated. Among them was the custom of boring the ear.³ It was meant as a mark of servitude and a token that the slave was now, as it were, fixed to the house. But the custom is far from being confined to Italy. The usage obtained among the Hebrews, and the sacred text is explicit enough upon the point: "His master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him for ever."⁴

Circummin-gere.

The strangest of all such ceremonies is the practice of *circummin-gere*, which was supposed to be an effectual means of restraint. This savours of a primitive age, when precautions against escape were defective. The authority for the practice in Italy is Petronius.⁵ "Si circumminxerit illum, nesciet qua fugiat." A passage in Parakara's *Grihya Sutra*⁶ helps to clear up the mystery. The master sprinkled the water in a circle round about the slave. He moved to the left, and passed three times round. If the slave was a fugitive, a fire was kindled, and the god Indra was invoked. Finally an incantation was recited, and he was declared free from the claims of his relatives. That we have in this curious formula a ban is undoubted. It was intended to circumscribe the

¹ Cf. Athenæus vi., p. 267b, and O. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 812.

² Cf. Thuc. viii. 28.

³ Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 103; Plaut., *Poenul.* v. ii. 21; Petron., *Sat.* c. 102; Horace, *Ep.* i. 10, 41.

⁴ Exodus xxi. 6; cf. Deut. xv. 17.

⁶ Translated by Stenzler, iii. 7, 1.

slave. Fetters prevented his working ; freedom offered him means of escape. The master, therefore, pronounced over him a magic incantation ; and as the slave was transferred by the fate of war to a new master, Indra, the god of battles, was invoked to set his seal to the proceeding.

The evidence bearing on the treatment of slaves in early Greece is largely derived from Homer. Though the institution of slavery is unnatural and abhorrent, inasmuch as it violates the sacred rights of man, it loses much of its repulsiveness in the descriptions of Homeric society. On the whole, apart from the circumstances of their subjection or capture, the treatment of slaves was mild.

Greece :
Homer.

The description of the household of Odysseus affords an interesting insight into their condition. It may be urged that the circumstances were exceptional, that Odysseus's absence, Telemachus's minority, and Penelope's forlorn condition, tended to enhance the influence of the household slaves. But granting this, it is clear that the picture presented is in harmony with the conditions of society in heroic Greece generally. The following passages are significant :—

Odysseus's
household.

In the first Eumæus, the swineherd on Odysseus's estate, is speaking. He describes how he has been brought up in the home of Laertes, his present master's father ; nurtured by his mistress, he has never ceased to bear her gratitude, and take a lively interest in her fortunes :—

Οὐνεκά μ' αὐτῇ θρέψεν ἄμα Κτιμένη τανπέπλω
Θυγατέρ' ἰφθίμη, τὴν ὀπλοτάτην τέκε παίδων.
Τῇ ὁμοῦ ἐτρεφόμην, ὀλίγον δέ τι μ' ἤσσον ἐτίμα.¹

Those days are gone. His foster-sister was sent to Same, and earned a goodly bride-price. Eumæus was sent to work

¹ *Odys.* xv. 363, "for that she herself had reared me along with long-robed Ctimene, her noble daughter, the youngest of her children. With her I was reared, and she honoured me little less than her own."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*) Cf. xviii. 322, where Penelope is said to have reared and entreated Melanthis as her own child, and given her playthings to her heart's desire.

in the fields ;¹ yet still he was well clothed, and prospered, and his mistress "loved him with an increasing love." But now all is changed. The lady is dead, worn out with grief for her long lost son. The house has fallen upon evil days :—

μέγα δὲ δμῶες χατέουσιν
 Ἄντία δεσποίνης φάσθαι καὶ ἕκαστα πυθέσθαι
 Καὶ φαγέμεν πιέμεν τε, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τι φέρεσθαι
 Ἄγρόνδ', οἷά τε θυμὸν αἰεὶ δμῶεσσιν ἰαίνει.²

But the companion picture, which points the deep shadows of the domestic life of the time, is dark and terrible. It describes the doom of the faithless servants. Unaware of the presence of their returned master they have revealed themselves in their true colours. Penelope proves to have nursed a viper in her bosom ; Melantho, the petted fosterling, has abetted the suitors for her mistress's hand, who have wasted the substance of the family. Melanthius, the goatherd, has poured insult upon the unknown guest. But the avenger is at hand.³ The maid-servants who have played false in consorting with the wooers and ministering to their pleasures are all hanged together in a row, and the goatherd, mutilated and disembowelled, dies a "pitiful death."

On the other hand the faithful followers of the fortunes of Odysseus are treated with deference. Odysseus addresses the good nurse in familiar terms, and she reciprocates his affection.⁴ This familiarity on the part of the employer was not abused nor his confidence misplaced. Trusted servants identify themselves with their masters' interests, mourn over their misfortunes, sympathize with their struggles and rejoice at their prosperity.⁵ Granting, therefore, that the poet has

¹ Cf. *Odys.* xviii. 338, 342, where the life of a *θήσ*, or serf, is described.

² *Odys.* xv. 376-9. "Yet thralls have a great desire to speak before their mistress and find out all, and eat and drink, and moreover to carry off somewhat with them to the field, such things as ever comfort the heart of a thrall."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

³ xxii. 468-477.

⁴ *Odys.* xxii. 480-487. Cf. the use of *μαῖα*, *Odys.* xvii. 499 ; *ἄττα*, 599 and xi. 369.

⁵ Cf. *Odys.* xx. 192, 211 ; xiv. 524 ; xvii. 318 ; xv. 465.

in some measure idealized the relations between master and slave, yet after making all due allowances, we cannot doubt that the lot of the slave in the Homeric household was much mitigated.

The same cannot be said of Italy, at any rate in the times of which most memorials have survived. But the evidence which exists concerning the earliest periods of which we obtain glimpses is not to the disadvantage of the Roman proprietor. The principle that the slave was destitute of legal rights has been already dwelt upon. It obtained in Greece, but alleviations of the slave's condition were introduced early both in practice and legislation, such as the recognition of a marriage between slaves as a legal relation, and the prohibition against inflicting the death penalty without the sanction of the law. The case was otherwise in Rome. There the principle was maintained with rigour. Still, what was said above respecting the milder conditions of the slave in the ages of primitive simplicity is not without its bearing upon the Roman slave system. In the absence of documentary evidence language furnishes some clues.

Greece and Italy compared.

The evidence of language.

Famulus.

The word *famulus*, as has already been seen, falls under the same category as *δμῶς*, *οἰκέτης*, and *δοῦλος*. The root is probably *dha*, "make," "place," which also appears in the Oscan *faama*, "house." *Famulus*, then, denotes one belonging to the household, *familia*, the members in a collective capacity.

The more precise relations between the slave and his master are designated by *magister*, and its counterpart *minister*. These are comparative forms, and signify respectively no more than social superiority and inferiority.

Magister and *Minister.*

But other words suggest sterner and more sinister associations. Such is the common word *servus*, which connoted the loss of freedom. The ancient authorities referred it to the Latin *servare*, "keep,"¹ as if it indicated those whose lives were spared, but this theory is open to serious

Servus.

¹ So St. Augustine and Justinian, *Inst.* I, 3, 3.

objection. Others see in it the idea of safeguarding.¹ They would then make *servus* the object of protection, "client," "*protégé*." Others associate it with a series of words containing the notion of heaviness, the Lithuanian *svaras*, "a weight," and the modern German *schwer*, "heavy." The probability is, however, that we have here the Latin equivalent of the Greek *εἴρεπος*.² Throughout the series of words with which these are connected runs the idea of binding, fettering, which is perfectly in keeping with the nature of early warfare.

Erus.

Such too is the word *erus*, which denotes the position of the head of the household in his relation to his servants.³ The word is doubtless derived from a root connected with the Sanskrit *harâmi*, "seize," *haranam*, "hand," and the Greek *χείρ*, "hand." This solution is borne out by several passages in the classical authors. Underneath the relations between the *erus* and the *servus* lies the idea of force. Cicero in his treatise containing counsel to his son, says:—

"iis qui vi oppressos imperio coercent, sit sane adhibenda saevitia, ut eris in famulos, si aliter teneri non possunt."⁴

The brighter side of slave life.

Vernae.

Slave life had its brighter aspects. It may be observed that those slaves fared worst who had been taken in war.⁵ The position of the home-born slave, *verna* (from a root *vas*, to dwell, which appears also in the Sanskrit *vâstu*, "house"), generally the offspring of slaves,⁶ leaves on the mind an impression far from disagreeable. Like his Greek counterpart, as in the case of Eumæus, the *verna* was often brought up with his master's children. In later days, as the pages of the Latin poets testify, the *vermulæ* (a diminutive and

¹ See Vaniček on the root *sar*.

² See p. 241.

³ *Erum atque servom salvare*, Plautus, *Trin.* 2, 4, 34.

⁴ *De Officiis* ii. 7, 24. "It may be necessary for those who keep men under subjection by force to employ severity, like masters over slaves, if they cannot otherwise be constrained."

⁵ Cf. *Rep.* 1, 41.

⁶ Such a union was called *contubernium*, not *matrimonium*. The Greek equivalent for *verna* was *οἰκότρον*.

familiar form) were often objects of favour, if not of affection.¹ They became acquainted with all the household management,² and often took liberties with their masters.³

Further, the slaves were allowed to acquire property of *Peculium*. their own. The technical term for possessions so obtained was *peculium*. The reader will remember that this belongs to a class of words which illustrate the transition from kind to money. *Peculium* denoted, therefore, in the first instance, property in cattle. The legal principle, indeed, was that whatever was acquired through the slave was acquired for the master (*quodcumque per servum acquiritur id domino acquiritur*), but the law was evaded. The slave might stint himself, and set aside something out of his daily allowance,⁴ or he might be fortunate enough to light upon a hidden treasure. With his savings or treasure trove he might eventually purchase his freedom. But such relaxations of the legal principle that the master owned his slave, and that he had power over life and limb, such familiar intercourse between master and man,⁵ were survivals of a primitive age, in which the whole family lived together in rude homes, and fed together on rustic fare—the age of a Camillus and a Cincinnatus. A disastrous change ensued, which was fraught with far-reaching consequences at once to the slave and to the state, and indirectly hastened the downfall of Rome. This reaction was the A reaction. result of economic changes following on the rapid increase in the Roman dominions. The decline of agriculture, owing to neglect of farms during the continual campaigns; the attractions of town life; the drain upon the blood of the peasantry, who formed the mainstay of Republican Rome, lay at the root of the evil.

¹ The word *verna* often occurs in tombstones. Orelli, *Inscr.* 2808, 2809, 2810.

² Horace, *Ep.* ii. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, *Sat.* ii. 6, 66; Tibullus, i. 5, 26.

⁴ Seneca, *Ep.* 80, "peculium suum, quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant." Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* i. 1, 9.

⁵ Slaves in Plautus (e.g. *Miles Gloriosus*, 180) called their master and mistresses familiarly by their names. There was no more respectful form of address.

The
creation of
latifundia.

The results were calamitous to the commonwealth at large; peasant proprietorship decayed, large landed estates (*latifundia*) were created, and these proved the ruin of Italy.¹ The obligations of the master towards his servant were forgotten. No longer the fellow-worker of some hardy farmer or peasant, the slave was left to the tender mercies of a *villicus*, or bailiff. Gangs of these slaves were herded in the fields during the day, and were housed in barracoons (*ergastula*²) by night. There, exasperated by the hardships which they endured, they hatched plots, fomented sedition, and sallied forth in bands to rob and pillage the inhabitants of the district. The seething discontent came to a head at a later period when the slaves attempted to throw off the yoke, and raised the standard of rebellion, but only for a time; they were put down with a heavy hand. Under the changed conditions, when the master's manner of life so sadly degenerated from the simplicity of the earliest ages of Rome, domestic life deteriorated also, and the slaves suffered proportionately. The plentifulness of slaves—after successful campaigns they were a drug in the market—brought other evils in its train. The household of a wealthy plebeian numbered an army of menials. The cheapness of a slave's life created an indifference to its intrinsic human value. This natural contempt for this class of human beings was aggravated by the inevitable separation of master and slave. His master was too remote to take due account of their hardships or to remember that the slave was a fellow man.

The wants
of slaves.

The following extracts from the works of standard writers on the treatment of slaves speak for themselves.

Cato's
recipes.

Cato, an authority esteemed second to none, expatiates upon the economical management of them. He prescribes the following mixture for their winter consumption:—Put into a cask 10 *amphoræ*³ of sweet wine, 2 *amphoræ* of sour

¹ *Latifundia perdidere Italiam: jam vero et provincias.* Plin., *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 7.

² Columella, 1, 6, 3; 8, 16.

³ An *amphora* was 6 gallons 7 pints.

vinegar, and as much wine boiled down by two-thirds. Add 50 *amphoræ* of pure water. Turn with a stick three times a day for five consecutive days. Then add 64 *amphoræ* of stale salt and water.

But these rude methods of providing for their wants dwindle into insignificance by the side of the barbarous punishments to which slaves were sometimes subjected. Of these it is not necessary to speak at any length, for they are well known and calculated to awaken the most painful emotions. Slaves were obliged to submit to the branding-iron—a significant custom which betrays the sentiments entertained concerning slavery, and is eloquent of the condition of these unfortunate beings. Their masters saw no intrinsic value in humanity. Like cattle they were “animate property.”¹ Like cattle the master’s mark was burnt into their foreheads or scalps. But in later days the punishment was reserved for runaway slaves, and the term for the victim of the process, *στιγματίας*, became synonymous with “branded culprit.” Of this cruel usage and its associations we still possess a survival in the English words “marked” and “branded.” The *equuleus*, a wooden machine on which slaves were put to sit in order to extract evidence in a court of law (*quaestio*) was one of the instruments of torture reserved for them.² The *furca* was frequently employed. It consisted of a piece of timber or yoke in the form of a V, placed on the neck, while the hands were tied to the thighs.³

Branding.

Punishments.

These punishments were often inflicted from mere caprice and for trivial misdemeanours. The story is well-known of the dreadful death from which Augustus saved a slave, who accidentally broke a vase at an entertainment. Fashionable ladies distinguished themselves by their caprices and cruelty towards these ministers to their wants or pleasures. A *pedisequus*, or page, incurs his mistress’s displeasure, and he

Inflicted from mere caprice.

¹ κτήμά τι ἔμφυτον, Arist., *Pol.* i. iv. 2.

² Lit. “the colt.” Cicero, *Mil.* 21; Quint. Curt. vi. 10. It was probably like the Italian *il cavaletto*, “the colt.”

³ On these terms see Rich, *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiquities*.

is beaten and torn. A tiring-maid gives offence and she is pricked with needles.¹ But these examples by no means exhaust the list. Sometimes slaves were mutilated,² or thrown into the *vivaria* to be devoured by wild beasts, who were preserved in these enclosures. Sometimes they were even cast among the *muræna*, or lampreys.³ The hateful orgies of blood celebrated in the amphitheatres, known as the gladiatorial combats, were largely furnished by the slave class. In short, nothing that ingenuity could devise was wanting to punish the offending slave. As in life so in death. The slave was not allowed a peaceful exit from earth. When he became too old or decrepit to work he might be cast out to die on the island of Æsculapius. If a slave in a fit of exasperation at years of tyranny and wrong fell upon his master the fate of the rest of the *familia* was sealed. The law enacted that in such a case all should be put to death. But after treatment of this kind the owner had every reason to dread the vengeance of the down-trodden slaves. The master moved in fear of his life, and instances are recorded of retaliation which stopped short at no indignity and no refinement of torture.⁴

This dark picture is relieved by some brighter features. Varro,⁵ treating of farming operations, quotes with approval the dictum of an earlier writer, Cassius, to the effect that "slaves should not be too timid nor too high-spirited." He proceeds:—"It is advisable not to bring together many of the same race, as tending to breaches of domestic discipline or cause disturbance. But the bailiff must not be allowed a free hand. He must try persuasion before resorting to punishment. He must encourage his underlings, set gangers over them, and permit them to acquire property, and to marry." But it is clear from the abundant evidence afforded by the pages of Martial and Juvenal that the degradation

Varro on
the duties
of a bailiff.

¹ Ovid, *Am.* i. 14, 13; Martial ii. 66; Juvenal vi. 491, and his protest, vi. 218.

² Plaut. *Æpid.* 1, 1, 11.

³ Seneca, *De ira*, 111, 40. Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1, 16, 47; Juvenal v. 216.

⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 14.

⁵ *De Re Rustica* i. 17.

and demoralization of the slave class was one of the darkest features of the early Empire, the most corrupt age in the annals of Rome.¹ Such was the condition of these pariahs of civilization when, as part of the "glad tidings of great joy," liberty to the captive and the removal of the barrier between bond and free was announced to toilers on an eastern plain.

We now take leave of the slave, and with him of the family. The wider organizations evolved out of the household next claim our attention.²

¹ The Emperor Hadrian acquired a reputation by relieving the slave class. Under his rule a law was passed forbidding the masters to kill their slaves, and enacting that they should be tried by the laws provided against capital offences.

² The reader will see, in view of the general argument advanced in this inquiry, that the writer is far from denying the existence of forces preparing or paving the way for the redemption of the slave class before the foundation of the Christian Church. Unquestionably such movements, consciously or unconsciously, made for freedom. It may not be doubted that political causes co-operated in this result. The consolidation of the Roman empire, which broke down the barriers between man and man, and established equality of rights among Roman citizens, tended in the same direction. Of all the intellectual agencies at work Stoicism was the most powerful. The first century of our era especially witnessed such a revolt on the part of refined thinkers against outrages of humanity, and a revival of primitive simplicity, in accordance with the maxim of this school of thought—*τῇ φύσει ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν*. All this redounded to the benefit of the slave. Thus, Seneca is said to have followed the primitive practice of taking meals with his slaves. But surely those writers who, in their endeavour to minimise the influence of Christianity, magnify the influence of the fashionable philosophies of the day, have formed an exaggerated estimate of the power that such agencies wielded. To the lasting honour of Stoicism it did what it could to remedy the evil, but the evil remained. The truth is, this school only appealed to an aristocracy of intellect, and even to the Stoics the enterprise of Christian teachers, who taught and enforced a universal brotherhood, would have appeared too vast and visionary. At best they only heralded the coming of a brighter day. But the Christian Church, by the introduction of new ideals of humanity and sympathy, shed its consolations, extended its protection over serf and slave, and gradually effected a complete revolution of public opinion. Not that the Author of Christianity swept away the gigantic evils incidental to the slave system at one stroke. Rather, He Himself, in the Sermon on the Mount, and Christian teachers after Him, like St. Paul in the Epistle to Philemon, addressed themselves to the work of reform by preaching principles which, working silently and slowly in the conscience of mankind, were destined in due time to effect the final abolition of the slave system.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ORIGIN OF CLASS DISTINCTIONS.

THE principle of a separation of the bond from the free involves the question of the growth of the ideas of liberty, and such a social distinction is widespread. But the assertion made by Jacob Grimm,¹ to the effect that all men are divided into bond and free must be received with some qualification. It is true that the most degraded tribes, such as African negroes, are found in possession of a system of slavery by which those who are captured in war, when not eaten, are enslaved; but the statement seems too sweeping. The author's remark certainly does not apply to the primitive stages in the evolution of Aryan society. That no state of slavery properly so called existed in the Homeric period is clear,² and that it was not practised in all parts of Greece in historic times is attested by more than one Greek author.

It is open to doubt whether the undivided Aryans recognized any definite distinctions into classes. The evidence is of a negative character. From the absence of common terms denoting differences of the kind in the languages of the Aryan races we may argue against their existence at that time. It will generally be found that the expressions employed to indicate distinctions of rank appear to have been borrowed from neighbouring races. Again, the terms are of a vague description. Primarily used to convey some other meaning, they are gradually adapted to meet the new

The undivided Aryans probably knew no distinction of classes.

Absence of expressions common to the Aryans.

¹ *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 226.

² Cf. E. Curtius, *History of Greece* i., p. 238.

requirements. It has been pointed out that in the earliest stages of the Aryan languages no definite distinction is drawn even between rich and poor.¹ Accordingly it is not surprising to find considerable variation in the practice of the Aryan races, revealing an essential or partial difference between them.²

Variation
of usage.

From what has been said above it will be seen that the origin of classes, so far as the Aryans are concerned, properly falls within the early stages of national growth. But while we bear in mind the facts mentioned in the foregoing pages, it may yet be possible to trace at an earlier epoch the germs of future developments.

The poets Hesiod and Vergil, as we have already seen,³ have pictured a golden age in which equality prevailed. No doubt these descriptions contain elements of truth. Evidence in support of the existence of this ancient equality comes from more than one quarter. Among the illustrations that might be cited—for we confine ourselves here to those whose history sheds light on Greece and Italy—the Armenians presented to view such a state of things at one time. A modern traveller⁴ speaks of them in the following terms:—“The political state of Armenia is essentially democratic. In that country there is no perceptible distinction or opposition of classes and conditions.”⁵

³ Hesiod and
Vergil's
“golden
ages.”

Armenia.

¹ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 803.

² Germany affords an illustration in point. There, according to the statement of Tacitus (*Germ.* c. 25), the population were distinguished into *nobiles*, *ingenui* and *servi*: the *liberti* did not form the chief constituent of the people, but were half free, half vassals (*knechte*). Russia presents to view another system of division. Only two classes existed, the Bojars and princely Thiunen on the one hand and those who devoted themselves to war, trade and agriculture on the other. Karamsin, *Geschichte des Russ. Reichs*, Riga, 1830-1833, ii., p. 37. But these classes again admit of further subdivision.

³ Ch. i., p. 3.

⁴ See von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, Leipzig, 1858, English trans., i., p. 211.

⁵ The author returns to the subject in the following passage (p. 212):—“The class of Armenian nobles to which I have alluded enjoyed high distinction and honour, accorded to them by national custom, but were in no other way raised above the rest of the people; in contracting marriages, for instance, none of the ordinary prejudices of rank prevailed.”

The Slavs. The case of the Slavs is most pertinent here. For various reasons, as has been said in a former page,¹ the development of the Slavs was retarded. But their very backwardness is particularly instructive, since they have retained many of the old prejudices of the earliest times, when the ancestors of Slav, Greek, and Italian lived together. It is significant, therefore, to discover that in Slav countries a real nobility never succeeded in forming itself, one which, together with wealth and culture, would command consideration in public affairs. Like Poland, Russia has not, and never had, an aristocracy in the Western sense² of the term. This statement receives striking confirmation from a circumstance which has been pointed out by Professor Schrader,³ namely, that the terms that are in use among the Slavs to express distinctions of aristocratic rank are borrowed. The remark may be extended to include the Aryans in general.⁴ We may therefore be justified in assuming that all Aryans were theoretically free and equal, but notwithstanding the theoretical freedom and equality, social distinctions began to appear as time went on. The rudimentary stages of a class system are distinguishable even in the constitution of the Aryan family. For while, as we have already noticed, the head of the household possessed power over all its members, a broad line separated the children from slaves.⁵ The children had rights of their own, though those rights might be in abeyance. This is proved by the fact that when the master of the household died the sons obtained on their own account the same rights over the women, children, and property as had hitherto been exercised by the father, but his death effected no change in the position of the slave. The recognition of this distinction is expressed in the word *liberi*, which

The
Aryans
free and
equal.

¹ Ch. iii., p. 29.

² Fr. von Hellwald, *Die Welt der Slaven*, p. 176, quoted by Schrader *Reallex.*, p. 804. Cf. V. Hehn, *De Moribus Ruthenorum*, p. 152.

³ *Reallex.*, p. 804.

⁴ Cf. Mommsen, *Roman History* i. 77.

⁵ *Mommsen* i., p. 63.

signifies both "freemen" and "children" in opposition to *servi*, "slaves."

The creation of class distinctions received an impulse from another side. It has been stated already, in speaking upon the subject of women, that the improvement in their position was the result of a general movement in the direction of liberty, which was not confined to their sex. The same cause contributed doubtless to the separation of class from class. For while the rights of the sons and, in a lesser degree, of the wife were gradually asserted with increasing intensity, social differences became accentuated and the gulf between the freeborn and the slave was widened. The way had now been paved for a further severance. The question of social distinctions furnishes a fresh point in the parallelism which exists between the early Greek and Italian. They both followed the same line of development in the main, but, as an offset to the elementary resemblance between their general features stand the differences of detail.

The Homeric poems are invaluable for the light that they throw upon the growth of social strata. We see reflected in them a state of society in which distinctions of rank have become stereotyped, and we may conclude that they are the outcome of several successive phases of development. Not only is a clear distinction drawn between the slave and the freeman, but another class, the nobility, has sprung into being. Of this class we shall have occasion to speak later.

Under the category of freemen, ἐλεύθεροι,¹ other than ἐλεύθεροι.

¹ The word ἐλεύθερος appears to have passed through similar stages. Formerly it used to be derived from *παρὰ τὸ ἐλεύθειν ὅπου ἐρᾷ*, that is, "one who is free to go where he pleases." But this etymology is vitiated among other reasons by the circumstance that it perverts the strict meaning of ἐλεύθειν from "come" to "go." Other derivations have been suggested, but their plausibility is not a warrant for their truth. Dr. Schrader carries conviction to our minds when he connects ἐλεύθερος with *liber*, and considers it to have been applied, like *liber*, to a subject population. That the term in Homer bears the meaning of "free," in contradistinction to "bond," is clear from such phrases as ἐλεύθερον ἡμαρ, "day of freedom," *Iliad*, vi. 455, in opposition to δούλιον ἡμαρ, "day of bondage," vi. 463.

nobles, are included those who possess the right of citizenship, of fair trial, of bearing arms and attending the general assembly (*ἀγορά*.) To them is applied the title *δήμου ἄνδρες*. Sometimes they are styled *ἄκκληροι*, and in one¹ passage they are described in a periphrasis as *οἷς μὴ βίσιος πολὺς εἶη*, "those who have not much subsistence." Though they were powerful from sheer force of numbers, and in theory possessed a voice in determining public affairs, in reality they occupied a subordinate position.

μετανάσται.

They were devoid of civic rights.

Next in order of importance followed those who did not possess the citizenship but enjoyed the privileges of freedom. Such were the *μετανάσται*, namely, naturalized settlers.² That their position was not altogether enviable would appear from the *Iliad*,³ where *μετανάστης* is a term of reproach:—

Πάντα τί μοι κατὰ θυμὸν εἴισαο μνηθήσασθαι·
 Ἄλλά μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλω, ὅππότε ἑκείνων
 Μνήσομαι, ὥς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν
 Ἄτρείδης ὡς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην.⁴

From the epithet *ἀτίμητος* we may conclude that the wrongs of these aliens could not be redressed at law. At all events, the speaker resents as an affront such treatment as might be meted out to one of this class of men.

There remains—leaving out of sight for the present the slave and noble—the class called *θήτες*, who, possessing neither landed property nor mechanical skill nor professional knowledge, worked for hire. But little superior as regards social station to the slave,⁵ the lot of the *θής* was a

¹ *Odys.* xi. 489.

² Lit., one who has changed his home.

³ ix. 644. "Thou seemest to speak all this almost after mine own mind; but my heart swelleth with wrath as oft as I bethink me of those things, how Atreides entreated me arrogantly among the Argives, as though I were some worthless sojourner." (LANG, LEAF, and MYERS *transl.*) The word *ἀτίμητος* occurs also in xvi. 58. Cf. Herodotus vii. 161. In like manner the Scottish *land-louper* was used in an invidious sense.

⁴ Their position seems to have resembled that of the *μέτοικοι* or resident aliens of the historic period, who were called *νόθοι πολῖται*.

⁵ They are classified together in *Odys.* iv. 644.

hard one. When Odysseus visits the abode of the dead he meets the ghost of the departed; and as he addresses words of consolation to the shade of Achilles, that great soul replies that he would fain exchange his present position for that of a thrall on earth:—

Μὴ δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παραῦδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεύ.
 Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἔων θητεvéμεν ἄλλῳ.
 Ἄνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίσιος πολλὸς εἴη,
 Ἡ πᾶσιν νεκέεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.¹

From the standpoint of an inquirer into the growth of δημοεργοί. civilization much interest attaches to another class who are mentioned by Homer. These are the *δημοεργοί*. Their name indicates the nature of their occupation. They were craftsmen working for the public benefit, applying themselves to industrial pursuits or technical trades, or peaceful professions, not so much for themselves as for the community.² The following lines illustrate the comprehensiveness of the term:—

μάντιν ἢ ἰητήρα κακῶν, ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,
 ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρηγισιν αἰείδων.³

But this classification is not exhaustive.

¹ *Odys.* xi. 488. "Nay speak not comfortably to me of death, oh great Odysseus. Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among the dead that be departed."—(BUTCHER and LANG *transl.*) The translators differ from most commentators, who take *ἐπάρουρος* to mean "bound to the soil."

² No trace of a caste system can be found in Greece similar to that which controls the Brâhmanic religion in India. Cf. Limberg Brouwer, *Hist. de la Civilisation en Grèce*, Groningen, 1833-42, pp. 266, 272, 273. Caste is rank with rigid lines of demarcation. But see Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, 1875; Kern, *Ind. Theorieën over de Standenverdeling*; Muir, *Sanskrit Texts* ii., p. 454; and Senart in *Revue des deux mondes*, t. 121, 122, 125. The last-mentioned writer argues convincingly that the caste evolved itself out of the family. The discrimination of rank by colour appears to have prevailed among an un-Aryan race. A. Vâmbéry, *Primitive Cultur des Turkotatarischen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1879, furnishes instances of the terms among these wild tribes of the steppe: *kara söngek*, "schwarzbeinig," "volk"; *ak söngek*, "weissbeinig," "adel." The whole of the subject is peculiarly interesting. See pp. 131, 132 of the work quoted.

³ *Odys.* xvii. 383, "a seer or a healer of ills, or a shipwright, or even an inspired minstrel, who can delight with his song."

The *δημιοεργοί* were not all of native origin, but a distinction was drawn between those who were native-born and those who were invited from outside.¹ The former class included some of the highest born. Such was Eunomos, the seer, who led the Mysians to Troy.² Such was Eumedes, the Trojan herald. He was a wealthy landowner, and his son a noble (*ἄριστος*).³ But, as a rule, they would be attached to a lower order, *χέρηες* in opposition to *ἀγαθοί*. Not that this implied any social degradation or humiliation. The *δημιοεργός* was a freeman,⁴ but so far were the crafts and trades from suggesting to the popular mind anything invidious or demeaning, that the artisan then was really held in higher esteem than now.⁵ The truth is that manual labour was not regarded as debasing. Men of high rank might ply the hoe or drive the plough without in any way forfeiting public esteem. Even princes and kings thought it not incompatible with their dignity to engage in profitable occupations, and readily acknowledged their capacity for performing menial service. Accordingly, Odysseus, far from disdaining his capacity for menial service, boasts

δηρτοσύνη οὐκ ἂν μοι ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος
 πῦρ τ' εὖ νηῆσαι, διὰ τε ξύλα δανὰ κεάσσαι,
 δαιτρεῦσαι τε καὶ ὀπτῆσαι καὶ οἰνοχοῆσαι
 οἷά τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρῶσι χέρηες.⁶

¹ Cf. A. Riedenauer, *Handwerk und Handwerker in den homerischen Zeiten*, p. 18.

² *Iliad* ii. 858.

³ *Ibid.* x. 229, 314.

⁴ Cf. Riedenauer, p. 35; and Drumann, *Die Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom*, Königsberg, 1860, p. 6.

⁵ The Romans thought agriculture and military service the only employments worthy of freeborn men. A prejudice existed against trades on the ground of their being illiberal (Cf. *βάναντος*). Cicero, *De Officiis* i. 42, makes out that the trades and professions are unbecoming a gentleman. This feeling was doubtless due in a great measure to the plentifulness of slave labour. Not only were slaves almost exclusively employed for menial occupations, but as they were more ingenious and more skilful than their masters, the professions as a rule passed into their hands. Juvenal in a well-known passage, iii. 76, discourses upon the versatility of the Greek character. Cf. Drumann, *Die Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom*.

⁶ *Odys.* xv. 321. "No mortal may vie with me in the business of a serving-man, in piling well a fire, in cleaving dry faggots, and in carving and roasting flesh, and in pouring of wine, those offices wherein meaner men serve their betters."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

In another passage Odysseus naively confesses, as an excuse for his prolonged absence, that he has journeyed to foreign lands to amass wealth; "so truly was Odysseus skilled in gainful arts above all men upon earth, nor might any mortal men contend with him."¹

It was stated above, that beside the native *δημοεργοί*, another class came by invitation from another community.² Under the protection of *Ζεὺς Ξένιος* and the patronage of those who had invited them, the members of this class were treated as *ξένοι* ("strangers"), and pursued their avocations unmolested.

The rise of a nobility in Greece next demands our attention. We have seen already that in all probability no social distinctions obtained among the Aryans before their dispersion. The Slavs preserved this primitive state of things down to a late period, as indeed they have retained many characteristics of the social conditions that prevailed in the earliest epochs of civilization. But when we turn to Homeric Greece, we are met by the fact that the people has long ceased to be a confused mass, and is distributed into classes marked off from one another by perfectly fixed and definite distinctions. The nobility are entitled *ἄριστοι* or *ἀριστῆες*, are *ἔξοχοι ἄνδρες*, and tower above the rest of the community. Rise of a nobility.

Throughout Homeric society ran a broad line of demarcation, into *ἀγαθοί* and *χέρηες*, but the distinction did not suggest in itself any moral inferiority or any invidious connotation,³ for the gods also were divided into higher and lower orders.

But in process of time a sharper distinction arose. It will now be our purpose to trace the cause of their rise and the

¹ Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, p. 311:—

ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.
εἰ δέ κεν ἐργάζῃ, τάχα σε ζηλώσει ἀεργὸς
πλουτεῦντα· πλοῦτον δ' ἀρετὴ καὶ κύδος ὀπηδεῖ.

² κλητοί, *Odysseus*, xvii. 382, 386.

³ Cf. Bucholz, *Die homerischen Realien*, i., (1), p. 28.

Personal
service.

course of their development. The nobility owed their ascendancy in no small measure to personal service. While, as we have already seen, all Aryans were theoretically free and equal, in reality differences did then, as they always will, assert themselves—differences in physical qualities, in mental endowment, and energy of character. And certain conditions of life more than others tend to bring them into play. They are the outcome of a sustained conflict with the elements, with difficulties arising from the prevalence of invasion and from a general social fermentation. The circumstances in which the early Aryans lived were especially calculated to elicit and foster the highest qualities which were inherent in the race. No department of thought or action in early society offered so many opportunities for evoking and developing latent capacity as war, and personal service under arms has in all ages contributed in no small measure to the creation of a noble class. Service as horsemen especially established a claim to consideration. It was the avenue of admission to the nobility. There is perhaps no extravagance in detecting in the epithet *ἵππότης*, which is applied by Homer to heroes, a survival of the pre-eminence or the prominence conferred on a warrior by the fact that he fought from a chariot.

Birth.

But another practice was gaining ground which tended to strengthen the hands of the noble class, namely, the growing habit of restricting the choice of heads of tribes to certain families. To this method Persia presented an historical parallel. There, as Herodotus states,¹ the kings were chosen from the *φρήτριη*, or brotherhood, of the Achæmenidæ, namely, the descendants of Achæmenes (Hakhamanish),² and this in its turn belonged to the principal Persian tribe, the Pasargadæ. From this custom gradually arose the idea of a "family," as connoting the idea of

. 125.

² His name appears in the Behistun Inscription twice. See Rawlinson *in loc.* In all the Inscriptions the Kings of Persia glory in the title.

descent from ancestors whose prestige or exploits had impressed the popular imagination, and lived in the public memory. Hence the epithet of *εὐγενής*, in the sense of nobly born, came into being. Hence sprang families like the Eupatridæ, who figured so prominently in early Athenian history.¹

The transition from the qualification of birth to that of ^{Wealth.} property is easy. For it stands to reason that in the estimation of dependents money tended to enhance the value of birth and to augment the power of those who were fortunate enough to possess it. Accordingly in India,² as in Greece, wealth formed a powerful recommendation in the sight of the commonalty.

Of this we possess proofs in language and literature. In Homer the nobles are styled *πολύκληροὶ ἄνθρωποι*, "men of ^{Homer.} rich inheritance" (lit. "of many lots"), in contrast to the *ἄκληροὶ*, "men of no inheritance," who, while enjoying personal freedom, were not well to do in the world. Thus, in all the tribes who appear in Homer ancient royal houses play a prominent part. They appear accustomed to wield authority, they receive without contradiction the gifts of honour and the homage of the public.

The advantages accruing from social station supported by affluence were strengthened by other accessory means, and these powerful families neglected no means of increasing their influence. The nobility were the first to enjoy all the

¹ The analogy of the Armenians is in point here. The traveller who has already been cited (Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, p. 211, 212) in a former page, states (he has been speaking of the social equality):—"There are a small number of ancient families of distinction named Tarschan (literally 'free man'), who are exempt from taxation: a few of these, like the Abovians, are hereditary heads of their respective villages, which may not improbably have been originally founded by their ancestors." Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 815.

² "The primary view of chieftainship is evidently that it springs from purity or dignity of blood, but noble birth is regarded as naturally associated with wealth, and he who becomes rich gradually climbs to a position indistinguishable from that which he would have occupied if he had been nobly born." Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 136. Dr. Schrader also quotes the Sanskrit *kshatrâ-*, which signifies (1) "possession," (2) "lordship" and "lords."

benefits of advancing civilization, all that wealth could procure, all that ingenuity could devise; and they were not slow to turn their superior advantages to the best account, in order to aggrandize themselves or to maintain their ascendancy over the anonymous multitude. By adopting a different dress, by using superior weapons, they distinguished themselves from the common herd. Mythology was pressed into the service, and made to lend lustre to the ancestral title. Many of the families claimed descent from the immortals. The art of poetry obsequiously offered its aid to embellish the story, and to invest the subjects of the tale with a halo of sanctity.

Italy. Turning to Italy we are met at the outset by one important difference between it and Greece in the circumstances of the settlement of the Aryans in each of the two peninsulas. It is a matter of history that Italy is singularly poor in memorials of the primitive period, and presents in this respect a remarkable contrast to other fields of civilization.¹ A long succession of phases of political development must have intervened between the constitutions which the poems of Homer and the *Germania* of Tacitus delineate, and the oldest organization of the Roman community. But, for all that, we are not left without evidence of the gradual growth of class distinctions in Italy.

The fact that the Aryans who settled in Italy had no conquered populations of much moment to deal with assumes first-rate importance in this connection. It accounts for one of the striking peculiarities and influential factors of the Latin nation, namely, the complete equality of rights that prevailed. The truth is, in this matter they did but carry on the tradition of earlier ages, when as has been observed before, all members of the Aryan community stood on a footing of equality. Unlike their neighbours, the un-Aryan Etrurians, whose form of government was based on a rigid aristocracy, administered by an hereditary race or

¹ Mommsen, i. 8, 85.

caste of priestly nobility, the Latins steadily maintained an equality of rights, but these rights were not extended to foreigners.

The word *liber*, "free," is interesting at once to the sociologist and philologist. When resolved into its primary elements, its root is seen to be **loibro*, with which may be compared the old Latin *loebertatem*.¹ Allusion has already been made to the meaning it acquired in the Roman household, where the children were distinguished from the slaves by the name of *liberi*. The earliest evidence of its application in a political sense is to be found in one of the laws of the time of Numa, an era scarcely historical.² The following is the enactment in which it occurs:—

Si qui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit paricidas esto :³

Throughout the earlier history of Rome one principle stands out prominently, namely, the sharp contrast that existed between those who enjoyed and those who did not enjoy political rights. Indeed, no people has ever equalled the Romans in the inexorable rigour with which they carried out this principle.

The name by which those who enjoyed political rights were known was *populus*. Several derivations of the word have been offered. On the one hand, Vaniček sees in it the root *pul*, suggesting the idea of fulness. Under the same category comes, according to this view, the Latin *plebes*, the "commons"; *plenus*, "full"; and the Greek *πλήθος*, "multitude;" *πιμπλημι*, "fill."⁴ But another explanation is

Liber.
Its
etymology.

Its first
appear-
ance in
Roman
law.

Contrast
between
burgesses
and non-
burgesses.

The
burgess
com-
munity.

¹ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 808, cites the Oscan *lúrfureis*, "free," and *lovfrikonoss*, "freeborn," and the Faliscan *loferta*.

² Festus, p. 221, Müller.

³ "The man who slays a freeman with malice aforethought, let him be an unnatural murderer."

⁴ If this view be adopted, *populus* will present a parallel to the German *volk* and the Slavonic *polk*, *pluk*. The words in a Turko-Tataric dialect, *-il*, "people," and *ilki*, "flock," "troop" (connected as they are with *il*, "to bind"), and also in another dialect, *butün*, "people" (connected with *butün*, "whole," "united") contain a similar conception. See Vámbéry, *Die Primitive Cultur des Turkotatar. Volkes*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 131.

admissible. That the word *populus* was applied to the people under arms appears probable from the phrase, *magister populi*, "dictator," and *populari*, to "ravage" or "lay waste." Accordingly Dr. Schrader looks for the origin of the term in an obsolete **qoglo*, which would be equated with the Sanskrit *cakrá*, and bear the sense of a wheel-shaped military formation. The last explanation, which is in itself plausible, derives additional colour from the following fact. Every burgess was in time of need a soldier. He alone had the right and duty of bearing arms, nor at first could anyone enjoy an office in the city who had not served in the ranks. Hence in the old hymn or litany of the Salii the blessings of Mars, the god of war, are asked for the *pilumnus populus*.¹ Hence, too, the term *populari*, to "lay waste," which would primarily signify to "spread or pour out in a multitude over a region." Afterwards it was transferred to the result of these operations.

De-
pendents.

So far the free burgesses have occupied our attention. But side by side with these grew up a class of clients. They were composed of the dependents upon the several burgess households, representing a middle stage between the freeman and the slave. Their position is reflected in the names by which they were known. Usually the term *cliens* was applied to them. It indicated "hearer" or "listener."² The other name given to them, *plebes*,³ or the "multitude," was applied negatively with reference to their want of political rights.⁴ Occupying an intermediate position between the bondman and the free, they included in their ranks refugees who had placed themselves under a foreign protector or *patronus*, and slaves who had been practically released

¹ *Pilumnæ poplæ*. Festus, p. 205. Müller, explains *pilumnus velut bilis uti assueti*, and his explanation carries conviction with it.

² The older form was *cluens*, clearly indicating the origin from *clueo* "hear" (root *kru*); hence "obedient," "dependent."

³ Doubtless connected with *πλήθος*, *πλήρης*, and kindred Latin words. See the observations on the word *populus* above, p. 271.

⁴ *Habuit plebem in clientela principium descriptam*, Cicero, *De Rep.* ii. 2.

from the *dominium* of their master.¹ Yet their patron possessed supreme power over them. According to the original law he was allowed to resume the property of the client, or even to reduce him to slavery. But time effected a change in their position, which it is not necessary to trace out in the particulars. The strongly-marked line, though never obliterated, was yet modified to the advantage of the clients.

Such was the general spirit of the Roman constitution. Nobility. Although the Romans, with as much foresight as magnanimity, opened their gates wide for intercourse with other lands, the fundamental conceptions on which the Roman commonwealth was based consisted of absolute equality within the limits of the burgess community, combined with an absolute barrier against those outside the pale. The absence of privileges of rank in the early Roman community is indicated by the dress worn by all alike. With the exception of a badge to distinguish the president of the community from its members, the senator from the citizen, the adult who was liable to service in the army from the boy who was not yet capable of enrolment, nobles as well as the poor wore in public only the *toga*, a "covering"² (such is the original sense of the word) which was made of simple woollen stuff.

But in spite of the theoretical absence of social distinctions, as in Greece, so also at Rome certain families surely, if slowly, acquired power, and ended by securing a monopoly of the offices of state. We are naturally led to inquire by what steps they justified these pretensions, and arrogated to themselves the title. Their ascendancy cannot be ascribed to one source only; various causes doubtless conspired to throw Causes of their ascendancy. power into their hands, and some of these were adventitious advantages totally unconnected with personal merit. Unquestionably among the co-operating causes were the claims of birth. So much is implied in the term *patres* and *patricii*. Birth.

¹ *Patronus*, like *patricius*, by itself denotes simply the full burgess.

² *Tego*, "cover."

It is a matter of history that the community of the Roman people arose out of the junction (in whatever way brought about) of ancient clanships; the Roman domain comprised the lands that formerly belonged to all these clans which formed integral parts of the political community (*civitas, populus*). Everyone who belonged to one of these clans was a burgess. Every marriage celebrated within this circle, according to the orthodox forms, was recognized as a true Roman marriage, and conferred burgess rights on the issue of these unions. On the other hand, the offspring of an unrecognized form of marriage, or a child born out of wedlock, was excluded from the membership of the community. Here lay the origin of the terms *patres* and *patricii*; the former denoted the "fathers," the latter the "fathers' children." Whatever may have been the proximate causes of the transference of this appellation, which was originally a title of every member of the community, to certain Roman families, so much seems clear, that one of the reasons for advancing such pretensions by which power was centred in a few hands was their claim to a lofty lineage.

Military
service.

But this was not the only ground. Never was there a time in the history of Rome when war was not practised either to secure her position or to gratify her ambition, nor a time when warlike pursuits were not popular. This circumstance penetrated every detail of Roman life and Roman institutions. A military career offered the widest scope for energy and capacity; personal service in arms, therefore, threw open a wider field to the ambitious than any other calling. Every burgess, as we have seen, enjoyed the privilege of bearing arms; indeed, it was the most important function that he could perform. But at Rome as in Bohemia,¹ Poland, and Silesia, at a later day,² the burgess cavalry attracted the best armed and the best trained men among the fighting population. The original purpose for

¹ A. H. Post, *Die Anfänge*, p. 150.

² J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 226.

which they were intended was to engage in single combat in front of the line. It was an *élite*, or reserve, rather than a special arm of the service. Accordingly, being composed of the best-equipped citizens it was naturally held in higher estimation than the burgess foot-soldiers, and was correspondingly popular. The preference for the cavalry arm among the aristocracy continued to the end, and is attested in an interesting way by the accounts of the battle of Pharsalia, 48 B.C. Pompey possessed a strong force of horsemen. Seeing this, Cæsar commanded his legions to keep their javelins in their hands on the approach of the enemy's horse, and to thrust them full in the faces of the cavaliers. The latter, being composed of the younger part of the Roman nobility, and priding themselves on their looks and personal appearance, dreaded a scar in the face more than a wound in the body. The stratagem had the desired result. The cavalry pressed on confident of victory, but at the first shock their only endeavour was to protect their faces, and a total rout ensued. Though any patrician could obtain admission to the cavalry, certain privileges gradually gathered around this force, and were turned to account by the noble families with good effect for the purpose of aggrandizing themselves. Wealth lent its aid. It enabled them to eclipse others in their style of equipment, whether weapons, horses, or general accoutrements. The honours of war were consequently appropriated by those of noble or gentle parentage.

The number of clients, which also depended largely upon the affluence of the patron, contributed to the same end, by lending lustre to the *patronus*. Many were the ways in which the grandee could forward the interests of his client. He shielded his dependents, acting as their advocate in courts of law, and counsellor in their private affairs. Further, he attached them to his person by means of liberal largesses. The *sportula*, or basket, in which the client carried away his allowance, was a familiar feature of Roman society, and grew to be a serious evil in the degenerate days of the

Number of
clients a
source of
influence.

Republic. Under the early Empire the *clientes*, including now men of high social station whom their luxury or vices had reduced to poverty, preferred paying assiduous court to a haughty magnate and a lazy dependence on the daily dole to honourable employment. The pages of Horace, Tacitus, Persius, and Juvenal afford ample testimony to the extent to which this practice was carried, to the abuses to which it gave rise, and to the grotesque accompaniments of a *salutatio*, or morning *levée*, which might be held by some powerful patron. But certain duties devolved upon the recipient of these favours. Nor was the client slow or backward in reciprocating the interest or promoting the welfare of his patron. He paid the magnate to whom he owed allegiance all imaginable deference, and, if occasion required, assisted him with money to meet extraordinary charges. More commonly his duties consisted in escorting his patron to business in the forum (*deducere*) or attending him there upon his candidature for public office.¹ Altogether the possession of a numerous connection of dependents (*clientela*), was no mean instrument in the hands of an ambitious scion of a patrician family.

But a long train of dependents was only one of the devices with which the nobility strove to aggrandize themselves. By an ostentatious display of pomp and elegance, by the loftiness of their chariots, by the adoption of bronze, marble, or gilded statues to perpetuate their memory, and the assumption of long, sonorous appellations, they worked successfully upon the imaginations of the populace, and arrogated to themselves a power which in the earlier ages of Rome had been reserved for merit.

¹ This method of canvassing was called *ambire*, "going round," *i.e.*, interviewing individually those who had interest. The aspirant for public honours wore a white toga (*candida toga*), whence the term *candidatus* and our *candidate*.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EXTENSION OF THE FAMILY.

THE family, as we have seen in a previous page, was the earliest of the social organisms and the most primitive of human associations belonging to an obscure and unrecorded past. But it was also the germ-cell of early society. By the comprehension of several generations, and the inclusion of strangers, in the position of slaves or in some other relation, it expanded into yet wider social circles. Ultimately it became the basis of the state, as regards its constituent elements and its form. Out of the family, therefore, in Greece and Italy arose a great groundwork of principles on which rested the whole fabric of social life, and this circumstance must be kept steadily in view, if we wish to understand the evolution of a Hellenic state or the Roman Commonwealth. It will be our purpose in this chapter to trace the gradual process by which the family unfolded and developed into these more comprehensive organizations.

Throughout the whole course of the development of the social structure both in Greece and Italy runs the principle of relationship. If we were right in concluding that the method of reckoning relationship in primitive Greece and Italy in normal circumstances was agnatic, i.e. was traced through the father's side, we may go on to apply the same test to the wider organism, the clan and the tribe. This is the axiom on which we shall proceed, and it will be seen that the results fit in with the premises.

The family
as the
basis of
society.

Kinship
the
primary
bond of
union.

Agnatic
relation-
ship as in
the family
so in the
clan and
tribe.

But the ties of blood were not the only ones that bound the members of clan and tribe together. We shall see that these unions assumed a political significance as well, and in process of time, certainly in the case of one of these organizations, the Greek *φρατρία*, the political aspect dwarfed the conception of relationship. The latter idea in consequence receded into the background, and occupied a subordinate position. We shall have occasion by-and-by to return to this subject. Meanwhile, it is to be observed that a third bond of union existed, namely, the community of worship and religious traditions shared by all alike.

The analogical argument which has proved useful in previous portions of this inquiry is of less avail in discussing this particular point. For the experiences and methods of European races akin to Greek and Roman, whose testimony has been sought again and again in these pages, exhibited so wide a diversity that the evidence they afford may be more confusing than illuminating. Underneath this variety may be discerned the original elements with which they all started on their national careers, but they subsequently followed different directions and widely diverged. The history of the Germanic communities, which have in other parts of our subject presented some instructive analogies, afford an instance in point. Unlike the Greek and Roman organizations, they did not begin with elective monarchy.

But an exception must be made in favour of the Slavs for the reason which has been frequently noticed in these pages, that their very unprogressiveness in the past is instructive in an investigation of this kind. Throughout their early history they signalized themselves but little by their contributions to human progress. Left behind¹ on the steppes of Northern Europe, or in the mountainous regions further south, acquiescing in the ideals of existence which satisfied the previous occupants of their territory, assimilating themselves

Their political aspect.

Religion as a social tie.

Variety of use among Aryan races.

The Slavs an exception.

Their circumstances and character.

¹ See Ch. iii., p. 29.

to the habits of their predecessors, they could hardly fail to lag behind in the march of civilization. Under these unfavourable conditions it was but natural that from time to time they should fall victims to tyranny. For as the spirit of despotism possesses those who are by birth or breeding fitted to tyrannize, so the natural temperament of others disposes them to obey. But external circumstances contributed to the backwardness of the Slav. The nature of his surroundings operated in that direction. Mental cultivation is best acquired in temperate regions. Science, literature, and art refuse to flourish in frost and snow. To this must be added the fact already adverted to, that the Slav never enjoyed opportunities of interchanging ideas with the versatile and artistic genius of the Southerner. The consequence is that, until lately, the Slav has for long periods been nationally lost to the world. Eventually the qualities which have lain dormant so long have been awakened into activity, and he has emerged into civilization bearing the stamp of his peculiar characteristics.¹ The nineteenth century saw the Slavs, after long ages of silence, at length claiming a place among the nations of the Western World. The Slavs, then, help us to understand the first formation of European society, for to this day they have remained stationary at this early stage of development. We see among them the rude beginnings of Aryan society preserved in their primitive simplicity. We see the rudimentary processes by which these germs gradually developed among progressive races, and in course of time assumed a high import, social, economical, military, and religious. Accordingly they afford us invaluable data for inferences in regard to Greece and Italy.

The influence of nature upon them.

The social organization of the Slavonic races embraces three groups. Of these the *zadruga* is the earliest and simplest. It is a house-community or house comradeship,

The social evolution of the Slavs.

¹ See K. P. Pobyedonostsev, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, 1898, and O. Novikoff in the *Eclectic Review*, vol. 49, p. 451.

like one great family of relations. Such unions still survive among the Slavs of the hill countries, like Herzegovina and Crinagora.¹ These races have taken refuge in the mountainous or hilly regions, and there they have adhered to their primitive organization, uninfluenced by the progressive ideals of those races which have been drawn into the current of European progress.

The next group in the ascending scale of development is the *bratstvo* or brotherhood.² Upon this organization Ratzel remarks³:—"It comprises several generations of descendants from one progenitor, and their wives, in a community of goods and labour under one head, who need not always be the eldest." They have common property rights, uphold common traditions, and cherish common memories. Accordingly the *bratstvo* holds an intermediate place in the social development between the family and the tribe. Ultimately the preceding organizations in the social evolution of the Slav are merged in the wider circle of the tribe or *pleme*.

Such, in brief, are the salient features of the civilization of some branches of the Slavonic races at this day, and doubtless they were once in vogue among other races. Elsewhere, however, they have been modified or obliterated in a large measure, yet not so completely as to efface entirely the recollection of them. Faint traces of the same constitution are visible among the ancient Germans and Celts. They are found also in India, in the region of the Caucasus, among the Cabyles of Africa, and even other races of Oceania.⁴ The Greek and Italic races conform to the same law which marked the early Slav communities. They, too, exhibit the threefold principle of development; they are evolved along the same lines, and pursue the same direction with differences in detail.

¹ Cf. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, Wien, 1885, and Haxthausen, *The Russian Empire*, ch. vi.

² From the Old Slavonic *bratŭ*, "brother."

³ P. 122. Cf. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch*, p. 32.

⁴ Ratzel, *ibid.*, p. 123, 127.

The *zadruga*, or house community.

The *bratstvo*, or brotherhood.

The *pleme* or tribe.

Traces of the same elements elsewhere.

Greece and Italy.

The first step in the expansion from the Greek and Italian family was the formation of the *γένος* in Greece, and the *gens* in Italy—a combination of families in a larger aggregate. The primary idea underlying these words is that of blood relationship. Unquestionably they are derived from the root *gan*, connoting common birth or descent. But the proof of the presence in these terms of the idea of consanguinity does not rest on their derivation alone. We shall content ourselves with pointing out two of its features which corroborate this statement. Unlike the *φρατρία*, which will arise for consideration later, the *γεννήται* and *gentiles*, i.e. members of the *γένος* and *gens* respectively,¹ never lost sight of the original significance of these bodies as associations of kindred by blood. Priding themselves on their descent from a common ancestor, they revered his memory; and adopted his name as a patronymic. This was expressed in Greece by the termination *-ίδης* or *-ιάδης*. Such a title was borne by the Alcæonidæ, a renowned family at Athens. Originally a branch of the Neleidæ of Pylos, in the Peloponnese, and claiming descent from Alcæon, a great grandson of the Homeric hero Nestor,² the Alcæonidæ figured prominently in Greek history for a period extending from 1100 to 400 B.C. The Talthybiadæ afford another illustration of descent from some hero of myth or romance. Talthybius is known to readers of Homer as the herald of Agamemnon at the siege of Troy. He was worshipped as a hero at Sparta and Argos. To him the Talthybiadæ traced their lineage. So, in like manner, well-known *gentes* in Italy plumed themselves on their descent from the heroes of history or legendary lore, who had performed deeds of valour or otherwise shed lustre upon the name of Rome. Such was

The *γένος*
and *gens*.

Descent
from a
common
ancestor.

The *nomen
gentile* in
Italy.

¹ Under the same category fall the Sanskrit *ganus*, "family"; *ganitâ*, "father"; *gatis*, "birth," "race"; Greek, *γίνομαι*, "become"; *γένεσις*, "origin"; *γνήσιος*, "legitimate," "genuine"; Latin, *gigno*, "produce"; *gener*, "son-in-law"; *natura*, "nature"; Gothic *kuni*, "family"; Old High German *chind*, "offspring"; *chnuat*, "nature."

² Paus. ii. 18, 97.

the *gens Æmilia*. This clan dated its origin from the reign of King Numa, and took its name after Mamercus, who gained the surname Æmilius for his persuasive powers of speech (δι' αἰμυλίαν λόγου). The son of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras—so ran the legend—he founded the *gens Æmilia*, which subsequently numbered among its constituent families renowned names like Paullus, Regillus, and Scaurus. But whatever truth may lie in these traditions—and admittedly they are enveloped in considerable obscurity—it is almost certain that this *gens* was of Sabine origin.¹ Such, too, was the *gens Cælia*, which affords another instance of the fusion of racial elements at the foundation of Rome, but was less illustrious than the former. This clan ascribed its origin to an Etruscan, Caeles Vibenna. He lived in the time of the Roman kings, but none of the members of this clan distinguished themselves till late in the history of Republican Rome. Only two family names appear in it, Calvus and Rufus.²

Com-
munity of
property.

The connection between the members of the clan already united by blood was still further cemented by the joint possession of property. So much appears from a provision made in the laws of the Twelve Tables for succession in the absence of relatives. *Si adgnatus nec escit, gentiles familiam habento.*³

Divine
Sanction.

But there were more powerful ties still in the possession of a common religion. Not only did the clansmen forming the *γένος* and *gens* boast of their descent from some mythical personage, but the clans themselves were invested with hallowed associations, and summoned up sacred memories to the mind. It has been seen that the members of a Slavonic *bratstvo* possess in common certain rights of worship and of burial. In like manner the Greek and Roman clans

¹ Festus derives Mamercus from Mamers, the Sabine name for Mars, the war-god.

² See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

³ "If there be no next of kin (on the father's side) the clansmen shall have the family property."

worshipped at common centres, placed their clan under the tutelage of some god or goddess, and buried their dead in the same sepulchres. This gradual expansion is attested by the application of the old names to the altered conditions. Such is *Vesta*, of which we have already spoken. Such is *Penates*, or "household gods."¹ Under the title *penates publici* or *maiores* ("common" or "greater gods") they were worshipped as protecting deities of the community at large.

Moreover, as the hearth was necessary to the life of a household, and the absence of a hearth (*ἀνέστιος*) was almost synonymous with outlawry (*ἀθέμιστος*),² so the clan possessed a central and common hearth, a symbol of their unity. Each *κώμη*, or village, according to Thucydides, owned its hearth.³ Such, doubtless, was the primitive conception of a clan—an association of kinsmen, who looked up to a common ancestor, and maintained a common worship. But, in course of time, with the extension of the bounds of the community, and the absorption of other groups, it became necessary to reorganize society, and consequently other combinations were substituted for the ties of blood, or super-added to them. No longer a mere union of kinsmen, the clan, whether *γένος* or *gens*, assumed a political significance. We are led on, therefore, to inquire into the duties devolving upon the clans in a collective capacity, and the purposes for which they took common action in the body politic.

The most urgent need for co-operation on the part of the members of the clan was occasioned by a summons to arms. That in such emergencies the *γένος* and *gens* proved a serviceable basis for organization on the battlefield might be premised in the absence of testimony to that effect, but as a matter of fact, there is ample evidence of the custom of

¹ Root *pâ*, "nourish," "feed"; *pater*, "breadwinner," "father"; *penum*, "provision," and *panis*, "bread"; *penitus*, "in the larder," "inside." Cicero, *De n.d.* 2, 27, 68.

² See *Iliad*, ix. 63.

³ Cf. H. E. Seebohm, *The Structure of Greek Tribal Society*, p. 3.

adopting the method in military array.¹ This system does not require any abstruse explanation. It rests upon the assumption that in this stage of social sentiment those who are connected by blood will be animated by the same principles, and make more strenuous exertions when fighting in the ranks side by side.

Italy. As regards Italy, we find on record an historical event which proves that clans fought together for a common cause and incidentally affords an insight into the numbers of a *gens* and the religious aspect of these associations. It was during the war with Veii that the Fabian *gens* immortalized themselves. To the number of 306 they sallied forth from Rome and entrenched themselves near the little river Cremera, with the intention of keeping the Veientines in check. So, making the fortified camp the basis of their operations, they ravaged the enemy's territory. At last they were all decoyed into an ambuscade, and put to the sword. The only survivor of the catastrophe was a boy left behind at Rome. This happened in the year 477 B.C. The Ides (13th) of February were in consequence held sacred by the Fabii, and celebrated with solemn sacrifice on the Quirinal to the patron gods of the *gens*.

The *γένοι* and *gens*, however, did not confine their activities to times of war; occasions arose in time of peace which called for common counsel. The deliberations of the members were held in a public centre. Such consultations and places of assembly were not peculiar to Greece and Italy. India affords a parallel. The Indians were in the habit of meeting in a central building, and the rules by which clan conferences were conducted are particularly interesting, inasmuch as they throw light upon the corresponding Greek and Italian institutions.² The members of the clan³ met together in the *Sabhā*. Under the presidency of a *grāmanī*,

¹ The analogy of India is in point here. See Zimmer, *Altind. Leben* p. 161.

² Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 171.

³ *Ibid.*

Deliberations in time of peace.

At a public centre.

India.

The *sabhā* or meeting-place.

that is, leader or chief, they discussed matters of public concern, whether relating to peace or war. So much stress was laid on these debates that a capacity for taking part in them was held to be one of the chief requisites in the head of a household. He must, in other words, be a *sabheya*.

The parallel between India and Greece and Italy does not end there. We have already seen that there are reasons for thinking that the *gens* and γένος were evolved from the family, and a comparison of the regulations relating to fire in India, Greece, and Italy affords further corroboration of the statement. In all three, as we have had occasion to observe,¹ a fire was inseparable from a household. It was at once hearth and altar. It was the repository of family traditions. Moreover, in these three countries a common fireplace, where the eternal flame was kept up without intermission, formed the central point where the clan members gathered in consultation, and around which the historical traditions and associations of all the members clustered. In fact, a belief in a common origin of this custom and in a similar development of the public from the private or domestic hearth rests upon a firm foundation.

Such meeting-places in which the clansmen congregated, known in Greece by the name of λέσχαι, were not exclusively devoted to discussion on affairs of public moment. Pausanias, speaking of the Delphic club-room, alludes to the lighter side of public life:—

ἐνταῦθα συνιόντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὰ τε σπουδαιότερα διελέγοντο καὶ ὅποσα μυθώδη.²

But the ordinary frequenters of the λέσχη would appear to have degenerated from the high purpose for which these buildings were originally erected, and in course of time

¹ Ch. xvi. 201, xxi. 285.

² x. 25, 1. "Here they used formerly to come together and talk over both mythological and more serious subjects." Similarly the Indian *sabhā* was a place of amusement as well as consultation. Throwing the dice was a popular game. Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 172.

λέσχαι became the common lounge and place of resort for idlers and beggars. So much is implied in the following passage from Homer :—

Ξεῖνε τάλαν, σὺ γέ τις φρένας ἐκπεπαταγμένος ἐσσι,
 Οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εὐδευ χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον ἔλθων
 Ἥέ που ἐς λέσχην, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε πόλλ' ἀγορεύεις.¹

The extension of the meaning of λέσχη points in the same direction.² It acquires the meaning of "gossip," and the derivatives λεσχηνεύειν, "to chat," ἔλλεσχος, "the common talk of the clubs,"³ ἀδολέσχης, "a chatterbox," also attest the uses to which these public places were turned.

The methods of government of the γένος and gens require a brief explanation. The recognition of a ruler or head by the members is proved by the existence of words which possess an element in common, namely, *vik-poti (Sanskrit, vicpati, and Avestan, vispaiti). Formed on the analogy of *dems-poti, "houselord," in which we recognize the original of the Greek δεσπότης,⁴ it affords further testimony to the evolution of the gens and γένος from the familia and οἶκος. Traces of the existence of such a leader appear in Rome also.

Yet it would appear that but little power resided in his hands. The basis of the gens was republican. The leader, then, was only first among equals. He could not administer justice alone, and representatives of the clansmen were associated with him for that purpose. When a clansman was charged with a grave offence his fellows sat in judgment upon his case, and, if they found him guilty, expelled him from their ranks.

So much for the internal organization of the clan. Under this head mention may be made of the external aspects of clan life. The village community is typical of this stage of

¹ *Odys.* xviii. 328. "Wretched guest, surely thou art some brain-sick man, seeing that thou dost not choose to go and sleep at a smithy, or at some place of common resort, but here thou pratest much." Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 491-499.

² So in the well-known elegy on Heraclitus, ἥλιον λέσχη κατεδύσαμεν.

³ Herod. i. 153. Cf. περιλεσχήμεντος ii. 135.

⁴ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. I, 17.

Clan
govern-
ment.

The head
of the clan

His power
limited.

The
village.

Contiguity
and consan-
guinity.

development, and practically village and clan are co-extensive in Greece and Italy. Of their close connection direct and indirect evidence exists in language and history, which combine in establishing the fact that cognate families were also contiguous. We begin with Italy. The ordinary Latin ^{Italy.} term for "kinsman," *affinis*, bears upon its surface the tokens of its origin. It is clearly composed of the words *ad*, "at," and *finis*, "border." Primarily, therefore, it denoted "adjacent."¹ Village life was doubtless more common in Italy than the extant examples appear to warrant. The pile-dwellings in the region of the Po have already been described. The probability is that they were exceptional structures, and that the expedient was resorted to for the sake of safety; other villages, erected on dry land, doubtless studded the surface of the country, but not being constructed of durable material, they are lost to view and buried in oblivion. Yet the burial-grounds which have been unearthed in different parts of the peninsula point to the existence of villages in their neighbourhood.

This point will become still more clear, and the argument ^{Greece.} more convincing, if it turns out that a similar phenomenon presents itself in Greece. Such actually proves to be the case. Many villages in Greece betrayed their origin by the formation of their names. They retained the patronymic termination. The Lakiadai and Semachidai were of this number. But as regards Greece, still stronger testimony is available. The political philosopher's dictum is well known:—

ἡ δ' ἐκ πλείονων οἰκῶν κοινωνία πρώτη χρήσεως ἔνεκεν μὴ ἐφημέρου κόμης. μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἔοικεν ἡ κόμη ἀπ' οἰκίας εἶναι οὓς καλοῦσιν τινες ὀμογάλακτας παιδᾶς τε καὶ παίδων παιδᾶς.²

Aristotle
on the κόμη.

¹ Cf. Festus p. 11, "affines, in agris vicini sive consanguinitate conjuncti."

² Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 2, § 5, "Again, the simplest association of several households for something more than ephemeral purposes is a village. It seems that the village in its most natural form is derived from the household, including all the children of certain parents and the children's children, or, as the phrase sometimes is, 'all who are suckled upon the same milk.'" The reading here adopted is Mr. Heitland's emendation, ἀπ' οἰκίας. Cf. Thuc. i. 10, κατὰ κόμης τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ. The Ætolians clung to the system up to a late period.—Thuc. iii. 94.

The Indian
grāma.

The village community has ever been a marked feature of India, and is still characteristic of Indian life.¹ The Greek writer bears witness to its prevalence in early days. Indeed, the Indians never passed beyond that stage.

The
evidence
for a
common
source of
village
commu-
nities.

Whether the systems of village communities, which were established in Greece and Italy, and have been most marked in India, but have left vestiges among other races, are derived from a common origin is not easy to determine definitely. The direct proofs are meagre, but there is indirect evidence of a close contact at several points between the Greek, Italian, and Indian civilizations.² There exist two groups of words which betray a common origin. These are represented by the Old Latin *veicus*, Later Latin *vicus*, Gothic *weihs*, Old Slovenic *visi*, and the Albanian *vise*. All of these indicate the settlement together of a community connected by ties of blood, but, as time went on, the name acquired the meaning of locality.

Kindred
words.

Under the second group is included the Greek *κώμη*, containing the idea of rest (*κείμαι*, "lie"), the Gothic *haimis*, and the Lithuanian *kemas*.³

¹ Cf. Macrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*. p. 42.

² Into this point space does not permit us to enter. For a discussion of the subject the reader is referred to Leist, *Altar. Jus Gentium*, pp. 43, 44.

³ Professor Schrader, *Reallex.* 143, compares the Old Slovenic *počoji*, "rest."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE EXTENSION OF THE FAMILY (CONTINUED).

THE next circles in the expansion of the family are the Greek *φρατρία* and the Roman *curia*. The origin of *φρατρία* is self-evident. It comes from *φράτωρ*, which bears a close resemblance to various words for brother, Latin *frater*, German *bruder*, and English *brother*.¹ The *φρατρία*
and *curia*.

The derivation of the word *curia* is obscure. Usually it has been connected with Quirites, the dignified title given to the Romans. But it may be formed from **co-viria* (*vir*, "a man"). Whichever etymology be adopted, the meaning will in either case be the same. The word would denote a community or union of heads of families. Derivation
of *curia*,

Though much uncertainty overhangs this subject, we are not left in any doubt as to the component elements and the precise signification of the word *φρατρία* itself. Unquestionably, like the Old Slovenic *bratřija*, which it resembles both in form and meaning, it is a collective term. The word bears a recognizable relation also to the Old Slovenic *bratstvo*, of which mention has been already made, and as the and
φρατρία.

¹ These again are perhaps traceable to the root of the Greek *φέρω*, "bear," "bring," and resolve themselves into "bearer," "supporter," "nourisher." Prellwitz compares the Old Indian *bhariman*, "nourishment"; *bharu-s*, "lord," "husband"; *bhartar*, "nourisher," and *bhartar*, "husband"; and Curtius quotes Hesychius, *φρήτηρ* ἀδελφός. Cf. Stein's note on Herodotus i. 125.

Slovenic word denotes a "union of brothers," so the Greek *φρατρία* is a community of *ἑστίαι*, *i.e.*, "hearths," "households," belonging to brothers. Hence in Homer Nestor is made to say:—

Ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκείνος
Ὅς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος.¹

But, as was said on a previous page, in speaking of the *gens* and *γένος*, in course of time the sense of relationship was in the case of the *φρατρία* overshadowed by its political aspect.

The functions of these "brotherhoods."

To turn to the functions fulfilled by these brotherhoods, it may be observed at the outset—and the mention of these points here obviates the necessity of a detailed discussion of them at a later stage,—that the organization of the *φρατρία* and *curia* proceeded on the same general lines as that of the *γένος* and *gens*. The chief difference was that they covered a wider area.

The place of assembly or *curia*.

This leads us naturally to a discussion on the duties which these brotherhoods discharged and the place where they executed them. In Italy the name of *curia* was transferred from the union of *curiales*, or individual householders, to the council-house, where they met to transact business. But it is worthy of note that, as with so many other Roman institutions, the *curia* was invested with a sacred character and its primary purpose was religious. Under the guidance of the priest, *curio*,² the *curiales* paid homage to their presiding deity. Festivals, *dies curiæ*,³ were specially observed. These celebrations went back to an immemorial antiquity.⁴

A place of worship.

Then a council-house.

But this structure was turned to other uses also. It has

¹ *Iliad* ix. 63. "A tribeless, lawless, homeless man is he that loveth bitter civil strife."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

² Varro, *L.L.* 5, 83; 6, 46, Müller.

³ Cicero, *De Or.* i. 7, 27.

⁴ Cf. *veteres Curie* on the Palatine Hill; Tac., *Annals* xii. 24; *Curia prisca*, Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 140.

to be remembered that religion was in those days inextricably interwoven with daily duties, social life, and public concerns. The *curia*, then, was at once the place of public worship and of public consultation. It is interesting also to observe how well the *curia* typifies the social evolution of Rome. The name *curia*, or house of assembly for the *curiales*, subsequently acquired the meaning of the senate-house of the Roman Empire. Of the buildings devoted to the meetings of these deliberative bodies, the one ascribed by tradition to Tullus Hostilius, and known as the *Curia Hostilia*, was the most famous.

These λέσχαι were originally doubtless of a very simple construction. But in later times they were richly adorned. The building at Delphi was decorated with paintings by Polygnotus.¹ Like most Greek institutions, it was placed under the patronage of a deity. The god Apollo especially seems to have taken them under his protection. One of his titles was Δεσχηνόριος, or "guardian of assemblies."

The Greek λέσχη.

Religious sanction.

Underneath the diversity of usage that prevailed even within the confines of Greece the same general features are traceable. Each φρατρία had without doubt a place of meeting similar to the λέσχη of the γένος. The probability is that with the extension of the bounds of the community the λέσχη of the γένος was adopted as the common centre for the φρατρία also. If so, we have here a parallel to the growth of the meaning of the term *curia*.

Deliberations.

Not the least responsible or onerous of the duties devolving upon the φρατρία was the settlement of cases of murder. It will be necessary at a later stage to explain fully the early conceptions of the nature of this crime and its punishment. Suffice it here to mention that in primitive society the responsibility of avenging the blood of the deceased rested upon his kinsmen. The matter affected the family or the clan alone. In the days when ruder habits prevailed, a

Murder trials.

¹ Paus. x, 25, 1.

rough-and-ready method was employed; the nearest of kin required the blood of the assailant or demanded adequate reparation. That the *φράτορες* were answerable for the blood of a kinsman and played a prominent part in the determination of cases of murder, is clear from the following law of Draco quoted by Demosthenes:—

προειπεῖν τῷ κτείαντι ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος καὶ ἀνεψιῶν καὶ ἀνεψιαδῶν, συνδιώκειν δὲ καὶ ἀνεψιῶν καὶ ἀνεψιῶν παῖδας καὶ γαμβροὺς καὶ πενθεροὺς καὶ φράτορας.¹

WAR.

But as in the earlier stage of development, the period of the *γένος*, so in this latter stage of the *φρατρία* the chief call upon the resources and energies of this body was on the outbreak of war. Reference has already been made to the co-operation of the *γεννήται* and *gentiles* in such emergencies. So, in like manner, the experienced strategist Nestor again suggests to the captain of the Greek host the arrangement of his men according to phratries:—

Κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον,
Ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις.²

The idea of placing members of phratries as brothers in arms argues a penetrating insight into human nature. The method brought into play the liveliest emotions that could inspire the human breast. Keenly susceptible to the instinct of kinship, fired by the glorious traditions of common ancestors reaching to time immemorial, stimulated by the records of past achievements, and possessing a common

¹ *In Macart.*, p. 1069. "The homicide shall be proclaimed in public within the relationship of cousins, that is to say, both first and second cousins, and the prosecution shall be instituted by cousins and cousins' children, and sons-in-law and fathers-in-law, and members of the brotherhood." Cf. *Dem. C. Euerg. et Mnes.* 1161.

² *Iliad* ii. 362. "Separate thy warriors by tribes and by clans, Agamemnon, that clan may give aid to clan and tribe to tribe."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

stake in the issue of the conflict, they all alike threw their energies into the common cause.¹

The way has by this been prepared for an enlargement of the borders of the *φρατρία* and *curia*. We have now arrived at the highest political union, that is, the tribe, called in Greece *φυλή*, in Italy *tribus*. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the origin of both these bodies is involved in obscurity owing to the changes and shifting of terminology. Yet, notwithstanding the uncertainty attaching to the subject, there is evidently a close relation between the Greek and the Latin terms. *Tribus* probably resolves itself into the following constituent elements, *tri*, *bus*. The former, which is evidently connected with *tres*, "three," bespeaks a threefold division.² Such an idea of a triple division runs throughout the constitution of Rome, as has already appeared from the aggregates of individuals or families which have come under notice. So much also is implied in the words of the antiquary, Varro:—

The *φυλή*
and *tribus*.

Analysis of
the words

tribus

Ter deni equites ex tribus tribubus Titiensium, Ramnium, Lucerum febant.³

This threefold principle was not unknown in Greece, for we learn on the authority of Herodotus⁴ that the Dorians were divided into three tribes. This statement is borne out by language, poetry, and history. Thus, the description

¹ The advantages of such a method of military array were not lost upon the Indians. See Rigveda 10, 42, 10; Zimmer, *Allind. Leben*, p. 158. Cf. the Sanskrit *viçam viçam* in the following hymn to Manyu, Rigveda, 10, 84. "Cast down, O Manyu, those who lie in wait for us. Shattering, crushing, destroying, throw thyself upon the enemy. They stop not thy mighty strength; thou, Lord, bringest them under thy dominion. . . . Going from troop to troop (*viçam viçam*) kindle them for the fray. Allied with thee will we raise the loud shout to victory." The Celts also fought, says Giraldus Cambrensis, c. 10, per turbas et familias.

² Cf. the Umbrian *trefu*, Bücheler, *Lexikon Italicum*, p. xxix.

³ L.L. v. 91. "Thirteen horsemen or knights from each of the three tribes, the Titienses, the Ramnes and the Luceres."

⁴ v. 68.

in the *Iliad* of the Rhodians in Agamemnon's army, who were of Dorian descent, confirms this belief:—

Τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδόν.¹

and again :—

Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες.²

In matter of fact the triple constitution characterized, with some modifications, the Dorian states of Sparta, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Corinth, Acragas, Megara, and Trœzen.

The suffix of the word *tribus* indicates a different idea, for while the element *tri* signifies division, *bus* signifies descent. It is probably identical with or contains the same root as *φυλή*, which we proceed to consider.

and *φυλή*.

Underneath *φυλή* lies the idea of "being" or "growth." The word shares this element with the verb *φύω*, "produce," "bring forth," "beget." The primary meaning of *φυλή*, then, is that of a "set of men naturally distinct."³ But it soon acquired another signification. The most natural or obvious case of such a group of men is a union of those who are bound together by ties of blood. The transition from the idea of consanguinity to that of contiguity is easy, as we had occasion to observe in a previous page. Accordingly in process of time *φυλή* came to be applied to an aggregate of families or householders classified according to their local habitation. This fact affords another illustration of the original idea of relationship gliding into that of geographical connection, or, regarded from another stand-point, the subordination of the conception of kinship to that of political bearing. But, however that may be, there is abundant evidence of zealous co-operation on the part of the tribesmen whenever their safety or honour was endangered.

Combined action of tribe and the causes animating them.

The occasions which called for united action were much

¹ ii. 668. "His kinsfolk settled by kinship in three tribes." Pindar calls Rhodes *τρίπολι νᾶσον*, *O.* 7, 34.

² *Iliad* ii. 655. "They dwelt in Rhodes, distributed into three parts."

³ The phrase *κατὰ φυλᾶς* (Xenoph. *Oec.* 9, 6) furnishes an instance of its use in this general sense.

the same as those which influenced the "clan" or the brotherhood." No movement in that early age involved deeper issues than war. Wars of more or less moment were of constant occurrence in early stages of society, and when they broke out, the tribesmen found themselves companions in arms. The motives which actuated the leaders in the adoption of this principle were the same as those which operated in the more rudimentary stage of development. It will be remembered how the aged Nestor, who carried weight in the councils of the Greek army, at once for his years and his experience, recommends Agamemnon to marshal his men in such a way that kinsmen would fight shoulder to shoulder.

The same consideration influenced him in urging Agamemnon to place the tribesmen side by side, with a view to inspiring confidence and to acting as an incentive to their martial ardour:—

Ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοισ.¹

Of this system of putting tribesmen to fight in each other's company an interesting trace survives in the word *φύλοπις* or "battle-cry."² That it is derived from *φύλον* (the Homeric form of *φυλή*) may be regarded as certain. The *φυλή*, as has already been seen, constitutes the army, and the "din of battle," the "war-cry," retains to the last the traces of its original signification. Though totally different in form it presents in meaning a parallel to the Highland *slogan*, "gathering-cry" of the clans, "watchword."³

Peace likewise laid obligations on the tribesmen of Greece. The tribe as a whole assumed responsibility for the death of one of its members, even if it led to war. The following line

Cases of murder.

¹ *Iliad* ii. 363. The passage is quoted more fully on p. 292.

² It occurs in *Iliad* iv. 635 ; xiii. 635 ; and *Odys.* xi. 334.

³ The Gaelic equivalent is from *sluagh-ghairm*, "an army cry"; Irish *sluag*, "an army."

The legend
of Ixion.

from Pindar takes the mind back to the time when φυλή was the chief constitutional body:—

ἐμφύλιον αἷμα πρότιστος ἐπέμιξε θνητοῖς.¹

The reference is to Ixion. He was king of the Lapithæ in Thessaly and sued for the hand of the daughter of Deioneus. When the father demanded of the prospective son-in-law the bridal gifts² which he had promised in the days of his wooing, Ixion treacherously invited him to a banquet and contrived to make his guest fall into a pit of fire. So intense was the indignation at this treacherous murder, aggravated, as it was, by a violation of hospitality, that none would purify the offender of his sin.

The following passage in Homer depicts vividly the way in which the tribe dogged the steps of the murderer of one of their kin:—

Οὔτω τοι καὶ ἐγὼν ἐκ πατρίδος, ἄνδρα κατακτᾶς
 *Ἐμφυλον' πολλοὶ δὲ κασίγνητοὶ τε ἔται τε
 *Ἄργος ἂν' ἰππόβοτον, μέγα δὲ κρατέουσιν Ἀχαιῶν.
 Τῶν ὑπαλευόμενος θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν
 Φεύγω, ἐπεὶ νύ μοι αἴσα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἀλάλησθαι.³

Such was the practice in primitive Greek society. But the espousal of the cause of a murdered kinsman by the tribe had far-reaching consequences, and later ages witnessed a new departure. As milder manners prevailed and human ideas gained ground formal trials were substituted for the old *vendetta*.

The expansion of the constitution, as already described, produced a corresponding change in the external aspect of

Growth of
towns.

¹ 2, 57. "He first introduced among mortals the shedding of kindred blood." Cf. Æschylus, *Eumen.* 137, 154, *Prom.* 718.

² Cf. Chapter xii. 146, 147.

³ *Odys.* xv. 272. "Even so I too have fled from my country, for the manslaying of one of mine own kin. And many brethren and kinsmen of the slain are in Argos, the pastureland of horses, and rule mightily over the Achæans. Wherefore now am I an exile to shun death and black fate at their hands, for it is my doom yet to wander among men."
—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

public life. So long as the Greeks and Italians remained at the stage of the *γένος* and *gens*, the *φρατρία* and the *curia*, villages sufficed to meet the needs of the population. But as the boundary was extended, and *φυλή* or *tribus* came into existence towns gradually grew up.

The reason for this is doubtless to be sought in the circumstance that in primitive periods the inhabitants were obliged to take refuge from hostile invasion in such strongholds. An analysis of the various names for town points to the same conclusion. The list appended may be regarded as typical of the rest:—*ἀρξ* suggests the idea of stronghold against attack. The Greek *ἀρκέω*, “ward off,” “defend”; *arca*, a “strong-box,” “chest,” “safe”; *arcanus*, “secret,” and probably *Lupercus* the protector (*arceo*) of flocks from wolves (*lupus*) belong to the same category. The term *capitolium*, which is chiefly familiar from its association with the citadel of Rome, but was also used at Capua and Beneventum, denoted “head” (*capitulum*, *caput*), and consequently “height,” overtopping or overlooking the town. The term *oppidum* (*op-pedu-m*) indicates a town built over the plain (*pedum*, Greek *πέδον*, Sanskrit *padam*), as if it were τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ.¹

In the first instance places of refuge.

Citadels in Italy and Greece.

Similarly in Greece *ἄκρα* and *ἀκρόπολις* plainly denote the “peak,” “the mountain top.”² The latter term is of frequent occurrence in Greece, attesting the fact that the life was unsafe, and that the inhabitants took these precautions against the depredations of enemies. The situation chosen for towns was some miles from the coast, and bespeaks the danger to be apprehended from sea rovers.

These citadels in course of time formed a nucleus for future towns in the proper sense of the term. Houses gathered around them, and these became surrounded with earthworks. *Ἄστυ* (*Ἔαστυ*), comes from root *vas*, which

¹ Curtius, *Gr. Etym.*

² Athens had its Acropolis, Corinth its Acrocorinthos; Troy, too, possessed its Pergamos.

primarily signified to encompass, afterwards to "clothe," to "dwell." The root appears in the Sanskrit *vāstu*, "place," "house"; and the Greek *ἔστια*, "hearth," "goddess of the hearth."¹ *Urbs* is probably connected with the Sanskrit *vardh-* to "make strong," whence the Persian *vārd-ana*, "city."

The word *πόλις* is probably to be referred to the same root as the Sanskrit, *pur*, "place of refuge"; *pūra-m*, "town," "citadel."² Underneath these two words in all probability lies the idea of fulness, which forms an element of *populus*.³ But though originally only a geographical expression, the term *πόλις* in process of time assumed the meaning of state. This meaning is traceable in Homer, but it is only in the historic period that the word acquired its full significance, as witness the technical terms *πολιτεία*, *πολιτικός* and numberless other derivatives.

συνολικισμός
the legend
of Phoroneus of
Argos

Mythology sheds a ray of light upon the transition from the village to the town. The subject of one legend is Phoroneus, a prince of Argos. Each feature is significant. He was the first (so ran the tale) who united the people, which had hitherto lived without cities and without laws in scattered and solitary habitations, into a city that bore his name, *ἄστν Φορωνικόν*,⁴ the city of Phoronicum.

Other elements of civilization are associated with his name.

¹ The relative position of the *ἄστν* and *πόλις* is conveyed in *Odys.* viii. 551. *οἱ κατὰ ἄστν καὶ οἱ περιναϊεάσουιν*. Cf. 173, 555, 560, 574; ix. 40; *Iliad* ix. 328.

² Curtius, *Gr. Etym.*; Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, 142.

³ Though differing widely in form as well from Greek and Latin names for towns as from each other, a fact which proves the adoption of town life after the separation of the Aryans, the following words exhibit some similarity in meaning to the instances quoted in the text. Such are the series of Teutonic expressions: Anglo-Saxon *ton*, and Scandinavian *tun*, Gothic *tains*, Scandinavian *teinn*, German *zaun*. (1) A place rudely fortified with stakes, and used of farmsteadings and manors; (2) an enclosure; (3) a town. *Ton* forms an element in one-eighth of the names of dwelling-places in South Britain (Blackie, *Dict. of Place-names*). In Low German *tun* is used for "garden." In like manner the Old Slavonic *gradu*, Russian *gorodŭ*, exhibit a parallel development. It passes into place-names like Novgorod, "new fortress."

⁴ Pausan. ii. 15.

He discovered the use of fire,¹ and was alive to the power of religion as a bond of union ; he was the first to offer sacrifice to Hera.

Theseus is credited with having effected corresponding changes in Attica. He introduced a political revolution. He combined the townships, twelve in number, and made Athens the head of a commonwealth. The value of religion as a uniting force was not forgotten. He reinstated the Athenæa, and gave it the more comprehensive title of Pan-athenæa.

and
Theseus
of Athens.

The strength and commanding position of the citadels already described, which formed the centre or nucleus around which the town gathered, accounts for the supremacy which certain cities achieved at the dawn of Greek and Italian civilization. Though by the time portrayed in the Homeric poems the *φυλή* formed the basis of the military organization, a warrior class was gradually coming into existence,² and as is usual in such cases, it was deemed unworthy a noble or free man to dwell with his low-born dependents on his land. Accordingly, occupying this coign of vantage they were able to dominate the neighbourhood, and by carrying fire and sword reduce neighbouring townships to submission. The hegemony of Athens in Greece and of Alba Longa in Italy may have been won after this manner, but the further consideration of the subject lies outside the scope of our inquiry. Only one remark need be made, and this follows naturally upon what has just been said about the absorption of the clan in the city. With this observation we shall dismiss the clan, the brotherhood, and the tribe. The clan system was a fundamental idea inherent alike in the Greek and Italian states ; in both countries the state was evolved out of the clan. But the idea of the state developed differently in Greece and Italy, a circumstance which confirms and emphasizes what was said in a previous page concerning the

Strong-
holds and
centres of
states.

Diver-
gence of
the Greek
and Italian
mind.

¹ Pausan. ii. 19, § 5.

² Cf. Müller, *Dorians* ii. 66.

most marked characteristics of the Greek and Roman mind. We saw that the Greek was distinguished by an intense individuality and independence of character, the Roman by conservatism and self-effacement, and their relative attitude to the claims of clan and state corroborates in a marked manner these characteristic differences. Under the weaker political development of Greece the clan was perpetuated down to a late time; in Italy it was neutralized early. This Greek spirit of freedom operated in yet another direction. In Greece the individual was able to assert his distinctive personality, in Italy, especially in Rome, there was a tendency towards the production of men of one mould and of a uniform level. The ideal citizen was the man who sank his private predilections and lost himself in the commonwealth. Even the proper names of Greeks and Romans reflect the difference between the spirit of the two systems or constitutions. The Greek names exhibited an exuberance and variety, the Roman names were comparatively meaningless and pointless, and steadily diminished in number.¹ So it went on to the end; the Greeks inclined to diversity, the Roman cultivated homogeneousness. At length the two civilizations came into conflict, and the issue was not long undecided. Unable to withstand the weight of the centralized power of Rome, the Greek communities collapsed and took their place among the constituent factors of the Roman Republic.

¹ Mommsen, *Roman History* i. 26.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GOVERNMENT.

THE constitution, as appeared above, had hitherto developed on the lines of kinship; the clan grew out of the family, the brotherhood out of the clan, and the tribe out of the brotherhood. But even the tribe, despite its primitive principles of cohesion, its shrewd arrangement on the battlefield, and an administration of justice congenial to the state of the human intellect at the time, did not hold out promise of permanence or perpetuity; and great as was the superiority of the tribe over previous social combinations, it was not the be-all and end-all of social advancement and social perfectibility.

The brotherhood and tribe only a preparation for higher combinations.

The truth is, Greek and Italic society still shared the attributes of barbaric communities in general. For barbarism is a principle, not of society, but of isolation. Uncivilized races may combine from the gregariousness of their nature, from association by blood, or from accidental proximity; but they do not form civilized polities.¹ On the other hand, the civilized community possesses certain characteristics which mark it off from the barbaric, and its distinguishing badge is progress. Though it may have had a barbarian era, it is ever moving further and further in the direction of closer union. It cultivates the due disposition and orderly arrangement of its component elements. It has common aims, principles, rules and views. It studies prudence, foresight, inquiry and invention. Justice, benevolence, expediency, religion, these are its animating principles. The

Barbarism and civilization.

¹ Newman, *Historical Sketches* i. 167.

surrender of self is the price which the members of the civilized community pay for the security of life and property.

The tribe, therefore, was not the goal of Greek and Roman civilization; a new order of things and organizations of a wider range were in process of accomplishment. It has been seen that the old idea of kinship was gradually giving way to territorial division. It has been seen also how the clan and brotherhood were co-extensive and identical with the village, how the tribe gradually gathered around the town, and how, in Greece at any rate, the city (*πόλις*) became synonymous with the state.

The line of development pursued by early society has an immediate bearing upon the development of the idea of government. It is necessary therefore to pause for a while and consider how it affected the origin of monarchy. Monarchy was the supreme embodiment of authority in early phases of society, because essentially part of their political constitution.

The power of the king has in reality been evolved from the right of the head of the household in the primitive stages of society. It will be remembered, that in the earliest epoch to which we can go back supreme authority resided in the hands of the father of the family (*paterfamilias*). At times it was exercised with rigour and always with firmness. Afterwards, we saw that the clansmen chose a leader to whom they submitted implicitly in war, and generally owed obedience in peace. A similar institution existed in the "brotherhood," and the same motives actuated the members of this larger society in the choice of a head. But neither was this the final stage attained by the idea of monarchical government. Just as the clan elected a leader, and the brotherhood a chief, so the tribe placed itself under a king, who eclipsed the leader of the clan and head of the brotherhood in external emblems of authority, and contrived to concentrate, if not to monopolize, power in his own hands.

Of this stage of social development several terms survive. Such was the word *tribunus*, the head of a tribe (*tribus*),

Kingly power an evolution of *patria potestas*.

Chiefs of clans and brotherhoods fore-runners of the king.

Three stages in the growth of the kingly power.

First, over the tribe.

Survivals of this stage.

corresponding to the *plemenski* (*pleme*, 'a tribe') among the southern Slavs. Such was the *φυλοβασιλεύς* at Athens. Such was his counterpart in Italy, the *rex sacrificulus*. This official was appointed by the tribe to perform sacrifices, but, as will be seen hereafter, this function was only a remnant of the high prerogatives which belonged to the king in an earlier age.

The tribe, then, was so far the sphere of the kingly jurisdiction. But in process of time various considerations concurred in favour of extending the political horizon, and of bringing within its range several tribes, occupying, it may be, widely distant tracts of territory. In most civilized countries the narrower organizations have been absorbed by the nation, and if they have not been altogether assimilated, they have at any rate, been relegated to a subordinate position. Among the Slavs of the South,¹ however, the triple organization of which we have spoken, the clan, the brotherhood and the tribe, has survived until comparatively recent times, but it is an anomaly in modern Europe, and its survival was the outcome of the peculiar circumstances and historic antecedents² of the Slavs.

There was yet another change to come. Ultimately the idea of territorial unity superseded the conception of kinship, whether as exhibited in the clan, the brotherhood, or the tribe. The late origin of this new system, that is, of territorial government, relieves us of the necessity of discussing it in detail. Yet it is not devoid of significance. It illustrates the tenacity with which the idea of relationship as a basis of society and bond of union was retained. It points also to the unsettled character of society in periods previous to the substitution of territorial for tribal government. Even after the jurisdiction of the king had spread beyond the limits of the tribe, the title that he arrogated on the assumption of his new authority, proclaimed his supremacy over

Next, several tribes united into a nation.

Lastly, territorial jurisdiction.

Slow rise of the idea of territorial designation.

as shown by the titles of kings.

¹ Cf. Ch. xxi.

² Ch. iii., p. 30, 279 ff.

men rather than land. Such is the style adopted by the Lord of Persia in the Inscriptions. Such, too, is the term "King of the Lydians."¹

and the
absence
of the
sentiment
of father-
land.

This is not all. A man in ancient times claimed connection with his friends or clan or tribe, and not with his country. The traveller in Homer or Vergil, in introducing himself among strangers, boasts of his kinship with them. The exile in like manner longs for the society of his relatives. He knows little or nothing as yet of the sentiment of "mother country" or "fatherland."

Bearing of
this on the
jurisdic-
tion of a
king.

The extension of the kingly jurisdiction kept pace with the gradual widening of the mental horizon. Though in the first instance only chief of a tribe, the king's power now covers the wider area of a nation, and finally he becomes a territorial monarch. Only in oriental countries, however, or countries imbued with oriental sentiments, was this principle pushed to its legitimate issues. Only there in the ancient world do we meet with the conceptions of world-wide empires, the cherished dreams of a Darius or an Alexander.

Having disposed of these prior considerations, we proceed to trace the development of the institution of king and government on Greek and Italian soil.

Aristotle
on the
theory of
kingship.

Aristotle remarks that kingship was the original form of government:—

τὸ πρῶτον ἐβασιλεύοντο αἱ πόλεις, καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὰ ἔθνη.²

Its uni-
versality.

The truth is that this theory of government responds to a natural instinct in men to be led or governed; there are natural rulers and natural subjects.³ The former are qualified intellectually to form projects, the latter are qualified physically to carry them out. The kingly rule, then, according to the philosophic doctrine above propounded, is natural to

¹ ἀναξ Λυκίης is found in Homer, but it is not the earliest form. So again, ὁ ποταμὸς ῥέει διὰ Κελίκων. Dr. Schrader cites modern parallels (*Realex.*, 792).

² i. II, § 6. "States were originally governed by kings, as is still the case with the nations (*i.e.* non-Hellenic peoples)."

³ *Id.* i. II, § 2.

primitive conditions of mankind, and the history of Aryan races bears out the theory. That the king was a central figure in early Aryan communities is apparent from a comparison of various countries. To begin with the two countries which have proved useful in shedding light upon early Greece and Italy, India is particularly interesting in this connection.¹ There the polity is governed by a king India. (*râ'jan-*), or by several kinglets (*râ'jânas*), precisely in the same way as the power of the king was curtailed in some Greek states by various *βασιλεῖς*. The Indian king is elected. He wields authority in war, and he fulfils certain duties in times of peace, though the latter are somewhat obscure.

Slav tribes in this, as in other respects, have clung with The Slavs. remarkable tenacity to primitive institutions.² The simplicity of their internal unity and the individuality of their political structure have often been noted in these pages. The process of evolution of the king from the chieftain is well illustrated among the Slavs. The head of the tribe is called *glavar pleminski*.³ He is chosen by the *pleminici*, or tribesmen, and in some tribes the title to the office belongs to one family. But in the event of failure on the part of the chief, whether in courage or capacity, he may be deposed by the members of the community. It will be found that Greece and Italy Greece and Italy. conform to the same law of development, with minor differences to which attention will be called as they arise.

The evidence as regards the institution of kingship in Greece is by no means scanty. It will furnish us with some of the most interesting illustrations of the monarchical principle, while our inquiry proceeds. As for Italy, the existence of a king in the early records of that country might be pre-supposed in the light of the experiences of other races. Indeed, the king left an unmistakable impress upon the

¹ Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 162; W. Foy, *Die königliche Gewalt nach den altindischen Rechtsbüchern*, Leipzig, 1895.

² Cf. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*.

³ Dr. Schrader (*Realex.*, p. 442) quotes from Mauricios the term *ῥῆγες*.

early history of Rome. Unfortunately, however, the traditional history of the monarchy at Rome is involved in a cloud of legends which were invented to account for the rise of various institutions. Still, the authority for the existence of kings at Rome rests upon a solid foundation of fact, and justifies the attempt to disentangle its constituent elements.

It is maintained by Aristotle in the passage from which quotation has already been made that in the earliest times the sources of obedience and authority were personal.¹ It is well known that barbarians at this day make conquests and achieve greatness by means of remarkable men, in whom they, as it were, live and move. The philosopher accounts for the personal ascendancy by supposing that conspicuous merit was uncommon, and that authority, when once acquired, was undisputed and easily maintained.² The most obvious illustration of this principle is found in the head of the household. This paternal supremacy is the basis of the kingly government. "Every household has its king,"³ and the Cyclopes in their want of corporate life, being "lawgivers" only to their own wives and children,⁴ are prototypes of the kings of the future. Even the government of the heavenly Olympus is formed on the same model, for all nations ascribe to the gods the polity which was once, if it is not still, their own; and men assimilate the lives no less than the bodily form of the gods to themselves.⁵ Throughout the whole of the government of Greece and Italy ran this idea, that monarchical government in states was derived and developed from the monarchy of the eldest male member of the family.

The evolution of the king from the householder is shown in a variety of ways. The testimony of language points in

¹ Cf. *Eth. Nic.* viii. 12, 4, 5.

² *Pol.* iii. 10, 7.

³ *Pol.* i. 2, 6; cf. Plato, *Laws*, 680 (οἱ πάλοι) πατρονομούμενοι καὶ βασιλείαν πασῶν δικαιοτάτην βασιλεύμενοι.

⁴ The passage is quoted in Ch. x., p. 124.

Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 2, 7.

The most ancient theory of authority was personal.

Paternal supremacy the earliest form of monarchy, and the type of the kingly power.

The evidence of language.

that direction. It is noteworthy for instance that the Sanskrit *ganaka* bears both meanings. In like manner the Sanskrit term *vicpati*, the Lithuanian *wiez-palis* and *wiez-patnie*, meant respectively "lord" and "lady."¹ The word *ganaka*, from denoting originally the head of a household, became the conventional title of the king. What the father was in the household, the king was among his people—the strong, powerful protector. Yet another proof of the transition is afforded by the term *imperium*. This word was in the first instance applied to the *patria potestas* or paternal supremacy, as an analysis of it serves to show, for its component elements are doubtless *parare* to "prepare," "govern," *endu*, "within."² Indeed it was used for the *patria potestas* itself. But in course of time it bore the signification of empire, and in this sense it has descended to modern Europe and is used to this day.

Next, the epithets applied to a king serve as a collateral confirmation of the evolution both of the title and of the institution of monarchy. The ideal monarch is a "shepherd of his people;" in Greek, *ποιμὴν λαῶν*³; in Sanskrit *gōpā jánasya*; in Anglo-Saxon *folces hyrde*. Underneath these phrases lies the idea that as a shepherd guards⁴ his flock so the king guards those committed to his charge, and gives his undivided energies to the promotion of their welfare. He must be gentle as a father, as was Odysseus of Ithaca.⁵ A curious correspondence exists between the last-mentioned expression and a phrase in the Law of Yajñavalkya,⁶ where the temper of the ideal ruler is described. The same qualities are looked for in India as in Greece. The king

The description of kingly virtues points in the same direction.

¹ Cf. Ch. xvi., pp. 204, 207.

² The root is also seen in *pau-per*, "getting little," "poor." Verg., *Georg.* i. 99; Tacitus, *Germ.* 26, employ *imperare*, in the older sense of constant breaking up the ground.

³ *Odys.* iii. 24.

⁴ Cf. Sanskrit *pājūs*, "guardian." The root is the same as appears in *pater*, *πατήρ*. See Ch. xvi., p. 204, 205. For the underlying idea see Numbers xxvii. 17.

⁵ *πατήρ δ' ὡς ἡπίος ἦεν*, *Odys.* ii. 47, 234.

⁶ A. F. Stenzler, i. 333-335.

must be "patient towards the *Brahmanas*, upright towards friends, wrathful towards enemies, but to servants and subjects even as a father."

The power of the king monarchical.

The belief in the evolution of the king from the household derives further confirmation from the fact that the power of the king in some states was monarchical. Although, as will appear later, all countries did not follow this method, yet in some states the king possessed unlimited power. No Cyclops ruled more absolutely in his circumscribed sphere than did the king at Rome. But at a later time this authority was curtailed, reduced to a shadow of its previous pre-eminence, and finally abolished for ever.

The king's duties threefold, like the household's.

But the strongest corroboration of the belief in the direct derivation of the kingly power from the authority of the head of the household lies in the fact that the duties of the household were threefold. He was at once protector, priest and judge. The duties of the king were of a corresponding character, as a few considerations will serve to show. But before we address ourselves to this task—the staple of this and the succeeding chapter—the method of appointment of kings claims our attention.

The king's appointment: diversity of usage.

The system of appointing kings varied in different Aryan races in later times, and no fixed rule can be laid down. Even within the limits of one group of races, the branches observed a different practice. So it was in the various branches of the Teutonic family of races. Among the Goths, Lombards, Saxons and Scandinavians, the office was hereditary; among the Westgoths of Spain and in Germany it was elective. Italy and Greece also exemplify this variation.

At Rome elective.

That the kings were elected at Rome is apparent from the material at our command. The evidence is inconsiderable, but suffices to establish the point. There the community of the people, which was made up of free and equal husbandmen, and could not boast of a nobility by the grace of God,¹

¹ Mommsen, *Roman History* i. 66, with whom Schwegler agrees, *Römische Geschichte* i. 645.

electd from their own number a *rex* ("leader"), a *dictator* ("commander")¹ or *magister populi* ("master of the people.")² The authority of this official, however, was circumscribed by powerful restrictions. Until the king called together the general assembly of freemen capable of bearing arms, and formally challenged their allegiance,³ he could not claim their fidelity or obedience. But when once he assumed the reins of government he was from henceforth not merely the first, but the only one clothed with individual authority in the state, and his tenure of office terminated only with his death. He might nominate a successor (apparently this was part of his duty),⁴ but in the event of failure to discharge this office the burgesses assembled unsummoned and designated an *interrex*⁵ or temporary king. But so jealous were they of their delegated authority, and so suspicious of usurpation, that they hedged in the temporary makeshift whom they set up by several limitations. He was not allowed to command the allegiance of the people for himself, and he laid down his office at the expiration of five days. As has been observed previously, much uncertainty overhangs the subject of the early kings of Rome, and the available evidence is of an indirect nature, but the conclusions enunciated above rest on a firm foundation.

The case stands otherwise in Greece. The Homeric poems, which are replete with evidence of the position and power of the early kings, reveal no traces of the principle of election. The father hands down the power to the son, and the prerogative is undisputed. It has been already pointed out that the kingly power became the monopoly of certain families. Such in Persia were the Achæmenidæ; such at Athens were the Eupatridæ, of whom mention has already

but in
Homer
hereditary

¹ From *dicto*, "pronounce," "declare." The chief magistrate of several Italian states was called by this title.

² Cf. Ch. xx. 272.

³ Mommsen, *ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵ Cf. Livy i. 17, 32. The title was retained in the days of the Republic and applied to an officer specially appointed in case of death or absence of the chief magistrates till the selection of their successors.

been made. But even in Homer certain leaders like Agamemnon and Menelaus belong to a kingly race (*βασιλεύ-
τατον*).¹

The cause
of the
difference.

The Homeric institution of kingship combines several features of late origin with others which go back to a high antiquity, and of the novel features of the institution in the pages of Homer the hereditary transmission of the sceptre is one. The question therefore arises—how is the deep-seated difference between early Greece and early Italy to be accounted for? The answer probably lies in the following circumstance: The spread of the Mycenaean culture in the East and the Greek Islands has already been remarked upon.² Dr. Schrader³ is disposed to ascribe the origin of the hereditary transmission of the kingly power in Greece to that epoch. Under the influence of Asia Minor the power of the king had been unduly exalted to limits unknown either at the time when the monarchical principle was in its infancy, or in after ages, when the rise of noble families had curbed the power of the king. The general conclusion, then, which may be deduced from a comparison of the institution of the kingly office in Greece and Italy, and the evidence afforded by the records of other races,⁴ is that of the two principles, the elective preceded the hereditary. But in spite of this fundamental difference in the method of appointment of the kings in Greece and Italy their position in both countries is essentially parallel. It remains for us to illustrate this correspondence, and to indicate the chief stages in the growth of the kingly power and the features which it exhibited.

The
position of
the king.

A leader
in war.

Now, a study of rude and uncultivated tribes at the present day makes it clear that the most valued accomplishment in a chief is skill in the art of war. The early Roman and the

¹ *Iliad* ii. 101; ix. 160; x. 239; xx. 304; *Odys.* xv. 539. Cf. Tyrtaeus, *Fragm.* ix. 5, 8 (*ed.* Schneidewin), and Thuc. ii. 80; Grote, *History of Greece* ii. 62.

² Chapter v., p. 58.

³ *Reallex.*, p. 449.

⁴ As in India, where the king was elected. See W. Foy, *Die königliche Gewalt nach den altindischen Rechtsbüchern*, Leipzig, 1895.

Greek are in this respect on a par with the savage. Unquestionably, the highest requisite in the king was a capacity to lead in the field. At Rome, the king wielded in the time of Rome. war a power (*imperium*) that knew no bounds. He was attended by *lictors*, who bore the rods (*virgæ*), and the axe (*securis*), which respectively symbolized the power to flog and to behead. In Homeric Greece, likewise, he had the Homer. power of life and death. According to a passage preserved by Aristotle, the poet makes Agamemnon say:—

πᾶρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.¹

and in theory the Homeric king wields supreme authority in the time of war.

The original terms for king are not without significance. The dangers to which the Aryans were exposed in the course of their migrations, the collisions with the previous inhabitants whom they dislodged, the constant ferment and continual fluctuation during the shifting of masses of population,² the frequent engagements in tribal warfare, these events necessitated a drain on the resources of the race, called out their warlike qualities, and marked out the possessors of them as fitted for the kingly office. The king, then, was in the first instance a commander in war. The conditions of the Aryans were favourable to the election of a warrior king.

The testimony of language confirms the above conclusion. Traces of this state of things survive in several terms for king. The Indian king was entitled *satpati-*, "The strong lord," and *râ'jan-râ'j-*, "marshaller," "disposer"; his Latin counterpart *rex* (from *regere*, to "direct," "rule")³; the Terms for king.

¹ *Pol.* iii. xiv. 2. "Mine is the arbitrament of death." The reference is to *Iliad* ii. 391-3, but the words πᾶρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος do not occur in the texts of Homer, nor in the *Nic. Ethics* iii., p. 1116A, where also Aristotle cites the passage. But the Alexandrian critics "effaced many traces of old manners." Grote, *Hist. of Greece* ii. 86.

² Thuc. i. 2-12.

³ The connection of *rex* (accus. *rēg-em*) with *râ'jan* is clear. Cf. the Celtic stem *rig*, "king," from which the Germans at a very early time borrowed **rik*, "ruler"; so too the Gothic *reiks* and Anglo-Saxon *rice*, "powerful"; English *rich*, *bishopric*, in the termination of which survives the idea of dominion (Lanman, p. 229.). The district over which the primitive king's jurisdiction extended was called in Sanskrit *râj-yâ-m*, and in Latin *regio*, "district," and *regnum*, "kingdom."

Greek βασιλεύς, perhaps from *βασι- : βαίνω, in an active sense, "one who makes to go," and λεύς : ληός, "the people."¹

In view of the purpose for which the king was appointed his personal attributes assume importance. It is worthy of note, for example, that in early laws stress was laid upon his bodily fitness.² Physical incapacity or bodily defect was a bar to the attainment of the office. Such was the case at Sparta, a state in which the warlike arts constituted the chief study and occupation of the citizens. So the oracle only voiced the public sentiment when it pronounced Agesilaus's lameness a serious disqualification. "Beware," said the Pythoness, "of a lame sovereign."³ In like manner, at Rome, lameness precluded an aspirant from admission to the supreme magistracy.⁴

The portrayal of the personal appearance of a king in Homer is conformable to the above description of the qualities required in a leader. He must be impressive in bearing, and possess a commanding presence. His bodily strength must be superior to that of the ordinary men.⁵ Of Sarpedon, a Prince of Lycia, it is said :—

ἀγὸς ἀσπιστάων
ὄς Λυκίην εἶρυτο δίκησί τε καὶ σθένει φῶ.⁶

¹ Prellwitz offers an alternative etymology. βασι-, Old Bactrian *jaiti*, "house"; Lithuanian *gintis*, "natürliches Geschlecht." βασιλεύς would then mean "geschlechtsherr," like the Old High German *chuning*. Others think βασιλεύς refers to a custom akin to the Old German and Celtic usage by which the king showed himself to his people on a stone. βα + λευ = λάφα, "stone." Cf. Vaniček *in verb.* But this is not at all certain. See Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 448. Other words containing similar ideas are the Latin *praetor*, *pra-itor*, "one who goes before," "leader," "commander"; *dux*, "leader"; *ταγός*, from *τάττω*, "marshaller"; and *ἀρχαγέτας* (*ἀρχευν*), the oldest title for Spartan kings.

² Cf. I Sam. x. 23; xvi. 6, 7.

³ Cf. Dionys. v. 25.

⁴ These prohibitions were no accidents or anomalies in Spartan or Roman annals. By the laws of the Prussian constitution incurable disease similarly incapacitates the sufferer for accession to the throne.

⁵ εἶκε δέμας βασιλῆϊ ἀνακτι, *Odys.* xx. 194. Cf. xxiv. 253.

⁶ *Iliad* xvi. 541. "The leader of the Lycian shieldmen, he that defended Lycia by his dooms and his might."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

Personal attributes.

Physical strength.

Personal appearance.

The *Iliad* presents to view another conspicuous case of the importance attached to personal prowess. The poet, in describing the contingent to the Greek army furnished by the Argives,¹ mentions that the chief command was conferred, not on a native prince, however illustrious his descent, but upon Diomedes, an Ætolian by birth.² The reason is not far to seek. Proved valour was not merely a recommendation, but an indispensable requisite in a leader. The native princes therefore occupy a subordinate position under the orders of one of alien origin indeed, but of undoubted bravery and superior skill in the arts of war.³ The same consideration dictated another measure in the appointment of a king. When the ruling king had passed his prime and was no longer fitted for leadership in war, he resigned the reigns of government. Thus Laertes made way for Odysseus, and Peleus for Achilles.⁴ So far, we have seen that the king was called into existence by the demand for a leader in the battle-field. It is natural to find this feeling predominant in the barbaric stages of social development, an era of blood-shedding, raids and border wars, but as communities advanced further and further from this primitive condition of life, a new ideal of kingship arose. Unlike a barbarian community and unlike itself in the primitive epoch through which it has previously passed, a civilized race or a race in process of civilization awakes to the necessity of prudence, foresight and calculation of consequences. The result is that less store is set upon bodily strength than formerly, and mental ability usurps its place. If Ajax is the ideal of barbarian power, Odysseus is the ideal of the well-ordered community.

Super-
annuation

As civilization
progresses
mind
supplants
the sword.

¹ ii. 563.

² See Eustathios on ii. 567.

³ βούην ἀγαθός, ii., line 567.

⁴ *Odyss.* i. 187-193; cf. *Iliad.* ii. 721; xiii. 691; ix. 437, 443. It was customary in Persia to elect a son as regent during the life-time of his father; the father retained the royal prerogatives, the son fulfilled the royal functions.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GOVERNMENT (CONTINUED).

The barbarian horde destructive, the civilized race constructive.

Moral suasion supersedes material power.

THE requirements of an advancing civilization call, as we saw in the last chapter, for the display of other qualities than brute strength or martial pre-eminence. Civilization spreads by the arts of peace, by morality, justice and religion, and as one of the keenest incitements to progress or advance in culture is the will of prominent individuals, the progress and prosperity of a community depends in no small measure upon the will of kings. These characteristics of civilized nations at a later day were not entirely absent even from the barbarian communities of the earlier epoch which we have been considering, nor are unprogressive races at this day altogether devoid of them. The advantages derived from embodying in their kings the principles of religion and justice were certainly not lost upon the early inhabitants of Greece and Italy.

Sacrosanctity and sacrificial functions of the king.

The sacrificial functions are generally, though not universally, among Aryans connected with the kingly office. Even the savage kings of to-day are aware that an alliance with the priesthood strengthens their hands, and they lose no opportunity of impressing their subjects with their own supernatural or spiritual prerogatives. These, as a rule, resolve themselves into the exercise of magic. Among the functions of an African chief—and he is a type of a chief in most uncultivated communities—is the duty of making atonement for the people by magical arts,¹ of propitiating the

¹ Fr. Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, p. 130.

anger of powerful spirits or of obtaining favours from them by means of prayer and incantation. To such an extent is this sentiment carried among such races, that the religious character of a chief's children has ere now challenged the respect of the public, even though they may have been reduced to slavery.¹ And the Greek and Italian counterpart of the African chief found in religion a powerful instrument for deepening the respect of his subjects for the kingly office.

The memorials of the life of the early Italian communi- Italy.
ties, as has been previously observed, are comparatively meagre. But we possess sufficient evidence to prove the existence of priestly kings. At Rome the king was supposed to hold communion with the gods of the community. He consulted them in times of emergency or on public concerns; he appeased their wrath. These functions were called *auspicia publica*. He also nominated all the priests and priestesses. Apparently similar duties devolved upon the kings of Lanuvium, Tusculum and Bovillæ.

But Greece, in this, as in other matters, furnishes the Greece.
most copious material for determining the sacerdotal functions of the king. The sacrificial aspect of the king's position in Homer is very marked in time of war, and recalls the beliefs and practices of the most primitive periods. The general levied animals for the public sacrifice. King Agamemnon offered up victims on behalf of the assembled host, before a battle or at a funeral.² He observed the flight of birds or other signs. The tent of the general or commander-in-chief is the centre not only for war councils and other deliberations, but also for public sacrifice. Here

¹ The power of the religious sentiment as a factor in the influence of the barbarian or savage chief finds an apt illustration in the results of missionary enterprise. Unless a chief converted to Christianity carries his subjects with him his power is almost always destroyed.

² *Iliad* iii. 271-275, 292-296; xix. 191, 198, 250-268. Cf. xxiii. 166-183; *Odys.* iii. 36-50, 378-394; xxiv. 481-494. The passages in *Iliad* i. 458, 474, might be cited in opposition to this view because the sacrifice is celebrated by a priest. It must be remembered, however, that it is a family affair. So too in India. Leist, *Græco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 124; and Scandinavia, Robiou, *Questions Homériques*, p. 91.

omens were taken. Here the victims were slaughtered and their entrails inspected.

The kingly sacrifice an evolution of the household sacrifice.

At this point a brief digression may be allowed in order to observe that the sacerdotal functions are ultimately traceable to the domestic sacrifice performed by the father in a Greek or Italian family, for, as has already been seen, what the father is in the household, namely, the natural protector of the interests of the family and its representative before heaven, such is the king in the household of the community. The householder offered up the daily sacrifice with his wife, children and slaves gathered round him. The family hearth is the family altar, their patron goddess is the hoary Vesta or Hestia.

Public worship.

The eternal flame at Athens.

The same features are reproduced in the sacred offices held by the king. This is indicated by several terms in Greek and Latin which are associated with the maintenance of public worship on behalf of the state. At Athens the eternal flame was kept burning in the *πρυτανεῖον*, a term which bears a clear connection with the institution of the king. For a passage in Suidas¹ goes to prove that the word *πρύτανις* in the time of an old chronicler (*λογογράφος*) was applied to the Spartan kings. Its derivation points in the same direction, attesting its association with the king. For there can be no doubt that it contains the same root as the Sanskrit *prathāma*, "first," the Greek *πρόμος*, "foremost man," *πρώτος*, "first" and the Latin *primus*, "first."²

To return to the *πρυτανεῖον*, it may be safely concluded that originally the centre of worship was the king's tent. It was consecrated to *Ἑστία*, the goddess of the hearth.³ There the perpetual flame was kept alight. Thence in historic times colonists, on going to seek their fortunes in other climes, conveyed fire for the hearths of their new home.⁴

¹ Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* iii. c. 9, § 1.

² The Aeolic form is *πρότανις*. Cf. Curtius, *Gr. Etym.*, § 380.

³ Pindar, N. ii. 1.

⁴ Theseus in combining the several townships of Athens (see p. 299) established a common *πρυτανεῖον*. *Thuc.* ii. 15.

The reader need hardly be reminded that a similar institution existed at Rome. In Rome. The royal castle (*regia domus*) was used for religious purposes. It was situated on the Sacred Way, which led through the Forum.¹ It was associated with King Numa, the religious reformer and pre-eminent saint of the Roman Calendar. Here the sacrifices were held. Here the *pontifex* resided and the priests met in solemn conference, while in the temple of Vesta hard by, the *ignis foci publici sempiternus*, "the eternal fire of the public hearth," was watched by the Vestal Virgins without intermission. The poet Ovid has sung of the hallowed associations of the spot:—

hæc est a sacris quæ via nomen habet ;
hic locus est Vestæ, qui Pallada servat et ignem ;
hic fuit antiquæ regie parva Numæ.²

The kings were expelled, but the fire continued to burn. After their abolition the sacred flame of Vesta and the Vestal Virgins continued. The sacrificial duties were maintained, and the term *rex* preserved in the title *rex sacrificulus*, or "high priest."

It is not surprising that the special solemnity which attended the sacrificial duties attaching to the kingly position tended to throw power into the hands of the holder of the office. They conspired to invest him with a halo of supernatural sanctity. But the king did not owe his sacred character to this consideration alone.

The kingly power is of divine origin.

The kingdom, like the family, is a divine institution. The king is sprung of the race of Zeus, *διογενής*.³ Not that the epithet implied actual descent, but it suggested that the king

¹ The remains of the *Regia* or *Domus publica*, as it was also called, have been unearthed between the temples of Vesta and Faustina in the Forum.

² *Tristia* iii. 1, 30. "This is the way which takes its name from the solemnities (*Sacra Via*). Here is the seat of Vesta, which guards Pallas and the eternal flame; here stood the little palace of old Numa." Cf. *Fasti*. vi. 264. The remains of the temple of Vesta were discovered in 1884.

³ ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, Hesiod, *Theog.* 96.

was ordained and upheld by that god. He is nurtured by him, *διοτρεφής*.¹ He is, therefore, learned in the interpretation of the counsel and oracles of the Olympians, *θεῶν ἄπο μῆδεα εἰδώς*.²

The sceptre and its significance.

The emblem of a warrior king.

Neither were the insignia of royalty, rude as they were in early days, devoid of significance. Under the influence of the Eastern empires the regalia increased in variety, but in the first instance they were at once few in number and of the simplest character. The sceptre, the solitary symbol borne by the Homeric kings,³ is interesting, because it affords an insight into the origin of the kingly office, and also the views entertained towards it. The primary meaning of the word *σκήπτρον* is "staff,"⁴ and it retains the meaning in Homer side by side with the meaning of "sceptre." A beggar carries a *σκήπτρον* as well as a king. But we must entirely dissociate in our minds the Homeric staff or wand from the short and decorated sceptre of the East, or its lineal representative in modern Europe. Rather, the early sceptre was a lance or spear. This takes back our thoughts to the warrior kings, and in matter of fact various writers bear direct testimony to that effect. We have it on the authority of Justin⁵ that the early Roman kings used to carry a spear (*hasta*).⁶

Its magical power.

Further, it is clear that the sceptre was credited with magical properties, and in consequence was regarded with superstitious reverence. Had not Agamemnon received his sceptre from the hands of Zeus himself?⁷ It was a vivid and imposing expression as well as the instrument of his power.⁸ The historian and antiquarian Pausanias informs

Od. iii. 480. Cf. iv. 184, 569.

² vi. 12.

³ They are described as *σκηπτούχοι*.

⁴ Cf. *σκηπάνιον*, Albanian *škop*, Latin *scamnum*.

⁵ xliii. 3. Per ea adhuc tempora reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Graeci sceptrata dixere. Cf. Bucholz, *Die hom. Realien* iii. (1), p. 9.

⁶ All this recalls a martial age and the warlike purpose for which the kingly power was originated.

⁷ *Iliad* i. 38, 97.

⁸ *Iliad* ii. 46, 85, 6, 101-7, 185, 6.

us that Agamemnon's sceptre was at Chæronea an object of worship.¹

It stands to reason that one entrusted with so solemn a duty as the performance of public sacrifice, and equipped with so sacred an emblem as the sceptre was placed in an exceptional position for impressing the imagination of a primitive people. The result was that the person of the king was regarded as sacred and inviolable, and an offence against him or one of his blood was a heinous offence in the sight of gods and men:—

δεινὸν δὲ γένος βασιληϊὸν ἔστιν
κτείνειν.²

Sacrosanctity of the king's person.

If in times of peace the royal person suffered detriment, the offence could be summarily dealt with; if in the field anyone raised his hand against him the king could peremptorily order the execution of the offender. Even criticism of his acts is considered reprehensible.

There remains for consideration another office which the king had to discharge as the head of the community. He presided at public trials. But as the judicial functions of the king and his assessors call for special notice, they will be treated elsewhere in greater detail. Meanwhile, it may be observed that this was one of his original duties. This is evident from Italian sources, which, however, do not afford a picture of the king so sharp in outline and so explicit and vivid in detail as do the poems of Homer. In Italy he possessed judicial powers; for in war as in peace he was accompanied by the "messengers" or *lictors*—a symbol of his power to inflict the death penalty. He sat in judgment in all private and criminal suits; he could even doom a burgess to slavery or to banishment.³

The third function of a king: he is a judge.

Italy.

Hardly less power resided in the hands of his counterpart in Greece. He likewise has the power of judging, and is

Homeric Greece.

¹ τούτο οὖν τὸ σκήπτρον σέβουσι δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες, ix. 40, 6.

² *Odys.* xvi. 401, "It is a fearful thing to slay one of the race of kings."

³ Tanaquil as reported in Livy i. 11 and 40 promises *jura redditorum obiturumque alia regis munia*.

δικασπóλος or θεμιστοπόλος, one who gives dooms (δίκαι) or ordinances (θέμιστες).¹ He has the right of imposing fines, for such is probably the meaning of θέμιστες in a passage in the *Iliad*.² These fines are paid to the king in the capacity of judge. In short, he is the embodiment of judicial power.

His
judicial
powers
evolved
from those
of the
house-
holder.

As to the source from which the judicial power of the king was derived, it may not be doubted that this was directly traceable to his position as protector of the community. Ultimately, however, it should probably be referred to the paternal power, from which, as we saw, his sacrificial functions emanated. The protection which the father, *pater*, πατήρ, *pitar*, ensures to the members of his family, is in like manner guaranteed by the king in the community. He is the guardian of the lives and property of the public, and in that capacity must see that justice is done to all without fear or favour. The whole of the administrative powers of the king, legislative, judicial and executive, only afford another illustration of the truth that the primitive mind recognized no distinction between these three departments of thought.

The king's
power
limited.

From the kingly powers which have hitherto occupied our attention it will be seen that the early king, whether in Greece or Italy, was a powerful personage. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the king enjoyed unlimited power. To some extent the restrictions to which he was bound have been borne in upon our minds, as we traced the history of the king. Whatever sanctity encircled his person in these countries, he owed it not to a belief in his supernatural origin, though courtly chroniclers might weave into his history stories of his superhuman descent, but to the belief that the office which he held enjoyed a supernatural sanction and lay under divine protection.

Procopius
on the
Slavs.

There is extant a passage from Procopius which has a

¹ *Iliad* i. 237; ii. 204; and *Hymn to Demeter* v. 103.

² ix. 156.

bearing upon this point. Speaking of the Slavs he observes:—

τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα, Σκλαβηνοὶ τε καὶ Ἄνται, οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνός, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων αἰεὶ τὰ τε ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται.¹

Yet, on the other hand, there is proof² that the Slavs were governed by kings. The truth is that the discrepancy is only apparent, and the inconsistency will disappear when we bear in mind that supreme power in most Aryan states was vested in the people. The assent of the commonalty was necessary to the validity of a law, and the judicial authority belonged, in theory at least, to the citizens collectively. They were the fountain of honour and the source of power. We are then warranted in supposing that the the Slav, with his characteristic conservatism, retained up to comparatively modern times a dual form of government which had formerly been a recognized principle and a regular institution among races akin to his own.

The popular assembly paramount in the last resort.

The jealousy with which the rights of the community were safe-guarded and limits imposed upon the exercise of power, find expression in a variety of ways. The "blameless king" (*ἀμύμων*), according to the portrait drawn by Homer,³ must be influenced by a desire to promote the welfare of his subjects. But he is not left entirely to his own initiative. There are *θέμιστες*, ordinances, to guide him, and by this standard he can measure himself. He must study τὸ αἴσιμον, "what is right and fitting." He must be mild and gentle towards those whom the gods have entrusted to his care. Under his beneficent rule the people

Tradition guiding principle of the king's administration.

¹ B.G. iii. 14 (quoted by Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 442). "For these nations, both Slavs and Antæ, are not ruled by one man, but live in a democracy from of old. And for this reason their measures, whether expedient or obnoxious, are brought forward for common consultation."

² Cf. p. 305.

³ *Odys.* xix. 109. Afterwards this term became an honorary title like "illustrious." It is even applied to Ægisthus i. 29. It must be remembered, however, that such epithets as *ἀμύμων*, applied to kings in Homer, denoted power rather than merit. Cf. Welcker's *Theognis, Prolegom.*, §§ 9-12; Grote ii. 64, n.

will prosper and the crops flourish. Such are the qualities necessary for an ideal king.¹

But provision must be made against the possible enormities of individuals in power, and the people shrank from lodging inalienable authority in the king's hands. Accordingly the following precautions were employed to check inordinate pretensions and to control the royal prerogative. One restriction lay in the appointment of two kings. This measure betrays the suspicion of unworthy holders of the kingly office, and a desire to guard against any contingency. It is by no means confined to Aryan races. The actuating principle stands out conspicuously at Carthage. That un-Aryan commonwealth preserved two relics of kingship in the office of *Suffetes*. These officials were selected on one day from two distinct families in order that they might be divided by various animosities and mutually enfeebled. But more to the purpose, as belonging to an Aryan community, is the case of Sparta, where the appointment of two kings was part of the constitution of the state. A like prudence doubtless dictated the course of electing two consuls at Rome, from fear of lodging supreme power in the hands of one person who might prove an autocrat and plot to overthrow popular liberties.² But the above-mentioned instances belong more to historic times.

Constitutional checks upon the king.

Assessors.

Usually the same end was secured by associating with the king a certain number of counsellors who might both aid him with their advice and serve as a salutary check upon ambitious schemers. These assessors are in some cases called *βασιλείς*, "kings,"³ in others *ἡγήτορες ἢ δὲ μέδοντες*, "rulers and counsellors."⁴

For the origin of this body of advisers we have to go back

¹ *Odys.* ii. 229.

² The Indian king's assessors bore the significant title of *spāśas*, or "spies."

³ *Odys.* vii. 49, 55; viii. 391; vi. 54; *Iliad* ii. 188.

⁴ From a root *med*, meaning "to measure," "consider." Cf. *μέδομαι*, *meditari*; *μῆδος*, *μήτις*, *μήστωρ*· *μέτρον*, *μήν*.

to the earliest ages. It must be remembered that the kingly office was, generally speaking, elective and the king was only first among equals. The primitive settlement suggests to the mind a picture of the following description. In the centre rose the chief's tent.¹ Around it clustered the dwelling of the chiefs of the clans, of the brotherhoods, and at a later stage, of the tribes. But in process of time the chiefs acquired an official position, for as the community grew in size and importance, a formal council was constituted for the discharge of public business. Under their functions were included the reception of embassies, the discussion of treaties and the administration of justice. Still, the popular assembly is nominally supreme.

The formation of the original settlements.

The beginning of the βουλή or formal council.

So much for the class from which the assessors were drawn. We are led on to inquire into the special qualifications for the office of counsellor, and the observations previously made on the position of the aged² in early society come to our aid. No technical term for this privy council, like βουλή, has yet established itself or won recognition. But in the γέροντες, who are frequently mentioned by Homer, we trace the elements of the future γεροῦσία, which, as we have seen, was a characteristic of Dorian states, and was similar to the *senatus* of Rome. We have seen already the respect cherished or at any rate the growth of respect for age in Homer; the venerable sage becomes the valued counsellor. We meet not only with the terms γέροντες βουλευταί and γερούσιος ὄρκος, the oath which the aged counsellors took, but even γερούσιος οἶνος, the wine that they drank at their common meal, all of which point to the prominence given to the aged in public deliberations.

Of whom composed.

The term γέρων had by the age whose manners are depicted by Homer evidently begun to change its meaning. It does not stand to reason that the γέροντες present in the Greek army at Troy had reached middle life; on the contrary,

¹ Cf. p. 316.

² Ch. xiv., pp. 181—183.

it would seem that Nestor alone had attained to a venerable age. The conclusion forces itself upon the mind, therefore, that by the time of the Homeric period the word had come to denote an office-bearer.¹

The
genesis
and growth
of the
popular
assembly.

The idea of a popular assembly, then, is a fundamental principle of the Aryan mind. It is possible to trace its growth from its slender beginnings. That the *γένος* and *gens*, the *φρατρία* and *curia*, the *φυλή* and *tribus*, were in the habit of meeting together for deliberation has been shown in the description of the buildings where their assemblies were held. But with the lapse of time these smaller gatherings were merged in the larger assemblies to which the people as a whole was convoked, with a view to deciding upon important issues both in peace and war. The unprogressive Macedonians retained this practice, says Curtius:—

“De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus : in pace erat vulgi.”²

Theoretically, therefore, the community itself embodied the idea of a sovereign state.

Italy.

The development of representative government in Italy must in the absence of documentary evidence—for in this, as in other respects, the memorials are scanty—rest rather upon conjecture than historical evidence; but it appears from the evidence at our command that in the first instance the king was appointed by the suffrages of the whole people. The Homeric poems present to view a clear picture of the methods of government in heroic Greece, but they reveal a state of transition, a departure from the primitive methods of an earlier day. The poet's account is interesting rather for the evidence it affords of the encroachment by the king and aristocratic families on the liberties of the people.

Homer.

¹ This development of “old man” into “office-bearer” may be paralleled in other countries: German, *aldermann*; English, *alderman*; Slavonic, *starost*.

² vi. 8, 25. “The army used to investigate matters affecting civil rights, according to the ancient custom of the Macedonians; in time of peace the prerogative belonged to the commons.”

The general assembly in heroic times was called the *ἀγορά*,¹ was convoked by the king, and nominally expected to concur in public measures. It was attended by the soldiers of all ranks in time of war, by the commons in time of peace. Yet, though the populace enjoy the right of being present, they take no part in the public deliberations, and remain passive and acquiescent spectators of the scene. The speaker addresses himself to the chief men. If a commoner interposes he incurs a severe rebuke. He must rest satisfied with expressing assent or dissent by applauding, murmuring² or stamping with his feet.

To review the conclusions to which we have been brought by the facts noticed in this chapter. Throughout the whole web of Aryan government, as contemplated in early Greek or Italian society, runs the antagonism between the native spirit of freedom and the necessity for a centralization of power. Unlike a Menephtah in Egypt, a Nebuchednezzar in Assyria, or a Darius in Persia, or, again, an Alexander of Macedon,³ a product of a later age and mixed blood, and imbued with Eastern ideas, the simple and primitive *rex* of Italy and *βασιλεύς* of Greece was far from aspiring to a universal sovereignty or an unbounded despotism, of which Asia has often been the seat. The reason is not obscure; it lies in the characteristic conceptions of the genesis of the institution of king which prevailed in the East and the West. For the oriental the history of his country went back to an immemorial antiquity, when the gods had walked the earth and wielded earthly sceptres in untroubled stability. A

Summary.

Contrast between East and West.

¹ *ἀγείρειν*, "gather together," "convoke." Like the Latin *forum* it was applied to the "market place" where business was transacted, trade carried on, and public questions debated.

² E.g. *Iliad* i. 50. Cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* c. 11; Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* vii. 21; Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 924, compares the Old Norse *Vápnatak*. The assembly could not without irregularity be convened in the evening. *Odys.* iii. 138. Cf. Cicero, *Phil.* iii. 10, 24, *vespertina senatus consulta*.

³ Post haec Alexander habitum regum Persarum et diadema insolitum antea regibus Macedonicis, velut in leges eorum, quos vicerat, transiret, assumit. Justin. xii. 3; Bucholz i. (1), p. 8; S. Eckhel, *Doctr. numm.* i., p. 235.

Pharaoh or a Xerxes succeeded them, and he also in his turn had a divine mission to fulfil; he surrounded himself with material pomp and circumstance, and received religious homage at the hands of his subjects. His voice was the voice of a god. In the Aryan, on the other hand, the sense of freedom was inherent from the outset. The expulsion of the Roman kings, the overthrow of tyrants in Greece, were expressions of a deep-rooted principle rather than passing phases in the history of the Roman or Greek mind. What we see, then, in Greece and in Italy, so far as the meagre materials enable us to discover them, is this:—The elementary organizations, beginning with the clan, which are democratic in their essence, choose out one man of their own number to rule over them. In some places the choice is limited to a few families. To their representative the community entrusts supreme power, so long as he proves himself equal to the task and faithful to his trust. But he is only first among his fellows. Although supreme in time of war, even to the extent of possessing power of life and death, his authority in time of peace is reduced to slender dimensions. The most prominent personages in the tribe are at his side; they share his authority, assist him with their counsel and curb his ambition. Time passes; the kingly families die out, degenerate or decay, but the abolition or decline of royalty was an injury rather than a service to the cause of popular freedom. The supreme authority in the state or community becomes the monopoly of the noble families, and in some cases the influence of wealth is substituted for the power of blood. The unavoidable result is seen in an aristocracy, exercising power with more or less rigour, oppressing according to their opportunities, and permitting no person, however distinguished, to hold any office unless a member of their own class. The excesses of an oligarchy provoke in its turn a reaction, and a collision ensues. The democratic spirit, so long dormant, reasserts itself, sweeps away political privilege, and the era of democracy in Greece and republicanism in Rome has begun. Such changes as

The Aryan essentially democratic.

Rise and fall of king and aristocracy.

we have here recapitulated are foreshadowed even in the earliest records. Already liberal ideas have begun to spread; the kingly power betrays evidences of decline and the respect for the sanctity of time-honoured institutions is fading away. If we may argue from the analogy presented by other races, and the indirect evidence afforded by the position of the *rex sacrificulus* and *flamen dialis*, or priest of Jupiter, the process of transformation at Rome from monarchy to a republic set in at an early period, but was effected gradually. The tenour of the Roman annals runs thus: the king ceases to be the actual head, becomes a titular sovereign, and finally contents himself with being the ritual head of the state, and a shadow of his former self. The Homeric epics reveal a similar transition, but a less complete reversal of the king's status. The glory of the ancient line of Achæan kings is departing. A tone of sadness pervades even the *Iliad*, probably the earlier of the two Homeric poems, as if the old order was passing away, and the veneration for the kingly office was waning. No longer is the king *διογενής* or *διοτρεφής*; he is *δωροφάγος*—not a descendant of gods but a devourer of gifts.¹ His power has been circumscribed by the noble families. Even the commons venture to sit in his presence, and a Thersites dares raise his voice in opposition. Though, it is true, this demagogue is contemptuously set aside and roughly handled for his pains, both his language and the attitude of his chastiser bear evidence at once that a critical spirit is rising and that it forces itself upon the attention in a manner that accepts no denial. It is with a tone of bitterness, born of rueful experience of a multiplicity of counsels, that Odysseus exclaims:—

Ὀὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,
εἷς βασιλεὺς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.²

¹ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 219, 262. Cf. *δημοβόρος*, "a grinder of the people." *Iliad* i. 231.

² *Iliad* ii. 204. "A multitude of masters is no good thing; let there be one master, one king, to whom the son of Cronos, crooked in counsel, hath granted it."

CHAPTER XXV.

LAW.

Social
disorder in
the earliest
epoch,

and in
early
Greece and
Italy.

WHATEVER the fortunes of the Aryans may have been before they made their appearance on the scene of history, we shall be hazarding no conjecture in assuming that the conditions of their life before they settled in Greece or Italy, and for a long time after their settlement, were troubled and fluctuating. It was a time of agitation and disorder, of strain and distress. As we have already seen, hunger drove the sturdiest of them onward to seek fresh fields, and with the unerring instinct which has guided the races of the North in all ages, they pursued a Southerly direction, where nature offered temptations of various kinds to settle in stable habitations. It was a time, too, when the migratory hordes were compelled to fight for their subsistence and for their very life with the beasts or men whom they found in possession of the territory to which they migrated. Afterwards began the settlement in their new homes. We may not suppose that this task was peacefully accomplished, but rather that the ebb and flow continued. They were constantly engaged in wars of extermination with the previous occupants of the country or in petty or border warfare among themselves. Of the latter Thucydides speaks.¹ The people, he says in effect, were migratory; they readily left their homes when overpowered by numbers, and

¹ i. 2-12

intercourse among each other was unsafe. The richest districts most of all were constantly changing their inhabitants. Even after the Trojan war Greece was still in process of fermentation, and had no time for peaceful growth. The return of the Greeks from the siege of that city, after their long absence, led to many changes; quarrels, too, arose in nearly every city and expulsions ensued. Accordingly a long time elapsed before Greece became finally settled. Such are the conclusions to which the historian was driven by the irresistible logic of facts. It may not be doubted that Italy could tell the same tale of restlessness and unsettlement. Under these conditions a strong, patriotic spirit and a feeling of unity was fostered, which, again, could not fail to produce a respect for authority and order, as affording the only guarantee of security of life, of property, of internal peace and the freedom of the individual. But for any fixed code of laws or harmonized system of jurisprudence we look in vain, and it is still a far cry to the laws of Lycurgus, or the Twelve Tables, of which the style is unambiguous and the directness unquestionable. The same phenomenon which we noticed in discussing the questions of property, and which indeed marks the early stages of human history in general, meets us here, namely, a great indefiniteness. As we saw in the last chapter, political and religious institutions and law also, are in primitive society so inextricably intertwined that it becomes almost impossible to unravel them. The Sanskrit vocabulary furnishes us with examples of this confusion. *Dhárma*, *âgas* and *rna*, which include law, custom and religious rite,¹ show that their respective spheres had not been clearly defined, and that they still overlapped each other. Accordingly in the region of law the gods are constantly invoked and are as constantly interposing to promote (or to pervert) the ends of justice. The blood of the slain cries to heaven for vengeance. Perjury is left to the gods to decide, the purification of the

Respect for authority and order necessary.

Vagueness of early legal conceptions.

Confusion with religion.

¹ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 180.

The discrimination between the human and divine is of a later origin.

guilty becomes a religious question. As time went on, the provinces of religion and law were duly discriminated. *Vindicta* is employed to express the punishment of the offender by heaven, or by a judge, *ultio* to convey the meaning of the gratification of revenge. But these distinctions belong to a much later period, and are the outcome of the accumulated experience of thousands of years.¹

But a further question opens upon us. It is idle to try to fix the precise time or to determine accurately the several steps by which these distinctions were drawn. That at a very early period, perhaps even before the separation of the Aryan races, legal terms assumed a religious garb, is evident from what has been said previously. But whether primitive law was associated with religion, for example, whether it was placed under the patronage of tutelary divinities, does not appear, and the difficulties that beset such a theory are not slight. The very opposite, indeed, appears to be the truth. The fact is, that the early gods, such as those which appear in the Vedas,² who represent, as will be seen later, the phases or personified powers of nature, possess no ethical characteristics, or, if they possess any, these are of a superficial character. The god is powerful and mighty, it is true; he can be a friend, he may be propitiated by prayers or even brought under a spell. But as yet the gods are not described as favouring well-doing or frowning upon misdemeanour.

It probably dates from the rise of a priesthood.

Insignificance of the priesthood in early times.

It would appear, therefore, that the religious aspect of law was emphasized, if not originated, by means of the ascendancy of a priesthood, and this class only acquired an importance in the social fabric at a comparatively late period. Among the lower races generally and proportionately among those, like the Aryans, who stood once on a low level

¹ The plays of Æschylus are peculiarly rich in expressions of the religious aspect of justice. Cf. for example such words as *θεομυσίης*, *Eum.* 40.

² Schrader, *Reallex.* 660; Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, 659.

of civilization, the priesthood is far from being an important institution. In a stage of social sentiment where there are no temples, the necessity for the existence of a priesthood does not arise, and such a state of society the Aryans must have presented. It is not uncommon to find, for instance, that races which are in other respects progressive enough, are yet backward in the matter of religious ritual. Agriculture may be practised, abodes may be permanently fixed, but sacred buildings and attendants upon them may still be unknown. The origin of the priesthood in primitive society must be sought elsewhere. It would appear that special proficiency as sorcerers and diviners in those days marked men out for the performance of sacred functions. The medicine or mystery man glided into the priest.

To the state of civilization here outlined the condition of ^{Greece.} the early Greeks and Italians in a large measure corresponded. The tradition ran, that the oldest inhabitants of Hellas, the Pelasgians, had no names for their gods and inquired of the oracle at Dodona, the primitive and meteorological farmer's oracle—whether they were to adopt the names which they learnt from the Egyptians.¹ After this manner the early ^{Italy.} Romans worshipped; they had no temples, and their gods and goddesses had neither name nor image. In short, these divinities were nature-powers not endowed with human form.

The position of the priest in the Homeric poems accords ^{Homer.} with the above description. It is clear that in the age described by the poet the priest was an unimportant personage. He stands in the background and the shadow. Ever and anon we catch glimpses of a temple or of a grove to which a priest was attached; the attendant priest or priestess is revered and protected from harm.² Still, there are no organized bodies and the priest of one shrine has no established connection with that of any other.³

¹ Herod. ii. 52.

² *Iliad* v. 76; xvi. 604. *Odyss.* i. 200.

³ The nearest approach to anything in the form of a caste appears in *Iliad* ix. 574 and vi. 300. These passages might be thought to lend colour to the theory, but they are really inconclusive.

Encroach-
ment of
priest on
province of
the house-
holder and
king.

The insignificance of the priest in early ages calls for no abstruse explanation. It has already been shown that the head of the household performed sacrifice on behalf of the family, and this duty was not in early days delegated to an outside official. Further, it was also made clear that the king undertook the fulfilment of certain religious functions on behalf of the public. But in process of time the priesthood rose into importance and encroached upon the prerogatives both of the head of the house and the head of the state.

How
accom-
plished.

The question then arises, how the priests were enabled to acquire so much power, and various reasons may be assigned, each containing an element of truth. It is difficult entirely to acquit priests and soothsayers in early Greece and Italy of the charge of deception.¹ But other influences co-operated in producing or confirming their ascendancy. The increase in the number of duties devolving upon the king, the eventual appropriation of religious offices by the noble orders, the interpretation of signs and omens, which in process of time passed into the charge of the priests, all these causes conspired to throw power into their hands; the monopoly, however, was not won without a struggle, and the pages of Homer afford occasional glimpses of resistance being offered to sacerdotal aggression.² But whatever part the priest may have played, and whatever the influence he may have wielded in imparting a religious complexion to legal institutions, it is certain that law in

¹ Æschylus, *Agam.* 1196; Sophocles, *O.T.* 475; Eurip., *Iphig. in Aulis*, 520; *Electra*, 400. Cf. *Iliad* xxiv. 220.

² This circumstance constituted an essential difference between the Greek and the Asiatic or Egyptian, who has ever been enslaved to a priestly system. The reasons are not far to seek. First, in the East and in Egypt the priests combined in their own persons various scientific and literary functions, as well as those of a religious nature. They were at once the scientists, the soothsayers, the physicians, the poets and the literary men of the country. Secondly, the Eastern temperament lent itself to imposition and invited dictation. Uniformity and repose were the chief characteristics of the Eastern mind; independence, restlessness and self-assertion of the Greek.

course of time received a divine sanction and became invested with the solemnities of religion. Still, making all allowances for later development in the direction of supernatural sanction, the conclusion is forced upon the mind that the conceptions of right, law, and justice were originally the outcome of social conditions and social requirements alone, and came into existence for reasons utterly unconnected with religion.

There is another preliminary consideration which has to be kept in mind beside the question of the intermingling influences of religion and law at a later time. That is to say, law is an evolution of custom. The undifferentiated Aryans, as has already been seen, had not attained to any abstract conception of law nor even to the rudiments of a legal science—indeed, as a race they displayed little genius for jurisprudence—but at the same time they possessed a substitute for legal systems in traditional customs. The truth is that this supremacy of unwritten custom is by no means confined to the Aryans. The savage is nowhere free; customs, privileges and prohibitions hem him in on every side. Nor must it be supposed that these traditional regulations by which unprogressive races are guided are less stringent because they are unwritten.¹ On the contrary, savages and barbarians are hedged in by a thousand conventions, all of a more or less tyrannical nature, and history testifies that such traditional principles, handed down from father to son and from generation to generation, suffice for communities which are still living on a primitive plane of culture.

Throughout the early development of the Aryan races, so far as the material available admits of our forming an opinion, we discern a gradual trend or tendency, at first vague and undefinable, but gradually gaining in distinctness, by which custom crystallizes and takes shape in law. The result is that, step by step, arbitrary rules are superseded by fixed principles. This gradual transition from unwritten

The origin of law.

Custom becomes law.

¹ Cf. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 445.

Among
Slavs,

Greeks,
Italians
and
Indians.

custom to written law is mirrored in language. Antecedently, in view of the characteristic conservatism of the Slavs, which we have frequently had occasion to notice, it might be surmised that the Slavs would illustrate this line of development. Such actually proves to be the case. The Slavonic *zakonŭ*, from signifying "custom," "use," comes to bear the further signification of law. The same phenomenon presents itself to view in the history of the mental growth of a nation, which is the very antipodes of the Slavonic, that is, the Greek. The word *νόμος*¹ does not occur in Homer, and when it first makes its appearance it bears the meaning of custom. The fuller phrase, *νόμος ἄγραφος*,² was employed by the orators and philosophers of Greece in the sense of the laws of nature or the moral law,³ or with the same meaning as our expression "common law" (i.e. laws of custom).⁴ Even in the time of Draco, the Athenian legislator, *νόμος* had not yet acquired the signification of written law, for his celebrated code is described as consisting of *θεσμοί*, that is, ordinances sanctioned by the gods.⁵ In matter of fact, the use of *νόμος* in the sense of law only dates from the time of Cleisthenes, who removed most of the safeguards against democracy which Solon had instituted.⁶ The truth is *νόμος* is not the only example of the transition of meaning. Under the same category falls the Sanskrit *dhárma*-, which meant first of all "custom," "right," "virtue," "course of conduct," but afterwards acquired the meaning of "law," "prescription," and "law as a system."⁷ But more will

¹ From the root *νεμ*, "to portion out"; hence the idea of regulation, order, custom, and finally law.

² Cf. *ἄγραπτα νόμιμα*, Soph., *Antig.* 454.

³ Cf. Demosth. 317, 23, *τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους ἔθεσι*.

⁴ Plato, *Laws* 793A; Arist., *Rhet.* i. 10, 3, and 13, 2.

⁵ The ordinances of Lycurgus were called *ῥήτραι*, "saws," Tyrtaeus ii. 8; Plut. *Lyc.* 13. See more on this head under *θέμις* below.

⁶ Heraclides Ponticus, *De Rep.*, remarks of the Lycians, *νόμοις οὐ χρώνται ἄλλ' ἔθεσι*. Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 659, compares the Sanskrit *svadhā*, "Eigenart," "gewohnter Zustand."

⁷ Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 175.

have to be said on this point in its proper place.¹ The belief that there exists a close connection between some of the terms which have already come under our observation is further corroborated and derives special significance from the fact that the more precise phraseology which was originated at a later period by several races, in order to express newer and more refined ideas of law, differs in its linguistic structure. No connection can be traced, for example, between the Greek *δίκη* and the Latin *ius*, nor is there any recognizable relation between *νόμος* and *lex*. The explanation is obvious. They are the products of a later age. When legal ideas had diverged and developed differently on Greek, Italian and Indian soil, customary law had passed into an obligatory code.

But in spite of the difference in form some of these words resemble each other in the way that they were adapted to the needs of society, as it grew in Italy and Greece, where voluminous bodies of laws couched in set formularies supplanted the venerable laws of tradition. *Νόμος*, which previously meant merely "order," "custom," now comes to be used for "formal law." The same idea appears also in proper names, as in Numa, the name of the Roman king and legislator,² and in Numitor (*Νεμέτωρ*). The history of the Latin *lex* reveals a like transition. The derivation of this word is merged in considerable uncertainty. It has been connected with the Latin *lego*, "gather."³ According to this view it would suggest a collection of maxims. More probably, however, the idea is the same as that of *οἱ κείμενοι νόμοι*, laws "laid down." In that case it would correspond to the Sanskrit *dhāman*, and the Greek *θέμις* and *θέμιστες*, which come from *τίθημι*. So much on the early history of

Adaptation
of old
words to
new
conditions.

¹ This transition from custom to law is also illustrated in the dialects of the Turco-Tatar tribes. See Vámbéry, *Die Prim. Cultur des Turko-Tatar. Volkes*, p. 138, on *toğa*, *töre* and *jañ*.

² Numa dictum est, ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων. Serv. on Verg., *Æneid* vi. 809.

³ Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, i. (2) 1, p. 134; Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 659.

legal terms. Yet, allowing for the diversity of race, circumstances and usage, the study of law furnishes fresh points in the parallelism which exists between the development of the Greek and Italian races, while India also affords examples of a similar, if not a precisely parallel evolution. But though, as will be seen, the different stages overlap and glide into one another, yet the legal conceptions in both countries exhibit considerable confusion and almost defy discrimination.

Ratio and
κόσμος.

κόσμος.

The earliest and most elementary term which foreshadows the future formation of a legal system is one which connotes the idea of fixity and order. This idea is occasionally conveyed by the Greek word *κόσμος*, as in the *Iliad*,¹ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, "in unruly wise." The allusion is to Ares, and the occasion which called it forth was this. The goddess Hera lodged a complaint with Zeus, her spouse, against the god of war, for having destroyed a "goodly company of Achaians," and characterized his conduct as reckless and "knowing no law."² From this passage it would appear that a god could be guilty of violating this principle of order. But far more frequently the word *θέμις*, as will be seen below, is used in this sense.

Ratio.

To the Greek *κόσμος* the Latin word *ratio* corresponds, but the two words have no etymological connection with each other. Underneath the Latin term also lies the idea of fixity,³ and it bears a comprehensive meaning. The original idea appears in Cicero's philosophical treatises, as, for example, in the *De Natura*, where *ratio* is employed to express the fixed course of the heavenly bodies :

in omni aeternitate ratio immutabilisque cursus.⁴

This is not all. It is used to signify the eternal and

¹ v. 759.

² Cf. 761, ὃς οὐ τινα οἶδε θέμιστα.

³ The root is *ra*, "join," "dispose," "think," "reckon." Cf. *reus*, "accused"; *ratus*, "having thought." See Festus, p. 274, 286.

⁴ ii. 37, 95, "everlastingly fixed and unchangeable." Cf. ii. 20, 51; *Tusc.*, *Disp.* v. 24, 69; *Verr.* ii. 2, 52; *De Divin.* ii. 7.

immutable order of the universe.¹ Afterwards it acquired the sense of reason.² Thus it will be seen that the term *ratio* covers a wide area, but the two central thoughts are the course of law that governed the heavenly bodies and that which gradually grew out of it, namely, the idea of law in relation to human life.

Though unconnected, as regards form, with either of the above terms, in meaning the Sanskrit word *ṛtá-* closely corresponds to them. In some passages of Vedic literature it is employed to express the divisions of time and the agencies that divided these periods, that is, day and night, sun and moon.³ In others it describes the order of human affairs, such as the division of the sexes, the institution of marriage, of property, the home, the king.

The introduction of the next class of words betokens an important advance. But they possess a further significance, inasmuch as a comparison of one of them with the terminology of Indian law suggests that they belong to a common inheritance of thought and are not merely, like *ratio*, *ṛtá-* and *κόσμος* independent creations. The correspondence existing between *θέμις* and *dhárma-* is striking both as regards form and meaning. The root is Sanskrit *dhá*, which also appears in *τίθημι*, "place," "lay."⁴ Under the Sanskrit term *dhárma-* lies the same idea of fixity, stability, order, which we met with in *κόσμος*, *ratio* and *ṛtá* (literally, that which holds its own, which endures). But *dhárma-* embraces the several meanings of law, religion and morality, and no clear line of demarcation is drawn between their several spheres. This is exemplified by the contents of

¹ Cf. *De Senect.* xxi. 77; *De Nat.* ii. 14, 37. See Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, 164; Leist, *Graecoitalische Rechtsgeschichte*, pp. 199, 200.

² Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 66.

³ Leist, *Graecoital. Rechtsgesch.*, 188; *Altar. Jus Gentium*, 344, 346. The same author has pointed out on p. 346 the resemblance that exists between the ideas in some German legal terms and those contained in *ratio* and *ṛtá-*.

⁴ Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 656, who compares the Avestan *dāta-*, "law," and Modern Persian *dād*, "justice."

the *Dharmaçâstra*, or "books of the law," which contain directions and traditional rules relating to each of these three departments of thought and action.

Fas. To return to Western institutions, the corresponding position to that of *dhârma-* in India, is in Italy occupied by *fas* and in Greece by *θέμις*.¹ The etymology of the former is clear. It is traceable to the root *fa*, which is the primary element of such words as *fari*, "speak"; *fabula*, "story"; *fanum*, "shrine"; *fatum*, "expression of the will of the gods," "oracle," "fate"; and many other Latin words are referable to the same head. To this list may be added the Greek *φημί*, "say"; *φήμη*, "report"; *φώνη*, "voice"; and *φάσις*, "information," "accusation."² In this term the religious aspect is most prominent. It suggests a divine decree which is communicated to men by means of seers, oracles and omens. Ultimately the Romans, after their characteristic fashion, widely developed the ritual side of *fas*.

θέμις. The counterpart to this is the Greek *θέμις*. Its linguistic connection with *dhârma-* has already been noticed. Here the primary notion is that of laying down, ordaining, which also lies at the root of *θεσμός*, "an ordinance."³ It covers a part of the ground comprised by the term *ratio*. Accordingly we find it applied to the various relations of human life, as in a line of the *Iliad*, an allusion to the mutual relation of the sexes:—

ἢ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει, ἀνδρῶν ἦδὲ γυναικῶν.⁴

¹ Themis deam putabant esse, quae præciperet hominibus id petere, quod fas esset, eamque id esse existimabant quod et fas est, Festus, p. 367. Prima deum Fas Quae Themis est Graivis, Auson. *Idyll.* 12.

² The latest view is that *fas* is infinitive, *fasi*, abbreviated to *fas*. The idea would come from *ne fasi est*, "One may not mention," i.e. for fear of *δυσφημία*. Or it might be a participle. Cf. Lucilius, "*facta nefantia*," "impious acts." It should be stated that *fas* has also been equated with *θέμις* (see below).

³ Cf. the Old Bactrian *dāmi*, "wisdom." The word *θεσμός* is applied properly to ancient ordinances which have received the divine sanction, and as used in Greek literature exhibits a striking correspondence with *θέμις*. Homer, *Odys.* xxiii. 296, employs it in speaking of the established rites of wedlock, and in a hymn ascribed to him (7, 16) speaks of *θεσμοὶ εἰρήνης*. Cf. Herod. iii. 31, and Liddell and Scott, *in verb.*

⁴ ix. 134, 276, "as is the wont of mankind, even of men and women."

So also in the *Odyssey*, where the subject is filial affection :—

κεῖνος πατέρα προσπύξεται, ἢ θέμις ἐστίν.¹

But even here the aspect is religious rather than social. The union of the sexes and the affection between father and son, it is implied, are divine ordinances. The truth is, that, as a rule, the divine aspect of law is paramount wherever *θέμις* is employed.

The facts hitherto adduced will account for the personification of the divine law among the Greeks, and this embodiment of the conception of divine law in a divine person perfectly accords with the natural temperament of the race. We are struck here by the intrinsic contrast between the Greek and the Roman in this respect. True to his general character² the idealizing Roman naturally shrank from the expression of his deep thoughts in corporeal images or bodily forms and preferred to emphasize the impersonal idea ; he therefore adhered to the abstract word *fas*. The Greek took a different course. Endowed with a facile fancy and ever prone to body forth and personify the conceptions of his mind, he represented the divine law as a goddess and delighted in weaving around her a tissue of beautiful imagery.

Personification of *θέμις*, but not *fas*, characteristic.

The scattered allusions to this goddess in the poets conspire to establish the following conclusions and to convey the following idea of her personality. The daughter of one of the primeval gods, Ouranos, that is, the all-embracing heaven³ and his consort, Ge, or earth,⁴ the benign goddess who dispenses her genial gifts in due season, Themis—so ran the story—became the wife of Zeus, and gave birth to the Horai, or Hours, the seasons of the year in their natural order and regular succession. As such, she was privileged

The goddess Themis.

¹ xi. 450, "he shall embrace his sire, as is meet."

² Cf. Ch. ii., p. 23.

³ Cf. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, on the Indian Varuna, 203.

⁴ Such is the account given by Hesiod. Elsewhere she is identified with the goddess Ge.

to share the intimate counsels of her spouse, the king of the Olympian deities. Moreover, she was associated with the oracle at Delphi¹ and consequently figures as a prophetic deity. The drift of the passages in which her character and prerogatives are portrayed serves to show that she is a deity of primeval antiquity. Under her tutelage are placed custom, law and equity, and in this character she not only convokes the august assemblies of the gods but reigns in the councils of mortal men.²

To her therefore Telemachus appeals in the assembly:—

Λίσσομαι ἡμὲν Ζητῆος Ὀλυμπίου ἠδὲ Θέμιστος,
Ἥ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἡμὲν λύει ἠδὲ καθίζει.³

δίκη and
ἴσις.

Derivation
of δίκη.

Meanwhile, another tendency was beginning to manifest itself, namely, the development of a secular or human law, as distinct from the decrees of heaven. This spirit expressed itself in Greek by means of the word *δίκη*. This term is clearly derived from the root *dic*, one of the component elements of such words as the Greek *δείκνυμι*, “point out,” “show”; Latin, *dīco*, “say”; German, *zeigen*, “show”; the termination of the Latin *iudex*, “judge,” and a series of terms like *dicio*, “the right to speak or command,” “jurisdiction,” and *condicio*, “an agreement,” “terms.”⁴ Originally, therefore, it signified “direction,” “an instruction,” “a custom.”

Transition
of
meaning.

Such phrases as the Homeric *δίκη βασιλῆων*,⁵ or *θεῶν*,⁶ the “custom of kings,” or “gods,” retain traces of the earlier usage. Afterwards *δίκη* gradually gained the signification of law, but in Homer the word appears to be passing through the transition stage, as witness the following lines. The poet is describing his visit to the infernal regions, where

¹ Pausan. x. 583; Serv. on Vergil, *Æneid* iv. 246.

² *Iliad* xx. 4.

³ *Odyss.* ii. 68. “I pray you by Olympian Zeus and by Themis, who looseth and gathereth the meetings of men.”—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

⁴ Cf. the Sanskrit root *dic*, and the Latin *dictio*.

⁵ *Odyss.* iv. 691.

⁶ xix. 43. *Æschylus* often uses the word in the old sense of “like.”

Minos continues to exercise the functions which brought him great glory on earth:—

Ἐνθ' ἦτοι Μίνωα ἴδον, Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱὸν,
Χρύσειον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσιν,
Ἥμενον' οἱ δέ μιν ἀμφὶ δίκας εἴροντο ἄνακτα,
Ἥμενοι ἑσταότες τε κατ' εὐρυπυλῆς Ἀΐδος δῶ.¹

This passage offers to view two terms, *θεμιστεύειν* and *δίκη*, which properly represent respectively the sacred and the secular side of law, but are here practically synonymous. The fact is, these two conceptions of law, the religious and the secular, after being once joined together were never completely divorced; the thought of such a severance would have been foreign to a Greek mind, so imbued with a sense of human dependence on divine government, so accustomed to place human institutions under the protection of the gods.

The testimony of mythology is pertinent here as in the case of *θέμις*. For it affords evidence of the close connection that exists between *θέμις* and *δίκη*, while at the same time it bears witness to the later development of the human institution of law.

The
goddess
Δίκη.

The goddess *Δίκη* occupies a subordinate position, as befitted a more recent creation. Unlike *Θέμις*, she is not one of the inner circle, if we may so say, or of the loftier rank of primeval deities, but a child of Zeus. Hesiod thus describes her office:—

Her
functions

ὅπῳταν τίς μιν βλάβητι σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων,
αὐτίκα παρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι
γῆρύετ' ἀνθρώπων ἀδικον νόον, ὄφρ' ἀποτίσῃ.²

While reading these lines we are evidently in the presence of a goddess less ancient, less august than the hoary Themis,

and
character.

¹ *Odys.* xi. 568. "There then I saw Minos, glorious son of Zeus, wielding a golden sceptre, giving sentence from his throne to the dead, while they sat and stood around the prince, asking his dooms through the wide-gated house of Hades."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

² *Works and Days*, 256. "Whenever anyone injures her, unrighteously disparaging, straightway sitting beside her father, Zeus, the son of Cronos, she exclaims upon the unjust thought of men, that he may pay back to them their injustice."

the representative and incarnation of divine law. Indeed, even in Homer we begin to discern an antithesis between the decrees of gods represented by the one, and the enactments of men represented by the other. The history of Latin legislation exhibits a similar correspondence. There also an opposition is noticeable, as appears in the contrast between the terms *ius* and *fas*. The derivation of *ius* is not easy to ascertain. It has been connected with the root *ju*, "to bind"; *jungo*, "join"; ζεύγνυμι, "join," "yoke." If this supposition be correct it may present a parallel to the word *lex*.¹ But probability points in another direction, that is, to the idea of purification. Dr. Schrader has suggested² with much plausibility that the original thought lurking in the word is that which survives in *iurare*, "to take an oath," "swear." Underneath the term *iurare* lies the conception of clearance from guilt.³ The transition of meaning of *ius* would then be by the following steps: purity, a means of obtaining purification, an oath in legal procedure, and finally law in the abstract sense.

¹ But see p. 335.

² *Reallex.*, p. 657.

³ For the form Schrader compares the Avestan *yaos*, "clean," and Sanskrit *yōs*, "sound"; for the transition, the Swedish *lag*, "oath," "law."

CHAPTER XXVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THE observance of some method of law and administration of justice, whether in the form of primitive and traditional custom or in a more definite shape, is, as we have seen, an essential element in well-ordered society. The absence of such observances argues a backward and unprogressive condition, and distinguishes the uncivilized from the civilized community. To the Greek mind, indifference to "dooms" and "ordinances of law" stamped the Cyclopes as being outside the pale of civilized mankind. These giants were a morose and froward race, living far from their fellows, on the outskirts of the civilized world,¹ and we are left to infer that their ignorance of assemblies marks them off as barbaric. They are *ἀθέμιστοι*, "lawless"; they know neither judgment (*δίκαι*) nor justice (*θέμιστες*), nor "gatherings of council" (*ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι*).²

But the terms law and justice imply settled forms of legislation, and in using them we are to some extent anticipating the system that obtained in later days. The truth is, the remark concerning the vagueness of early law and its wavering terminology is equally applicable to the administration of justice. It has been already observed that law was evolved out of custom, or, in other words, that law is custom become obligatory. "Primitive societies have traditionary codes followed by general consent and

Law and justice are a mark of civilization.

The indefiniteness of early law and of its interpretation.

¹ Cf. Ch. x., p. 124; xxiii., p. 306; and xxviii., p. 395.

² *Odyss.* ix. 106, 215, 112.

Law is custom become obligatory.

Its vagueness.

The definition of terms later.

long acknowledged customs, which are believed to be the customs of the ancestors.”¹ The indefiniteness of terms relating to the administration of justice in the earliest epoch of all appears in a variety of ways. Accustomed as we are in modern days to subtle distinctions, to a rigorous analysis of the offender’s motives, to minute investigations of circumstantial evidence of guilt and of grounds for extenuation, we might be apt to look in a prehistoric age for the elaborate methods of our time. But we should be mistaken. It is true that in the legal systems of historic Greece and Rome, which have been handed down to modern Europe and still form the basis and staple of the jurisprudence of our day, such points were acutely argued and clearly differentiated. Degrees of guilt were then distinguished with scientific precision, but the ancestors of both Greek and Roman drew no sharp lines of demarcation and were conscious of no shades of distinction between the various degrees of criminality. So much is evident, but the terminology employed to describe the crime of murder is gradually gaining in clearness, and in course of time the differentiation between the various degrees of this offence finds expression in the diversity of terms which were beginning to be used even at an early period. Thus the verb *φονεύω*, “murder,” does not exist in Homer, but only *κτείνω*, *κτείννυμι*, “kill,” a word which seems to bear a recognizable relation to the Sanskrit *kshanōti*, “he injures,” “wounds.” Again, the Latin *cædes* and the series of words to which it belongs, like *occidere* and *homicidium*, imply² a violent exercise of force by the assailant on the person or body of the victim, whereas *necare*³ indicates a murder perpetrated in any way whatsoever.⁴ There remains another group of expressions, like *interimere* and *interficere*. It has been pointed out⁵ that the

¹ See J. H. Stone, *Notes on the Hist. of Anc. Institutions*, p. 12.

² Schrader, *Realex.*, 555.

³ Connected with the Greek *νεκρός*, “dead”; *νέκυσ*, “corpse.”

⁴ Festus, ed. Müller, p. 148.

⁵ Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 612.

prefix *inter*, "between," shows that this term was in the strict sense applied to a hand-to-hand fight or scuffle which terminates fatally. Yet again, this indefiniteness in the use of terms receives further illustration from the severity of early codes of law, and the uniformity of the punishments indiscriminately meted out to crime. But these general features of the legal conceptions of early days will become clearer if we single out one instance for our consideration—the offence of homicide. The opinion held concerning this offence affords an interesting illustration and a strong confirmation of the view previously enunciated, that originally law and custom were evolved independently and were not in the first instance associated with religion. The truth is, murder itself was not viewed as an act entailing pollution, nor, indeed, as a moral offence at all. Even in the Homeric poems men are found who readily avow the murder of a fellow-man, and apparently the announcement awakens in the hearer no feeling of horror or revolt against impiety. The *Odyssey* furnishes an instructive instance.¹ It is an avowal by Odysseus on his return to his native country. This man had turned outlaw for the slaughter of Orsilochus in Crete, who was famous for his fleetness of foot, and had landed in Ithaca. He does not shrink from giving a detailed account of the manner in which the deed was done. As his victim came home from the field, he lay in ambush at dead of night and slew him. But he knew that thenceforward he carried his life in his hand. Accordingly he bribed a Phœnician skipper, took ship, and effected his escape from the country. The circumstance that Odysseus is inventing the story, in order to disguise his identity, does not at all invalidate the testimony it gives to the attitude assumed towards homicide by early society in Greece. Did the narrative need confirmation, it would be supplied by the reception accorded by Telemachus to Theoclymenus,² who, though himself a seer,

The severity and uniformity of early laws and its causes.

The above points illustrated from homicide.

Murder not a religious or moral offence.

¹ xiii. 256.

² *Odys.* xv. 222, 273 ff. See Ch. xxi., p. 296.

had slain a man at Argos. The above descriptions find further corroboration in the fact that Homer makes no mention of Zeus the purifier.¹ In reality the ceremonies of cleansing from the stain of murder belong to a later age. They are first alluded to in the *Æthiopis*. It is not the least likely supposition that the introduction of them was coincident with the rise and ascendancy of the priesthood at the Delphic sanctuary, and Dr. Schrader's suggestion that the nature of these purificatory rites suggests an Eastern source,² carries conviction to the mind. But neither must it be supposed that the priesthood were actuated merely by selfish motives, with a view to self-aggrandisement, in investing law with a religious character. On the contrary, the change they introduced was calculated to temper and elevate the methods of the administration of law. Under the old dispensation the Moirai or Fates are austere, pitiless and unrelenting.³ But the accession of Apollo and the humanizing influence of the Delphic Oracle, of which the priests were presidents, inaugurated a new era, and redounded to the benefit of society at large. So much on the nature of the first formations of law. It is not necessary to labour this point, and we may content ourselves with illustrating from the case of homicide the gradual growth of legal principles and legal practice.

In the first place, it is necessary to bear in mind the theory established at the outset, that as among rude races at the present day, so in early Greece and Italy no system of public punishment obtained. The duty of exacting vengeance devolved on the individual injured or the next of kin. Yet it was not entirely a private or family concern, for the obligation on the part of the person or family aggrieved to

The introduction of purificatory ceremonies.

Influence of Delphi.

The obligation to avenge murder or require compensation.

¹ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, 557; and Stengel, *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*, p. 107.

² Herod. i. 35, says that the Greek rites resembled the Lydian.

³ The *Eumenides* of Æschylus illustrates the harshness of the old regime and the beneficent results of the innovations instituted by the reign of new gods. See, on the one hand, lines 171, 172, 724, 728, 961; on the other, 150-153, 162, 163, 615, 621.

exact revenge or reparation was recognized and enforced by the clan, the brotherhood or the tribe.¹ The consequence is that from time to time in the course of human history, desolating feuds have arisen between family and family, between clan and clan, leading in some cases to the total annihilation of one or other party to the conflict.

The custom of leaving the victim of any outrage or his kinsmen to require justice at the hands of his adversary on pain of forfeiting the respect of the family or clan, or even of imperilling his civic rights, dates from a very early time and has prevailed in many parts of the globe. To enumerate the instances in point would be an endless task.² The animating principle is obvious. So long as society remained at this level of civilization its organization was loose, and since there was as yet no central authority to provide for the execution of the unwritten laws or traditionary rules which had been hallowed by time and handed down from generation to generation, it rested with individual members to discharge the duty single-handed. The influence of such a system was on the whole beneficial. Although it was of a primitive character and admitted of abuse, supposing that the injured man indulged his passion for revenge and glutted his ferocity too far, on the other hand it tended to discourage crime, and, in consequence, was a means of protecting society. Moreover, the danger of the injured party exceeding his commission and allowing his hatred to outrun his sense of justice was obviated as the world grew in wisdom and culture. Society now intervened to prevent abuse.

A wide-spread custom.

The underlying principle and its influence.

From what has been said it will be seen that the murderer had everything to fear, and punishment threatened him from

¹ See Ch. xxii. 291, 295.

² The usage is world-wide. See A. H. Post, *Familienrecht*, 113-135; *Die Anfänge*, 172-196; *Die Geschlechtsgenossenschaft*, 155; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 468, 470.

Posthumous
wrath of
the victim.

The
Erinyes.

μασχαλίζειν.

more than one quarter. The victim of the outrage, even though he lay in the throes of death, retained the power to inflict punishment of an appalling character.¹ He could bring down upon his murderer a curse that would haunt him to his dying day. Such an imprecation was fraught with horror to the ancient mind, and with good reason, for it conjured up the terrible Erinyes (*Ἐρινύες*),² who hunted down the flying manslayer. The terrors that followed in their train are a familiar feature of the Homeric poems, and they were often represented, especially by Æschylus, as black-robed women with snaky tresses instead of hair. Whatever view may be taken of this blighting superstition, whether or not the sacred trinity of Erinyes are to be regarded simply as a symbol of the scourging of a guilty conscience which attends acts of impiety, or, as is more probable, they were developments in the popular imagination of the angry souls of those that were dead and gone, these avengers of blood played a prominent part in the early mythology of Greece, in visiting upon the offender the penalty of violating the sacred duties of humanity.³ The name *ἀλάστορες*, which, from signifying originally the perpetrator of a misdeed, which is destined never to pass into oblivion (as if *ὁ ἀλαστα δεδρακώς*), was transferred to these avenging furies.⁴ But other names were applied to them also; *ἄτη*, *μιάστορες*, and *ἀραι*⁵ are among the number; and all of them express the rancorous hate and unrelenting fury with which the guilty wretch was pursued and goaded to madness by these accredited agents of heaven. The terror inspired by the thought of these remorseless avengers haunting the murderer explains the singular superstition called *μασχαλίζειν*, to which the offender resorted in the hope of allaying their vengeance or lulling to

¹ Cf. Plato, *Laws* 873E, on the disquiet of the soul of the departed.

² See Ch. xi., p. 126.

³ *Iliad* ix. 571. Cf. 454; *Odys.* ii. 135; xi. 280; xvii. 475; *Iliad* xv. 204.

⁴ Cf. the Old Indian *raddhar*.

⁵ Æschylus, *Eum.*, 417.

sleep the disquiet¹ of the dead. The murderer cut off the extremities of the victim's corpse and placed them under his armpits (*μασχάλη*) or hung them around his neck,² in the belief that by so doing he would avert vengeance and rid himself of the consequences of his crime.³ But such precautions could not afford peace to the soul of the departed, nor bring rest to the perpetrator of the deed. Only purification at the shrine of Delphi could restore safety to the body and tranquillity to the soul of the latter. And here lies one of the proofs of the salutary influence exercised by the Delphic oracle, the mouth-piece of the god Apollo, in assuaging human passions and fostering the spirit of pacification. The intervention of this deity accordingly could not fail to mitigate misery, to humanize the system of punishment, and to lessen the frequency of the crime of murder. Whatever, therefore, may have been the motives of the priesthood in investing the law with a divine sanction, distinct advantages accrued to society from the innovation.

The
Delphic
Apollo a
refuge.

But the vengeance of the furies was not the only punishment that was apprehended. The nearest of kin was in duty bound to render honour to the dead. Accordingly he was obliged to carry himself, or direct another to carry, a spear at the head of the funeral procession. The weapon was fixed on the grave of the departed and watched for three days.⁴ Were he not stimulated by natural impulses of

Vengeance
exactd by
kinsmen or
ἀγχιστεῖς,

¹ Cf. *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*.

² The name Semnai, "august ones," and Eumenides, "well disposed." The latter, a title bestowed in Sikyon and Argos, is an euphemism—a common characteristic of the Greek mind. This mild form of address was thought to have a mollifying effect upon these dread goddesses. Æschylus's play, *The Eumenides*, attests their forbidding character. Cf. *μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων* 321, and 313, 395, 479, 711.

³ Miklosich, *Die Blutrache bei den Slaven*, 127, refers to a similar practice in Montenegro.

⁴ It is noteworthy that the defilement resulting upon a death only affected the kinsmen. Cf. Dem. *in Macart.* 1071. The spear was a symbol of the pursuit of the murderer. Cf. Dem. *in Euerget.* 1160, and Eurip. *Troad.* 1137. H. E. Seebohm, *Greek Tribal Society*, p. 42.

honour and obligation, he was bound by public opinion to demand reparation, on pain of incurring the scorn of his clansmen and even of excommunication from their pale.¹ Nor can it be doubted that, in the absence of a system of public administration of justice, the provision acted beneficially.² The obligation rested on a brother,³ but especially on a son. Orestes won wide renown for his dutiful performance of this office in avenging the treacherous murder of Agamemnon. The Latin *parentare*, meaning to appease the *manes* or spirits of the departed by the offering of a sacrifice or a human life, preserves the trace of the same usage. We shall probably be right in concluding that this term first applied to the avenging of parents, but in course of time it was extended to include other degrees of relationship. In the absence of a public tribunal the kinsman took upon himself the functions of judge and executioner, and he might proceed to exact summary vengeance on the spot. Even in the heat of battle the duty must not be forgotten.⁴ But the early records of Greece and Italy afford evidence that society sanctioned two methods of obtaining satisfaction at the hands of the guilty party. The first method, namely, retaliation in kind, appears to have prevailed in certain stages of development, not only in Europe, but all over the world. The Greek proverb *δράσαντι παθεῖν* is an expressive survival of martial times in which rough and ready methods of demanding compensation were resorted to. Such were in harmony with the wants and wishes of that age and at the same time attested the immature ideas that obtained. Of this custom of exacting like for like in the case of bodily injuries ample testimony survives in the writings of Greek authors and lawgivers. Aristotle speaks

especially
a son or
brother.

Two
methods of
obtaining
reparation.

*Lex
talionis*,
or
retaliation
in kind.

Greece.

¹ *Odyss.* xxiv. 433, expresses this sentiment forcibly. Cf. Dasant, *The Story of Burnt Njal* xxix., xxx., xxxii., cxlii., clxxxviii.; Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, 384, 410.

² Cf. Ch. xxii., p. 292.

³ As in *Odyss.* xvi. 97.

⁴ *Odyss.* xi. 431.

of this Rhadamanthine justice¹ in the Nicomachæan Ethics:—

εἴ κε πάθοι τά κ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεία γένοιτο.²

The principle was embodied, too, in the legal codes of early Greece. The laws of Zaleucus contained a provision to the following effect:—*εάν τις ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκόψῃ, ἀντεκκόψαι παρασχεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ*, “if anyone gouge out an eye, he shall submit to have his own eye gouged out in return,”³ and the Pythagorean school of philosophers had lent their countenance to this primitive law of retaliation. But it is especially characteristic of Roman law. Such is the enactment contained in the Twelve Tables. Festus,⁴ quoting Verrius, supplies the following formula. *Si membrum rupit, ni cum eo pacit, talio esto.* “If he has torn a limb, unless he comes to an agreement, there shall be retaliation.” The antiquarian adds the significant comment, “neque id, quid significet, indicat, puto, quia notum est. Permittit enim lex parem vindictam;” “and he does not point out its meaning, presumably, because it is known; for the law allows retaliation.”

The same principle operated in cases of murder; life was required for life, and blood called for blood.⁵ The fear of death frequently forced the murderer to seek flight and he went into perpetual exile, no small punishment to a Greek or a Roman, since it cut him off from all that he held dear, all

Flight and banishment of murderers.

¹ The expression “Rhadamanthine rule” in the passage was taken from the name of Rhadamanthus, a brother of King Minos of Crete (*Iliad* xiv. 322). Renowned for his justice on earth he became a judge in the lower world. *Odyss.* iv. 564; vii. 323; Pind., *Ol.* ii. 137; Apollod. iii. 1, 82.

² v. 5, 3, “To suffer that which thou hast done is just.” The line is attributed to Hesiod, but the authorship is uncertain.

³ Demosth., *Timocr.*, p. 744.

⁴ p. 363, Müller. Cf. Arist., *Metaph.* i., v. 816.

⁵ Cf. Exodus xxi. 24, and the Mosaic code, Levit. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21; Eur., *Elect.* 858, αἷμα δ' αἵματος μικρὸς δανεισμός ἦλθε τῷ θανάτῳ. Plato, *Laws* xi., pp. 156, 157, πρὶν φόνον φόνῳ ὁμοίῳ ὁμοιον ἢ δράσασα ψυχὴ τίσση. Ovid, *Met.* viii. 483, mors morte pianda est. Cæsar, *De B. G.* iv. 16 (on the Gauls), pro hominis vita nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur.

Right of
asylum.

Compo-
sitions
supersede
retaliation.

Instances
of fines in
various
countries.

that made life worth living. He returned at his peril.¹ But another alternative presented itself; he might also seek refuge at the altar,² where he could not be slain without contaminating the sanctuary, and might obtain purification.³ Such was the practice of wreaking vengeance that obtained in the early stages of social sentiment. But with the advance of civilization, and the spread of humaner ideas, the severity of the earlier usages was softened by the introduction of the imposition of fines. Yet no ransom could buy off the culprit or purge the guilt of one who murdered a fellow tribesman or a fellow citizen.⁴ For such an offence the choice lay between death and (a sentence hardly less terrible) perpetual exile.⁵

The substitution of fines for retaliation in kind, needless to say, marks an important advance in social evolution and it is not a little significant that it occurs in the early history of many nations of Aryan blood. The Welsh *galanas* and the Teutonic *Wehrgeld* are familiar features of the laws of Celtic and Saxon Britain. Under the same category falls the Indian usage, for which the *Maitrāyaṇīya Samhitā* is a voucher,⁶ and other passages quoted by Schrader⁷ afford ample corroboration of the practice in India.⁸ It was likewise sanctioned by the Zend Avesta, for evidence exists that among the adherents of the old Persian religion fines were exacted and were sometimes paid in money, sometimes in maidens.⁹

¹ Cf. *Odyss.* xv. 272-276, quoted in Ch. xxi., p. 296.

² The suppliant was called *ικέρης*. *Iliad* xxiv. 158 affords an instance. Cf. *Odyss.* xv. 277. He was under the protection of Zeus (ix. 270; vii. 165; viii. 546), and he held in his hand an olive branch, *ικετηρία* (*ράβδος*), as a symbol of his condition and claim. Herod. v. 51; vii. 141; Demosthenes, *De Cor.*, § 107.

³ So long as he was not purified he was called (in the Greek tragedians) *παλαμναῖος* or *προστρόπαιος*.

⁴ *Iliad* xiii. 695; xv. 335; xvi. 572.

⁵ Solon in Dem., c. *Aristocrat.* 629.

⁶ i. 113, 13.

⁷ *Reallex.*, 102.

⁸ Roth, *Das Wergeld im Veda*, *Z. d. D. Morgenl. G.* xli. 672; and C. Bühler, *Das Wergeld in Indien*, p. 44.

⁹ W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur*, p. 452; Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 103.

But interesting as these cases all are, none exceed in interest the development both of the idea and the institution in Greece and Italy. The transition from personal vengeance to the adoption of fines is reflected clearly in the growth of language.¹ Underneath the words for "vengeance" and "fine" in more than one language lies a root which in some of them assumes the form *ki* in others *ti*.² Its primary idea is to "perceive," "observe," "search," "inquire," but its meaning branches off in different directions.³ The successive stages in the meaning of the Greek word *ποινή*⁴ attest the change of practice, since it meant in the first instance "revenge" and afterwards "blood-money," as in the following lines:—

Striking usages in Greece and Italy.

ποινή and *poena*.

καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτου φονῆος
 ποιήν ἢ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος,
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ, πόλλ' ἀποτίσας,
 τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ
 ποιήν δεξαμένον.⁵

On the other hand, the Latin *poena* did not acquire so soon the precise meaning of what is paid to atone for an injury. The earliest example of *poena* in this sense occurs in the following provision in the Twelve Tables; "si iniuriam faxit alteri, viginti quinque aeris poenae sunt."⁶ "If he has

¹ Considerations of space preclude our dealing exhaustively with these forms of composition for homicides. One, however, may be mentioned. The relatives of the murdered man took a sheep in place of the murderer's life if the act was unpremeditated. Cf. Festus on *subici*, pp. 265, 267; Serv. on Vergil, *Ecl.* 4, 3; and Lasaulx, *Die Sühnopfer*, p. 15.

² Old Bactrian, *kaēna*, "punishment," "revenge"; Church Slavonic, *cena*, "honour."

³ Thence it comes to bear the significations (1) to set a price on, value, honour; (2) give a price for, pay, require a price, exact penalty, avenge.

⁴ *Ποινή* is used with reference to any offence, even rudeness. Cf. *Odys.* viii. 158.

⁵ *Iliad* ix. 632. "Yet doth a man accept recompense of his brother's murderer or for his dead son; and so the manslayer for a great price abideth in his own land, and the kinsman's heart is appeased, and his proud soul, when he hath taken the recompense."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*). Cf. Herod. ii. 134. Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, c. 46, p. 303, refers to an old law at Tralles in Lydia, which enjoined the payment of a medimnus of beans to the kinsmen of a member of a low class of citizen.

⁶ Max Müller, *Selected Essays* i. 193. Cf. *dare* and *pendere poenas*.

done another an injury, twenty bronze pieces shall be the composition." Strictly it was employed in a general sense to denote penalties of any sort, whether corporal punishment or imprisonment.¹ But provision was made in Roman law for the infliction of fines, and these varied according to the rank of the person injured.²

The second stage; community interpose.

This consideration, namely, that the penalty must be proportioned to the position of the offended party, or fit the gravity of the offence, led in due time to a further step, which is of paramount importance in the development of the system of administering justice. For now the community interposes to temper the sternness of the law, to moderate the anger of the offended individual or family, and to guarantee security to the culprit who has given satisfaction for the murder.

Interpretation of custom

Thus we have arrived at the second epoch or stage in the development of the administration of justice. It stands to reason that the intervention of the community, either in a corporate capacity or through its representatives, was eminently desirable in the interest of all. For circumstances might arise for which there might be no precedent, or, again, opinions might differ concerning the import and interpretation of these traditional customs by which society was guided.³ Usually, the king decides the issue, and is highly qualified for the task, as uniting in his person at once divinely inspired wisdom, and the highest human

by the king and elders.

¹ The word *multa* was probably Sabine (Varro, in Gellius ii. 1, 5) or Oscan (Festus, p. 142, Müller). It was used to express the idea of punishment, but especially of fines, and it is particularly interesting, inasmuch as it illustrates the changes in the conception of what constituted wealth. First of all, when wealth consisted in flocks and herds, it signified a fine in cattle; afterwards a fine in money. Livy iv. 30 mentions the law for the commutation of fines. The consuls, having ascertained that the tribunes were contemplating this popular move, introduced a measure themselves.

² Ortolan, *Expl. Hist. des Inst. de l'Emp. Justinien*, p. 114.

³ Cf. J. Terpstra, *Antiquitas Homericæ*, p. 85. Ex rationis æquitate, majorum institutis et testium indicis controversiæ dirimebantur: leges raræ erant aut nullæ; unde est quod ab Homero θεμωτας non νόμους celebrare observarunt critici.

authority.¹ But his power is limited by the appointment of assessors as interpreters of law, who are styled “elders” (γέροντες).

Such is the general tenour of the passages in Homer. The king and his council² are an established institution exercising judicial functions.³ Of all the passages which illustrate the methods of jurisdiction in Homer, none surpasses in interest the archaic description of a trial in the *Ἀσπιδοποιία* or the Shield of Achilles. The poet is depicting very vividly the scenes from daily life in Greece, but life in a high antiquity, and probably in an age anterior to that portrayed in most of the poem. Among them he describes a trial:—

Shield of
Achilles.

Λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθρόοι· ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος
 Ὀρώρει, δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκειον εἵνεκα ποινῆς
 Ἄνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένον· Ὁ μὲν εὐχέτο πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι
 Δῆμῳ πιφαύσκων, ὃ δ' ἀναίνετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι·
 Ἄμφω δ' ἰέσθη ἐπὶ ἱστορίῳ πείραρ ἐλέσθαι·
 Λαοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπνον, ἀμφὶς ἀρωγί.
 Κήρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον· οἱ δὲ γέροντες
 Εἶπ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ,
 Σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χέρσιν ἔχον ἡεροφώνων·
 Τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἦμισον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δίκαιζον.
 Κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
 Τῷ δόμεν, ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἶποι.⁴

¹ Cf. Ch. xxiii., p. 308. The idea of concentrating legal functions in the hands of the king is un-Aryan and belongs rather to Semitic and Egyptian institutions.

² See Ch. xxiv., p. 319.

³ The lines in *Odys.* xii. 439, show that the council need not all assemble, and that in minor matters the king or perhaps one of the elders might act alone. But this is evidently an exceptional case. They run as follows:—

ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορήθεν ἀνέστη
 κρίνων νεῖκα πολλὰ δικαζομένων αἰζηῶν,
 τῆμος δὲ τά γε δοῦρα Χαρυβδίου ἐξεφαάνθη.

“At the hour when a man rises up from the assembly and goes to supper, one who judges the many quarrels of the young men that seek to him for law, at that same hour those timbers came forth to view from out Charybdis.”—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

⁴ *Iliad* xviii. 497-508. “But the folk were gathered in the assembly place; for there a strife was arisen, two men striving about the blood-price of a man slain; the one avowed that he had paid all, expounding to the people, but the other denied that he had received aught, and each

The process takes place in the market place (*ἀγορά*) in accordance with the time-honoured tradition, which is not confined to Greece, that such investigations should be held in the open air and in the eye of day.¹ Apparently the question at issue is the payment of *πρωή*, blood-money or composition, and it will be seen that the method of procedure illustrates several features in judicial administration, which we have already noticed cursorily. But it should be stated, that commentators are not all agreed on the interpretation even of the main point. Some incline to the opinion that we have here an ordinary trial for murder.² All things considered, the most natural explanation would seem to be this: it is a civil suit, a claim for debt arising from a previous case of murder,³ submitted to the elders assembled in solemn conclave. It would seem that the king is not present on this occasion; certainly there is no reference to the magisterial duties of the king, but in this particular instance an umpire is present who fulfils the duties that properly devolve upon the king. He is styled *ἴστωρ*, or "arbiter," "umpire," "judge,"⁴ and he listens to the

was fain to obtain consummation on the word of his witness. And the folk were cheering both as they took part on either side. And heralds kept order among the folk, while the elders on polished stones were sitting in the sacred circle, and holding in their hands staves from the loud-voiced heralds. Then before the people they rose up and gave judgment each in turn. And in the midst lay two talents of gold to be given unto him who should plead among them most righteously."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 793, and Meier und Schömann, p. 148. Tacitus, *Germ.* c. 9 and 39, speaks of the German practice of conducting trials in woods, and he gives the reason:—*Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram . . . coeunt*. Similarly in Rome and Germany trials took place between sunrise and sunset, because the sun was sacred. Cf. the Twelve Tables: *solis occasus suprema tempestas esto*, and the German *tagadinc*, Grimm, *ibid.* 813. Cf. also Ch. xxiv., p. 324.

² Cf. A. Hofmeister, *Z. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* ii. 443.

³ There is nothing to show that the judges in this instance had the right to sentence to death or perpetual exile, and so to deprive the clan, brotherhood, or tribe of one of its members without the consent of the tribe itself.

⁴ Lit. "one how knows," from *εἰδέναι*. The Scholiast's gloss, *μάρτυρ ἢ κριτῆρ*, equally admits of the interpretation, "witness." So the late

opinions of the elders before pronouncing judgment. Each party to the suit deposits a sum of money, which is to be forfeited in the event of failure to establish his case.¹ The trial begins. Around the elders, who form the court and sit in a round space marked out for the purpose, the populace are gathered. But, whatever their position may have been in the original system of judicial administration among Aryan races, on this occasion they are present in no official capacity. They exhibit partizanship, indeed, they express assent or dissent, as the defendant or plaintiff makes a point in the course of the trial, but they do no more. Each of the elders sits upon a seat on a polished stone² in the sacred circle.³ Each delivers his verdict in regular order, taking into his hands the sceptre which is the symbol of judicial

Latin *cognitor*, which, like ἴστωρ, signifies one who has got to know (*cognosco*, one who possesses the technical or particular knowledge), and consequently means "umpire" or "witness"; and *arbiter* (*ad-bito, eo*), one who "goes to" something to see or hear, an eye-witness, an umpire, So *Iliad* xxiii. 486, where an umpire or referee is called upon to settle a betting transaction. It has already been seen that the king, strictly speaking, possesses the supreme authority in judicial matters, and in consequence a special functionary for this purpose first appears after the Aryan races have assumed a separate existence. The nearest approach to the idea of a judge in the modern sense is to be found in the passage before us (assuming that the interpretation given above is correct). Cf. *Odyss.* xi. 186. When in after ages permanent judges were set apart for the settlement of criminal or civil causes, they were placed under the superintendence of the ἄρχων βασιλεύς—another proof of the close connection subsisting between the administration of justice and the kingly office. The history of the judicial institutions of the Slavs offers a striking correspondence to the above descriptions. With them the chief of the tribe and the princes performed judicial functions. With them too the commons actually or nominally possessed certain rights of intervention. See Schrader, *Realex.*, 687, 688; Leist, *Altarisches Jus gentium*, p. 68.

¹ Cf. the later Greek term παρακαταβολή, and the Latin *sacramentum*. These were deposits or pledges which in certain suits plaintiff and defendant were alike obliged to make.

² Cf. *Odyss.* iii. 406. σεμνοὶ θῶκοι. *Æsch. Agam.* 519.

³ Cf. *Iliad* xi. 807, where we read of altars in the place of assembly :—

ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε θέμις τε
ἦην, τῇ δὲ καὶ σφί θεῶν ἐτετεύχαστο βωμοί.

The proceedings on such occasions began with sacrifice to the gods.

authority.¹ Finally, the two talents deposited are awarded² to the litigant who has gained the day,³ that is, his own deposit and the forfeited deposit of the defeated litigant.

Such in outline were the methods of procedure in the social conditions portrayed by Homer, and they derive special significance from the fact that Italy presents a parallel state of things.

Corre-
sponding
customs in
Italy.

Not only is this true of the general character of the judicial methods in Italy, but also of the names applied to those who took part in the proceedings. The Latin *iudex* is adjectival in form, and when analyzed it yields the following results. The chief element is simply *ius* abbreviated; the termination contains the root *dic*. Its primitive import is, therefore, one who points out, who declares judgment. But the resemblance does not end there. As in Greece so at Rome the king administers justice either alone or with "old men" (*senatores*, like γέροντες) at his side.⁴ As in Greece the royal prerogative was steadily encroached upon alike by noble, populace and priest, so at Rome some of the king's judicial duties were in course of time detached from his person through the appointment of special judges for special cases, like the *duumviri perduellionis*, and the *quaestores parricidii*, for charges of treason and rebellion.

¹ Cf. Arist., *Pol.* ii. 6 (17). The sceptre was borne by the king—*qua* judge, not *qua* military leader or augur. See *Iliad* ii. 85, 86, 188-194; xviii. 550-560.

² The word ἰθύματα affords an instructive instance of two permanent phenomena in the growth of language. (1) In it the idea of justice is taken from that of straightness, as opposed to perversity; (2) the material sense precedes the moral; "straight" acquires the meaning of "straightforward." The opposite term σκολιός, indicating moral obliquity, exhibits a similar transition from the idea of "crooked" to that of "unrighteous." Cf. Latin *rectus*, German *recht* and *gerade*, English "right," "straight" (conversational), Slavonic *pravida*; and on the other side *pravus*, *unrecht* and *krumm*, *wrong*, *krivida*.

³ The sum is certainly less than the value which would be set on a man's life. Cf. xxiii. 262-270. He may, however, have been a serf. So Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, 2nd ed., p. 158, who thinks that the poet wrongly interpreted the blood-money in an actual work of art, as either a prize for the judge or the deposits of the litigants.

⁴ Cf. Bernhöft, *Staat und Recht der römischen Königszeit*, p. 119.

As in Greece the priest advanced his claims and gradually gained important influence, so at Rome the *pontifices* were associated with the secular functionaries and managed to assume considerable power.

It remains for us to point out three features in the judicial conceptions of early Aryan society which call for comment. They are not devoid of interest and significance, for some of them contained the germs of important institutions of a later day, while others have been abolished, modified or transferred to different departments.¹

The first refers to the means which were taken by the Oaths. culprit to disavow the offence laid to his charge, or by the witness to confirm the testimony that he adduced. Supposing the evidence was insufficient and the problem lay beyond solution by the ordinary method, the court called superhuman or preternatural aid into requisition. Of this expedient the solemn abjuration furnishes a good example. The original oath took the form of a curse, by which the man who made the declaration drew down, or at any rate invoked upon himself, the divine vengeance² in the most ceremonious manner and sometimes with emotional outbursts of horror. Or he bound himself to surrender something which he held precious, be it weapon or horse or ship or life itself. So much is implied in the double meaning of the English "swear," the Sanskrit *ṣapātha*-, "curse," and "oath."³ So much also appears from a comparison of the two Latin words *exsecrari*, "curse," "take a solemn oath," and *sacramentum*, "a pledge,"

¹ It is one of the singular anomalies in the Roman constitution (which are, however, valuable as testimony to the evolution of institutions in Rome) that the *pontifices* united several powers in their hands. They were originally bridge builders (*pons, facio*), but in course of time, perhaps because rivers and bridges (e.g. the *Pons Sublicius*) were held sacred, they acquired religious functions; hence the term *pontiff* in the Roman Catholic Church. But, as is seen in the text, they now appear in a third capacity—as ministers of justice. *Praetor* and *consul* exhibit a similar combination of powers and a similar development.

² Especially of Zeus, *Iliad* iii. 276; xix. 258; and Jupiter, Liv. xxiv. 8.

³ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 166.

“deposit.”¹ Further, it is instructive to observe, in connection with what follows, that the swearer suited the action to the oath of clearing which he recited. He took hold of some object, which he highly prized and volunteered to forfeit or render it useless to himself. It might be some object connected with the god who was called to witness.² It might be his own chin or beard.³ It might be a son or some one near and dear to him, as in the case of Æneas who swears by the head of his son Ascanius.⁴ It might be merely a rock or stone. After reciting the oath the culprit flung it away and offered to submit to the same fate.⁵ Of this custom instances might be multiplied.⁶ The only feature in this wide-spread formula which calls for notice is the following. The probability is, that in its primitive import the original oath was of the nature of a curse or imprecation upon oneself, which might or might not be accompanied by some symbolic action. Still, the gods are not called to witness or to wreak vengeance, for at that time they were not themselves paragons of morality, and could not upon ethical grounds consistently claim the right to interpose, nor, indeed, were regarded as appreciating moral excellence or actuated by moral motives at all.⁷

The ordeal. The oath of innocence, which, as has already appeared, was not unimportant in itself, exerts an important bearing upon another institution which has prevailed at all times, namely, the ordeal. The term and its purpose are well known. It is the method of referring disputed questions,

¹ Job. xxxi. and Psalm vii. are good illustrations of the practice in the Semitic world.

² Cf. the Irish *tong* and Welsh *tyngu*, “swear,” with the Latin *tango*, “touch.” Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 166, compares a pair of words in Old Slovenic, *prisegati*, “swear,” and *prisegnati*, “touch.”

³ πρὸς γένειον or γένειδος.

⁴ Cf. *Æneid* iv. 354, 357.

⁵ Lapidem silicem tenebant iuraturi per Jovem hæc verba dicentes, si sciens fallo tum me Diespiter salva urbe arceque bonis ejiciat, uti ego hunc lapidem.” Festus, on *lapis*.

⁶ Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 147; Lindemann, *Die Moral*, pp. 273, 279; A. H. Post, *Die Anfänge*, p. 255.

⁷ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 169, and Ch. xxxii., p. 489.

especially such as relate to the guilt or innocence of an individual, to the judgment of heaven, which is determined either by lot or by the success of certain experiments. For if, as Kaegi has conjectured in his *brochure* on the ordeal among German races,¹ the practice reaches to an immemorial antiquity, its origin is doubtless closely connected with that of the oath.² The examples extant in the literatures of other countries are plentiful; the ordeal flourished in the age of chivalry, and is not entirely extinct among the less progressive elements of current civilizations. The literatures of Greece and Italy furnish a few cases. Such is the well-known passage in Sophocles. The watchers over the corpse of Polyneices, which has been forbidden burial, declare themselves ready to appeal to the ordeal, and as fire is a purifying agent, fire will furnish the truest test of their moral rectitude :—

ἤμεν δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκωμοτεῖν,
τὸ μήτε δράσαι μήτε τῷ ξυνειδέναί
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλευσάντι μῆδ' εἰργασμένῳ.³

The Scholiast on the Epistles of Horace⁴ refers to a practice which obtained at Rome in investigating cases of theft :—Cum in servis suspicio furti habetur, ducuntur ad sacerdotem, qui crustum panis carmine⁵ infectum dat singulis: quod cum adaeserit ori, manifeste furti reum adserit.⁶ But it may not be supposed that the above-

¹ *Alter und Herkunft des germ. Gottesurtheils*, Zürich, 1887.

² Cf. the Sanskrit *ṣapātha* (1) "oath" (see p. 359) and (2) "ordeal"; *divya*, (1) "ordeal" and (2) "oath."

³ *Antig.* 264. "We were ready to hold red-hot iron in our hands, to pass through fire, and swear by the gods that we had not done it, nor were accomplices of anyone who had planned or executed the deed."

⁴ i. 10, 10, quoted in Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 304.

⁵ Formulae of magic and incantation are the regular accompaniments of oaths and ordeals among primitive peoples.

⁶ "If suspicion rests upon slaves they are led to a priest who gives each one a bit of bread which has been tinctured with an incantation. When it has stuck to the mouth the priest lays hands on the man as being clearly guilty of the theft."

mentioned are isolated instances of such an usage among the Greeks and Italic races. However that may be, cases abound among races who clearly derived the practice from the same source. A bare allusion to them will suffice. In other places besides Greece the suspected individual is called upon to grasp a bar of hot iron and carry it for some distance in his hand, or to walk nine feet barefoot and blindfolded over red hot ploughshares. Such a custom obtained in Russia and was known by the name of *pravda sheljeso*.¹ Similarly culprits leapt through fire to prove their innocence and enforce the truth. The Servian *mazija* or water ordeal (*na vodou*) recalls the allusion in Vergil.² But in matter of fact these are only samples of a practice prevalent among rude communities scattered all the world over and exhibiting every variety of procedure.

Punish-
ment.

Offences
against the
individual.

The subject of punishments has been touched upon incidentally in speaking of adultery and other offences, and our object here will be to gather up the threads, which we have taken up, but have been obliged to drop for a time, rather than to enter upon a minute discussion. It has already appeared that two distinct ideas run throughout the early conceptions of the duties of the public in regard to inflicting punishment. The majority of offences were punished by the individual injured or affronted, or his family might espouse his cause. Indeed, it would appear that the "brotherhood" also recognized some system of public punishment,³ which might entail exile or excommunication from their fold.⁴ With this system, however, the tribe did not originally concern itself. It was left to the person wronged either

¹ Ewers, *Das älteste Recht der Russen*, pp. 317-338.

² *Æneid* ix. 585. See Heyne on the passage. The water ordeal was practised in the case of bondsmen and rustics, and took two forms, (1) plunging the hand in boiling water, (2) flinging into a deep river or pond. Under such a judicial system, which was based on the principle that if the accused escaped unhurt he was innocent, if otherwise, guilty, the accused would seldom escape.

³ Cf. the Sanskrit *sabhā*, (1) meeting of the clan; (2) court of law. See Ch. xxi., p. 284.

⁴ Cf. ἀφροίτωρ, Ch. xxi., p. 283, and Ch. xxii., p. 290.

to require an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blood for blood, or, as afterwards became customary, to compound for the injury inflicted.¹

But there was another class of offences which affected the community in general, and called for punishment at the hands of the tribe. The technical term for these was in Sanskrit *á'gas*² "vexation," "offence," in Greek *ἄγος*³ "guilt," "object of awe." It included crimes like treason, regicide and cowardice. For these the culprit could expect no other penalty but death.⁴ But if he evaded the hand of justice and fled the country he was proclaimed an outlaw; a price was set on his head, he was on a par with the wild beast of the forest and field. In Italy such a criminal was declared *sacer*, "accursed," and forbidden fire and water (*aqua et igni interdicere*). In Greece he was reduced to the most piteous plight imaginable, for he was,

ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιος.⁵

The same authority which pronounced sentence of death upon the offender would in all probability see to its execution; at least, such is the conclusion to which the survivals among some races⁶ seem to point. For that was not an age of subtle distinctions. To the ancient mind there was but little difference between passing a law, trying

against the community.

The execution of sentences.

¹ Der gang der geschichte ist nun dass stufenweise die idee von bussen schwächer, die von strafen schärfer wird; dass auch verbrechen, die früher nicht öffentliche waren, ihren privaten character aufgeben und dass manche bussen an deren stelle strafen treten gänzlich verschwinden. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltert.*, p. 623. Busse greift das vermögen, strafe leib und ehre des verbrechers an; wo strafe eintritt, findet keine busse statt. *Ibid.*, p. 680.

² Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 662.

³ Cf. the Greek *ἀγός*, *ἄγιος* (*ἄγιος*), *μιαρός*, "accursed."

⁴ The early codes, like those of Draco, who "wrote them in blood," Lycurgus and Zaleucus, recognized no other punishment even for minor offences. Cf. Lycurg. *c. Leocr.*, § 65, οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι νομοθέται . . . ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις παρανομήμασι θάνατον ὄρισαν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. See Schrader, *Reallex.* 833; Hermann-Thalheim, *Lehr. d. griech. Rechtsaltert.*, p. 122.

⁵ "Without a brotherhood, without rights, without a home."

⁶ As among the Macedonians and Germans. Schrader, *Reallex.* 833.

an offender, or carrying out the sentence. The forms which this public punishment took were various. Flogging dated from a very early time,¹ and its antiquity is attested by the circumstance that capital punishment was in the case of a priest² not inflicted by means of an iron axe (*securis*), but by flogging to death with rod or scourge administered by the *pontifex maximus*, that is, the "high priest." We shall be safe in concluding that this practice prevailed in a yet earlier time. It is only a fresh instance of the immobility in regard to religious matters and traditions which was one of the most marked characteristics of the Roman.³ But other forms of punishment came into vogue. Stoning to death,⁴ throwing from precipices, drowning, burning,⁵ beheading⁶ (the regular method in later days) were among the number.⁷ Antiquity, indeed, furnishes a long list of

¹ Suetonius, *Nero* 49, calls the usage *mos majorum*. Similarly in India, Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, p. 181.

² Livy xxii. 57; xxviii. 11.

³ R. von Ihering gives a detailed and interesting account of the method employed, *The Evolution of the Aryan*, pp. 51-61. Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.* p. 643.

⁴ Cf. *Iliad* iii. 57, and Curtius vi. 11, 38 (on the Macedonians); Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, 69; Von Ihering, 139, 140.

⁵ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, p. 699.

⁶ The sword as a weapon of war recommended itself in preference to the dishonour of flogging; the axe (*securis*) with which the death penalty was generally inflicted was part of the *fasces* which the *lictors* carried. These bundles of rods and a sword together symbolized the older and the newer forms of punishment.

⁷ There were other methods of punishment: breaking on the wheel, Livy i. 28; tearing asunder with horses, *ibid.*; suffocation, *ibid.* 51; Tacitus, *Germ.* 12; and burying alive. But the authors who allude to some of these barbarities expressly mention that these severities were dictated by feelings of passion or were otherwise exceptional. Throughout primitive society, whether Aryan or Semitic, and also during the barbarian twilight through which all nations have passed, a singular phenomenon is witnessed, which cannot be discussed at length here, but deserves mention. It is the formal arraignment, not only of the culprit and his family but also of animals and even of inanimate objects. Plutarch, *Solon*, states that a dog bit a man in Greece and was delivered up to be bound to a log four cubits long, and Draco ordered that a process should be instituted against inanimate objects, Pausan. i. 28, 11; Plato, 873 E. *Æschines*, *Contra Ctesiph.* 244, 245, mentions it as a familiar proceeding. "We banish," says he, "beyond our borders stock, stone and steel if it chance to kill a man." Accordingly, the guilty axe was arraigned in

horrors of this kind, and displayed no inconsiderable ingenuity in their invention. Modern sensibilities may well shrink from an enumeration of them. It is doubtful, however, whether the modern mind is justified in affecting a superiority on this score over the ancient, considering that the death penalty was meted out to sheepstealers in modern England not so long ago, that the annals of other European nations have been sullied by a catalogue of merciless punishments for mild offences, and that these punishments were often accompanied by refined tortures.

The internal organization of society in Greece has hitherto engaged the chief share of our attention. We have now accomplished this part of our task. The scene now changes, and a wider prospect opens on our view. We proceed to trace the gradual enlargement of the mental vision of the primitive inhabitants of Greece and Italy, and the expansion of their social boundaries and intellectual horizon. We shall follow the incipient stages of an international intercourse, and the simple beginnings of a comity of nations. We shall inquire into the way in which these men began to realize their relations to the unseen world also, their glimmering consciousness of a Supreme Power and a life beyond the tomb, ideas which, though at first faint and indistinct, gradually gained in clearness, till the time arrived for a fuller revelation of the unseen realities in the Hebrew and Christian world.

an Athenian court of law and formally condemned to banishment. This reminds us of the scene in Heine's fragmentary *Memoirs* where the disestablished executioners bury the headsman's axe with due demonstrations of respect and sorrow. Even in the Salic law it is provided that if an animal slays a man, the owner, in addition to paying half the compensation, shall surrender the animal. *American Law Review* xi. 426, and Tissot, *Droit Pénal* i., p. 20. The cause is deep-seated, and is grounded in the belief that the savage regards all natural objects as intelligent beings; he invests them with personality and credits them with senses. Unconsciously the savage extends to the universe his own implicit consciousness of personality, and it is specially significant that the rule applies in particular to living things, brute animals or living organisms like trees. He therefore vents his anger upon them; he puts the animal to death and chops the tree to pieces.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WARFARE.

The
survival
of the
fittest.

“WAR is the father of all things.” Heraclitus in this saying showed a keen insight into the conditions of human existence in early ages and the progress of human civilization ;¹ indeed, he may be said to have anticipated in a measure the doctrine which has almost become one of the accepted canons of modern science. For the recognition of this process at work in the production of plants and animals is in the opinion of many thinkers a cardinal principle in evolution.² Through the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, as we have already seen,³ the strong species, namely, those which are best adapted to their surroundings, have maintained their position and have worsted or destroyed the weak in the keen struggle for existence. That life is war, that all along the ages pain has been a condition of progress and is the common lot of all beings, that the ingenuity of insects has ever been and is still taxed to the uttermost to invent means of self-defence, that perhaps the song of birds

¹ *Fr.* 44 in Oxford Edition, πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους.

² It should, however, be stated that Darwin himself did not always regard this bitter struggle for the means of existence as the main factor of evolution. In fact, Goethe also believed, as he told Eckermann, that it was possible to trace a law of mutual support and co-operation amongst animals, and added that if it could be established, it might offer a solution of many an enigma. Cf. Prince Kropotkin's recent work, *Mutual Aid*, London, 1902, in which the author deals with this neglected principle in evolution.

³ Cf. Ch. i., p. 4.

is a war-cry and the adornment of the butterfly is war-paint; these ideas, if somewhat fantastically expressed or containing an element of exaggeration, have found eloquent advocates at this day. However stern the law might appear, however pitiless, it was seen that it worked out for the general good. What seemed to be an impediment to progress was really its cause. By death came life, out of war came peace.

Through the operation of this same law mankind also has progressed, and among the agencies which are conducive to progress, however paradoxical it may sound, is the institution of war. The uses of war. A one-sided pessimist, viewing the devastations that war entails, the demoniacal passions let loose, the towns burnt down, might pronounce it an unmitigated scourge of humanity. The truth is, however, that it is far from being the unqualified evil which it appears to be at the first glance. The history of an advance of civilization is largely the history of military improvement. War has also its arousing and purifying effects. Its direct influence is visible in the awakening of a slumbering patriotism, in evoking the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-denial, in necessitating submission to discipline for the common cause, in inspiring caution and circumspection. That is not all. It reacts upon the internal condition of a race, country or state, by cementing and consolidating the body corporate in the face of dangers from without and forbidding disorders within, by stimulating the powers of invention, by imparting an impulse to the cultivation of the arts of life and by widening the intellectual horizon. So, however devoutly the best friends of humanity may—and must—hope for the immediate abolition or gradual extinction of war, they may indulge the consoling reflection that its existence has been attended, if not by some compensating advantages, at any rate by some alleviations.

It is, however, no part of our purpose to trace in detail the effects of warfare upon society, but only to select a few features out of so large a subject for consideration. That

Warfare
an in-
fluen-
tial
factor: its
effects on
the life of
early
Greek and
Italian.

No Aryan
word for
peace.

primitive warfare left a deep and lasting impression upon social life in Greece and Italy is seen in a variety of ways. The languages of Greece and Italy and other countries, which present parallels to Greek and Italian institutions, bear testimony to the prominent part which war played in public life, and at the same time chronicle the progress of sentiment in regard to war. It is highly significant, as affording an insight into the conditions of life, that in the stock of words which form the intellectual currency of the Aryan world, no word exists for peace in the modern sense of the term. The fact is, the idea of "peace" appears for the first time in words which mean simply a cessation from hostilities. Such is the Old Slovenic *pokoј*, which originally bore the meaning of "rest" and afterwards that of "peace."¹ Such, too, in all probability, is the Latin *indutiae* (*in-dū-tiae*), a state of "not" (*in*) being at "war" (*du-ellum*).² On the other hand, words for peace occur for the first time after the Aryans parted company, as in the Greek *εἰρήνη* (*ἐφρήνη*) from the root *ver* which appears in *ἐπέω*, "say," and *φρίτρα*, "agreement," "covenant," and in the Latin *pax*³ which evidently connotes a compact (*pangere*, "fasten," "fix," "agree"). The inference is that in the ages anterior to the separation of the several branches of the Aryan family war was the normal condition of life, a condition only interrupted when one or both belligerents could carry on the conflict no longer, or from some equally efficient cause.

Several
words for
war.

But if words for peace are wanting, there is no lack of terms for war and battle—two words which were not, and would hardly be expected to be, distinguished in an age

¹ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 481.

² So Osthoff, and Schrader inclines to the same view (*Reallex.* 481). It may be mentioned, however, that the word has been generally derived from *indu-itiae*, "a going into rest or retirement." Cf. Aur. in *Gell.* i. 25, 17.

³ The idea of uniting or cohesion is used to express peace, and war is regarded as an interruption or disturbance of this feeling of union. Cf. Slavonic *mir*, "community," "peace"; Turco-tatar *il*, "people," "nation," "peace." Cf. Ch. xx., p. 271 n., and Vámbéry, *Die Primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatar. Volkes*, 121, 129.

when war, however fierce, was pursued only on a small scale. Under this category come the Sanskrit *yūdh*,¹ "combat," and the Greek *ὑσμίνη*, "battle," the Irish *cath*, the Old Slovenic *kotora*,² and the Latin *duellum*, an earlier form of *bellum*, which is retained in technical terms like *perduellis*, a "public enemy."³ These words take us back to the social infancy of the Aryan races and belong to a common inheritance of terms, which were retained after these races severally assumed an independent existence, and survived in their languages as fossilized specimens of their earliest experiences. But apart from these words which are derived from this common treasury, the separate languages embraced many words which illustrate the growth of ideas in relation to war in an interesting manner. The history of some words is the history of a campaign and others are charged with meaning. Allusion has already been made to *φύλοπις*,⁴ which from indicating the battle-cry of the tribesmen, afterwards came to bear the meaning of war-cry in general. But many more words might be included in the same list. Some of the terms employed by Homer are highly suggestive. *Ἔσμινη* is one of the number. It suggests the idea of a hand-to-hand engagement.⁵ *Στρατός*, "army," "camp," has been traced to *σπρώννυμι*, to "spread out," but others⁶ connect it with the Irish *trét*, "herd." *Ἀρετή* illustrates the growth of the estimation of the noblest qualities in the eyes of the primitive Greek. Though it bore originally the meaning of goodness or excellence in general (as witness its root *αρ*),⁷ the Homeric hero, war being his natural element,

War and battle at first synonymous.

Language reflects the development of warfare.

¹ Cf. the Sanskrit *çátru*, "victor" or "foe"; Celt. *Caturiges*, "battle-kings"; Old High German *Hadu-brant*, "battle-flame," *Hadurwich*, "battle-strife" (German *Hedwig*); German *Hader*, "strife."

² O. Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 480.

³ An enemy actually waging war against a country; later *hostis* was used. Though *perduellio* was used for "high treason," *parricidas* (not *perduellis*) was used for "traitor."

⁴ See Ch. xxii., p. 295.

⁵ Root *ju-dh*. Vaniček quotes the Sanskrit *judh-má*, "fight," "battle."

⁶ Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.* 352.

⁷ Indicating "appropriateness," "fitness." Cf. *ἀρρίσκω*, "join" or "fit together," "suit," "please."

applied the word to manly qualities, especially martial valour. To him bravery in war was at once the most agreeable diversion and the highest embodiment of manhood. Afterwards in Attic Greek the word acquired the meaning of moral worth, and in this sense it was almost universally used by later writers. Still, the original signification is not entirely lost sight of, since it always connoted active excellence rather than the strictly moral virtues.

The Latin word *virtus*, which signified the sum of all the bodily and mental excellences of man, bore a corresponding meaning, for a man's (*vir*) chief merit lies in resolution and bravery. Indeed, Latin, being the language of a race which was pre-eminently bellicose by instinct as well as by the conditions of its development, and was consequently rich in military resource, furnishes many words which shed an interesting light on the advance and improvements of the art of war. The commonest words contain some instructive elements. The primitive import of *miles* may be one who formed part of a thousand (*mille*), that being the number of a military division;¹ this theory, however, seems to antedate the use of the decimal system in military array and military evolutions too far; others assign to it the meaning of mercenary.² But *legio*, a later term (derived from *legere* in the sense of "choosing") denoted primarily a picked body of men,³ was subsequently applied as a numerical term to the combined forces of three thousand warriors, and afterwards sub-divided by tens and hundreds. *Exercitus*, "army," probably denotes simply a trained body of men, and then "army"; it has, however, been traced by some to *arx*, "citadel." Unquestionably the verb *exercere* is composed of *ex*, *arcere* (in the sense of to "drive on," "keep at work," "train," "practise"), and *arcere* (to "drive," "ward off") in its turn took its origin from *arx*, but to refer *exercere* directly to *arx* seems a strained interpretation. Yet another

¹ Root *mil*, "to unite," "combine." Cf. Varro L.L. 5, § 89, Müller.

² Cf. the Greek *μισθός*, Schrader, *Reallex.*, 352.

³ Varro L.L. 5, § 87, Müller.

word which is illustrative of the growth of thought in Italy is supplied by *latro*. This term exhibits the decline of the military system, when citizen-soldiers (*quirites*)¹ were supplemented by those who took up arms as a profession. It gradually acquired the contemptuous sense of "freebooter," "robber,"² a change of meaning which throws a lurid light upon the proceedings of these free-lances.

But language was not the only thing which bore the impress of the institution of war. Throughout the social organization of Greece and Italy, of which we have spoken in a previous chapter, runs the idea that the organized body, whether it be clan, brotherhood or tribe, must be effective in time of war as well as in time of peace. It was there pointed out that relationship was the principle adopted as a basis of arrangement on the battlefield, and acted as a ground for confidence and an incentive to gallantry in action. It prevailed at one time in India, Germany and Gaul, and still obtains in Afghanistan. The "clan," "brotherhood," "tribe," and "people," therefore, were in the earliest times the army, and each member of the community esteemed it at once a duty and a privilege to fight for the common weal.

With the lapse of time, however, regular armies came into being. At what date the change took place it would be idle to speculate. Yet we are not left in the dark altogether as to the nature and consequences of this innovation. Some of the words which have already been quoted point to the tendency in favour of establishing a standing army, and to the line of policy pursued in its formation. The word *classis* is of their number. It recalls the time when the whole body of citizens were called to arms, for it is derived from the root *cal* which occurs in *calo*, "call," "summon"; *clamo*,

Influence of war on Society.

Relationship a basis of military array.

The institution of regular armies.

Some technical terms and their meaning.

¹ According to Mommsen, *Roman History* i. 7, 69. But Dr. Schrader takes a different view. See his *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, p. 572.

² Varro L.L. 7, 52; Festus, p. 118, Müller. Cf. the Greek *λάτρυς*, root *λα-*, *λαφ*, in *λεία*, "spoil," "booty."

“cry,” “call”; and the Greek *καλέω*, “call.”¹ *Exercitus* suggests that attention was devoted to the study of the military art, and the training to which the chosen body of men was obliged to submit. *Miles* may point to the adoption of the decimal system of enumeration which in later times was so characteristic of the Roman army. *Latro* again affords an insight into the decline of a citizen militia whose interests were intimately bound up with those of the community. To them the issue of the conflict was a matter of the highest moment, and the subsequent rise of irregular mercenaries who sold their swords to the highest bidder, and by sparing neither friend nor foe, earned an unenviable reputation, indicated a waning of public spirit.

Influence
of war on
religion.

Nor was religion free from the influence of war. To say nothing at this point of the frequent collisions that must have occurred on religious grounds, it will suffice to refer here to the prominent part which the gods played in primitive warfare. Of these we shall have occasion to speak at greater length by-and-by. Indeed, no aspect of warfare in the primitive stages of social development forces itself upon the notice of the reader more strongly than the prominence given to the divine element. Hostilities were not begun without animated appeals to the gods, without ascertaining their will and pleasure, and endeavouring to propitiate their favour. When, however, their goodwill was once secured the warriors marched to the onset or rushed to the fray to the accompaniment of the hymn to Apollo or Indra or Mars.

Personal
interest of
patron
deities in
war.

The truth is, that in the estimation of the primitive Greek and Italic races, they all waged war, and each combatant fought under the eye of a patron god and goddess, who smiled upon heroic achievement, aided their favourites with their presence, and helped them on to victory or protected them in

¹ The method of summoning the people together affords a fresh instance of the tenacity of religious tradition. For when the military bugle (*classicum*, the trumpet used in convoking the *classis*) had been generally adopted, the *pontifices* still adhered to the custom of calling them together by word of mouth.

defeat. Nay, these celestial visitants who often walked the earth among mortal men deigned at times to take part personally in the engagement. The Trojan war, which we regard as a collision between Asiatic and European civilization, was to the Greek a contest between gods and goddesses of Olympus who cherished ancient animosities against each other, and these august deities moved among the ranks and frequently manifested themselves to their followers. Eris or Discord sets the conflict going and gives the signal for it. Hera ranges herself on the side of the Greeks; Aphrodite lends her countenance to the Trojans; Pallas Athene assists Odysseus with her counsel, and, armed with the mystic *aegis*, strikes terror into the hearts of men.

To discuss the origin and character of such divinities singly would lie outside the scope of this inquiry, and, besides, something will be said hereafter upon the chief characteristics of the Greek and Latin religions. But one or two broad features in these war-gods and goddesses call for comment.

The first point relates to the national, tribal, or local gods who are constantly appearing on the scene in the legendary periods of Greece and Italy. It has already become plain that both these countries were occupied by successive waves of population, and that even the Aryan elements superimposed upon the previous strata gradually accommodated themselves to their environment, and absorbed or amalgamated with those whom they reduced to submission. There is a strong presumption in favour of supposing that in this mythological amalgam some of the Greek deities combined or gathered up in their persons the attributes of more than one divinity, but it is in some cases impossible to disentangle the several threads. The result of this coalescence of tribes was an identification of the god of one tribe with the god of another, to whom he was supposed to bear a resemblance. Sometimes the deity of a conquered population retired into the background, and retained only a subordinate position. Or gods, whose character according to the popular belief corresponded, formed friendly groups, and were described as

Local
gods.

Greek
mythology
an agglomeration.

Religious
syncretism.

Greece
and
Italy.

kinsfolk in mythological accounts. Or if their natures were so dissimilar that such a fusion or combination was impracticable, the female deities were represented as taken to wife by a deity of an exalted order. The duplicate names Pallas Athene and Phoibos Apollon perhaps afford illustrations of the former principle; the marriage of Zeus, the god of the bright sky, with his consorts Io, the moon, Leto, a goddess of night, Demeter, the corn goddess, and Hera, also an earth goddess originally, furnish an example of the second process. The religious history of Rome presents to view a parallel development, and confirms the explanation offered above in regard to Greece. But, as has been observed previously, the mythology of Italy, where not borrowed from Greece, is of a jejune and barren character. Each tribe of which Rome was composed contributed a god who brought his tribal worship with him. Each tribe added a priest or a college of priests,¹ and the original Roman priesthoods can be distinguished from derivatives by not being divisible by some tribal number. But the question, how much belonged to each race, must remain a matter of conjecture and is subject to the greatest uncertainty. Perhaps we have in the conflict of the Olympian deities with their predecessors a dim record of the conflict of the old order of gods and the new. Certainly the early poets present to view a mosaic of several various religious elements. Whatever the different races respectively contributed to the national pantheon, partly through political influences, blending conquering and conquered, partly through the poet-priests who voiced the national sentiment, like the mythical Orpheus, Musaeus, Eumolpus, and Thamyris, the circle of Olympian deities were invested with a halo of special sanctity, obtained a firm and permanent footing in Greece and maintained their supremacy, till philosophic scepticism on the one hand and

¹ Thus, for example, Quirinus, the chief god of the Sabines, resembled Mars, and so close was the correspondence considered that the two gods coalesced. Still, each deity had his special priest, Mars the *Flamen Martialis*, Quirinus the *Flamen Quirinalis*.

Christianity on the other dissolved the airy fabric of Hellenic mythology.

The worship of Ares in Greece affords an apt illustration of the conglomeration of various racial elements and consequently of religious cults which has just been mentioned. That this god was originally the chief god of the Thracian tribes is probable for several reasons. This race had made its way into Thessaly, Bœotia and Phocis, with Ares at its head, and the character of the god was certainly consonant with the character of his votaries. He typifies in Greek the brute force of war. There are reasons, however, for supposing that he was in the first instance a death-god dwelling in the Lower World, but that he afterwards developed into the patron god of war, and as such he was admitted into Greece. His name, Ares, itself is significant, for it contains the same root as ἀρετή,¹ and ἄριστος, "best" or "bravest." The grim spectres of Terror, Panic, and Strife follow in his wake, and Keres (or "goddesses of doom"), who are represented as "black women in bloody garb," also figure in his train. His symbols are the spear and the torch, which are doubtless emblematical of the havoc wrought in war.

War gods:
Ares.

Mars.

Mars is the counterpart of Ares in Italy, and he too furnishes an instance of the same combination of various elements as in Greece; but his original character and antecedents are not easy to determine. The probability is that he had some connection with the spring, and in that capacity he took under his protection both flocks and fields. However that may be, certain ceremonies of his worship were associated with the spring. In the month which was consecrated to the god, his priests or *Salii*, executed war dances, accompanying their movements with a song in which they invoked his watchful providence upon their meadows, crops, and vineyards. To him also was dedicated the *ver sacrum* ("consecrated springtide"), that is, the vow

¹ Cf. pp. 369, 370.

made in emergencies or disaster to sacrifice the produce of the next spring. These facts countenance the theory that we have in Mars an original spring-god, but, whatever his origin, he became closely identified in the beliefs of all the tribes of Central Italy with war. The beginning of the season for war coincided with the season of spring. His title, *Gradivus* ("marcher" or "approacher"), dates from a high antiquity, and attests his warlike character. The spear is his sacred symbol also, as it is of Ares. His favourite bird and beast are typical of their patron—the woodpecker, whose beak and plume suggested the aspect of a warrior's helmet; the wolf, fit symbol of bloodshed.¹

Bribery of
gods.

To return to the connection of these tribal gods with the conduct of warlike operations. The belief that the local war spirit takes an immediate interest in the military enterprises of his people manifests itself in a variety of ways, and in some particulars betrays a curious correspondence with the habits of savages at this day. The Basuto in South Africa is an instance in point. While engaged in harrying his neighbour's territory, it is said that he will hiss and yell, in order to create an impression in the mind of the spirit of the rival tribe that he is driving a herd of sheep or cattle. The manifest design is to delude the divinities of the country attacked into the belief that he is bringing victims for the use of their worshippers.² The Romans in the same manner endeavoured to bribe the gods of their foes to desert and come over to their side, where they were assured of rich and costly offerings. Further, it will be remembered that at the siege of Jerusalem by the legionaries of Titus, when all hope was lost and the doom of the Holy City was sealed, the besiegers averred that they distinctly heard a supernatural voice from the shrine say, "The gods are departing," followed by the loud sound of the departing divinities.³ In

¹ Cf. Steuding, p. 116.

² Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 253.

³ Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13. Cf. Vergil, *Æneid* xi. 625.

like manner, the stratagem employed by Themistocles during the Persian War, in order to reconcile his fellow-citizens to the temporary abandonment of Athens in the face of overwhelming odds, found ready acceptance. For calling superstition to his aid he declared that the sacred serpent had disappeared from the Temple of Athene. "The goddess," he gave out, "forsakes her abode. Why should we delay to follow her?" The fact is, many instances might be added of this deep-rooted belief in the existence and intervention of local divinities¹ at supreme crises in the history of the race over whose destinies they presided.

This consideration dictated the desire to maintain in strict secrecy the name of the tutelary god or goddess; for upon the presence of the patron deity the safety of the community depended.² The consequence was that the severest penalty awaited anyone who divulged the mystery, and one instance is placed on record where the culprit was put to death.³

Secrecy
concerning
the name
of the
deity.

The explanation of this remarkable belief is probably to be sought in the confusion between names and the persons who bear them—a characteristic of races in a savage state. Such a superstition exists among the American Redskins, as in the following extract from an Indian legend. Yellow Sky was a daughter of the Shawnee tribe, whose being was involved in mystery. When she consented to marry she implored her husband that he "might never breathe her name." She died, and in her last moments repeated her request. For five summers he lived in solitude, but, alas, one day in forgetfulness he uttered the forbidden name. He fell to the

¹ The idea is not unfamiliar to readers of the Hebrew Scriptures. Such is the episode mentioned in 1 Kings xx. 23: "And the servants of the king of Syria said unto them, Their gods are gods of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they."

² Cf. the care exercised by the Trojans to preserve the *Palladium*, or image of Pallas, and a similar superstition concerning the *ancile* in the temple of Mars at Rome. For the same reason the Romans fettered the image of Saturnus, Macrob. i. 8, 5, and the Tyrians that of Herakles (Melqart).

³ Pliny iii. 9; the offender's name was Valerius Soranus.

earth in great pain, and as darkness settled round about him a change came over him. Next morning near the grave of Yellow Sky a large buck was quietly feeding. It was the unhappy husband.¹

Animism.

The second point, which demands notice in connection with the war-spirits or war-gods of ancient Greece and Italy, refers to the animistic idea, which underlies some superstitions which had a great vogue especially among the Romans in all ages. That the war-god or war-spirit accompanied his warriors to the field, interposing in their behalf and prospering their undertaking, has always been the firm conviction of races on a low level of civilization. The ancestors of the Greeks and Romans—nay, they themselves—were no exception to the remark.

Janus.

The Roman war-spirit Janus affords a good illustration. At first he is the god of the doorway (*ianus*) or of the door (*ianua*), opener and inaugurator of all movements, such as the summer and the revolving year. Afterwards he was identified with war, than which no enterprise was more important in the eyes of a Roman. Hence the custom of opening the vaulted gateway of his temple was a prelude to hostilities. It was kept open while the army remained in the field. To this Vergil alludes in the *Æneid*:—

The opening of his temple.

Sunt geminæ Belli portæ, sic nomine dicunt,
Religione sacræ et sævi formidine Martis ;
Centum ærei claudunt vectes æternaque ferri
Robora, nec custos absistit limine Janus :
Has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnæ,
Ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
Insignis reserat stridentia limina consul ;
Ipse vocat pugnæ, sequitur tum cetera pubes,
Aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.²

¹ Dorman, *Myths and Dreams*, 157, quoted by Clodd. So too in Colombia, Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 243.

² vii. 601-604. "There are twain gates of war, so runs their name, consecrate in grim Mars' sanctity and terror. An hundred bolts of brass and masses of everlasting iron shut them fast, and Janus the guardian never sets foot from their threshold. There, when the sentence of the Fathers stands fixed for battle, the Consul, arrayed in the robe of Quirinus and the Gabine cincture, with his own hand unbars the grating

The doors are flung wide open in order that the god may march out with his hosts.¹

We pass on to consider the development of the successive stages of warfare. As has been previously remarked,² it is hard to differentiate between these periods, and we can never say for certain when, where, and how a practice came into existence, or how a belief won recognition. Notwithstanding this uncertainty, however, we can reasonably conjecture the general lines of development, and indicate the chief characteristics of warfare in the several periods through which the early Greeks and Romans presumably passed.

In the hunting stage, which on good grounds we have assumed to have been the earliest period of civilization, so far as it can be traced, the methods pursued in warfare were of the crudest character. Stones roughly cut or hewn, stakes sharpened and burnt at the end, or tipped with horn, the bow and arrow, these would furnish the sole weapons of offence and defence.³ The wild warriors of that day retained possession of the appliances with which they had been endowed, but they originated none. They continued to use the same methods which nature gave them at their birth, but they did not improve upon them.

The "natural" races are always in a latent state of war. It stands to reason that wars in such an early period as this would arise from personal and often from trifling causes. Quarrels between an individual or family might offer an occasion for an encounter. Each party to the dispute would be joined by the members of his family. But the contest would not terminate there. Their forces would be

The hunting stage.

Causes of wars in the earliest times.

Family quarrels.

doors, with his own lips calls battles forth; then all the rest follow on, and the brazen trumpets blare harsh with consenting breath."—(J. W. MACKAIL, *transl.*)

¹ It is stated that on the outbreak of war the general entered the temple of Mars, shook the spear of the god, and raised the cry, "Mars, vigila." Cf. Servius on *Æneid* viii. 3, and x. 228, *Vigilansne, deum gens, Ænea?*

² Ch. ix., pp. 98, 99.

³ Lucretius v. 1283; Horace, *Ep.* i. 3, 100; Diodor. i., p. 28; iii., p. 194; Hygin., *Fab.* 272; Strabo iii. 255; xvii. 177; Suidas ii., p. 90.

strengthened by the accession of kinsmen and friends. Ultimately the *mêlée* would become general and produce far-reaching consequences.¹

Famine.

Under pressure of famine, again, they would sometimes be obliged to fight for food, at others for shelter. Nothing proved a more fruitful source of border warfare than contentions for animals² and pasture land; and the development of words originally associated with oxen into technical terms for war is sufficient testimony to the frequency of conflicts arising from cattle-lifting and to the feuds that were in consequence set on foot.³

Fights for wives.

No doubt the competition for wives, especially among tribes where exogamy (i.e. extra-tribal marriage) prevailed gave rise to such contests as these. Under such circumstances the struggle would be sustained with ungovernable fury, each side bent on gratifying passion or glutting vengeance. A series of reprisals would as a result be inaugurated, and long-standing antipathies, which would be terminated only by the annihilation of one or the other party of combatants.⁴

Vae victis.

The mode of life of the inhabitants reacted upon their methods of warfare. The aim of natural races is to exterminate the adversary; they do not hesitate to destroy the women and children, root and branch; their methods of warfare would naturally be in harmony with such principles. Practices employed in the chase were doubtless carried into the field of battle, and the habit of stalking and waylaying wild beasts would suggest surprises, treachery, and ambushade in war. Accustomed to slaughtering his quarry, the conqueror was hardly likely to be betrayed into any exhibition of remorse in his treatment of a fallen foe, but

¹ Cf. Ratzel, 136.

² Thuc. i. 5; *Iliad.* xxiv. 262.

³ Cf. J. Grimm, *Gesch. der deutschen Sprache*, p. 17; Homer, *Iliad* xi. 401, 677, 683; xiv. 230, 263; *Odyss.* i. 40; iv. 175; xi. 401; xvi. 425; xvii. 432. See Ch. ix., 106.

⁴ A quarrel between two papooses (children) about a grasshopper led to the extermination of a tribe of North American Indians.

thirst for revenge, acting upon passions untempered by a sense of humanity, would gloat in inflicting refined punishments, like impalement, blinding, and mutilation, upon those who lay under his heel. In short, as they expected no quarter, so they would give none.

That the hunting period was succeeded by an age when pasture afforded the chief means of subsistence has been observed in a previous page.¹ Mythology and language concur in describing the important position occupied by the ox, not only as a source of livelihood, but also as an instrument of civilization. As it was the standard of wealth and medium of exchange, so it was the coveted prize in war, and, in matter of fact, the ox has left its traces upon military terminology. *Goshu-yudh*, "one fighting for the cows," is one of the terms for warrior in the Vedic hymns. *Gāv-ishtī*, is another, which first meant "striving for cows," and afterwards "battle."²

The
pastoral
period.

The history of the Roman god Mars is interesting in this connection. Like many other deities who figure in the Roman pantheon, his history exhibits a gradual development running parallel to the fortunes that attended his people and the changes which they underwent. The earliest inhabitants of Rome were evidently shepherds and tillers of the soil, but with the influx of other settlers, especially the Sabines, and the consequent fusion of elements that ensued, the character of the people became altered, and the aspect of their gods experienced a corresponding change. None occupied a more prominent place in their religious traditions than Mars. Whether this deity denoted originally the "god of death," or a "sun-god," or the "spring-god,"³ it is not easy to determine definitely. Whatever Mars may have been in an earlier epoch, whether sun-god or spring-god, after the amalgamation of the various racial elements he

Mars :
develop-
ment of
the con-
ception.

¹ Ch. ix., pp. 102, 103.

² Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 293.

³ Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, § 138, n.

claimed the largest number of votaries at Rome. He was a protector of flocks and field produce, and the god of war.

The next step, as was seen in a previous chapter, was the adoption of agriculture. With its rise war assumed another aspect. It may be recognized as a general principle that, in an early stage of civilization, every male adult will be able to fight, and that war is the passion of that period, but that as a people progresses in civilization the number of fighting population diminishes and their temper abates something of its former ferocity. On the other hand, higher interests are now at stake, and the contest is waged with greater stubbornness. No longer does the issue turn upon the possession of rights to hunting or fishing grounds as in the hunting age, or upon the protection of flocks and herds as in the purely pastoral age, or upon a year's crop of corn, such as formed the staple means of subsistence in an earlier system, half pastoral, half agricultural. No longer can the defeated party betake themselves to flight and seek fresh pastures. No longer are flocks and herds put to the hazard, but the vine and olive,¹ on which long labour and time have been bestowed, the objects of studious care and solicitude, and the slaves also who work on the soil—no insignificant part of the stock and property of the primitive farmer—all these lie at the mercy of the conqueror. Such considerations conspire to embitter the struggle. Accordingly, war is invested with new terrors and brings fresh horrors in its train.

The organization of the army, or rather of the hordes of this primitive stage of culture next demands our attention, and we proceed to trace briefly the transition from the use of tumultuary levies to a system of trained bodies of troops.

It has already appeared that success depended upon force rather than skill, and that a powerful physique, commanding presence, and bravery in action were indispensable qualities

The agricultural period.

Fewer fighters.

But greater issues at stake.

Organization.

Physical qualifications of a warrior all important.

¹ The importance attached to trees inspired the prohibition in Deut. xx. 19, 20. Cf. Herod. i. 17.

in a warrior, and special recommendations in a chief. Even during the Homeric age, in which presumably warfare was more regular and methodical, bodily strength is the foremost characteristic of the warrior. Achilles, Ajax, and Agamemnon, not Odysseus or Nestor, are the natural leaders of the army before the walls of Troy.

This circumstance will explain the further fact that in the earliest epoch, or certainly while the Aryans were still undifferentiated, the rank and file fought on foot. And this point possesses a social significance as well, for it is closely connected with a social movement, to which some reference has already been made. While discussing the origin of class distinctions it became clear that the rise of horse soldiers or cavalry was closely associated with the rise of a nobility. We saw that the Roman burgess and Greek citizen marched on foot. We saw also that an aristocracy, partly supported by their wealth, partly aided by unfounded pretensions to a long line of ancestry, in course of time formed themselves into a separate arm. Yet the change was only gradually effected, for it is known that even as late as the battle of Marathon, at Athens, which afterwards acquired and plumed itself upon a powerful cavalry, only a few families possessed horses which were available for purposes of war.

The origin and rise of cavalry.

Connected with social changes.

The question of the use of mounted soldiers in war is also bound up with the art of riding.¹ It may be safely assumed that the use of chariots preceded the use of horses for that purpose. Antecedently this might be assumed from the comparative easiness of the art of driving. But this is not the only evidence.² It is clear that in the Vedas and in Homer riding, though not unknown, is an art, and the Greek poet refers only to the performance of a professional rider.

The knowledge of riding.

Chariots preceded cavalry.

Evidence of Homer.

On the other hand, the references in Homer to chariots

¹ Cf. Ch. ix., p. 110.

² Cf. Palæphat., *De incred.*, c. i., p. 9.

and fighters from chariots are frequent enough,¹ and the Mycenæan remains bear out his testimony. It may be assumed, therefore, that in the Homeric age bodies of cavalry were unknown, that chariot-fighting itself was exceptional, that it was confined to those of high rank and not always practised by that class of society.² The picture presented by the Homeric poems is almost as follows. The nobles form the chief strength of the Greek army and decide the day. They fight from chariots, and at their side stands the charioteer, frequently not their inferior in birth or bravery. The active combatants compete with each other in feats of daring, and their dearest wish is by their prowess to win fame, and, in Vergil's phrase, "fly triumphing on the lips of men." The irregular infantry, composed of the dependents of the noble class, take no conspicuous share in the engagements. A battle was consequently little more than a series of single combats which depended on the physical strength of an army more than on skill in the use of sword or spear, and on personal bravery more than on stratagem.³

Italy.

The method of fighting in Italy offers an intrinsic contrast to the above scenes. For it would appear that the art of riding supplanted chariot driving at an earlier date in this country. The three hundred *celerēs* or knights, a term especially applied to the bodyguard of the king,⁴ are described

¹ Cf. *Iliad* iv. 393 ; xvi. 776 ; and *Odys.* xxiv. 40. Apparently mares were chiefly used for this purpose. Cf. *Iliad* ii. 763, but see also ii. 839.

² The same phenomenon presents itself in India. Though riding is not unknown in the Vedas (Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 295), this fact does not imply the use of cavalry. But in course of time as in Greece and Italy, so in India cavalry became a recognized arm. Cf. Zimmer, *ibid.* 294 and Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 28 and n. 61, who describes their position on the battlefield. Undoubtedly the war chariot was an eastern invention. It was a product of the broad plains that lay on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. Afterwards it was adopted by the Indians in one direction, by Syrians and Egyptians in the other. Ultimately, as we have seen, it found its way to Greece. Cf. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 19. Dr. Schrader, *Realex.* 840, ascribes *σάρισσ*, an early word for war chariot, to the influence of Asia Minor.

³ So in India, Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 296.

⁴ Livy i. 15, 8.

as mounted and belonged to the oldest military constitution of Rome. On the other hand, the chariot disappeared from view in proportion as the art of riding gained ground, not, however, without leaving a trace behind it in the triumphal car in which the victorious general rode in procession to the Capitol. As usual on occasions of special solemnity the Romans scrupulously observed archaic usages, and the appearance of the successful commander in the pageant riding in a chariot drawn by four white horses, was a vivid memorial of the most ancient practice of returning in a war chariot from the battlefield.¹

But alterations in the constitution of the army or strategy were not the only changes consequent upon an advance in civilization. Time served to soften the asperity of warfare; hostilities were now declared with certain ceremonies, they were conducted in due form, and concluded with regular negotiations. These observances contained the germ of the international diplomacy and international courtesies of our own day.

That it was usual in Homeric times to proclaim war before the commencement of hostilities may be gathered from various passages. The *Iliad* furnishes illustrations of such negotiations before drawing the sword. Such is the embassy in which Odysseus and Menelaus acted, relating to the possession of the Greek Helen, who had been carried away by the Trojan Paris.² To take up arms without sending heralds³ to proclaim hostilities was at all times a breach of faith, and the person of these messengers was sacred and inviolable.

As might be expected from the military character of the Romans, the observances connected with war were widely developed among them. The technical term for the

¹ Cf. R. von Ihering, 322.

² iii. 205.

³ πόλεμος ἀκήρυκτος, "unannounced," "sudden" (Herod. v. 81); "implacable" (Xen., *Anab.* iii. 3, 5).

challenge was *clarigatio*.¹ It was, strictly speaking, a solemn demand for redress,² and the following formalities were observed. In order to invest it with a sacred character and obtain the sanction of the gods, the *fetialis*³ was entrusted with the office of demanding satisfaction. If restoration or reparation was refused, the same officials proceeded to declare war in the most solemn manner in the name of the gods and people of Rome. Arrived at the border of the enemy's territory, the chief of the *fetiales*, called *pater patratus*,⁴ hurled a spear across the boundary and called gods and men to witness the justice of his people's cause.⁵ It is clear that these ceremonies fulfilled a twofold purpose, to declare hostilities and to commend their cause to heaven.

Truces and
treatment
of the
slain.

The spread of milder manners and the gradual growth of humane ideas is yet further attested by another practice which came into vogue—the reverent treatment of the dead. With savage or uncivilized races at all times despoiling the dead was the sign of victory. The victor, therefore, prided himself on the spoils that he brought home as a proof of his prowess. But whatever the practice may have been originally, by Homer's time the honourable foeman shrank from offering this insult to his vanquished opponent.

¹ *Clarigare*, from *clarus*, "loud," "distinct."

² Their claim was termed *res repetere*, i.e. demand back from the enemy things which they had taken as booty. Cf. Varro L.L. 5, § 86, Müller.

³ Or "speaker," from *fari*, "to speak."

⁴ From *patro*(*r*), "execute," "conclude." One of the conditions of the appointment of this official was that his father must be yet living and that he must have children of his own. He was entrusted with the charge of youths who required special care. Plutarch, *Rom. Quest.*, § 62, remarks upon this: "The man who hath the superintendence of treaties of peace and of others ought to see, as Homer saith, before and behind. And in all reason such an one is he like to be, who hath a child for whom, and a father with whom he may consult."

⁵ Cf. Livy i. 32; Serv. on *Æneid* ix. 53. The same usage obtained among Germans. Leist, *Græcoitalische Rechtsgesch.* 449. Among the Turco-tatar races the name for a declaration of war is *tug kötürmek* or *kaldırmaq*, "lifting of the spear (namely, the banner)"; *tug tikmek*, "planting the spear in the earth," denotes a halt. Vámbéry, *Die Prim. Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, 124.

From a superstitious dread he refrained from doing despite to his fallen antagonist or depriving him of the rites of burial. Such were the motives that actuated Achilles on one occasion :—

κατὰ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡετίωνα,
 Οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε, σεβάσματο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ,
 Ἄλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκχε σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν
 Ἴδ' ἐπὶ σῆμ' ἔχεεν.¹

Only after exasperation through the death of his bosom friend Patroclus could an Achilles stoop to despoil the body of the foe and drag his corpse behind his chariot-wheels.²

The remark was made on a previous page that no word for peace exists in the vocabulary which is common to the Aryan races. This circumstance may be looked upon as an indication that wars were fought until one of the parties was exhausted or annihilated. Such a war was known in later times as *bellum internecinum*,³ “war to the knife” or “of extermination.” But traces are forthcoming, after the Greek and Italic races assumed a separate existence and after humane ideas superseded the indulgence of racial hatreds, of a resort to negotiation. The same officials acted as in the formalities that preceded the conflict. A similar place was occupied in Italy by ambassadors. The earliest term for these officials was *oratores*, “speakers,” which

Negotiations for peace.

Greek Heralds.

Roman ambassadors.

¹ *Iliad* vi. 416, “and he slew Eëtion, yet he despoiled him not, for his soul had shame of that, but he burnt him in his inlaid armour and raised a barrow over him.”—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*) Cf. the threats in *Iliad* i. 4; *Odysse*. iii. 259; *Aeneid* ix. 485; Ovid, *Heroid* xi. 83; Deut. xxviii. 26.

² The petitions of fallen foes, that their bodies may be spared, point in the same direction. Part of the spoils was reserved for a trophy, to mark the spot where victory had been gained and to commemorate the rout (*τρέπω*, meaning to “turn,” “put to flight”). It consisted of helmets and shields hung upon a tree with the branches lopped off, or a post with transverse timbers to represent the human frame. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* xi. 5, 16, 173. If the enemy once allowed these humiliating memorials of defeat to be erected the laws of war provided that they should be left undisturbed.

³ Or *internecinum*. Cf. *internecio*.

occurs in the oldest literature of Rome.¹ But the word was superseded in process of time by the term *legatus* or "commissioner."

Religious
character
of treaties.

Greece.

The religious character and significance attached to a treaty appears from the formalities observed in concluding it. The very name for treaty in Greek, *σπονδαί*, contains a reference to the fact that at the conclusion of peace wine was poured out in libation to the gods (*σπένδειν*) in order to win their favour, to secure their co-operation, and to invite their benedictions upon the parties to the contract. No less emphasis was laid upon the religious aspect of a treaty in Italy; indeed, the Romans, with their usual punctiliousness in such matters, observed to the letter the traditional principles in this particular, or, in their own language, *mos maiorum*, which their forefathers had handed down to them.

Italy.

But a detailed account of these proceedings would lie outside the range of our investigation. It will suffice to mention one point. An historian furnishes the words of the formal oath recited in concluding peace: *Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tu illo die, Juppiter, populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam: tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.*²

¹ Varro Non. pp. 1, 362. G. Fetiales legatos res repetitum mittebant quattuor, quos oratores vocabant. Ennius in Varro LL., § 7, 41, Müller, orator sine pace redit, regique refert rem. Plaut., *Stich.* iii. 2, 35; Cicero, *Leg.* ii. 9, 21.

² Liv. i. 24, 8. "If (the Roman people) first depart from these conditions with common purpose and intentional deceit, on that day do thou, Juppiter, so strike them as I shall here this day strike this swine, and do thou strike so much the more, the greater thy power and might." Cf. ix. 5, 3; Verg., *Aeneid.* viii. 641, and the phrases *fœdus icere*, *ferire*, *percutere*, "to strike a treaty;" also the proverbial expression *Jovem lapidem iurare*, which was applied to one who swore by Jupiter, holding in one hand a stone, in the other a knife with which he pierced the sacrificial sow (see Ch. xxvi., p. 360). The following extract from a letter in the *Homeward Mail*, March 4th, 1890, presents a curious resemblance to the practice described by Livy. "No. 4 Camp, Northern Lushai Column, Feb. 5.—All the chiefs along the Khlong river seem most amicably inclined towards us. One, called Mumpunga, chief of a considerable village near here, came in yesterday, and took an oath of

friendship to Mr. Murray, the political officer, according to the Lushai rites. The chief and Mr. Murray, each with a hand on a spear, plunged it into a pig; then Mumpunga smeared some of the blood on Mr. Murray's forehead, and the latter returned the compliment. A similar ceremony was performed with a gayal. The chief then, pointing to the river flowing below, said, 'Until yonder stream runs backwards will I be your friend.'

The custom of confirming friendship by means of blood is, however, not modern. Plutarch, in *Publicola*, speaking of the Romans, says, ὄρκον ὁμόσαι μέγαν ἔδοξε πᾶσι καὶ δεινὸν, ἀνθρώπου σφαγέντος ἐπισπείσαντας αἷμα καὶ τῶν σπλάγγων θιγόντας. Herod. iv. 70 (Carians); Lucian, *Toxar.* 37; Herod. iii. 11 (Greeks and Carians); Tacitus, *Annals* xii. 47.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HOSPITALITY.

Hos-
pitality a
force
making for
culture.

THE recognition of foreigners' rights, which was beginning to show itself in the resort to parley, negotiation, and treaty for composing public quarrels, as described at the end of the last chapter, afforded a starting-point for future developments of momentous import in the growth of culture. For such a recognition reveals an advance of thought and supplies a key to the secret of the greatness attained by certain civilized states in comparison with others. It is a commonplace of history that those races which have risen highest in the scale of civilization are just those which have acted and reacted upon each other by mutual communication, amicable rivalry, and interchange of ideas. The early history of the Greeks and Italians in its several stages exhibits both features; that is to say, the aloofness which marks the barbarian races and the sociability of the enlightened. At first they displayed a rooted suspicion and actual hostility towards those who were outside the pale. Afterwards, realizing the benefits that flowed from intertribal or international intercourse, they came to look on outsiders with a friendly eye.

The institution of hospitality, therefore, is a highly significant criterion of culture. The principle operated in various ways. It exerted a softening effect on manners. It had an important influence in moulding and shaping the views in regard to property. This is not all. It laid the foundations of the international relations and international diplomacy of after ages.

That the Greek outstripped the Italian in this respect will become clear as we proceed. Meanwhile, it may be observed that Roman law only extended legal protection to strangers at a late period. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that not until the introduction of Christianity were the barriers between the native and the foreigner broken down altogether.

Superiority of the Greek over the Italian in this respect.

There are reasons for thinking that the idea of hospitality passed through the following phases. The tenour of human history runs thus. In the earliest stages of social evolution the foreigner simply has no rights which command consideration at the hands of his fellow-men. We have already had occasion to refer more than once to this trait in the character of primitive peoples.¹ It appears in various parts of the globe. "The appellation which the Iroquois give to themselves," says Robertson in his history of America,² "is 'The Chief of men.' . . . The Cherokees, from an idea of their own superiority, called the Europeans 'nothings' or the 'accursed race,' and assumed to themselves the name of the 'beloved people.' . . . They called them (Europeans) the froth of the sea, men without father or mother. They suppose that either they have no country of their own and therefore invaded that which belonged to others; or that, being destitute of the necessaries of life at home, they were obliged to roam over the ocean, in order to rob such as were more amply provided." Instances of such simplicity might be multiplied. The truth is, primitive races regard only members of their community, whether tribe or clan, as the case may be, as united to themselves by any civil tie. That the ancestors of European races who have stood or stand in the forefront of civilized nations at this day have at one time formed conceptions and harboured sentiments of this kind is clear from language, literature, and law. The ancient Germans inflicted neither banishment nor

Stages in the growth of hospitality.

The foreigner has at first no rights.

¹ Cf. Ch. ii., pp. 12 n., 19 n.; iii., 31 n.

² Book iv., *fn.*

penalty upon the slayer of a foreigner.¹ The Athenians, and the Romans as well, allowed a stranger the right to plead through a native-born representative only.

The evidence of language.

Upon this point language furnishes an instructive commentary. The Greek word *βάρβαρος* originally meant "stammerers"² or "twitterers."³ But it came to be applied to those who were strangers to Greek manners, especially to those who did not speak Greek, since language⁴ formed the main line of demarcation between the Greek and the foreigner.⁵ But *βάρβαρος* does not stand alone in this particular. The Sanskrit *barbara* not only bears upon its very surface proofs of its identity with the Greek word, but has passed through similar stages. It was used in the first instance of un-Aryan races in India and afterwards employed in a contemptuous sense to denote a man of lowest origin or intelligence.⁶ The foregoing considerations, however,

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 397.

² Cf. the Latin *balbus*, *balbutiens*, "stammering," "stuttering"; whence the Spanish *bobo*, "blockhead," English "booby," Slovenic *brbrati*.

³ It is used of birds: Soph., *Antig.* 1002, *βεβαρβαρωμένω*, and Aristophanes, *Birds*, 199, *βάρβαροι*. Cf. Herod. ii. 57, where the historian conjectures that the women who presided at the oracle of Dodona were called doves by the natives because they were barbarians and they seemed to chatter like birds. Also Pliny, x. 42: *merula hieme balbutit*. Cf. Ch. xiii., p. 154.

⁴ Cf. the use of *ἄγλωσσος* as an equivalent to *βάρβαρος* in Sophocles, *Trach.* 1060. The Greeks in their contempt for everything foreign did not think it worth while studying foreign languages. Cf. *χαλεπώτερον ἢ ἡ Περσικὴ διάλεκτος*.

⁵ The later history of *βάρβαρος* is interesting. The word was adopted by the Romans in the form *barbarus*, and even they called themselves barbarians (Cf. Plautus, *Asin. Prolog.*, II, *Trin. Prolog.* 19, Marcus vortit *barbare*, namely, Latine). The Greek writers of Byzantium called the Romans by this name to the last. But after the Augustan age *barbarus* was used of those who were strangers to Greek and Roman accomplishments, as "outlandish" might be. Finally the name was limited to the Teutonic races and perpetuated itself in the Romance languages. Cf. also Liddell and Scott *in verb.*

⁶ Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 200. The attitude assumed by natives towards foreigners finds expression in the languages of many other races. The following words afford illustrations: Hebrew *Goim*, "Gentiles"; German *Wälsch*, for Celt. The Slavonic expression for Germans is slightly different: *němici*, "dumb"; and the Lithuanian proverb runs, "He is like a German, he doesn't understand the word (speech) of

must not be taken to imply an application of the term *βάρβαρος* or a racial severance at a very early period. The probability is that the distinction is post-Homeric. For in Homer *βάρβαρος* occurs but once, namely, in the compound *βαρβαρόφωνος* (*Iliad* ii. 867), and there the word bears its primitive signification and indicates a man who spoke a corrupt form of Greek.¹

The absence of a correlative term to *βάρβαρος* points in the same direction. Apparently there was no distinctive name for Hellenes. This title was originally used of the men of Phthiotis who followed Achilles to the wars. Such a supposition entirely accords with the state of Greece for which a grave historian like Thucydides vouches. After a careful examination of the evidence at his command he is driven to the conclusion that the Hellenic tribes, owing to their weakness and isolation, never united together in any great enterprise before the Trojan war. The legitimate deduction from the statement made by this author is, that the distinction between Hellene and Barbarian had not yet been drawn. But however that may be, in course of time circumstances conspired to widen the gulf between the Aryan and the foreigner, and led the former to take up a more decided attitude, namely, that of contempt towards those who crossed his path. The early experiences of the ancestors of Greek and Roman rendered such an attitude unavoidable. Engaged, as they often must have been, in tribal feuds or petty warfare (the normal condition of primitive races), having no fixed habitation, no regulated system of government, but ranging far and wide in search of food, they could hardly fail to view strangers with suspicion, if not with positive hostility.

The testimony of language is pertinent to our purpose here. That a connection exists between the following series

No distinctive name for Hellenes either.

The foreigner regarded as an enemy.

The evidence of language.

rational people." Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 922, and Miklosich, *Ety. Wörterbuch*, p. 308. Cf. Herod. ii. 158 on the Ægyptians.

¹ Cf. Strabo, p. 661, and Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, p. 4.

The
divergence
of meaning
and its
cause.
Hostis,
"enemy."

of words, the Latin *hostis*,¹ the Old High German *gast*, and the Old Slovenic *gostī* is indisputable; but their meanings diverged. For while the German word gradually assumed the signification of stranger simply, or friendly stranger,² the Latin term continued to connote unfriendliness, and became the regular expression for enemy. Yet at one time it bore the meaning of foreigner equally with the Germanic and Slovenic terms that have been quoted.³ It is an attractive supposition that we have here a linguistic record of the fortunes of the Italic races, or certainly of the race with which the Latin language is chiefly associated, namely, the Roman people, a race to whom war was once a necessity of existence and always a natural passion. Whatever the cause of the softening of the meaning of the term may be in Germanic, Gothic and Slavonic on the one hand, and its continued severity in Latin on the other, the fact remains that *hostis* was always used to denote enemy. But the idea of hospitality was not unknown to the Romans, as is proved by the compound *hospes*, meaning "host" and "guest."⁴

Hospes,
"host"
and
"stranger."
ξένος.

The Greek word *ξένος* presents an interesting parallel to the Latin *hostis*. For that *ξένος* also at one time bore an invidious meaning is indicated by its derivation from the same root as the series already cited. The *ξένος*, too, originally was regarded in the light of an injurer, a plunderer, an enemy. If we were left in any doubt upon this matter it would be dispelled by the reflection that this explanation derives further countenance from history. For it is probably more than a coincidence that Sparta, the Rome of the Greek peninsula, the state which, in order to maintain the supremacy of the dominant people, trusted

¹ Namely, *hostis*, the letter *f* representing in Italic dialects the *gh* in other dialects.

² Under all of these words lay a root implying injury (root *skā*, seen in *ἀσκηθής*, "unhurt," "unharméd"), and *hostis* bears a recognizable relation to *hasta*, "spear."

³ *Hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus*, Festus, p. 102. Cf. Cicero, *De Off.* i. 12, 37; Varro L.L. 5, § 3, Müller.

⁴ *Hostipets*, meaning primarily "host," and then "guest": Vaniček.

for its security to incessant vigilance—the state which had just cause for the exclusion of strangers, and at the same time adhered steadfastly or tenaciously to time-honoured traditions, should have been credited in antiquity with a wholesome prejudice against aliens. So much at any rate is implied in the word *ξενηλασία*, or “alien act,” which is ascribed to them alike by the historian and the philosopher.¹ The whole of the evidence therefore points to the conclusion that the growth of language moved in parallel lines to the growth of ideas in the transition from unfriendly to friendly feeling between native and foreigner.²

Mythology comes to the aid of philology here and lends its ray of light in the investigation. The legends that tell of an age in which the rites of hospitality were habitually violated are numerous, and only one or two specimens can be adduced here. It is said, for instance, that the contemporaries of Deucalion recognized no rights of man, and that in consequence their sins were visited on their heads, for they were overwhelmed by a destructive flood. We have already spoken of the unsociableness and isolation of the giant Cyclopes; of Polyphemus's saturnine treatment of Odysseus, when the Greek “comes to his knees,” and asks for a stranger's gift as is his due;³ of the graceful concession made by the ogre to his visitor, that he will eat him last of his company, and that this privilege shall suffice as a “stranger's gift,”⁴ or “gift of friendship.” These facts together with the events that ensued in the island home of the Cyclopes betoken an antipathy towards strangers. But the Cyclopes were not alone in their surliness. No less inhospitable was the reception accorded to Odysseus and his companions among the grim Laestrygones, as he tells us himself. The narrative is as follows. When the advance

The evidence of Mythology.

The Cyclopes and Laestrygones.

¹ Thuc. i. 144; ii. 39; Xen., *Lac.* 14, 4; Plat., *Prot.* 342 C.

² Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, 1860, i. 219, says that among the Wakuafi the word Orlmagnati means “friend” and “foe.”

³ *Odys.* ix. 266. Cf. Ch. x., p. 124.

⁴ *Odys.* ix. 370.

party arrived in the course of their wanderings hard by the town of King Antiphates,¹ they met a noble damsel drawing water, who introduced them to the high-roofed hall of her father. The queen, who was huge of bulk as a mountain peak, and loathly to behold, proceeded to contrive with her lord a pitiful destruction for the strangers who had been driven upon their shores. Indeed, it appears to have been Odysseus's fate to be thrown more than once into the company of monsters of this kind who regarded neither gods nor men. But others besides those with whom the hero came into contact were characterized by a similar inhospitality. Such was Echetos of Epeiros, the terror of all men, who did not stop short of mutilating those who rashly or inadvertently visited his borders and placed themselves in his power. Nay, Herakles, divine or demigod though he was, showed no moral superiority over ordinary mortals in this particular. For when Iphitos came once upon a time in search of twelve brood mares, Herakles entertained him, but, casting covetous eyes on the steeds himself, had no respect to the vengeance of the gods, nor for the table which he spread before his guest, but crowned his censurable conduct by murder. The truth is, much of the tragic horror that attaches to the histories of some families in Greek legend, namely, of Peleus, of Atreus, and of Thyestes, is derived from the violation of the moral obligation of hospitality under the influence of a maddening Ate or fatal delusion.

Echetos
and
Herakles.

The
Taurians.

The inhabitants of the Tauric Chersonese (the modern Crimea) were also notorious for their disregard of human life. They used to sacrifice to the virgin Artemis (who wears in this tradition the revolting aspect of an Indian idol, and betrays traces of extraneous elements) all shipwrecked sailors who were thrown upon their shores. This usage supplies the motive of the legends concerning Iphi-

¹ x. 104.

geneia, to which allusion has already been made.¹ She was rescued from an untimely doom, and transported (so ran the legend) to Tauris, where she presided over the bloody sacrifice. Upon the altar-stone were russet stains, relics of human blood, signs of inhuman rites duly celebrated in honour of the cruel goddess.

The evidence cited above, whether in the shape of The above traditions of a barbarous age. historical facts, documentary history, or legendary tradition, should probably be regarded as echoes of a former age, when the sense of humanity was crude and undeveloped. But however that may be, the very reference to these traditions in Homer argues an advance in the social sentiment at the date of the Homeric age. Evidently from the point of view of the poems inhospitable treatment of strangers belongs to a dim and shadowy past. It is retained only by the inhabitants of the borderland between barbarism and civilization. The conduct of the Cyclopes, the Laestrygones, or the Taurians, and of Echetos or Herakles, is thrown into relief against the general picture of the manners of Homer's age, for the very reason that they never knew or never respected the rights of humanity. No one, then, can affect a doubt of the inhospitality of those who lived in the earliest epoch.

We are led to inquire in what way the transition from a suspicion and hatred of strangers to a friendly intercourse

¹ Ch. vii., pp. 84, 85. The Scythians on the Pontus were noted for their cruelty towards strangers.—Strabo v., p. 300. Underneath the inhospitality of the Taurians towards those who were thrown upon their shores lies a further reason which may be urged in palliation, though not in justification of their insensibility. Not only was the sense of the natural rights of man imperfectly developed, but shipwreck was regarded as a punishment for offences against the gods, and therefore to help the shipwrecked would provoke divine wrath. Thus Æolus's attitude is changed towards Odysseus when the latter, having been once hospitably entertained by him, returns to the island driven by the fierce fury of the wind. "Far be it from me to help or to further that man whom the blessed gods abhor. Get thee forth, for lo! thy coming marks thee hated by the deathless gods."—*Odys.* x. 72. Such ideas are not uncommon among barbarous tribes at this day. Cf. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 390; Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois* ii., p. 199. It will be remembered that Dante dwells upon the sin of pitying those condemned by God.

The change of attitude; how it was occasioned.

The beginning of commerce.

The significance of an exchange of gifts.

with them was brought about. The reason for the change is probably to be sought in the exigences of commercial intercourse; the cultivation of a friendly feeling towards strangers was an indispensable preliminary to commerce. The analogy afforded by untutored races of the present day is not devoid of interest in this connection; indeed, some of their customs have an immediate bearing and throw much light upon the origin of commerce in Greece and Italy.

A German author,¹ in describing life in the South Sea Islands, alludes to a practice which resembles a well-known institution in Greece and is otherwise relevant. His words are to the following effect. "Besides the salutation a special gift forms part of the sign or proof of hospitality. It serves in some measure as a continuation and confirmation of the greeting. It consists of fruit, fish, mats, and things of the kind," which, adds the author, "form to some extent the basis of traffic in barter and of commerce."

That this practice was firmly established in the society whose manners are depicted by Homer is clear from the numerous allusions to it in the pages of the poet. Reference has already been made to the claim of gifts on the part of Odysseus and its cynical rejection by Polyphemus, the Cyclops. These presents took a variety of forms; a mixing bowl of flowered work might be bestowed on one, a goodly mantle or needlework of divers colours on another, a sharp sword or a mighty spear on a third. These gifts as a rule were made on the departure of the guest.² They were at once the formal introduction and prelude to an intimate friendship between giver and receiver.³ It was a religious duty to present such tokens of hospitality.⁴ To deny them was a mark of boorishness and brutality; to violate a friendship

¹ G. Klemm, *Kulturgeschichte* iv. 310, quoted by Schrader in *Linguistisch-historische Forschungen zur Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, p. 11.

² *Odyss.* xxiv. 273; xxi. 34, δῶρα ξεινήια. Nicolas Damascenus observes that the Cretans prized weapons most of all.

³ ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος, *Odyss.* xxi. 35.

⁴ *Odyss.* viii. 389; ix. 269.

sealed by gifts given and received was a great sin, and the penalty that awaited the culprit inspired great dread. Still, these presentations were not dictated by sentimental reasons only, but served the very practical purpose of laying the foundations of mercantile transactions in time to come.

It is worth while following up the history of these gifts a little further. We have seen that they were directly due to commercial considerations. Accordingly the merchant is in a very real sense a medium and instrument of culture.¹ Now, it has been already shown that the Phœnicians bore a leading part in the development of trade in Mediterranean waters.² It would be only natural, therefore, to find traces of their influence in methods of transacting business. So it proves. There is a strong presumption in favour of supposing that these commercial tokens in Greece and Italy, the *σύμβολον* and *tessera hospitalis*, were closely connected with the Phœnician race, if not directly derived from them. These expedients, which, as we have seen, were employed for the protection of commerce, are mentioned in Plautus by the name of *chirs aëlichot* or potsherds. They afforded means of mutual recognition. Each party to the friendship, whether instituted for commercial or for social purposes, took away half of the token, which served as a clue to the bearer's identity. Upon the production of the respective portions, either by the individual in question or by a representative,³ by piecing the two halves together recognition was possible. In course of time, as commerce developed and was systematized, the arrangement gained a legal significance, and the token was used, not to ensure a hospitable reception, but as a guarantee of legal protection. Such developments, however, belong to a later age, and we are at present chiefly concerned with the social aspect

The development and importance of these gifts in commercial transactions.

Phœnician influence.

Merchants' tokens.

¹ It is interesting to observe that the Old Slovenic *gosti* bears the sense of stranger and merchant. See Miklosich *in verb.*

² Ch. v., p. 54. Cf. Movers, *Die Phönizier* ii. 3, p. 122.

³ See F. C. Movers, *Phönizische Texte*, 1845; P. Schroeder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, 1869, and R. von Ihering, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1887, iii., pp. 420, 459.

of hospitality. Some of the features and formalities are peculiarly instructive.

Entertain-
ment.
Greece.

The duties of householders, as we have seen, were transmitted from generation to generation. Among the responsibilities resting upon the head of the house for the time being was the obligation to maintain the traditional hospitality. The reception of the hereditary guests, πατρώιοι ξένοι,¹ was one of the most important.

Italy.

In like manner, it was incumbent on the representative of an Italian family to fulfil these obligations towards those who were bound to him by ties of this nature. The Romans regarded it as a solemn duty. To this a Latin author alludes when he recounts the duties devolving upon a Roman according to traditional custom: constabat ex moribus populi Romani in tertio loco esse hospites. Huius moris observationisque multa sunt testimonia documentaque in antiquitatibus perscripta;² and certainly his statement is borne out by historians. We read, for instance, of those who were thus united sending their children to be educated at the home of these distant friends.³ But nowhere, either in Italy or in Greece, do we find such a pleasing picture of the establishment and maintenance of these hereditary friendships as in the Homeric poems. As with unprogressive races in various parts of the globe,⁴ so with the Greeks it is assumed that the stranger meets with entertainment and receives protection as a matter of course, but that he must be brought into personal relations with the head of the family who take him in. He must enter the host's dwelling or touch his garment. When this has been done, he becomes, as it were, one of his children.⁵ A traveller

Scenes
from
Homer.

¹ *Odys.* i. 187; iii. 354; viii. 207, 550; *Iliad* vi. 215, 231.

² A. Gell. v. 13. "It was part of the principles of the Roman people to treat strangers as having the third claim upon their consideration (next to relatives). Archæological treatises contain many detailed evidences and proofs of this custom and courtesy."

³ Cf. Livy ix. 36; *Iliad* i. 45; v. 50; xxxvii. 36.

⁴ Cf. O. Flügel in *Z. für Völkerpsychologie* xii., p. 55.

⁵ Cf. Leist, *Græcoital. Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 215.

was always welcomed as one of the family, and, whenever opportunity offered, those who were entertained were not slow to return the hospitality, and ever cherished a friendly feeling towards those who had shown it. Such a public benefactor was Axylus, of whom we read in Homer. Ever ready to give a night's shelter and a night's food and help on the way to anyone who was brought by chance to his door, he won the esteem and affection of his countrymen :—

ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο, φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισιν
πάντας γὰρ φιλέεσκεν, ὄδῳ ἐπὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων.¹

The stranger, then, who can plead either merit or misfortune is sure of a favourable reception in the one case and of relief in the other. Whether gentle or simple, he is readily admitted, and indignation is expressed if he is kept waiting at the door. No sooner does he appear at the threshold than everybody present bids him welcome and insists on his sitting down² with the company; all vie with each other in showing attention and rendering service.³ The host extends to his guest the right hand of fellowship and offers him greeting. The poet gives prominence to this pledge of good faith when he describes the interview between two warriors on the battlefield. They are about to engage in mortal combat, when they suddenly pause, and recognize each other's name. After a recital of their respective genealogies, mindful of the intimacy between their ancestral houses, they plant their spears in the ground and exchange goodly gifts :—

χειράς τ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην καὶ πιστώσαντο.⁴

Still, generally speaking, in such cases the friendship is not ratified until the stranger partakes of the family or

¹ *Iliad* vi. 12, "a man of substance dear to his fellows; for his dwelling was by the roadside, and he entertained all men."

² *Odys.* i. 119; iii. 34.

³ Admetus (in Euripides, *Alcestis*, 540), having lost his wife, hides his grief from his guest Herakles, rather than let his hospitality be impeached.

⁴ *Iliad* vi. 233, "they clasped each other by the hand and pledged their faith." Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* iii. 610: Ipse pater dextram Anchises haut multa moratus Dat iuveni, atque animum præsentī pignore firmat.

common meal, which, as usual, is consecrated by an offering.¹ Afterwards, when the time arrives for departure he takes his leave loaded with gifts.² But the acquaintance does not terminate there. It has now been cemented by the exchange of gifts, and from henceforth an obligation rests upon the recipient always to reciprocate the feeling and, when occasion demands, to return the hospitality enjoyed.

The social or convivial benefits conferred by the system were therefore by no means inconsiderable. But other advantages accrued from the arrangement. For so long as the stranger enjoys the shelter of the house where he has been received he is safe from harm. This immunity from danger or annoyance was not peculiar to Greece and Italy.³ Many untutored races at this day pay respect to the person of the stranger so long as he is under their roof.⁴ That this regard for the safety of the visitor, which is frequently found in combination with the rudest barbarism, was a familiar feature in Homeric society is attested by a number of passages. The following is one:—Eumæus the swineherd is entertaining his master Odysseus unawares in the guise of a beggar. When the stranger suggests to his host that he might set upon him and take his life, as a terror to other vagrants, his host scouts the idea:—

Ξεῖν', οὐτῶ γάρ κέν μοι εὐκλείη τ' ἀρετή τε
 Εἶη ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἅμα τ' αὐτίκα καὶ μετέπειτα,
 Ὅς σ' ἐπεὶ ἐς κλισίην ἄγαγον καὶ ξείνια δῶκα,
 Ἀπίτις δὲ κτείναιμι, φίλον τ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλοίμην
 Πρόφρων κεν δὴ ἔπειτα Δία Κρονίῳνα λιτοίμην,⁵

¹ Plutarch states that the Locri in such cases did not ask the stranger's name.

² *Odys.* xxiv. 275, 285. Cf. xv. 82; xix. 240.

³ Cf. Lindemann, *Die Moral*, p. 209; Genesis xix. 8; Exodus xxii. 21-24; Leviticus xix. 33, 34.

⁴ The story of the Arab host is well known. As he sat at the door of his tent one evening a traveller applied to him for hospitality. The child of the desert granted the request unhesitatingly. At the evening meal, however, he recognized in his guest the man who had taken his brother's life; and before they retired to rest the host addressed his guest in this wise:—"Stranger, in my stable stands my fleetest steed; rise up betimes, saddle him, and flee for thy life, for thou art he that slew my brother."

⁵ *Odys.* xiv. 404. "Yea, stranger, even so should I get much honour

The analogy holds good of Italy also. Treachery towards ^{Italy.} guests was regarded with equal horror by the Romans. The historian places on record such a breach of faith and stigmatizes it as a crime. He uses the following language in describing the incident :—

Scelus occidendi hospitibus . . . execratus deinde in caput regnumque Persiæ et hospitales deos violatæ ab eo fidei testes invocans.¹

It will be readily seen, in view of the conditions of early ^{Right of asylum.} society, for example, in the case of persecution for homicide, that occasions often arose for the exercise of hospitality towards strangers, who from whatever cause found themselves cast adrift and abandoned to the world, and also for the observance of good faith towards those who thus placed their lives and their honour in a friend's keeping.² No greater calamity could befall a Greek or Italian than banishment. How intolerable the lot of the exile was, even when, in historic times, comparatively alleviated, may be seen from the *Pontic Epistles* of Ovid and the *Letters* of Cicero. It requires no effort of the imagination therefore to realize the dire extremities to which the forlorn being would be reduced in a yet earlier age, when driven from home or tribe he

and good luck among men, both now and ever hereafter, if after bringing thee to my hut and giving thee a stranger's cheer, I should turn again and slay thee and take away thy dear life. With good heart thereafter would I pray to Zeus, the son of Cronos."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*) Or, "I should be fain thereupon to pray to Zeus" (the patron god of strangers), to make my peace with him.

¹ Livy xxxix. 51 (569). "After cursing the crime of killing a guest he called the gods of strangers to witness against the head and kingdom of Persia the breach of faith that had been committed." The crime is condemned as strongly elsewhere. Cf. 52, "proditus ab hospite"; and xl. 4 (570), "fidus hospites"; ix. 6 (433), "iustus omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis funguntur officiis."

² It would not be difficult to trace the evolution of public hospitality from private. In Homer the king, who occupies in the state the same position as the father in the household (see Ch. xxiii., p. 302), receives foreign representatives on behalf of the community, and calls upon the members to contribute to the maintenance of the strangers.—*Odyss.* xix. 198. Post, *Die Anfänge*, p. 123, furnishes parallel instances of the practice. Places were reserved for the strangers at the common meals (*συσίτια*). Schömann, *Griech. Altert.* i., p. 327. Further, when commerce developed, the interests of traders were safeguarded by *πρόξενοι*, the forerunners of modern consuls. Cf. also Livy i. 45; v. 50; viii. 3.

wandered either among the wild beasts of forest and field or among strangers, a term synonymous in that age with "enemy."

Terms for
exile.

The testimony of language is eloquent of the feeling with which banishment from home or from the tribe was viewed and the mental anguish as well as physical suffering that exile entailed. The Italian when so placed was called *exsul*, one who is banished from his native soil. He was forbidden fire and water, the two essentials of life. His counterpart in Greece fared no better. Even when admitted to another country or state it was as an alien (*μετανάστης*)¹; the epithet, *ἀτίμητος*, which he bore in Homer, implied that if he were murdered no composition was exacted for taking his life.²

Places of
refuge for
fugitives

among
the
Hebrews

Under such circumstances as these a place of refuge would be a boon to the wanderer, and such a provision appears to have been made at an early stage among those races which figure in history as the pioneers of humanitarianism, while they were emerging from their original barbarism. That the Hebrews provided such places of refuge, where the manslayer might repair to escape the vengeance of the victim's kinsfolk, is well known to every reader of the Hebrew Scriptures. But these were not the only places of the kind. The fugitive fled to the horns of the altar, and so long as he remained there was inviolate; infractions of the privilege of sanctuary were regarded with supreme detestation as sins of the greatest magnitude. Neither were the Greeks behind-hand in this respect. The suppliant might count upon security so long as he remained within the sacred precincts. He could not be dragged away, and owed his safety to the sanctity of the spot. Such is the meaning of the word *ἄσυλον* (*á*, "not", *συλᾶν*, "drag"), which, passing from the

and the
Greeks.

¹ Ch. xx., p. 264.

² Dr. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, shows how language affords an interesting insight into the ancient feeling about exile. The German *elend*, "from another country"; English "wretch" (Anglo-Saxon *vrecca*, "outlawed"). Cf. Old Slovenic *kalika*, "stranger"; Roumanian *kalik*, "needy"; Polish *kaleka*, "cripple."

Greek language to the Latin, survives in English to this day.

To sum up what has been said on the subject of hos-
pitality, throughout this institution run three ideas. The
benefit accruing to society from such a system is obvious. It facilitated friendly relations between tribe and tribe, or intercourse between country and country, and therefore imparted a stimulus to commerce. It mitigated the severity of the traditional methods of avenging murder. But it also possessed a religious aspect. The person of the suppliant was inviolable. He could not indeed claim legal redress, but the violator of his rights committed a heinous offence, and consequently incurred the Divine displeasure. In like manner, nothing shocked the susceptibilities of the Roman world more than a betrayal or surrender of a fugitive into the hands of his pursuers, although the attitude of the Roman differs somewhat from that of the Greek. The Roman recognized only the moral obligation to ensure the safety of those who had placed themselves at his mercy and trusted to his honour. The Greek was actuated by a further principle: he dreaded the anger of the offended deity, of Zeus or Themis, of the patron god or goddess of strangers. The foregoing considerations—that is, the social significance and religious import of the recognition of the duty of hospitality—tended to produce a third result. He who admits the obligation of sharing hearth and home with a stranger begins to see in his guest a fellow-man, and the poet struck a new note which was unfamiliar even to Greek ears when he sang:—

Ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνός θ' ἰκέτης τε τέτυκται
Ἀνέρι, ὅς τ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπιψαύῃ πραπίδεςσιν.¹

¹ Homer, *Odys.* viii. 546. "In a brother's place stand the stranger and the suppliant, to him whose wits have even a little range."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

CHAPTER XXIX.

COMMERCE.

Connection
of hospi-
tality
with
commerce.

THE institution of hospitality, which engaged our attention in the last chapter, while signifying an increasing desire for closer communication between man and man, signified also in a measure the advance of civilization; it was, however, the outcome of the necessities of trade and commerce. The merchant in the social infancy of a race is in a very real sense an intermediary, for as he imports foreign wares so he introduces foreign ideas. He exerts therefore no inconsiderable influence upon the spread of knowledge as well as upon the promotion of general happiness. But primitive commerce must have been very limited in extent, for the normal state of primitive communities was war.¹

Begin-
nings of
commerce.

From what has been said in the preceding pages it will be seen that commerce originally was confined to barter between members of the same tribe or between two friendly tribes. Until the suspicions entertained against foreigners were dissipated and the barriers broken down, anything of the nature of extensive trade was attended with the greatest difficulty, and, indeed, can hardly be said to have existed. But the exigencies of commerce overbore obstacles of this kind, and means were devised by which the exchange of commodities could be effected. Untutored tribes in their relations with the foreign merchant resort to silent barter.

Silent
barter.

¹ The question of establishing commercial dealings with untutored tribes is always difficult and often infeasible, for the reason that the idea is incomprehensible to their minds. Cf. M. Kulischer in *Zeit. für Völkerpsychologie* x. 378; Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* ii., p. 107; and Waitz-Gerland vi., p. 110.

The practice is not uncommon, and is met with in various parts of the globe. The following passage in Herodotus affords a graphic description of the method pursued by the Carthaginians¹ in dealing with the natives of West Africa; for these explorers in their love of gain had penetrated into regions beyond the scope of less adventurous seamen. "The Carthaginians further say that beyond the Pillars of Herakles there is a region of Libya, and men who inhabit it; when they arrive among these people and have unloaded their merchandise, they set it in order on the shore, go on board their ships and make a great smoke. The inhabitants, seeing the smoke, come down to the sea, deposit gold in exchange for the merchandise, and withdraw to some distance from the merchandise. The Carthaginians then going ashore examine the gold, and if the quantity seems sufficient they take it up and sail away; but if it is not sufficient they go on board their ship again and wait; the natives approach and deposit more gold, until they have satisfied the merchants. Neither party ever wrongs the other, for the merchants do not touch the gold before it has been raised to the value of the merchandise, nor do the natives touch the merchandise before the other negotiators have taken the gold."²

Methods of a similar nature were employed in dealing with the Greeks. Scylax of Caryanda in Caria, himself a renowned explorer,⁴ relates⁵ that the Phœnicians were in the

¹ iv. 196. The circumnavigation of Africa was the greatest feat of ancient seamanship. It is hardly necessary to mention that Carthage was the chief colony of the Phœnician race in the Mediterranean, and that after the extinction of the mother cities it became the representative of the Phœnician power.

² Viz., the Straits of Gibraltar.

³ Pliny vi. 24 (22) describes similar negotiations among the Seres: Fluminis ulteriori ripa merces positas juxta venalia tolli ab his, si placeat permutatio. Cf. Pomponius Mela iii. 7, § 58. The earliest allusion to interpreters is in Herod. ii. 154, 164 (Egypt); iv. 24 (Scythians). Cf. Strabo xi. c. 3, 4, and 16; Max Müller, *Vorlesungen über die Wissenschaft der Sprache* i., p. 77; Waitz ii., p. 102; Kotzebue, *Erste Reise* i., p. 150; Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde* iii., p. 85.

⁴ Herod. iv. 44.

⁵ *Peripl.* i. 94.

habit of pitching tents upon the beach and of displaying their wares. Thereupon the natives would approach and gaze in wonder at the novelties produced for their benefit.¹ It is true that no positive proofs exist of the practice of silent barter by Greeks, but in the absence of direct testimony, the adoption of the method by the Phœnicians, a people to whom the Greeks were much indebted for their knowledge of commerce, and the wide prevalence of the custom, warrant the inference that the Greeks employed it. Such was the earliest expedient. We shall probably be right in concluding that we have here the genesis of commerce in the proper sense of the term.

The transition from silent barter to regular trading.

The analogy of unprogressive races is again a safe guide on this subject, since they not only illustrate the method of silent barter, but serve to elucidate the transition to systematized commerce. The parties repair to a spot agreed upon (at a later time bridges were often chosen as a rendezvous), and as a guarantee of good faith they present themselves at the interview unarmed. They then proceed to buy and sell either by means of signs or through an interpreter. When the business is concluded they return to their weapons and resume their former attitude.²

Markets,

It is almost certain that such methods preceded the regular markets of later days. The evidence as regards early Europe is conclusive. Some of these marts stood on the borders of civilization; others within the boundaries of Greek towns or districts. Such meeting-points were called *ἀγοραὶ ἐφόριοι*,³ or *σύνοδοι αἱ πρὸς τοῖς ὄροις τῶν ἀστυγεϊτόνων*, "border markets" or "meetings on the frontiers between

¹ Cf. the passage from *Odys.* xv. quoted in Ch. v., p. 56.

² Such methods of exchange are described by various writers. Cf. Kulischer, *Der Handel auf prim. Kulturstufen*, in *Zeit. für Völkerpsychologie* x. 378; Andree, *Geog. des Welthandels* i. 45; Klemm, *Kulturgeschichte, passim*; and O. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, p. 34. Temporary suspensions of hostilities or ancient antipathies are not unknown in more modern times.—Rostislawlew, *Über die Güter und Einkünfte russischer Klöster*, Petersburg, 1876, pp. 254, 262.

³ Cf. the references to old laws in *Dem.* 631, 632.

the inhabitants of neighbouring cities." Around these centres villages and towns gradually grew up, and their names *Ἀγορὰ*, "Market," and *Ἀλία*, "Assembly," survive as memorials of their commercial importance at one time.¹

But the seats of worship, like Delos² in Greece and the grove of the goddess Feronia³ in Italy, offered peculiar facilities for transactions of this kind. Such places not only formed convenient centres—since everyone had occasion to repair thither in order to fulfil religious duties—but also the sanctity of these places afforded an assurance of peace;⁴ and it is significant that Numa, whose name is so intimately associated with the establishment of the Roman religion, was credited with the establishment of markets also.⁵

especially
at
religious
centres.

It must be admitted at the outset that the nature of pre-historic commerce is merged in considerable obscurity and the evidence rests rather upon analogy than direct testimony. However, we now proceed to consider two movements which exercised a most important bearing upon the development of commerce.

The first is the construction of roads. It stands to reason that progress in commercial enterprise involves improvement in the methods of locomotion. Of their mutual dependence language affords ample proof, as the following equations will serve to show. The words for road or way are instructive in this connection. We meet with the following: the Latin *via* (Umbrian *vea*, Oscan *vio*), German *weg*, and the Gothic *vigs*.⁶ Underneath this group lies the root *veh* which appears in the Latin *veho*, "carry," "bear," and the Sanskrit *vah*, "convey." Another group consists of the Latin

The
construc-
tion of
roads.

¹ O. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, 35.

² Cf. Strabo, 486; Herod. iv. 33.

³ Livy i. 30, 5.

⁴ The combination of business with religion was not peculiar to Greece and Italy. Cf. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte*, p. 36, who cites cases among the Northern Europeans. When Europe was evangelized and Christian churches rose on the ruins of pagan temples, the tradition continued to be observed.

⁵ Cicero, *De rep.* ii. 14.

⁶ Cf. O. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte*, 13.

callis, "a rough path,"¹ the Greek *κέλευθος* and the Lithuanian *kėlias*, which naturally connect themselves with the Sanskrit *car*, "stir," "move," the Greek *κέλλω*, "drive," *κέλομαι*, "urge," the Latin *celer*, "swift," *celox*, "a swift ship" or "cutter." The above are the most common expressions. But it is doubtful whether they signify anything more than paths cleared through the primeval forests with which the surface of Europe was once covered.²

How these roads were made.

Material for roadbuilding lay ready to hand in the abundant forest timber that covered the face of the country, and nature herself suggested a method of construction. The pioneer placed the trunks of trees or logs and faggots side by side. Hence arose the celebrated "log-roads" of the Teutons. Hence, too, we shall probably be right in supposing that Homer has some road of this sort in mind when he describes the transportation of timber among the Laestrygonians from the hills to the lowlands:—

λείην ὁδὸν, ἣ περ ἄμαξαι
ἄστυδ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ὄρέων καταγίνοιον ὕλην.³

The difficulties of cleaving a path through gigantic trees or thick underwood were not slight. It may, therefore, not be fanciful to see in the stereotyped phrases for road-making in later times a survival of these laborious operations. Such an idea is suggested by the expressions *τέμνειν ὁδὸν*, "to cleave" or "cut a road"; *ἀνοίγειν κέλευθον*, and *ἀπεριβεῖν ὁδὸν*, both with the meaning "to open a road"; and *κέλευθον λαίειν*, "to smooth a path."

The progress of road-building.

The art of road-building progressed by degrees, and the pictures described by Homer⁴ suggest an improvement upon the simpler methods of an earlier epoch which have come

¹ Most commonly a path made by the treading of cattle. Cf. *Isid.*, *Orig.* 15, 16, 10.

² Cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* c. 5.

³ *Odys.* x. 104, "a level road whereby wains were wont to draw down wood from the high hills to the town."

⁴ *Iliad* xv. 261.

under observation. Thus Telemachus and Pisistratus¹ avail themselves of a chariot-road on their journey from Pylos to Lacedæmon, and in the well-known passage already cited,² where a professional rider is described, the words *λαοφόρος ὁδός* clearly refer to a public road.³ Still, such cattle roads or footpaths were insignificant in comparison with the high-roads of later days. The art of road-building in the proper sense belongs to a later period. Initiated by the Phœnicians, who turned to this object their natural genius for engineering,⁴ improved by the Persians, whose courier system formed a network extending from one end of their empire to another,⁵ the science of road-making was brought to the highest pitch of perfection by the Romans, as their massive roads all over Europe, which have defied the ravages of time, bear witness.

The simplicity of the early roads, which we have just been Fords. considering, also suggests that the only means of crossing rivers or swamps was by means of fords. Antecedently, we might surmise as much, and the existence of words in several languages, which bear too close a resemblance to each other not to be akin, points to the same conclusion. The Lithuanian *bredù*, and the Old Slovenic *bredq*, "I wade," are of that number. A yet older name occurs in the Zend *peretu*,⁶ the Latin *portus*, "haven," the Greek *πόρος*, "ford," "strait"; and *πορθμός*, "ferry," "passage." Throughout these terms runs the idea of "wading," and others might be added which contain a similar idea.

Such expedients, however, would not suffice to meet the Bridges. needs of a growing commerce. Accordingly, in course of time, fords were superseded by bridges. It is noteworthy, too, as illustrating the adaptation of old terms to new

¹ *Odys.* iii. 486.

² *Iliad.* xv. 682, in Ch. ix., p. 110.

³ Lit. "bearing people," "frequented."

⁴ Cf. Ch. viii., p. 91.

⁵ The name for these messengers and their method has passed into the Greek language in the form *ἄγγελος* and *ἀγγελεύειν*.

⁶ *Huperetu*, i.e. *Εὐφάρης*, Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte*, p. 14.

conditions, that the idea of ford glides imperceptibly into that of bridge. The use of the Persian word *peretu* justifies this deduction, for it bears both meanings, and the close connection existing between the Latin *pons*, "bridge," the Greek *πάτος*, the Sanskrit *páth-* and the Old Slovenic *patŭ*, all meaning "way," lend colour to this theory. The Greek word *γεφύρα* also, though unconnected with the above words, affords an interesting insight into the primitive conditions of life. Its primary sense appears to be that of "dyke" or "dam," constructed to bar the course of a stream. Such is the sense which it generally bears up to the time of Herodotus.¹ But later it acquired the signification of bridge. Whether we are to conclude that attempts to cross swamps preceded the attempts to cross rivers is difficult to determine definitely, but at any rate the morasses of Europe at that day² afforded ample scope for the exercise of all the skill and ingenuity that the primitive engineer could command.

Con-
structed of
timber.

Be that as it may, we are not left in any doubt as to the material of which these structures were built. The plentiful timber, it would naturally be supposed, supplied means of overcoming the difficulty of construction, and in matter of fact tradition furnishes evidence corroborative of this assertion. The remark has already been made that the Romans scrupulously adhered to ancestral usages. This conservatism finds an illustration in the subject before us. The *Pons Sublicius*, or Pile Bridge, in Rome was always regarded with almost a religious veneration. It was attributed to Ancus Martius,³ and rested upon wooden piles; and even though the use of iron had generally superseded the use of wood, no iron nails were allowed in the repair of this structure.

It would appear therefore that bridges possessed some

¹ Cf. *Iliad* v. 88, and *ἀπογεφυρώω* in Herod. ii. 99. The Old Slovenic *mostŭ* has similarly changed its meaning.

² Lewy, *Die semit. Fremdwörter*, p. 250, claims *γεφύρα* as a word of Semitic origin.

³ Cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* c. 5.

⁴ Livy i. 33.

religious significance in the early ages of civilization, but the religious reverence which is illustrated by the case of the *Pons Sublicius* may simply be due to a desire to mollify the supposed resentment of the god of the stream at the curtailment of his liberties. In this particular instance it was *Pater Tiberinus*, or Father Tiber, who enjoyed the highest honour of any Roman river-god. But whatever may have been the motive that inspired this religious veneration for bridges, roads were demanded by the exigencies of religious ritual, and served a practical purpose in transporting materials for shrines and temples, and in facilitating the progress of pilgrimages or processions of faithful and devout worshippers.¹ The utility of these religious roadways for the promotion of trade and commerce, however, did not long escape the observation of the alert trader. When the Greek took to the sea such roads proved eminently useful for the conveyance of merchandise to the coast. Of their employment for this purpose Hesiod speaks in the *Works and Days*, where the poet warns the speculator not to overload his waggon on the way to the shore any more than to overweight his ship when he has arrived there :—

δεινόν τ' εἴ κ' ἐφ' ἄμαξαν ὑπέρβιον ἄχθος ἀείρας
ἄξονα κανάξαις, τὰ δὲ φορτία ἀμανρωθείη.²

The discovery of the art of navigation afforded an incalculable impulse to the growth of commerce. The probability is that the early attempts to utilize the sea were of a very simple character, but really the beginnings of navigation lie beyond all human memory. It might be urged, indeed, that the existence of the word **nāu*, for instance in the Sanskrit *nāu*, the Greek *ναῦς* and the Latin *navis*, is conclusive as regards the nautical attainments of the races that used them, and that it points to high development of commerce among the Aryans. This conclusion, however, is vitiated by the

Religious uses of roads and perhaps bridges.

The rise of navigation and its importance.

Words for boat.

¹ Cf. E. Curtius, *Zur Geschichte des Wegebau bei den Griechen*, p. 15; and O. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte*, p. 15.

² "It would be sad if by overloading your waggon you were to shiver the axle and the freight were ruined."

fact that the root referred to need imply no more than a hollowed trunk of a tree,¹ and that the terms for mast and sail, which become necessary on the sea, do not appear in the early stages of the growth of these languages. But this does not preclude the possibility that such primitive boats, hollowed out of trees with fire or axe,² propelled by oars, guided by rudders, and possibly covered with leather,³ plied on the rivers and landlocked lakes of Europe before the emigrants set eyes on the Mediterranean.⁴ It may not be supposed, therefore, that the science of navigation had attained to any dimensions at an earlier period among the ancestors of the Greek and Italic races. For, while it is probable that the undivided Aryans were to some extent acquainted with the sea, as is shown by their possession of a common word for that element, seen in the Latin *mare* and the Old Slovenic *morje*,⁵ yet a nautical terminology belongs to a later date and was doubtless the creation of an age subsequent to the separation. This argument derives additional weight from the reflection that no Aryan race, excepting the Greeks and Germans, displayed any aptitude for a seafaring life, or any aspiration in that direction.

The undivided Aryans.

The Romans.

The Romans belonged to this category. It is true that they were not blind to the advantages offered by their rivers for transporting country produce; indeed, the historian Livy distinctly declares, through the mouth of one of the speakers whom he brings upon the stage, this to have been one of the motives that influenced the original inhabitants in the choice of a site on the Tiber for their settlement.⁶ On the

¹ Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung*, p. 403. Cf. the Sanskrit *dāru*, "timber," "boat" (Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 256); Old Norse *askr*, "ash-tree," "ship."

² *μονόξυλα πλοῖα*, as Xenophon calls them (*Anab.* 6, 4, 11).

³ Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 544.

⁴ For a similar state of things in India see Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 256.

⁵ On the other side, see Max Müller, *Chips from a German Work-shop* ii. 47, 48; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 65.

⁶ v. 54, 4. Non sine causa dii hominesque hunc urbi condendæ locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiuntur.

other hand, the reverence felt for the gods (*numina*) of rivers and streams in some cases, so far from fostering the use of these natural channels of trade, actually repressed enterprise. For scruples were entertained against navigating or even bridging, lest the *genii* of those waters should be offended.

The number of marine deities and the growth of the conception and cult of the spirits or gods of the watery element in Greece and Italy presents a striking contrast. That the Romans were alive to the importance of rivers, and sensible of their vivifying, fecundating power has already been observed;¹ and they were not slow to recognize the divinity inherent in streams, nor loath to render them worship and homage. But with regard to the sea the Roman mythology is bare and meagre.² Certainly, the Romans had Neptune; but, properly speaking, he was a representative of water in general, and had no special connection with the sea. His association with that element and his eminence really date from his identification with the Greek Poseidon, whose worship was formally introduced in 399 B.C.; and, as an effect of this amalgamation of the two cults, Neptune acquired the prerogatives of his Greek counterpart.³ The Italic races, or at any rate the Aryan races of Italy, may therefore be almost left out of account in considering the early development of navigation.

Absence of sea-gods from the Italic mythology.

The Greek Poseidon resembled Neptune in being the god of water in general and the ruler of springs and streams,⁴ but he was chiefly associated with the sea. His weapon was

Their abundance in Greek legends.

¹ Ch. iv., p. 38.

² The *Lex Claudia* prohibited senators from engaging in commerce by sea. On the other hand, Cato practised commerce. Even at Athens a law existed at one time which forbade a merchant from holding office for ten years. But wiser counsels prevailed. Solon, Hippocrates and Zeno were not bigoted in this respect. Still the aristocracy held aloof. Cf. Cicero's remarks on the abstention of cultivated society from trade, *De Off.* i. 43, 44. But he distinguishes wholesale from retail traffic.

³ The influence of the Etrurians, an un-Aryan race, operated, however, in the opposite direction. They took more kindly to the water, and invented many fables relating to the sea and the monsters that inhabited it.

⁴ Because of the supposed underground connection with the sea.

a magnified trident, symbolizing the fisherman's harpoon. He was the national deity of the Ionian race, whose chief occupations lay on the sea, namely fishing and navigation. His home was a golden palace in the depths of the waters, where he dwelt with his consort Amphitrite ("the one who flows round about"). The customary victim offered in honour of the god is the horse, fit symbol of the raging wave. But Poseidon is not unattended. Around him are grouped in the popular mythologies a host of subordinates; Okeanos, who girdled the earth, and was the source of springs, rivers, and seas;¹ Proteus, "the old man of the sea," who could turn himself into a thousand forms; Nereus, the "flowing one"; Glaukos, the "resplendent," and the beautiful Nereides, "kindly powers at work in the sea." But these are only a few of the dripping water-sprites that form his court.²

Sea-traffic.

The influence of nature on Greek commerce.

The sea.

The acquaintance of the Greeks with the sea, therefore, their appreciation of the value of sea-borne commodities, and the fresh outlet afforded to the spirit of exploration, inaugurated a new era in the history of commerce. Indeed, the influence of the sea on civilization in general cannot be over-estimated, and Greece was so situated as to be able to embrace every opening that presented itself for the expansion of trade. On the one hand, the interior of the country was not eminently calculated to encourage inland traffic. On the other hand, there were counterbalancing advantages; the sea washes Greece on three sides, inviting mercantile enterprises, not to speak of the strong appeals that this element makes at all times to the fancy of an imaginative and poetic race and the spell that it possesses for the

¹ According to Homer's geography Okeanos is a river which encircles the earth.

² The god Asklepios, as the god of healing, has a connection with sailors. Many inscriptions to him occur containing thanks to him for preservation at sea. Thus in the island of Syra: "We in the Milesian ship thank Asklepios."—Bent, *The Cyclades*, 326. Vows in hope of safe voyage, prayers for the safety of friends, and thankofferings for success were commonly made to sea-gods.

inquiring mind. The islands which stud the Ægean offered natural stepping-stones to the Greek from Ionia or Asia Minor, and gave rise to the legend that told of a viaduct by which the fabled divinities of Attica visited their Ionian kinsfolk. But nature had furnished more practical benefits than food for the imagination. The dangers of the sea were decreased by the numerous creeks which furnished shelter to small craft plying to and fro from point to point on the seaboard of Greece, and even those who ventured on more extended explorations found safe bays for anchorage at the approach of foul weather.

The remark has already been made¹ that the air of Attica is distinguished by a special purity and clearness, and the observation may be extended to Greece generally. Nor was this circumstance without its effects upon commerce. It enabled the sailor to discern the guiding-points of his course as far as twenty miles. The consequent transparency of the sky allows him to trace without difficulty the rising and setting of the stars, and to regulate his course and time his voyages accurately.

The winds co-operated in furthering the interests of the merchant. "In these latitudes," says a well-known writer, "the winds submit to certain rules and only rarely rise to the vehemence of desolating hurricanes. Never, except in the short winter season, is there any uncertain irregularity in wind and weather; the commencement of the fair season—the safe months, as the ancients called it—introduces an immutable law obeyed by the winds in the entire Archipelago; every morning the north wind arises from the coasts of Thrace and passes over the whole island-sea; so that men were accustomed to designate all the regions lying beyond these coasts as the side beyond the north wind." Again, the "'breeze from the South' is that which is sung of by the poets of antiquity, and now called the Embates, whose approach is ever mild, soft, and salutary." Altogether

¹ Ch. iv., p. 36.

“the regularity in the whole life of nature, the mild and humane character of the Ægean, essentially contributed to make the inhabitants of its coasts use it with the fullest confidence, and live on and with it.”¹

Piracy in
the earliest
days of
Greek
commerce.

But when the Greeks found themselves at home on the watery element their earliest enterprises were not of a peaceful nature. The critical historian who has shown the keenest penetration into their earliest conditions remarks:—

ἐπειδὴ ἤρξαντο μᾶλλον περαιόσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους, ἐτράποντο πρὸς ληστείαν.²

The pages of Homer bear out the statement, and furnish abundant evidence of the prevalence of piracy. So we are warranted in supposing that the Ægean was overrun with sea-robbers of Phœnician, Carian, and Greek origin. Cradled in the surge and storm, they made sudden descents upon the coasts, were here to-day and there to-morrow, or lay in wait for those who plied a more peaceful trade in those waters.

The nature
of the
coast lent
itself to
piratical
operations,
Crete.

The indented coast of Greece and Asia Minor, and particularly the islands, offered facilities for such predatory expeditions. The advantageous situation of Crete rendered it a suitable basis for such operations. In relation to the Ægean, the island stretches across the whole sea. On the other side the products of the East were easily accessible. Consequently the Phœnician sea-rovers, whose skill in seamanship was never matched by any ancient people, were induced to employ Crete as the starting-place for their voyages. But there was no lack of native adventurers. The boldness and activity of the Cretans is attested by the traces of Cretan civilization which are found in distant points of the Mediterranean, widely removed both from the mother country and from each other. It has been maintained that not only Ionia and Megara, but Sicily and Italy also bear evidence of their presence. The inhabitants of Axos and

¹ Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*, pp. 13, 14.—(WARD, *transl.*).

² Thuc. i. 5. “When they began to find their way to one another by sea they had recourse to piracy.”

Itanos, cities of Crete, took some part in the colonization of Cyrene in North Africa,¹ and it is held on good grounds that their knowledge of Egypt dates from 2000 B.C.² But if the Cretans indulged in piratical pursuits they could on occasion be equally active in the cause of order, and for a time they addressed themselves to the task with unremitting energy. When they realized that piracy was hostile to progress they found an occupation akin to piracy itself in putting piracy down. This movement is embodied in the person of King Minos. Under his beneficent rule Crete became a maritime power. He not only checked the lawlessness of his contemporaries, because he found that piracy interfered with his own sovereignty, but ended by making himself master of the Ægean and establishing a maritime dominion. Whatever may be the precise value of the traditions relating to this monarch and his maritime kingdom, they doubtless contain a substratum of truth.³

But piracy died hard, and in the social stage depicted by Homer it carried with it no disreputable associations. On the contrary, the profession was avowed with a certain sense of pride as becoming to one of a heroic cast of soul. So far, therefore, from repudiating the appellation of pirate⁴ as invidious or discreditable, the stranger when he appears on a foreign shore owns to his occupation. The aged Nestor sees no incongruity in putting the following question to his newly-arrived guests :—

Νῦν δὴ κάλλιον ἔστι μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι
 Ξείνους, οἳ τινές εἰσιν, ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν ἐδωδῆς.
 ὦ ξείνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλείψ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;
 ἢ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν ἢ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε,
 Οἶά τε ληϊστήρες, ὑπεὶρ ἄλα; τοῖ τ' ἀλόωνται
 Ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἀλλοπαδοῖσι φέροντες.⁵

¹ Herod. iv. 151, 154.

² Cf. Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 4, 177, 182.

³ For an examination of the trustworthiness of this legendary account see Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, pp. 209, 210.

⁴ The Homeric name for pirate is ληϊστήρ. Πειρατής, whence the Latin *pirata* and our *pirate*, is of later origin.

⁵ *Odyss.* iii. 70. "Now the time is come to ask the strangers who they

Germany,
a parallel.

In like manner the Germans, according to the statements of Cæsar, are far from feeling their susceptibilities wounded or repelling the insinuation, and even justify their piratical practices:—*Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt, atque ea iuventutis exercendæ ac desidiæ minuendæ causa fieri prædicant.*¹ The truth is that piracy, being practised with comparative openness, was robbed of the vulgarity and grossness which attended common theft, and was considered an employment worthy of a high and noble spirit. Accordingly the aged Nestor, pre-eminent among his compatriots as the peacemaker and sage, as well as an object of veneration for his years, speaks with pride of a piratical expedition among the achievements that he performed in company with Achilles, in which he won undying glory by inflicting untold pain.²

The nature
of their
depreda-
tions.

Nothing came amiss to these sons of adventure. Sometimes marauders lurked in the retired creeks and darted out upon the unsuspecting voyager; sometimes they made sudden descents upon the land, and as suddenly re-embarked, carrying away both animals and inanimate property alike.³ The general expressions for pillaging,⁴ in Greek *φέρειν καὶ ἄρχειν*, in Latin *ferre et agere*, betoken the twofold idea, that is, seizing movables and driving cattle.⁵ But they were not scrupulous as to the character of the booty—slaves, and frequently unprotected women were among their spoils.⁶

are, now that they have had food enough. Strangers, who are ye? Whence sail ye over the wet ways? On some trading enterprise, or at adventure do ye rove, even as sea-robbers over the brine, for they wander at hazard of their own lives, bringing bale to alien men.”—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

¹ vi. 22. “Freebooting involves no disgrace, so long as it is carried on outside the boundaries of each township, and they declare that it is directed towards giving their youth practice and discouraging idleness.” Similarly the Thracians gloried in piracy and war. Herod. v. 6.

² *Odyss.* iii. 106.

³ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* ii. 374, *alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama.*

⁴ The same idea is conveyed by the graphic words *ἀρπάζειν, ἀρπакτήρ*, lit. “snatch away,” “snatchers”; they also occur in Homer.

⁵ Like the Scotch “reave and harry.” Cf. *Odyss.* xxi. 17; xxiv. 112.

⁶ Cf. Ch. vi., p. 56, and Ch. xviii., p. 242.

Such an occupation was often not unaccompanied by danger, nor the descents on strange countries unavenged. Assuming the character of a Greek well situated in the world Odysseus in a graphic narrative describes his downfall. At the prompting of the god Zeus, he had joined a band of wandering sea-robbers on an expedition to Egypt. Arrived at the mouth of the Nile he directed his ship's company to stay and guard the ships; but they disobeyed to their ruin and fell to wasting the fair fields of the Egyptians; they carried away the wives and infant children and slew the men, but not with impunity. For the alarm was raised, and down came the inhabitants of a neighbouring city:—

Οἱ δὲ βοῆς ἀόντες ἄμ' ἠοὶ φαινομένην
 Ἦλθον· πλῆτο δὲ πᾶν πεδίον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων
 Χαλκοῦ τε στεροπῆς· ἐν δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέρανος
 Φύζαν ἑμοῖς ἐτάροισι κακὴν βάλεν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
 Σῆναι ἐναντίβιον· περὶ γὰρ κακὰ πάντοθεν ἔσθη.
 Ἐνθ' ἡμέων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτανον δέξεί χαλκῷ,
 Τοὺς δ' ἀναγον ζῶνδς, σφίσιν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνάγκη.¹

It would, however, be unfair to carry away the impression that piratical pursuits alone engaged the attention of the early Greek in the Mediterranean. He had been forestalled in those waters by the subtle, far-sighted, and not a little unscrupulous Phœnician, but he speedily imbibed from them ideas of the possibilities of commercial enterprise and learnt from them the technicalities of sea-faring occupations. Yet he proceeded tentatively. The slow progress of commerce is attested by the wavering character and the want of precision in the terms employed. Some of these are peculiarly instructive.²

The begin-
nings of
peaceful
commerce.

¹ *Odys.* xvii. 435, "and the people heard the shout and came forth at the breaking of the day; and all the plain was filled with footmen and horsemen and with the glitter of bronze. And Zeus, whose joy is in the thunder, sent an evil panic upon my company, and none durst stand and face the foe: for danger encompassed us on every side. There they slew many of us with the edge of the sword, and others they led up alive to work for them perforce."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

² The speculations of V. Bérard, based upon "topology," are very ingenious and interesting. He even regards *Odyssey* v.—xv. as founded

shown by
the vague-
ness of
terms.

ἔμπορος.

The names for merchant exhibit this fluctuation in the meaning of terms which we have previously observed.¹ The word ἔμπορος, which in Classic Greek bore the meaning of merchant, first of all indicated traveller;² indeed, evidence exists in language of a close association between the merchant and the traveller. When the Homeric hero wishes to express the idea of a merchant he is obliged to resort to a periphrasis. He speaks of one who:—

ὅς θ' ἄμα νηὶ πολυκηῖδι θαμίζων
ἀρχὸς ναυτῶων, οἳ τε πρηκτῆρες ἔασιν,
φόρτου τε μνήμων καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ἦσιν ὀδαίων
κερδέων θ' ἀρπαλέων.³

πρήξις.

The growth of the word πρήξις points in the same direction. By a process of specialization, which is almost a permanent phenomenon in the history of language, the meaning of this word was narrowed down in course of time. Originally it denoted action of any kind,⁴ but afterwards it was used for mercantile transactions. Already in Homer it is gradually gaining that signification, as witness the phrase πλεῖν κατὰ πρήξιν,⁵ "to sail on a trading voyage."⁶ The same principle may be observed in the Greek word ἀγορά. In Homer it denotes a place of assembly. But in process of time the place of public meeting developed naturally into a market-place. The transition is easily explained in view

ἀγορά.

upon a Phœnician *periplus*, and thinks that Homer made much use of Phœnician charts and coasters' logbooks. See his *De l'origine des cultes Arcadiens*, 1894, and his more recent work, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*. The nautical terms, however, are not Phœnician. Indeed, the art of navigation is indebted to Greece for its most material improvements.

¹ Ch. vi., p. 66.

² *Odys.* ii. 319; xxiv. 300.

³ *Odys.* viii. 161, "one that comes and goes in a ship of many oars, a master of sailors that are merchantmen, one with a memory for his freight, or that hath the charge of a cargo homeward bound, and of greedily gotten gains."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

⁴ Cf. *Odys.* iii. 82.

⁵ *Odys.* iii. 72; ix. 253. In the Hymn to Apollo, 397, it is connected with χρήματα.

⁶ Cf. πρηκτήρ, "trader," *Odys.* viii. 162.

of what has already been said concerning the establishment of meeting-points where tribes met on their border land for the purposes of negotiation and barter.

To the obstacles in the way of trade or commerce which have already been touched upon another consideration may be added. If, as we said, the free Aryan conceived a prejudice against agricultural pursuits, no less was the contempt entertained by the Homeric hero—a feeling to which the sharp practices of Phœnician traders contributed.¹ Odysseus repels with lofty disdain the insinuation that he is a merchant.² But when the Greeks had awakened to a consciousness of the scope offered for visits to foreign countries, they were already at home on the seas, and had cultivated commerce with eminent success. At first the neighbouring islands or the seaboard of Asia Minor attracted the notice of these hardy mariners. But many years elapsed before they steered through the “Dark Symplegades” and found the slaves and timber of the Euxine,³ a lucrative commodity. Wherever the Phœnician pioneer had found his way, the Greek mariner followed in his wake. The configuration of the Greek coast and the islands which were dotted singly or clustered in groups all over the Ægean attracted the Greek seaman. For at that day, apart from the sea monsters and other terrors of the deep which were conjured up by an active and lively fancy, navigation was attended with real hardships and dangers, and the sailor was glad to avail himself of the numerous creeks and bays

Contempt
for trade.

Com-
mercia
adventures
in the
Ægean.

Egypt.

¹ The Phœnician had the character of being a finished rogue. Cf. τρῶκται, *Odyss.* xiv. 289, xv. 416, and ἀπατήλια εἰδότες, xiv. 288.

² *Odyss.* viii. 165. The word ἔμπορος, acquired later, won its way to popular estimation, meaning wholesale dealer, but κάπηλος, “retailer,” never commanded public regard. Cf. καπηλεύειν. The prejudice prevailed in historic times also. Public affairs were considered the only subjects worthy of the attention of freemen, and in some states retail traders were ineligible to public office.

³ The Black Sea was long invested with terror in the popular imagination, and Eratosthenes (in Strabo xi., p. 495) remarks: τὸ παλαιὸν οὐτε τὸν Εὐξείνιον θαρρεῖν τινα πλεῖν. Hence the word Εὐξείνιος is perhaps an euphemism, but it may contain a reference to the inhospitable character of the natives of the coast. Cf. Ch. xxviii., p. 396.

offered by the indentations of the coast. On the other hand, the chain of islands which reached across the Ægean ceased south of Crete. In all probability the Theræans were the first to essay the direct passage to Africa, when at the bidding of the Delphic oracle they sailed, as Herodotus narrates,¹ to found a colony on that continent. To the generality of Greek sailors this expanse of sea was a blank. The mariner therefore instinctively turned his face Eastwards, to the coast of Asia Minor and the islands that lay around it. But the mysterious land of Egypt, with its wonderful wealth and preternatural knowledge,² could not fail to tempt the enterprising explorer, even at the risk of the loss of liberty and subjection to lifelong labours in Egyptian quarries.

Reached
by
coasting.

To turn to the route which these early navigators pursued in order to reach the fabled Nile, it may not be doubted that the earliest course open to them was by way of Cyprus. To venture out into mid-ocean was an exploit at which most men might well shudder and the boldest heart shrink, for apprehension did not fail to add imaginary terrors to the real dangers. It was therefore considered to be only within reach of a desperate sea-rover.³ Even the ordinary route was "long and hard."⁴ But the peril and difficulty of the adventure did not deter prowling robbers of the sea and even merchants bent upon more peaceful errands from accomplishing the voyage to the Nile.⁵

The
results of
contact
with
Egypt and
the East.

The intellectual influences that followed upon a knowledge of the sea were momentous. Something has been said already⁶ about the advantages accruing from extended travel, even in the limited meaning which attached to it in

¹ iv. 150.

² Cf. Ch. v., p. 52.

³ See the lines quoted on p. 421.

⁴ *Odys.* iv. 483.

⁵ It should be mentioned that a suggestive theory has been recently advanced by Dr. A. J. Evans. He maintains that a direct connection existed between Crete and the coast of Africa about 2500 B.C. The reader is referred to his works, as well as to Hall's *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 154, where the question is discussed.

⁶ Ch. iv., pp. 37-38.

those early days. It offered to the Greek mind fascinating fields for contemplation, and this exercise of the mental activities was fraught with far-reaching consequences to an intellect so vigorous, so rich in resource as that of the Greek. Not that inter-tribal barter and river navigation would fail to produce a certain effect, by establishing communication between the men of the coast and the men of the interior, but their scope was comparatively limited. Even the Euphrates and the Nile, so long as the view of the inhabitants was circumscribed by the banks of their river, could not widen the intellectual horizon; rather, the civilization of these countries tended to stagnate, and the population to become stereotyped and count the "monotonous beats of the pendulum of time." To be sure, also, the visits of the Phœnician trader, laden with the products of other lands, gave the Greeks some insight into the world outside, but then his civilization was largely borrowed from Egypt and Assyria; he spoke a strange language and bent his energies solely to the acquisition of wealth. He was therefore at best only a useful intermediary, and, as a rule, he was swiftly come and gone. But the resolve on the part of the Greeks to commit themselves to the broad ocean inaugurated a fresh epoch, and the results transcended all expectations. A new world, or rather several worlds, suddenly burst upon the view, and the gates of the East and South opened before them. The sea brought the greatest contrasts together, the Eastern races with a past that went back to time immemorial, and the comparatively youthful races of the North, who had been living under another sky. The Ionian who first ventured upon such an arduous enterprise saw for the first time the thick-lipped Æthiopian, and gazed with awe at the already timeworn memorials of dynasty upon dynasty reaching back to a vast antiquity and expressing a visible continuity. Thereupon a comparison and competition of acquirements ensued, of skill, of learning. Here was a new theme for thought, for observation and inquiry, to occupy the mind of the delighted

discoverer. The more remunerative the interchange of ideas the greater the restlessness with which he pursued his investigation, the firmer the resolution with which he braved the perils of the sea, and the deeper he pushed into the realm of the mysterious and the unknown.

CHAPTER XXX.

BEGINNINGS OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES.

WHEN the extraneous influences exerted by outside races upon the civilization of Greece and Italy arose for discussion, reference was made to the opinions held by M. Reinach, which, though of a somewhat revolutionary character, voiced a growing sentiment. To these we return for a moment. It was there said that according to the view of this scholar the debt of Europe to the East and to Egypt was overrated, and that evidence existed of a high civilization evolved independently on the European continent. We now proceed, on the same principle as hitherto, to outline briefly the intellectual movements that ensued upon the growth of commerce, and particularly upon a knowledge of the East and Egypt, but a detailed discussion of the subject would be impossible within the present limits. This brief sketch of the arts and sciences will not by any means be adequate to their importance, but some allusion to them follows naturally on what was said at the end of the last chapter on the intellectual importance of the rise of commerce on the sea. For science owes its early achievements in no small measure to the ship; by a continuous chain of cause and effect river navigation leads to trading along the coastland. This in its turn encourages enterprise on the sea and conduces to an extension of geographical knowledge. But the development does not terminate there, for out of

The debt
of Europe
to Egypt
and the
East.

Commerce
and the
arts and
sciences.

The ship
and
science.

these are evolved, in a natural order and sequence, astronomy, trade, both retail and wholesale, and ultimately law.¹

But apart from the mutual connection of the arts and sciences with commerce, they possess an individual interest. An examination of the earliest efforts in the direction of science and art helps us to understand the working of the human mind in the barbarian twilight that marked the transition from savagery to civilization. A comparison of these initial stages on European soil with the standard of attainment after their contact with the East and with Egypt will enable us to realize what additions the inhabitants of the latter made to the encyclopædia of knowledge in Europe.

Magic and science.

The practice of magic will serve a threefold purpose. It may appear strange to cite magic in illustration of the relations between Europe and the East or as an instance of scientific evolution. The truth is, however, that it has a bearing upon the early stages of science. The relations of magic to science were not unrecognized in that pre-scientific age. Even the term *mathematici* is in post-Augustan literature applied to the astrologer as well as to the serious scientific inquirer, and that class of men earned for themselves an unenviable reputation for the practice of the black arts.² But this development will become clearer as we proceed.

Origin of magic.

The forces of nature were regarded by early races—and mankind was for ages content with the solution—as the work of spirits and demons, who were supposed to range through every part of nature, and the same belief prevails widely at this day. Accordingly, instead of trying to understand the laws that governed nature, the savage endeavours to control these preternatural agents, to counteract their activities by whatever means may seem to lie in his power, to cripple their dreaded influence by spell and incantation. Hence the universality of the faith in magic and witch-

Polydemonism.

¹ Cf. von Ihering, 213, who traces this gradual evolution in the Babylonian world.

² Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 248; Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 22; Tertull., *Apol.* 43.

craft. Hence the uniformity of belief that prevails, and the correspondence that exists between the phenomena presented by magic in all parts of the globe, for nature is ever and everywhere one and the same. Hence the usurpations of the magic-monger, wherever he is found, whether he be the juggler of India, the medicine-man of North America, the fetish-priest of Africa, or the Shaman of Siberia.

The chief office of the magician, then, consisted in averting calamity by means of the propitiation and deception of superior powers. The Greek quacks (*γῶητες*) were of an itinerant and inferior order, but descended directly from the sorcerers of a barbarous age. They addressed themselves to the task of obtaining the mastery over the supernatural agents, to whom the operations of nature were attributed, and of making nature subservient by such means to their commands. They practised upon the credulity of the age with eminent success. Unquestionably of purely native origin, they always remained unconnected with the magic practices imported from other countries.¹ Their name attests at once their origin and their methods. For the word *γῶης* evidently refers to the weird and unearthly howls (*γῶοι*) with which they called up spirits to execute their will.

Further, among savage races and among the less progressive elements of current civilizations women are credited with peculiar powers. Especially is this the case where the men fight and hunt. The women gather herbs and prepare salves for the wounds of their lords. But some persons in early Greece and Italy acquired a special reputation for their decoctions. Accumulated experience brought with it superior skill; the operations of the older women were looked on with awe, and their persons in consequence were invested in the popular imagination with a superior holiness and preternatural powers to curse as well as to cure.

The early races of Europe were no exception to this

¹ Plato, *Laws* xi., § 12. Cf. Maury, *La magie et l'astrologie*, Paris, 1877, p. 52.

Con-
nec-
tion of
magic with
commerce.

general practice of magic, and legendary lore in every country abounds with accounts of their pretensions. It may be observed here that this circumstance brings magic into relation with the extension of commerce and the records of travel in the dawn of European history. The intrepid but credulous travellers who, tempted by gain more than by a desire of satisfying curiosity or obtaining information, and possessing more insight into the possibilities of trade than knowledge of the phenomena of nature, explored the most distant parts of the earth known at the time, brought back with them weird accounts of "wise women" of exceptional skill, and these were invested in the minds of the untutored classes of the population with a halo of supernatural sanctity. Afterwards they were idealized by the poets and woven into the web of Greek mythology. Many and wonderful were the tales told of such sorceresses, who gathered witch-herbs, chanted charms, and brewed draughts potent to preserve their favourites from danger, to make heroes resistless in the battlefield, but equally powerful to deal destruction and desolation at the joyous banquet.

Circe,

Some of the most strange and fascinating stories of such sorceresses appear in Greek literature. No episode in the *Odyssey* surpasses in weird interest the thrilling adventures of its hero Odysseus in the island of the enchantress Circe.¹ This awful goddess of mortal speech, who was appropriately described as deriving her lineage from the sun, the source not only of physical but intellectual illumination, dwelt in the deep forest glades of the island of *Æa*. Around her palace ramped the wolves and lions whom the goddess had bewitched with baleful drugs. Their mistress whiled away the hours in faring to and fro before the loom, singing the while.² Such was the tenant of the "isle *Æean*." Odysseus's men set foot on her shores to their cost. No sooner had they

¹ *Odys.* x. 140.

² Music is generally a powerful influence in the hands of the magician. Cf. the verb *κηλείν* in Plato, *Phædr.* 267D, *Rep.* 358B, and *ἀκηλητος* "proof against enchantment," *Phædr.* 259B.

arrived at her halls, than she administered to them a potion which quenched all memory of their country. Presently, with a stroke of her wand, she transformed them into swine. She was afterwards prevailed upon to release them from the power of her spell. Under the threats of Odysseus, she restored them to human shape.

Less august, but no less awful, was Medea of Colchis, Medea. another daughter of the sun and sister to Circe. Her very name is indicative of her profession. She is pre-eminently the "wise woman."¹ Her sinister figure arrests the attention more than any other of the actors in the story of the Argonauts who essayed the dangerous journey through the Dark Symplegades, the dark, rock-bound, floating islands through which no ship could pass and live. She helped Jason to avert the perils prepared for him in his quest for the Golden Fleece, and supplied him with means to resist both fire and steel. But she was equally powerful to destroy those who earned her hatred.²

The ordinary practitioner likewise was credited with powers which might be used for good or evil ends, and in his endeavour to bring nature spirits under his influence he resorted to various methods. Some of them are on a par with the Redskin's medicine-man. The rainmaker is a prominent figure in the life of untutored tribes, and needs no introduction. But it is noteworthy that in Greece and Italy also there existed magicians who pretended to the power of controlling the elements, and their methods exhibit no superiority over the tricks employed to deceive savage simplicity at this day. It is not improbable that the legend of the Bag of Æolus, the steward of the winds, is a reminiscence of some wizard in a distant land.³ Magnified

The
magician's
methods.

Influence
over
Nature.

Control of
the
elements.

The Bag of
Æolus.

¹ μῆδος, "counsel," "wisdom," "cunning."

² The women of Thessaly had the name of being expert sorceresses. Cf. Plato, *Georg.*, p. 513; Aristoph., *Clouds* 548.

³ But the legend does not stand alone. See Frazer's Pausanias x. 11, § 3, where a number of others in Africa, China, and the Pacific Islands are quoted.

accounts of his skill and power had been brought back by the superstitious traveller. They were repeated by credulous hearers, rooted themselves in popular belief, and became incorporated into the fabric of popular religion.

The Homeric account which forms the groundwork of the relations between the human Æolus with the ruler over the winds runs as follows.¹ He dwelt upon a floating island,² and kept guard over the cave of the winds. All around stood a wall of bronze unbroken and the cliff rose sheer from the beach. He entertained Odysseus kindly for a whole month, and on the hero's departure made him a gift:—

Δῶκέ μοι ἐκδείρας ἄσκον βοὸς ἐννέωροιο,
Ἔνθα δὲ βυκτῶων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κέλευθα

Νῆϊ δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῇ κατέδει μέρμηθι φαεινῇ
Ἀργυρέῃ, ἵνα μὴ τι παραπνεύσῃ ὀλίγον περ.³

The sequel is well known. Through the recklessness of the crew, who, consumed with curiosity, opened the bag, the winds escaped, with disastrous results. Odysseus was once more baffled, and his endeavours to return home frustrated.

Magicians' power over the elements,

But whatever may have been the origin of this legend, several authors vouch for the belief that the winds⁴ and hailstorms⁵ yielded obedience to the magician, much as

¹ *Odys.* x. 2. The name αἰόλος, "rapid," suggests the origin of his sovereignty over the winds, and popular etymologists saw in it a connection with ἄελλα, "whirlwind." Cf. Ἀελλώ, "storm-swift," the name of one of the Harpies. Hesiod, *Theog.* 267.

² In the time of Pausanias this island was identified with Lipara (*Paus.* x. ii., § 3); at a later period the claim was disputed by Strongyle, Thrace and Rhegium.

³ x. 19. "He gave me a wallet, made of the hide of an ox of nine seasons old, which he let flay, and therein he bound the ways of all the noisy winds . . . And he made it fast in the hold of the ship, with a shining silver thong, that not the faintest breath might escape."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*)

⁴ Seneca, *Quæst. nat.* iv. 7; Diogen., *Lært.* viii. 59; Plin., *Hist. Nat.* xvii. 28; xxviii. 2.

⁵ At Cleonæ certain priests pretended to the power of calling down hail by means of magic ceremonies. These bore the name of χαλαζο-

among fetish priests and medicine-men in Africa or America at this day.¹ Still more common are the allusions to wizards and sorceresses, who claimed the power of bringing down the heavenly bodies by means of charms.² Indeed, the number of formulæ, incantations, and other methods, which they employed with brilliant success to impose upon the credulous, defy imagination. and heavenly bodies.

Thus far the influence of the magician was in some senses beneficent, or at any rate harmless, but his skill or pretensions to skill might be wielded with deadly effect, and occasion untold misery to those for whom he was supposed to be preparing destruction. Not only were invidious epithets applied to the exercise of the art, as in Homer,³ where Eidothêe describes the shifts of Proteus ("Firstborn"), the old man of the sea, who possesses the gift of prophecy and self-transformation. His practices are deadly, ὀλοφώϊα. In like manner elsewhere drugs are evil (κακὰ φάρμακα),⁴ or baneful (λυγρά).⁵ It is not a little significant that the word φάρμακον itself was debased from its original meaning of "healing herb" and "simple"⁶ to "deadly drug," a proof of the uses to which the black arts were put by their unscrupulous professors. So, in like manner, the Latin *maleficus* and *malefica* again and again occupy the attention of the Latin poets, and *venefica*, "poison maker," was the general name for preparers of magical medicines. Indeed, no limit was set by the popular fancy to the exercise of the Influence over human beings.

φύλακες. Seneca, *Quæst. Nat.* iv. 6; and Clem. Alex., *Stromat.* vi. p. 268. See the reference to Pliny, p. 439 and note, and also Maury, *La Magie*, p. 51 n.

¹ Cf. the rain-magic connected with the worship of Demeter at Eleusis. The votaries of the goddess poured out water, gazed into heaven, and shouted ἔε ("rain!"). To stop a drought the Roman pontiffs used to bring the *lapis manalis*, a stone which lay in the temple of Mars, into the city. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* i. 354.

² ἐπαγωγαί, καταδυσμοί, Plato, *Rep.* ii., p. 364; *Legg.* xi., p. 933.

³ *Odys.* iv. 410.

⁴ *Odys.* x. 213.

⁵ x. 236; xiii. 429. Cf. πολυφάρμακος in reference to Circe. *Odys.* x. 276; and Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, 35 and 60.

⁶ From root *bhar*, "carry" (as in φάρετρα, "quiver").

magician's power, and any offence done to him opened up a train of awful possibilities. Very common was the belief that he could convert his victims into wolves (*λυκανθρωπία*).¹ But no device placed the unhappy creature who provoked the magician's resentment more completely at the mercy of his dreaded enemy than the possession either of an image of the delinquent or some part of his body, however trifling.

Apart from the professed sorcerer's skill, it was believed that if a ill-wisher, whoever he might be, made a figure of wax or any similar substance representing an obnoxious neighbour, and stabbed it with a needle,² a similar fate would befall the object of his wrath, whether present or absent. The man who believed himself to be the subject of such malevolent fascination found life unendurable, and was often driven to distraction.³ But it would be an endless task to cite instances of this blighting superstition. Suffice to say, it was as widespread as ancient.⁴ Still, on the whole, in spite of the evidence adduced in the foregoing

¹ This was a very ancient and widespread superstition. Paus. viii. 22; Vergil, *Ecl.* viii. 97; Ovid, *Met.* i. 232. Cf. Maury, *La Magie*, 51; and it has survived to our day. Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*, 81; and Leubuscher, *Über die Wehrwölfe und Thierverwandlungen im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1850. The idea has perpetuated itself in Modern Greece. The bones of a dead man are gathered after the lapse of three years. If they are not mouldered the relatives fear the deceased has become a *vrukolakas* or vampire, from the Slavonic for "wehrwolf." Cf. Servian *wukodlak* (*wuk*, "wolf," and *dlak*, "hair"), Polish *wilkolak*, Bohemian *wlkolak* (Wachsmuth, 115).

² The Latin term is *defigere* (Plin., *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 15-19). Sometimes the name of the victim was written in wax and pricked with a sharp instrument. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* iii. 7, 29; Orelli, *Inscript.* 3726; Vergil, *Cir.* 376. But it flourished in Greece also (Plin., *l.c.*; Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 20), among the Accadians and the Welsh. The fear inspired by sorcerers and magicians gave rise to the institution of penal enactments; a few references are subjoined. Of such penalties in Greece we read in Plato, *Laws* xi. 933; *Pol.*, § 29, p. 546. As regards Italy we have the testimony of the XII. Tables: *Qui fruges excantassit qui malum carmen incantassit*; Senec., *Quaest. Nat.* i. 4, 7. Similar prohibitions appear among the Hebrews (Numbers xxiii. 23; Deut. xviii. 10, 11). But though with the lapse of time the laws became still stricter, magic lived on.

³ An Australian aborigine when placed under a *taboo* has been known to die in twenty-four hours.

⁴ Cf. Jastrow, *Fact and Fable in Psychology*, 240, 241, 246.

pages, it may be said that magic, if not an exotic in Greece, was at all events uncongenial to the Greek temperament, which was impatient of mystery and intolerant of control. This is implied in the facts already mentioned. Circe and Medea are foreigners, and the native sorcerers never acquired such importance and influence as they were able to achieve among races cognate and contiguous to the Greeks.

But it was otherwise when commerce and adventure introduced them to the East, and especially to the Land of the Nile.

The free communication with Egypt and the frequent travels that ensued upon the spread of commerce imparted an incalculable impulse to the cultivation of magic and the sciences or arts with which magic was allied. For these the practice of magic was in some sense a preparation; by means of them men grasped, at any rate to some extent, the secrets of nature for which magic had groped in the dark. But the early efforts of the magician on the European continent paled into insignificance beside the brilliant accomplishments of his brother practitioner in the East and in Egypt. The truth is, the Eastern temperament not only is singularly susceptible to the influence of the black arts, but finds them congenial and is peculiarly gifted in that direction; there is abundant evidence, documentary and traditional, sacred and secular, of the prevalence of magical practices in both countries.¹ The Greek, therefore, when he made the acquaintance of the wisdom of the East for the first time, realized that he had hitherto been cultivating comparatively an oasis in the desert of the knowledge of the preternatural world.

The effect of contact with Egypt and the East.

To ensure success and justify pretensions, magicians must acquire some knowledge of nature, for we need not altogether ascribe their success to subtlety of mind or a clever elaboration of sleight of hand. It may well be supposed that they possessed a knowledge of the influence of the mind over the

The magicians' knowledge of nature.

¹ The Fayûm Manuscripts, which were discovered in Egypt about twenty years since, go back to a very early period; one of them dates from 1200 B.C. They are largely composed of magical writings.

body, which is now acknowledged to be powerful and far-reaching. An acquaintance with the rudiments of modern magnetism, or even the gradual development of hypnotism from magnetism,¹ may serve to explain their achievements and paramount influence over the mind of man.²

Astrology
and
Astronomy

Alchemy,
Chemistry,
and
Medical
science.

Physio-
logy and
psycho-
logy.

To recapitulate what has been said on this subject, the magicians anticipated in some measure, or at least attempted to anticipate, the speculations of physical science. It may be assumed that they knew something of the changes of the atmosphere and the motions of the planets. The same may be said of their insight into certain laws of nature and of the medicinal properties of plants. Accordingly they enjoyed a practical monopoly of the arts of healing. When their supremacy in these departments ceased with the advance of knowledge, they took refuge elsewhere, in the provinces of physiology and psychology. The experience of human character thus acquired was at all times invaluable to them in obtaining hold upon the human imagination and playing upon human weakness, until a more advanced knowledge or investigation of nature by disclosing the causes of phenomena destroyed the fear of them. But magic died hard. Though natural philosophy made advances by degrees, especially in the person of the Epicurean School which plumed itself on its attainments, human nature was stronger still, and the magician, despite the attendant absurdities and abominations of his craft, continued to flourish. Ultimately he was expelled from the above spheres of operation also, but only receded sullenly before the advance of a critical science. Thus, so long as magic existed, it indisputably wielded an enormous force, holding in terror the minds of the populace and crushing them under a weight of superstition.

¹ Cf. A. Moll, *History of Hypnotism*, p. 1.

² The fact that particular psychical results can be induced in human beings by certain physical processes, e.g. by gazing into vessels and on crystals, has long been known in the East and Egypt. Cf. Moll, *ibid.*, and Beaman, *Twenty Years in the Near East*, p. 222. This method of divination was known in Greece as *λεκανομαντεία* and *λεκανοσκοπία*. Cf. *λεκανόμαντις*, "dish-diviner," in Strabo, 762.

From what has been said it will be seen that magic bore an intimate relation to medicine, and in dealing with magic we have already to some extent forestalled what need be said on that subject. The laws of nature, as has been seen, were little known; one thing was not more incredible than another. When it was discovered by accident or investigation that certain plants produced powerful effects upon the constitution of men and animals, all kinds of imaginary properties were also ascribed to them in an arbitrary manner. The more horrible the ingredient the greater its efficacy.

The knowledge of the physical frame in the primitive periods must have been very vague, as is shown by the circumstance that Homer had no clear conception of the respective functions of the bodily organs. Indeed, the use of some words in the Greek tragedians betrays a similar ignorance. The following terms supply instances of such indistinctness. The breast was regarded as the seat of the feelings and intelligence, and the heart as the organ of the expression of them. *Pectus* and *cor*,¹ as used by Plautus, *φρήν* and *σῆθος* in Homer, are instances in point, and other parts were in like manner considered to be the seat of the emotions, the liver (*ἥπαρ*) and the nobler organs (*σπλάγχχνα*). But in matter of fact these theories are shared by barbarous races at this day who are utterly unconnected with the Greeks and Italians.

The practice of medicine among the Homeric Greeks was on a par with their proficiency in anatomy. The afflictions both of body and mind were attributed to evil spirits who were constantly plotting against health and happiness. Innumerable instances of this conviction might be given;² indeed, the mass and multiplicity of the material available is so large that only a few examples can be quoted.

¹ Cf. *Cordatus*, "wise," "sagacious," in Ennius ap. Cic., *Tusc. Disp.* i. 9, 18; and *Corculi*: præstitere ceteros mortales sapientia, ob id Cati, Corculi apud Romanos cognominati. Pliny vii. 31, 118.

² Cf. Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 394, 395.

The following are among the number. The *Iliad* opens with a description of a plague which was sent by Apollo in revenge for the insult to his priest,¹ and this strikes the keynote and furnishes the motive of the epic. Sudden death was also ascribed to the same god, and in the case of women to his sister Artemis; but judging by the epithet *ἀγανός*, "gentle," applied to such an event,² the visitation was looked upon as a favour conferred by these divinities, inasmuch as it released the objects of their compassion from worldly woe, and saved them from lingering decline—a fate so repugnant to the mind of a laughter-loving Greek, who knew the art of enjoying life to the full.³

Mental
aberration.

The belief in demoniacal influence as a cause of aberration of the mind is widespread. If in the opinion of the savage the evil agent occasions bodily disorders, much more does mental derangement lend colour to that view. Such an idea occurs frequently in the classics, and has continued down to our day. The terms *νυμφόληπτος*⁴ and *lymphatus* or *lymphaticus*, "entranced," "distracted," have preserved in a fossilized form this prevalent superstition. For they refer to the agency of nymphs or other water-sprites who have bereft the unfortunate being of his senses.⁵ Again, *oblucuviasse* recalled the belief entertained by the early Romans to the effect that if anyone met a god in a forest, he lost his reason.⁶ Epilepsy, in like manner, was supposed

¹ i. 43.

² *Iliad* xxiv. 759; *Odys.* iii. 280; xi. 318; xv. 410. Cf. xxiii. 281.

³ Cf. Ch. xiv., p. 177.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Phædr.* 265. The inhabitants of Andros and Kythnos, in the Greek Archipelago, believe that consumption is caused by evil spirits, called the Erinyes (see p. 126), which will eat into the vitals of a patient, and "seize on anyone they can when the person dies." They consequently "open a hole in the roof, over the dead man's head, out of which the spirits can escape."

⁵ Cf. *μάργην σε θεοὶ θέσαν*, *Odys.* xxiii. 11; *τοῦ δὲ τις ἀθανάτων βλάβη φρένας ἔνδον εἶσας*, xiv. 278. The belief survives in Modern Greece, where baneful influence is attributed to the Nereids. See Bent, *The Cyclades*, 14.

⁶ Fest., p. 187, Müller. From *lucus*, "a grove," *via* "a way." Others read *oblucinasse*.

to be due to possession. It was a "seizure,"¹ and consequently was called the sacred disease (*ἰερὰ νόσος*,² *morbus divinus* or *sacer*). One result of this widespread conviction concerning the origin of disease was that those who were thus afflicted were regarded with superstitious reverence,³ and since the disease was the work of bad spirits, the remedy must be directed against them.⁴ The patient then must address himself to the task of scaring away the evil agent, and this could only be effected by breaking the spell. The incantations employed in such cases are mentioned by Homer. When Odysseus is wounded, the stream of blood is staunched by a "song of healing," a charm. But this is only one out of several instances in the Greek epics.⁵

The
remedy
incanta-
tion.

Greece.

The Italic races resorted to similar expedients. The natural historian, Pliny, refers more than once to the practice, as, for example, in these words:—*Carmina quædam exstant contra grandines contraque morborum genera*; ⁶ and Gellius likewise alludes to the use of incantations by the Marsi.⁷ Yet more strange are the mystic words which, according to Cato,⁸ were employed in restoring dislocated limbs—*daries*, *bodanna*, *damia*, *asiadarides*, *huat*, *ista*, *pista* and others. These terms are probably insoluble, but betray traces of their Oriental origin, and point to the influence of Egyptian and Babylonian magic.⁹

Italy.

But in course of time a truer philosophy prevailed, and rational methods supplanted magical medicine. The art of healing in the proper sense of the term came into vogue,

Surgery
and
simples.

¹ Cf. Ch. vi., p. 64.

² Herod. iii. 33. It was also called νόσος Ἡρακλείη.

³ So in Modern Greece. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, pp. 32-34.

⁴ Cf. Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, 396; Bent, *The Cyclades*, 74.

⁵ *Odys.* xix. 457. Cf. Sophocles, *Ajax*, 582; Æschylus, *Pr.*, 132; Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 51; iv. 384; Herod. i. 132 (a reference to the Magi).

⁶ *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 29. "Some incantations against hail and forms of disease still survive."

⁷ xvi. 11.

⁸ *De Agr.*, 160.

⁹ So Welcker, *Epoden oder das Besprechen*, in *Kl. Schriften* iii. 64, and Schrader, *Reallex.*, 47.

The evidence of language.

and language has recorded the transition from one method to the other. Sometimes the two methods are associated, at others they are distinguished, as in the Avestan expressions *urvarô-baēšāza*, "healing by means of herbs," and *maθrô-baēšāza*, "healing by incantations."¹

Many other phrases and technical terms connected with medicine mark the change of practice.² Some single words also bear traces of the supersession of magical imposture³ by medical skill. Such is the word *φάρμακον*. This is doubtless connected with the Lithuanian *buriti* and *būrti*, both of which indicate the exercise of magic. Afterwards it acquired the meaning of "enchanted potion" or "poison."

The origin of botany in the pastoral age,

The question arises as to the time when the change came about. We shall probably be right in connecting the rise of botany or the knowledge of herbs with the pastoral age.⁴ Some acquaintance with the healing or hurtful properties of plants was a necessity in an age when flocks and herds formed the staple means of subsistence. As in modern days a pastoral people possess a closer familiarity with the nature of herbs, so an elementary knowledge of their qualities may be premised of the pastoral period of the Aryan races. If, however, we seek an occasion on which a knowledge of surgery would be especially desirable, the battlefield would supply it. It was there, above all, that a surgical knowledge was useful for the dressing of wounds, and it is to the exigencies of war that the beginning of surgical science should be traced. So much at any rate may be gathered from the pages of Homer. Still, no professional physician appears as yet upon the scene. The Homeric hero attends to the wound of a stricken comrade. Achilles is one of those who are distinguished for their skill, for has he not been trained

and of surgery in war.

The *Iliad*.

¹ Cf. the contemptuous comparison implied in the passage from Soph., *Ajax*, 582, *θρηνείν ἐπιφθὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πήματι*.

² The two methods are found in combination in many civilized countries. Cf. Bent, *The Cyclades*, 484, where he relates personal experiences in the island of Amorgos.

³ Schrader, *Realex.*, 47.

⁴ On the pastoral age see Ch. ix., pp. 102-112.

by Chiron, the Centaur, who was past master of the art? He understands the nature of soothing drugs (*ἤπια φάρμακα*),¹ and attends to Patroclus's wound. Podalirius and Machaon, the sons of Asklepios,² approximate more nearly than any other Homeric personage to the professional physician, but they are warriors as well, and primarily warriors. So likewise the *ἰητροί*, "leeches," who are mentioned in the poem,³ do not devote themselves exclusively to the pursuit, but follow the profession of arms. Thus gradually some men and women acquired a name for "wisdom" above their fellows. Such is the import of many proper names which were applied to those who were eminently skilful and successful in the treatment of disease—*Ἀγαμήδη*⁴ and *Περμύδη*,⁵ which contain the same root as the medical terms in Latin, *mederi*, "heal"; *medicus*, "physician"; and *medicina*, "the art of healing."

The *Odyssey* discloses an advance towards the formation of a class of physicians (*ἰητήρες*), a circumstance which may be regarded as a fresh indication of the higher civilization, and consequently the later composition of that epic. Still, neither have they here attained to the position of a class in the social structure, and they are classed with the *δημιοεργοί*:—

*μάντιν ἢ ἰητήρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων.*⁶

There can be no doubt, however, that an increased

¹ *Iliad* xi. 832.

² The patron of physicians. He is represented in mythology as a son of Apollo, himself a god of healing—*Παιάν, Παιών, Παιήων*. His original home was probably in the neighbourhood of Triikka, in Thessaly, near Mount Pindos. In like manner the Eastern Aryans and the Phœnicians had a god of healing. The Romans, who were largely indebted to the Greeks for their medical knowledge, adopted this god, with a slight change of name into *Æsculapius*.

³ *Iliad* xiii. 213; xvi. 28.

⁴ *Iliad* xi. 741.

⁵ Cf. p. 431, and Ch. xxiv., p. 322, note.

⁶ "A seer, or healer of ills, or ship carpenter." Cf. Ch. xx., p. 265. It is significant too that the sacerdotal class have not taken possession of the practice of medicine in Homer's time. Afterwards, however, they enjoyed almost a monopoly of it, and they learnt fully to appreciate the value of the possession.

Egypt. acquaintance with the expert physicians of Egypt, where each man was expected to possess a knowledge of one disease and its treatment, and the high attainments of the Egyptian leeches lent an impulse to the study of medicine in Greece. The family of the Asklepiadæ practised healing as a secret science and acquired a wide reputation.¹ But the Greek physicians never formed such powerful organizations as were to be found in the land of the Nile.

The art of writing.

Hitherto we have taken the rudiments of science as illustrations of the native developments on European soil, and of Eastern or Egyptian influence upon them. We turn to the origin and rise of the art of writing. That the acquisition of a method of writing was attended by the utmost benefit to the individual and the most extensive advantage to society hardly need be mentioned. It gave permanence to science, history, and law. No more fascinating field is presented to view than the history of this art; none affords a better insight into the working of the human mind and the endeavour to express its thoughts; none furnishes a more suggestive instance of development. The truth is, our system of writing is the latest result of a development extending over thousands of years; it is probably older than the Pyramids of Egypt, and, with the exception of the signs of the Zodiac, the oldest monument of human civilization.

What is writing?

To find the germs of writing we must look to the earliest specimens of art. These, as we saw,² are found beyond the range of chronology, and existed as early as the Stone age,

¹ The method known as *ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι*, *ἐγκοιμησις*, *incubatio*, is well known. The patient was put to sleep in the temple, and the god was supposed to prescribe remedies in dreams. The priests applied them. Strabo 508, 761; Herod. viii. 134; Arist., *Plut. passim*; Tert., *Anim.* 49. See also Frazer on Paus. ii. 11, § 6; ii. 27, § 2. Strabo, 374, says that votive tablets were erected by grateful patients, and some have been discovered by Mr. Cavvadias in the sanctuary of Æsculapius at Epidaurus. Aristides, the Rhetorician, experienced a remarkable cure in this way, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius also refers with gratitude to the relief he obtained. The custom continues, with some changes, in Tenos (Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 242).

² Ch. v., p. 47.

when animals now extinct ranged the forest or floundered in the swamps of Europe. Rude sketches of objects, like a flower or a mammoth, or of a scene, such as an encounter between bears or a buffalo hunt, have from time to time been disclosed to view. These early attempts at an imitation of nature contain the primitive elements of writing. Accordingly the terms "painting" and "writing" are in a sense interchangeable. Underneath both of them lies the same idea, and they both aim at the same purpose, namely, the retention of objects or impressions in the memory by means of visible signs.

Some ancient languages, faithful but unconscious recorders of the growth of thought, furnish testimony to this effect. The Greek *γράφω* and *γραφή* meant respectively either to write¹ or to paint. The Sanskrit *lip*, *lipi*-, "to write" and "writing," recall the original notion of "smearing"² or "rubbing over"; but *likh*, another Sanskrit root, connotes a different idea, that of "cutting," "scratching."³ The Latin *litera* again points to the use of colouring, for it is doubtless connected with *linere*, "smear," and *linea*, "line," is probably derived from the same source. But the commoner idea is that of scratching and carving, as witness the Latin *scribere*,⁴ the Greek *χαράκτηρ*,⁵ and the English "write."⁶ Further, all these bring to mind the earliest materials which were used for writing, namely, stone, metal or wood.

Since, as we have seen, the primitive method of communicating ideas and retaining impressions was so simple, it is not surprising that we are able to find that various

The evidence of language.

Writing in the wider sense not confined to a few races.

¹ Cf. *γλύφω*.

² Cf. *ἀλείφω*, "anoint"; *τὸ λίπος*, "grease"; *λιπαρός*, "greasy," "shiny"; *λίππος*, "blear-eyed"; and (by a curious divergence of meaning) *λιπαρεῖν*, "beseech" (lit. "stick to," "persist"); and German *bleiben*, "remain." Lanman, 243.

³ Cf. *ἐρείκειν*, "to furrow"; *ἐρέχθω*, "tear," "rend"; Latin *rima* (**ric-ma*), "crack," "chink." *Ibid.*, 243.

⁴ Cf. *Æneid* i. 482.

⁵ "Whence our characters," and "character." The original meaning of *χαράκτηρ* is "graving-tool," from *χαράσσειν*, "to sharpen," "scratch."

⁶ From the same root as the German *ritzen*, "to scratch."

Ideography or picture-writing.

The resemblance between the methods of various races.

Records of achievements in war.

Symbolical messages.

forms of writing originated independently in different parts of the globe. But even pictorial writing, however rude and elementary, was not the earliest expedient employed as an index to the thought struggling for expression. The methods of communication which many races have employed and still employ at this day, though widely separated from each other by time and distance, and though utterly unlike in character, reveal some curious correspondences. Aristotle¹ states that the Iberians were in the habit of placing around the tomb of a warrior as many obelisks as he had killed enemies in war. In like manner the transverse lines on the graveboards placed over Indian war-chiefs serve as tokens of their progress and records of their career.²

But sometimes such graphic representations assume a fuller form. The message sent by Idanthyrus, chief of the Scythian tribes, to Darius, King of the Persians, who had invaded his territory, is well known. The Scythians adopted the same kind of strategy which was practised by their successors against Napoleon. After luring the Persian army into the treacherous morasses and impenetrable forests, far from the bridge which had been cast over the Danube, the Scythian commander sent to his Persian opponent a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, intimating that unless he could fly, hide or dive into water, he would fall by the arrows of the Scythians.³ The Persians also in their dealing with the Greeks resorted to measures of the same kind, when laying before them important issues, and the Romans, in communicating with the Carthaginians, employed the lance and staff to express the alternatives, war and peace.

The appearance in two hemispheres of such systems of

¹ *Pol.* vii. 2, p. 220.

² Tylor, *Anahuac*, 185; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 50; Dawson, *Fossil Men*, 265, 270, 289. According to Safarik, the Bulgarian monk Chraber found no letter system among the Slavs, but notched staves with a conventional meaning.

³ Colden, *History of the Five Nations*, speaks of a similar symbolical defiance sent by the Iroquois to Count de Frontenac in 1696. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, p. 315.

making thoughts known shows that they are neither coincidences nor connected with each other, but are the result of the operation of natural laws of the human mind. Nor are such usages confined to ancient races. It is said that in Eastern countries a pictorial representation of the following description may be seen over the door of a faithful Mahommedan at the present day. On the signboard are depicted groups consisting of cottages, a mosque, a camel loaded with tapestry, another with a rider on its back, water, a ship, more camels with riders and burdens, a lion, and finally another mosque surrounded by palm trees. The occupier of the house by this means acquaints the passer-by with the following facts in his life, which, in his estimation, are well worth knowing. "I journeyed from my native place with the caravan bound for Mecca. Arrived at Port Suez I joined other pilgrims; in their company I traversed unharmed the wilderness which is infested with wild beasts, and so accomplished my vow."¹

Pictograms in various countries.

But as Europe must yield the pre-eminence in the mechanical arts, so here the European systems of writing are unimportant compared with the hieroglyphs of the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, some of which reach back to an immemorial antiquity.

The evolution in Egypt.

The all-important question now arises whether the Greeks had passed through this pictographic stage of development. The matter turns in a great measure upon the interpretation of the much disputed lines in Homer² relating to an episode

The temptation of Bellerophon.

¹ No races except the Egyptians furnish such interesting records of this kind as the North American Redskins. See Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh: Le Livre Sacré et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine*, Paris, 1861; Catlin, *North American Indians* i. 148; Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*; Max Müller, *Chips from a German Work-shop* i. 313; Tylor, *Anthropology*, 185; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 50-56.

² The national epics of many countries were for a long time handed down by oral transmission. This must have been the case, if not with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* themselves, at any rate with the floating traditions of which they were composed. Similarly the Vedas were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, p. 347; A. Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 131. So also the Northern

in the history of Bellerophon. That hero having slain his brother fled to the court of Proetus of Argolis in Peloponnesus. Anteia, the wife of his host, fell in love with her guest, and, her addresses being unrequited, traduced him to her husband, charging him with an attempt on her honour. The latter, unwilling to slay Bellerophon with his own hands, which would have been a flagrant breach of hospitality, hateful to gods and men, sent him to his father-in-law, Iobates, a king in Lycia, with a view to compassing his destruction :—

πόρην δ' ὁ γε σήματα λυγρὰ,
γράφας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῶ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.¹

Upon the whole it seems probable² that the poet is alluding to a kind of pictographic writing, the knowledge of which would be confined to a few. Traces of its existence appeared at Hissarlik and Mycenæ, but it is now fully made known by the discoveries at Knossos, as a pre-Mycenæan system. A second system of linear character seems to have been partly contemporary and partly later.³

So much on the earliest forms of pictorial writing. Given a knowledge of the manners of those who employ them, the interpretation is not very difficult. A Redskin will read off

The value
of these
picto-
graphs.

Sagas of the Christian era. The power of verbal memory is stronger in an ancient stage of civilization, and the invention of writing, while relieving the mind, produced an enervating effect on this faculty.

¹ *Iliad* vi. 168. "And gave him tokens of woe, graving in a folded tablet many deadly things."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*) Three points are noteworthy as bearing upon the passage: (1) Homer attributes the use of these signs to a time anterior to the Heroic age; (2) the language spoken in Lycia was akin to Greek (Kretschmer, p. 370); (3) The King of Lycia was descended by race from Crete (Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, 211).

² Cf. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, pp. 209, 210. It is significant that γράμμα was not used in Homer, and that it was employed (as in Herod. v. 58) to denote Phœnician letters.

³ Dr. A. J. Evans discovered many of these pictograms in the course of his recent exploration of the palace at Knossos, in Crete. They contained inventories of chariots, horses and ships, and other accounts. See Evans, *Cretan Pictographs and Pre-Phœnician Script*, 1895. Also an article by the same author in *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, 1899, 1900, p. 61; Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, pp. 140, 141; and Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 211.

such warnings or messages with ease. But owing to a defective acquaintance many mistakes may be made.¹ Still, however well such a system might be suited to a rude state of life, it was not elastic enough nor suited to an expanded range of ideas, and was particularly inadequate to meet the exigencies of the rapid rise of commerce. A new path was therefore discovered. Language now became the basis of writing. Not satisfied with the invention of phonetic equivalents for whole words and monosyllables, the Egyptians, and apparently others, developed the idea still further, and reached the culminating point, namely, a letter system; and this has never undergone any radical change.² According to the theory above enunciated, English letters bear traces of their origin in Egypt. The two prongs in F recall the horns of the asp which represented that sound in Egyptian. M retains the facial features (the outline of the head, the beak and the eyes) of the owl. N has preserved in an abbreviated form the zigzag or wavering line which in Egyptian described the rippling waves or running water.³

Phono-
graphy or
sound-
writing.

A letter
system.

¹ The Abbé Domenech, in his *Manuscrit Pictographique Américain*, Paris, 1860, was occasionally betrayed into errors through an insufficient acquaintance with the customs of the country.

² This view was first propounded by De Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, 1874, and seems to be supported by Dr. Evans' researches.

³ The reason for the choice of certain objects to represent certain sounds was probably due to the selection of a word, the initial letter of which best represented the sound. Thus *l*, from the first letter of *laboi*, "lioness"; *m*, from the first letter of *mulac*, "owl."

The systems of measurement and numeration in like manner proceed from the concrete to the abstract, and in other respects exhibit a development parallel to that of writing. (1) The names of numerals are first taken from parts of the body. The Greek *πέντε*, Sanskrit *pāñca*, and Latin *quinque*, probably recall the hand and five fingers. Cf. Persian *pendji*, *pentcha*, "hand" (Humbolt, *Personal Researches* ii., p. 115); Polish *pięc*. So, too, in the Malay language, *lima* is used for "hand" and "five." This supposition is borne out by the fact that the Roman numerals represent the fingers used as counters, i., ii., iii., iv., v., and the use of the Greek *πεμπάζειν*, to "count on five fingers," to "count" generally (*Odys.* iv. 412). It is not improbable that *τέσσαρες*, "four," comes from the root *quēt*, "conceal" (as in *κοτυλή*, *κοτυληδών*) with reference to closing the thumb and leaving four fingers visible. The Sanskrit *vyāmā*, "stretch out," "six feet"; Greek *ὄργυια*, "fathom"

Such was the gradual growth of the Egyptian alphabet which formed the foundation on which the chief alphabets of the world are based.

The Phœnicians as intermediaries.

It remains for us to point out the channels by which the Egyptian alphabet was transmitted. That the Phœnicians were the intermediaries who communicated this great gift to Europe was the unanimous tradition of the ancient world,¹ and they took at least a great share in the development and diffusion of the alphabet. Of their activities in the Mediterranean we have already spoken, and what is known of their occupations and character accords well with the traditional theory. The Phœnicians were pre-eminently a practical people. To them writing was a means not an end, an instrument for communication with the races with whom they had commercial dealings. Antecedently, therefore, it might be assumed that they would discard the exuberance and multiplicity of the Egyptian hieroglyphs and adopt only what was essential to their purpose, namely, the chief characteristics of the several symbols. This proves to have been the case, and they adopted the *hieratic*, or running hand, which merely contained the outline of the object, whether animal or utensil, used in the letter system of the original inventors.

Their practical character reflected in their alphabet.

Change of the names of the letters by the Semites.

Further, in the hands of the Semitic races the names of the letters were changed. The original animal or object which they represented was left out of sight and new names

(ὀρέγω, "stretch out"); the Anglo-Saxon *faefom*, the "extended arms"; English *fathom*; French *toise* (Medieval Latin *tesa*, from Latin *tensa*, *tendo*, "stretch"), will readily recur to the reader's mind, as also the words "span," viz., from the tip of the thumb to that of the little finger, precisely parallel to the Sanskrit *vīṭasti*, from root *tan* and *vi* (Lanman, 243). So, too, English *cubit*, *hand*, *nail*. (2) They were invented to meet the needs of the chief pursuits in the social infancy of races: thus, Sanskrit *sahāsra*, a "thousand," especially a thousand cattle. The decimal system was employed in war. See Ch. xxvii., p. 370. (3) Abstractions belong to a later period. Eight is two fours (Sanskrit *aṣṭā*, Greek ὀκτώ, Latin *octo*); nine is the new number (Latin *novem*, *novus*, "new"). These words betoken an advance in the development of the numerical system.

¹ Herod. v. 58 is a *locus classicus* on the subject.

were substituted.¹ In A, originally an eagle, they saw an ox or its head, and called it *Aleph*. In B, which the Egyptians had formed after the crane, or some bird which was regarded as a symbol of the soul, these Semites saw a house or door of a tent, and called it *Beth*. In C, which had taken its shape from a bowl with a loop handle, they saw the figure of a camel, and called it *Gimel*.² These names the Greeks borrowed, with a slight modification. The introduction of the Phœnician alphabet marked a momentous epoch, and the new names have impressed themselves deeply on the civilization of the world. Upon this hypothesis the Brahman wrote the Vedic hymns, the Moslem the Koran, the Hebrew the Old Testament, and the Greek the New, in symbols which had their origin in the Egyptian hieroglyphs.³ Such in outline is the traditional view. The debt of Europe to the Phœnicians is undoubted and immeasurable. But this circumstance is far from precluding the idea that another alphabet was evolved independently on the European

The influence of the Phœnicians.

¹ Upon this matter, however, opinion is not agreed. Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 255, regards the names of the letters as Syrian and not Phœnician, and Wellhausen, *Einkl. ins Alt. Test.* 4, p. 630, thinks that they were derived from Aramaic; so Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 227. But Schröder and others maintain the opposite opinion. The reference to any source other than the Phœnicians is vitiated by the fact that 'elef and delet are not Aramaic. They must therefore have been adopted from Phœnician in the first instance. See Lewy, *Die semit. Fremdwörter*, 169; and Schlotmann, in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch, d. bibl. Alt.* ii. 1430A.

² It had the sound of a *k* or *g*.

³ The history of the art of writing in India presents an interesting parallel to the case of Greece. Like the Greeks, presumably the Indians owed their letter system to the Phœnicians, and perhaps they adopted it about the same time. At any rate, it was known in the third century B.C. Bühler, *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* i. 11, 8, pp. 17, 121; Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, § 76. Like the Greeks, they acquired the art gradually. It was a rare accomplishment in the Homeric age (ninth-eighth centuries). Homer does not use words for book (*βιβλος*), or letter (*γράμμα*), or reading (*ἀναγνώναι*). Similarly in India the art was long confined to the Brahmans. Nearchus, 325 B.C., and Megasthenes, 300 B.C., state that the Indians did not write their laws, but they wrote letters on cotton. Tiele, *Geschiedenis*, § 76; Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, 76; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 347. In Servian the epithet *sitni*, "fine," "elaborate," is applied to handwriting. Throughout the poetry of the Serbs the art of writing is spoken of with wonder and deference. Cf. O. Meredith, *Serbski pesme*, p. 65.

continent. Antecedently, it would appear probable that such should be the case, and several facts have been disclosed which lend colour to this view. It is now known that the signs used in Egypt about 2500 B.C. were independent of the hieroglyphic system. It is also known that this system of signs extended to the Mediterranean about 2000 B.C. But there is positive proof of the existence of Greek alphabets at an early period, and that these were afterwards systematized. When finally the Greeks adopted the Phœnician signs they retained four of their own, Τ, Χ, Φ, and Ψ, and placed them at the end of the new series which, as we have seen, were imported from the East.¹

Recent
discoveries
in Crete.

The greatest interest in this connection attaches to the discoveries made by Dr. A. J. Evans in Crete. Not only were clay documents, with pictograms inscribed upon them, unearthed in the Palace of Knossos, to which allusion has already been made,² but a linear style of writing has been brought to light which is at once of an original character, shows a high development, and is some centuries older than the earliest Phœnician writing. The precise significance of these finds cannot as yet be definitely determined; the meanings of the signs have yet to be deciphered, and the racial influences that they betray to be finally decided.

¹ Moreover, it confirms the tradition mentioned by Diodorus Siculus iii. 67, § 1, which attributed the invention of writing to Palamedes, a statement which until recently has been viewed with scepticism. The name generally given to the imported alphabet was Phœnician, from the place of its origin. But there was another, known as the Pelasgian characters.

² Cf. ch. v., pp. 59-61. The reader is referred to the author's own writings: Evans, *Cretan Pictographs and Pre-Phœnician Script*, London, 1895; and *Further Discoveries of Cretan and Ægean Script*, London, 1898.

CHAPTER XXXI.

RELIGION.

THE chief luminary of the Western Church, St. Augustine of Hippo, laments with a show of reason the absence of a term in Latin to express the relations between man and his Maker.¹ A teacher of rhetoric in his earlier days and always a skilled writer, Augustine himself, in spite of Renan's strictures upon his style, must be admitted to have done much in adapting the Latin language to the use of the Christian Faith. Still, the Roman word *religio* remains in use to this day in the Christian Church, employed, like several other words and customs adopted from paganism, with a new connotation, a deeper meaning, and a wider range. Its original signification affords striking testimony to the Roman idea of religion. St. Augustine² and other authors trace the term to *religare*, "to bind," as implying an obligation. But it should in all probability be connected with *relegere* in the sense of anxious and careful pondering.³ Its primary meaning, however, would appear to be "scruple" and "scrupulousness";⁴ and so far was the early Roman

The absence of a term co-extensive with our "religion."

¹ *Retract.* i. 13; *De Ver. Rel.* 55.

² *Ibid.* St. Augustine often erred in his etymological explanations. But cf. Serv. on *Aeneid* viii. 349; Lactantius iv. 28; Lucret. i. 931; iv. 7. This interpretation certainly expresses the tie which, in the opinion of the Roman, bound him to perform religious observances.

³ Cf. *religens*, "revering the gods," "pious," which occurs in Gell. iv. 9, 1. The opposite would be *neglegere*, to be "negligent," "indifferent."

⁴ Cf. *religiosus*, "scrupulous." So in Greek ἐνθύμιος (1) "taken to heart" (*Odys.* xiii. 421; Herod. viii. 54), applied to a matter that lies heavy on the soul; (2) "scruple" (*Thuc.* vii. 50).

The
nature of
Roman
religion.

removed from the Christian conception of religion that a typical representative of the race, like Cicero, writing at a time when religious institutions were settled and established, could define *religio*, as follows:—*religio est quæ superioris cuiusdam naturæ, quam divinam vocant, curam cærimoni- amque offert.*¹ For Roman worship, though to all intents and purposes it resolved itself into the due discharge of ceremonies and observances, was eminently practical in its character.² The protecting spirits of which Italy was so prolific were supposed to address themselves to furthering some practical end, whether domestic, social, warlike or agricultural. Many of them were regarded simply as magical means, almost on a level with the fetish of an African negro, by which some practical object might be attained. That is not all. The Roman, whose genius was marked by a reverence for law and by a keen appreciation of the majesty of order, carried the same spirit into this department of thought also. For his religion was interwoven with the social structure and political institutions of his country. What he thought great in the natural order gained greatness in addition by its elevation into the super-natural. The result was that the Roman religion was not calculated to bring the emotions into play and to inspire enthusiasm, but was dry and formal.

No Greek
term for
"religion."

But the Saint and Doctor of the African Church might have included the Greek language in his complaint concerning the inadequacy of the ancient terminology to express the relations between the human and the divine. For neither was Classical Greek rich in theological terms. *Εὐσέβεια* and kindred words, indeed, meant "reverence to the gods," "piety," "duty," but like the Latin *pietas* they meant equally "filial regard," and like *religio* they especially implied the faithful fulfilment of sacred obligations; yet *εὐσέβεια* was probably the nearest approach in Greek to the modern

¹ *De Invent.* ii. 53. "Religion is that which occasions a regard and reverence for a higher nature called divine." Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.* 683.

² Cicero, *De Nat.* ii. 28, 72.

sense of religion. *Δεισιδαιμονία* was another expression which covered part but not the whole of the meaning of religion in its modern acceptation.¹ It signified "fear of the gods," and was often used in the bad sense of superstition. There are reasons for thinking that the word *δαίμων*, the main element in *δεισιδαιμονία*, in the first instance called up invidious associations; indeed, originally it may have meant no more than ghost. So the Greek language, for all its fertility of resource and elasticity, contained no term which adequately expressed the relations that existed between the creature and the Creator. The legitimate deduction from the barrenness of the theological terminology, exhibited by Classical Greek and Latin to the very last, is that the thing itself was either absent or at all events indeterminate. If so much uncertainty prevailed in regard to the later stages in the history of the Greek and Roman religions, when they had accomplished their full range and fulfilled their scope, it stands to reason that this indefiniteness would in earlier epochs be even more marked. In fact, in those early days there was no religion in the strict sense of the word. It is true that here and there evidences appear of a deep-seated feeling of a dependence on supernatural aid, and of an awakening consciousness of the necessity of belief in a Supreme Power all-wise, all-powerful. But such stray sentiments as these, which are scattered throughout the early literature of Greece, are enveloped in a cloud of fable and smothered by the luxuriance of mythological fancies. Still, the superstitious observances which occupied the minds of Greek and Roman, the conviction that the gods commanded consideration and required the performance of certain ceremonies at the hands of men, but especially demanded propitiation, the punctilious attention bestowed in Greece and Italy upon the objects of worship, these facts afford trustworthy testimony that they were not oblivious of the subject.

¹ The character of the *δεισιδαίμων* is analysed by Theophrastus, *Char.* 16. Nicias, as portrayed by Thucydides in vii. 50, 77, 86, affords an illustration of this temperament.

The
sources of
Greek and
Italian
religion.

Ancestor
worship.

Natural-
ism.

The source of Greek and Italian religion has been generally sought in naturalism, i.e. worship of the nature powers. Unquestionably the Aryan religion rested upon this basis, as witness (to name a few) the accounts given of the Persians¹ by Herodotus and the Germans by Cæsar.² But though naturalism was doubtless the original fountain from which both religions proceeded, so far as they lie within the range of investigation, yet it appears probable that ancestor worship was another source, tributary to the former, and that in course of time the two streams became so blended together as to be undistinguished and flow together uninterrupted. Accordingly ancestor worship has been claimed as the origin of myth and religion;³ and there can be no question that the superstitions of savages at all events have been largely influenced by the worship of ancestors, and perhaps originated in this way. But among other considerations which militate against this view may be mentioned the comparatively late acknowledgment of the idea of kinship, without which there would be no recognition of any ancestors who would claim divine honours. The case has been stated clearly by a well-known writer:⁴ "Nature is bigger than man, and this he was not slow to feel. Even if it be conceded that sun-myth and sun-worship once arose through the nicknaming of an ancestor as the Sun, we must take into account the force of that imagination which enabled the unconscious myth-maker or creed-maker to credit the moving orbs of heaven with personal life and will. The faculty which could do that might well express itself in awestruck form without intruding the ancestral ghost." The truth is, it is impossible to assign the origin of savage superstitions to one cause only. Rather, they arise from a vague wonder at phenomena which cannot be measured and baffle the comprehension of the man who has not advanced beyond a barbarous or semi-barbarous state.

¹ i. 131.

² vi. 21.

³ Cf. Ch. vii, 74.

⁴ Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*, p. 113.

He looks at nature through a distorting medium. He is constantly exposed to a fear of evil and constantly striving after blessings which he cannot obtain unaided. He contemplates Nature as animate, regards all natural objects as endowed with intelligence, and extends to them his own implicit consciousness of personality. Everything that exhibits power, movement or fertility, as he supposes, is the work of some being dressed up by his fear or fancy according to the circumstances in which he lives, and coloured by the aspect of his natural surroundings. But sometimes the display of force in the processes of nature that come under his observation transcends the power of any man or beast imaginable. The savage therefore cannot ascribe it to the operation of any such living being as this. He therefore accounts by the rules of savage logic for the force and continuance of these phenomena by attributing them to the agency of a nature-dæmon, more powerful, more permanent than man or beast. But the mystery does not terminate there. He is equally perplexed by his own individual experiences and those of his fellows, in sickness, dreams and death. These likewise he ascribes to the operation of preternatural beings. But the claims of naturalism and ancestor worship respectively to priority must remain undecided, and confessedly much uncertainty envelops the whole subject of the origin of religions. Epochs are not really so abrupt as they seem to be in human history ; they are still less so during the earliest stages of the existence of mankind. It is therefore idle to speculate, and we can never hope to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem. Although it is impossible to identify the constituent causes of primitive religion, it is possible to fix with tolerable exactitude the different strata, if not to follow the succession of stages, in the religious history of the Greek and Italic races.

Feelings of
the savage.

Under the earliest form of religion which is at present discoverable, as we have already seen, lies a depth which, apart from Divine Revelation, we cannot hope to fathom. Leaving out of sight, therefore, the faint traces of more

The first
stage :
animism.

ancient elements, the crudest and probably the earliest form is animism. It is now represented by the so-called nature religions, or the magic tribal religions in which polydæmonism prevails. The fact is, animism, strictly speaking, is not itself a religion, but a kind of primitive philosophy, which guides and governs the whole life of natural races. To adopt the definition given by an eminent authority on Comparative Religion, it is "the belief in the existence of souls and spirits of which only the powerful, those on which man feels that he depends and stands in awe, assume the rank of divine beings and objects of prayer."¹

Its
character

and defini-
tion.

But animism may be further subdivided into spiritism and fetishism, which are, however, only different aspects of the same kind of belief. In spiritism these nebulous beings, whose existence is pre-supposed, hover through earth and air, and present themselves to view when subjected to the influence of a spell. In fetishism they take up their abode for a time or for ever in some natural or artificial object. But, strictly speaking, fetishism is not a religion at all, because the worshipper believes that he can compel the spirit to do what he directs, a belief which is incompatible with religion in the higher sense of the term. Of this feature in animism more must be said at a later point in our investigation. Meanwhile it is sufficient to observe that in both these forms of animism the spirit subserves the will of the worshipper, and fulfils the purposes which he desires.

Prevalence
of
animism.

That animistic ideas or conceptions have prevailed at various times and in various countries may be seen from the early records that are available. To attempt an enumeration of the forms which have been suggested by the irregular imagination of the savage would be impossible within these limits, for this unorganized polydæmonism prevails among races the most diversified and distant from each other.

Be that as it may, there are some traces in Greece of the

¹ Dr. C. P. Tiele, Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Leyden. *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, § 8.

presence of such superstition, though the Greek races rapidly outgrew this stage and progressed to polytheism,¹ a much higher standard of attainment. Some, however, of the objects of Greek worship were distinctly animistic. Such were the *δαίμονες* who were subordinate deities by side of the *θεοί*. In Homer the word *δαίμων* usually is impersonal, and is applied to the divine power,² not as a rule to individual gods and goddesses (*θεοί* and *θεαί*).³ The poet Hesiod evidently conceives *δαίμονες* to be the beneficent *genii* or souls of men of the golden age, who, now that they are dead and gone, bear the part of tutelary deities⁴ :—

τοὶ μὲν δαίμονές εἰσι, Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
ἔσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
οἷ ῥα φυλάσσοσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
ἤερα ἔσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.⁵

Accordingly the *δαίμονες* occupied an intermediate position between gods and men, and this opens up a wider question, whether the *δαίμων* may not originally have been a glorified ghost. It has been customary to derive the word from *δαίω*, in allusion to the power of dividing, i.e. allotting destinies, or again to *δαίμων*, "knowing." But this etymology is unconvincing and should doubtless be given up. Dr. Schrader has offered an ingenious and suggestive theory, which would be perfectly consonant with the facts above cited. He is inclined to connect the word with the Latin *lares*,⁶ the lordly ancestors who presided over the destinies of Roman households, and the author supports his view with

¹ It has been maintained, however, by many thinkers that polytheism did not take its rise from animism.

² *Odys.* iii. 27 ; *Iliad* xvii. 98.

³ But it is so used in *Iliad* i. 222 ; iii. 420, and employed convertibly for *θεός* in *Odys.* vi. 172, 174, but *θεός* is never used for *δαίμων*.

⁴ Like *genii* or *lares*. See Ch. xxxiii.

⁵ *Works and Days*, 121. "By the counsels of great Zeus they are kindly spirits dwelling upon earth, guardians of mortal men. They keep watch over dooms and evil deeds, shrouded in air, faring hither and thither over the face of the earth." Plato, *Phaed.* 108B ; *Symp.*, 203A.

⁶ The older form is *lases*. He postulates a form **δασι-μων*. The appearance of δ for l is regular, as in *δάκρυ*, *lacrima*, "tear." *Reallex.*, p. 29.

an array of evidence.¹ Besides the *δαίμονες*, superstitious minds were held in terror by other spirits who ranked no higher than goblins, the Greek *'Αλφειτώ*, *'Ακκώ*,² *Μορμώ*,³ *Γελλώ*⁴ and *Δαμία*,⁵ fabulous monsters, who were said to feed on men's flesh, or bugbears, which were commonly invoked by nurses to frighten their charges. Fetishes were not unknown in Greece. Of some of the spirits who were supposed to inhabit blocks of wood or stone we have already spoken,⁶ and other instances are not wanting. Indeed, a deity could make its seat (*ἔδος*) in any object, be it a meteoric stone or block of wood. He was called down to take up his abode there by means of magic incantation. Such a visible impersonation of Zeus Labrandios was the double axe (*labrys*).⁷ Such deities in Italy were Jupiter Lapis, Lapis manalis, "the Stone of the Manes;"⁸ the Wolf and Woodpecker (*picus*), the Lance of Mars,⁹ were little higher in the scale than fetishes. Many of these stand hardly above the level of the pieces of stone or wood which savages wrap in furs or cotton and keep safe in sanctuaries.

But if the Greeks did not entirely divest themselves of superstitious reverence of the spirit-world, the belief is still more characteristic of the Italic races. The Italian mind was particularly fertile in the creation of nebulous beings, who were called *numina*, and the Italian fancy ran riot in peopling the air with fantastic and capricious spirits. It is possible

¹ Later authors frequently used *δαίμων* in the sense of departed souls, *manes*, *lares*. So Luc., *Lucr.* 24.

² A name of Demeter. Cf. Sanskrit *akkā*, "mother"; Latin *Acca Larentia*, mother of the Twelve Arvales Fratres, *Acca Tarutia*, *Accua*.

³ Also *μορμολυκείον*, "hobgoblin."

⁴ So in Modern Greece. Wachsmuth, 77.

⁵ Cf. Ch. vi., p. 57. She too reappears in Modern Greece. Wachsmuth, 31.

⁶ Ch. vii. 81, 82.

⁷ On the whole of this interesting subject see Dr. A. J. Evans, *The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 8 seqq. The representation of this sacred axe in art is well illustrated in vase No. 844 in the British Museum. (Excavations in Cyprus).

⁸ Festus, p. 128, 14, Müller.

⁹ Cf. the sword worshipped by the natives of the Pontus. Amm. Marc. xxxi. 2, 21; Scythians, Herod. iv., 62.

that the proximity of the Etruscans accounts for the rapid and pronounced development in this direction on the part of the Italians. For, as is well known, this mysterious people and other remnants of that Turanian stratum which once overspread the face of Europe, were largely dominated by animistic beliefs.¹ But the Italian spirit-world cannot be altogether accounted for in this manner. The Aryans themselves, as we have seen, were no strangers to such a creed, and the Romans were behind none in this respect. They were convinced that every operation of nature was traceable to supernatural agency; that every action of life was inspired by some of these unsubstantial beings; that every stage of their growth and every avocation was under the superintendence of some divinity. Throughout the religious history of Rome runs this idea, that a *numen* of some kind presided over everything that the Romans did, whether individually or collectively; that it followed their fortunes from cradle to grave, seconded the enterprise of the soldier, or aided the labours of the husbandman in his farming operations, even down to the smallest details. Some of these spirits have already been mentioned; ² one has not been noticed, but nevertheless calls for discussion. The Latin *genius* corresponds in some ways to the Greek *Genii.* *δαίμων*. He was closely allied to the ghost. He represented the powers of life and reproduction in man. He entered human beings at birth and left them at death. Afterwards he became a "good spirit," one of the *manes*, and was often worshipped under the form of a snake.³

Of all these *numina* or spirits who abound in the Roman *Janus.* religion none is more characteristic than Janus. We have already had occasion to allude to his office in connection with the institution of war. For, since he was regarded as

¹ Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i., c. 54, 55.

² Ch. ii., pp. 23, 24.

³ The guardian spirits of women, who correspond precisely to the *genii* in men, were called *Junones*.

the opener of all movements,¹ so especially he was the initiator of war, and the opening of his temple was a prelude to this favourite pursuit of every one worthy the name Roman. That we have in Janus an animistic power is undeniable. Such indeed were Juppiter, Mars and Venus. But Janus is distinguished from these three by the circumstance that, while on their fusion with Greek gods and goddesses their character considerably changed, Janus remained an animistic deity to the last—neither exalted to the rank of a divinity of the highest order nor depressed to the level of an ordinary spirit. Without losing the essential elements of animism he assumed a decided prominence and always maintained his popularity. But Janus is only one instance of a hundred *numina* that might be mentioned. The Roman religion is really steeped in animism, and this constitutes the only genuine residuum of the beliefs of ancient Rome in the later Republic and under the Empire; for in the domain of religion as in all other provinces the Roman was subjected to foreign influences. In the first place, the Greek, who had made such swift strides in religious development, and afterwards the Oriental, leavened and transmuted the old and original conceptions of Rome. So, practically, animism forms a line of demarcation dividing the religion of Rome from the religion of Greece, and it will consequently be found that Rome furnishes the most instructive instances of the nature of animism, though Greece need not be entirely excluded from our view. To the chief characteristics of this phase of religion we shall now address ourselves in succession, and as these leading features of animism arise for consideration one by one, it will be seen that a causal connection exists between them.

Features of
animism.

Vagueness
of polydæ-
monism.

The spirits worshipped in the animistic stage of development roamed through every corner of nature; they seldom possessed any pronounced or even fixed character, and this

¹ Cf. the Sanskrit *yāna*, "passage," "way" (root *ya*, "go"); Latin *ianus*, "archway." He was a genuine product of the soil of Italy.

want of clear-cut and distinct personality reacted upon the worship of them. Hence arose confusion in the minds of their votaries, and in consequence a wavering terminology. Hence the indecision and uncertainty of the prevalent doctrine of the world of spirits. So it is throughout the Roman religion. The mystery attaching to the nature of the supernatural beings, with whom the air was supposed to swarm, made the worshipper scrupulous in the choice of a style of address in approaching the spirit. He must avoid giving offence. The Roman priest, in calling upon sovereign Juppiter, who, as we have seen, was originally little more than an animistic spirit, but afterwards acquired a more distinct individuality than the gods generally, betrays an anxiety not to limit the character of the godhead, and this leads the official to use guarded expressions: "Juppiter, quicumque es" ("Juppiter, whoever thou art"). This habit is equally marked in speaking of Summanus, who was believed to be the author of thunder and lightnings by night. The poet Ovid, in his *Fasti*, speaks with similar caution:—

Reddita, quisquis is est, Summano templa feruntur.¹

So, in like manner, Horace, obediently to time-honoured tradition, exercises circumspection in speaking of Janus:—

Matutine pater seu Jane libentius audis.²

Nor was this religious reserve absent from Greece, as witness some well-known words in Æschylus's *Agamemnon*.³ The choristers couch their address in vague terms:—*Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν* ("Zeus, whoever he is"). For the same reason offerings were paid to Juppiter and Summanus together. A similar precaution dictated the formulæ of address to deities other than the two mentioned above:—"Sive deo sive deæ" ("whether god or goddess"), "sive mas sive femina"

¹ vi. 731. "Temples are said to have been given to Summanus, whoever he is."

² Sat. ii. 6, 20. "Thou, father of the dawn, or Janus if so thou hadst rather be addressed."

³ Æsch., *Ag.* 105.

("whether male or female"), and "sive quo alio nomine fas est appellare" or "te appellari volueris" ("by whatever name thou wouldest fain be called"). The same attitude prompted the common custom of ending the prayers to individual deities with a general invocation to all gods and goddesses, that is, for fear of creating jealousy or otherwise giving offence. This was called "deos confuse," or "generaliter invocare."

Fear.

From this state of religious culture, where divine power was regarded as impersonal, and no clearly defined deities had been conceived, it was an easy transition to a state of constant dread of their arbitrary caprice. When the votary has no clear idea of the nature of the spirit-world, but yet firmly believes that he is surrounded by an array of hostile spirits who manifest their malignant temper in creating discord, sickness, or death, he is subject to constant alarm. The consequence is he worships them rather to avert evil than procure good. If he can turn away their anger, elude their attacks, or disappoint their malice, he has realized the principal aim of his religion. Hence his perpetual fear of some unearthly apparition. Hence his convulsive efforts to explore the secrets of the past and future. Truly, the "timor fecit deos"¹ of the philosophic doubter is applicable to this stage of religious sentiment, and a writer of a very different stamp expresses a conviction forced upon him by long residence among savages and a close observation of their habits. "Fear of the supernatural," says he, "is the predominant note of all heathen life and uncivilized races."²

Con-
nec-
tion of
these
religious
ideas with
social insti-
tutions.

This state of feeling is not unconnected with the social conditions that prevail among races who stand on a low level of civilization. For, as we have seen, by many savages and by the Aryan races, so long as they remained in a barbarous or semi-barbarous state, everyone who does not belong

¹ Capaneus in Statius, *Theb.* iii., 661.

² Bishop Selwyn, *Pastoral Work in the Colonies and the Mission Field*, p. 114. Cf. J. Roberts, *Oriental Illustrations of Scripture*, p. 542; Montgomery Martin, *The History of Eastern India* i., p. 193.

to the same tribe is accounted an enemy.¹ A spirit therefore appears to the untutored mind in the light of the member of some strange tribe, whose machinations must be combated and assaults repelled. Or, again, religious ideas may take their complexion from the forms of government that prevail in the country with which they are associated. As the Asiatic considers despotism to be the normal method of human government, he also believes that the same principle directs the universe, and especially rules the natural world. He, therefore, concludes that the gods must be conciliated, not by rectitude and piety but by poignant sufferings, severe austerities, and inhuman sacrifices. As the Slavs, for reasons that have already been touched upon, were in the earlier epochs of their history painfully familiar with the dark side of life, they transported the colouring of their social conditions and their rueful experiences to their religion. Their beliefs, therefore, were deeply tinged by fear.² So it probably was in early Italy. Though the early Italians were never subject to such terrorism as preyed on the minds of their neighbours of Etruria, "the mother of superstition," or the spiritual bondage which prevailed among races of modern times such as the natives of Mexico and Peru, yet in Italy also malignant spirits predominated and a pessimism pervaded religious life and institutions. Indeed, it may be laid down as a general rule that the more martial qualities a tribe or race possesses, the greater the courage that animates them, and the firmer the resolution that they show in the field, the more pusillanimous is their attitude towards the mysterious powers with which their imagination peoples their surroundings. Accordingly, while the Roman spirit-world included its Saturn, the god of agriculture, and its Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, both ancient and beneficent beings, yet the maleficent spirits abounded—nymphs and cruel spirits of the fountain who inflicted madness,

¹ Ch. xxviii., pp. 393, 394.

² Cf. Maclear, *The Slavs*, 36.

dangerous spirits of incantation, spirits of fire who dealt death and destruction by thunderstorms and blight, spirits of the departed who plotted against human happiness. Such were some of the unamiable qualities of the tenants of the spirit-world.¹

Hypo-
crisy and
deception.

The sequence of cause and effect is again noticeable in the results that proceeded from the sentiment of fear which was entertained towards these occupants of the world of spirits. Rude minds find it hard to associate the ideas of benignity with such powers. Only a short step in reality separates fear of these airy beings from a desire to outwit and overreach them by resorting to fraud. The religion of the modern savage and his ancient counterpart is far removed from disinterested devotion. Even the Greek gods are not regarded as omnipotent and infallible. The poet Homer tells tales of their powerlessness and misdemeanours which show that they were but little superior to mankind whether in intellect or morals. The deities Ares and Aphrodite retire from the battlefield in discomfiture before the man Diomed,² and other gods do not emerge from the contest waged against them by mortal men with undiminished credit or undimmed majesty, while as for the private character of many of the denizens of Olympus, it will not bear strict scrutiny.

Compacts
between
gods and
men.

Throughout the whole of the religion of Rome there ran the idea that the votary in taking vows, paying sacrifice, and rendering homage was fulfilling a share in a contract, but it was no cringing creed. If he had made the offerings expected at his hands, he had done his duty. If the god failed to fulfil the conditions imposed, the obligation was discharged, and the bargain fell through; he took the gods to task and might forsake their worship. "What devotion is owed to a god from whom you have received nothing?" is a question

¹ Vergil seems at times to be conscious of a struggle with unpropitious powers. Cf. *Georgics* iv. 7; *Æneid* ii. 483, 484; ix. 409; and perhaps *Eclogues* i. 16.

² Cf. *Iliad* v. 39.

asked by Cicero in the *De Natura deorum*,¹ and the same idea recurs repeatedly. There is a similar hint in the frequent appeals made by a warrior to the gods, to speed his shaft or prosper his enterprise. He promises a gift in return when he has received proof of the divine favour, but not before.² Just as the native of the Nicobar Islands will intimidate his refractory fetish into complying with his wishes, and beat him when they are denied, so a Roman general tried to outwit Juppiter by offering him libations instead of shrines. For we read in the historian's account of the transaction, "If he should defeat the legions of the enemy, he would, before the tasting of any generous liquor, make a libation of a cup of wine and honey," and, adds the grave and pious historian, "the gods accepted this kind of vow."³ Just as the Basuto, when engaged on a predatory excursion, tries to hoodwink the protecting spirits of an opposing or rival tribe and endeavours to win them over, so the Romans tried to seduce the patron deities of their antagonists to come over to their side.⁴ Just as a negro on the Gold Coast of Africa cheats his idol by concealment of an offering or by the substitution of another offering for the one agreed upon, so did the Roman offer poppy-heads,⁵ or suspended *oscilla* (waxen masks) on trees in honour of Bacchus instead of human heads,⁶ or threw dolls made of plaited rushes into the river Tiber.⁷ So also when the laws

Pious
frauds.

¹ i. 41, 115. Quæ pietas ei debetur a quo nihil acceperis ?

² Cf. *Iliad* i. 37-42; *Odyss.* iv. 762-765. Similar appeals occur in the Rigveda. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* i. 1175, records the performance of a vow by two brothers on behalf of their father. Their gratitude practically resolves itself into thankfulness for favours to come. "O great god, they pray thee to give them frequent opportunities of offering thee like gifts."

³ Livy x. 42.

⁴ Cf. Ch. xxvii., p. 376.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 329, playing on the meaning of *caput*. Cf. the absurd stories told by Plutarch, *Numa* 15.

⁶ Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 389, and Servius on the passage. Cf. the offerings of beans (Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 576).

⁷ There can be no doubt that this practice was a relic of human sacrifices, which were "abolished by Hercules" (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 7). It is equally evident that these puppets were offered to the god of the stream (*deus advena*) on the occasion of inundations or plagues or other

of ritual required the sacrifice of a rare animal, it was believed, or convenient to believe, that an image of wax or paste would be equally effectual.¹ So did the Locrians substitute figures of wood for real victims,² and the Bœotians offer Herakles apples in place of sheep, taking refuge in the similarity of the names, $\mu\eta\lambda\alpha$.³

Selfish-
ness of
worship-
pers and
the spirit.

The truth is that in these mutual negotiations both the man and the spirit are self-seeking; the one is parsimonious, the other stints his blessings unless he is properly propitiated. Underneath the whole of the Roman conception of the relations between the man and the natural forces which are the objects of his worship lies the same idea. He believes, indeed, that he is subject to the spirits, but can render them useful instruments by punctilious adherence to the religious regulations and outward observances issued by the pontiffs with the sanction of the State.⁴

Magic.

But there was a still more effective means of bringing the

catastrophes—a perfectly natural proceeding in view of the importance of the river to Rome. The presence of the Pontiffs, Vestals and Prætors, shows that the ceremony was regarded as a purification of the state. This view is borne out by the fact that their traditional number coincided with the number of *curiæ* (see Ch. xxii.).

Reference has already been made to this usage (Ch. xiv. p. 174). Mr. Thiselton Dyer, *The Ghost World*, p. 31, relates a Roumanian custom which presents a parallel to the German custom mentioned on p. 175. "It was thought indispensable to the stability of a church or other important building to wall in a living man or woman, whose spirit henceforward haunts the place. In later times this custom underwent some modifications, and it became usual in place of a living man to wall in his shadow."

¹ Servius on Vergil, *Æneid* ii. 115. The custom of colouring Juppiter's image with vermilion was probably a reminiscence of actual blood-sprinkling at an earlier period. Pliny, *H.N.* xxxiii. 36; Cyprian(?), *De Spectaculis*, p. 3; though Plutarch, *Numa* 16, p. 267, and *Q.R.*, § 15, speaks of the bloodless sacrifices of the Romans at a very ancient time. The *ver sacrum* of the Sabellian races may have been a compensation for an earlier custom of offering human lives. Cf. Festus, p. 379, Müller and Servius on *Æneid*. vii. 796.

² Zenobius, v. 5.

³ This god seems to have often victimised. Cf. the comic incidents in Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 10, 12, where he makes a wager with the sacristan; other incidents are mentioned which are neither creditable to his dignity nor flattering to his intelligence.

⁴ Cf. Jevons on Plutarch, *Q.R.* xxxiii.; and Marquadt, p. 6.

supernatural agents to reason. It has already appeared that magic rests upon the assumption that nature may be subjected to the power of man, and that this power can be increased a hundred or a thousandfold. The consequence is that animism implies the celebration of real or pretended magical incantations.

The shadow of the influence of infernal agents, demons and spirits, always lay across the Roman mind, and in consequence the Roman religion betrays its primitive character more clearly in the prevalence of magic than in any other departments. Unlike the Greek, to whose temper magic was essentially foreign, the Roman regarded the spirits whom he worshipped as fetishes in the main. He therefore endeavoured by every means that lay in his power to circumvent and cripple their influence upon his fortunes.

The means which he employed to this end were various. Magic songs were much in vogue in Greece. In Italy, also, *Carmentis*, as her name (derived from *carmen*, a "song," or "chant") clearly denotes, was said to be the deity of the incantation. But charms of all sorts were in great request, since they were supposed to be powerful instruments to counteract insidious influences, to repel evil-disposed spirits or to avert calamity; and the magician was always at hand to supply them. *Bullæ* were hung around the neck of a child as talismans, and were believed to act as a sovereign prophylactic against the hundred spirits who encompassed him.¹ But there were others worn by adults also for a similar object, the *βάσκανον* in Greece, and the *fascinum* at Rome.² Nails were driven into the walls of houses in order to avert maladies and other dangers, or to divert these

Magic
charac-
teristic of
Roman
religion.

Magic
formulae.

¹ Such amulets are used to guard against the influence of the Nereids and witches in Modern Greece, Wachsmuth, pp. 70, 75, 78; Bent, p. 185.

² Cf. *βάσκαίνειν*, *fascinare*, *προβάσκανία* and *ἀποτρόπαια*. Pliny, *H.N.* xxviii., 7, speaks of a god *Fascinus*, who was venerated by the Vestal Virgins. Children were placed under his protection. He also was supposed to watch over military leaders, and on the occasion of a triumph an image of the god was bound around their arms as a warning not to indulge feelings of pride for fear of provoking nemesis.

noxious influences to some other quarter. But still easier means were devised ; one simple method was to spit thrice.¹ This does not exhaust the list of magic formulæ by means of which the sorcerer was able, as he pretended, to conjure the secret forces of nature, to make the infernal agents tremble, and to throw the unsophisticated into a frenzy of alarm.

Magic
influence
of names.

There is one artifice which deserves or claims special attention. The magic influence attached to personal names is a permanent phenomenon of savage life. For a man's name is believed to be an integral part of himself and to possess an exorcising power ; the disclosure of it puts the owner in the power of a neighbour. It is really an extension of the belief that the possession of any part of another's person affords a hold over him, which can be used to his injury or otherwise be turned to his disadvantage.² So it was with the spirits of the Italian religion. *Di indigetes*³ were practically little more than magical names by which certain actions were furthered or interests promoted, and these agents could be easily called up, simply by pronouncing their names. Hence the knowledge of the names of gods was jealously safeguarded by the *pontifices*, especially Angerona, the name of the protecting deity of Rome.⁴ Hence, too, the utmost care was taken not to disclose the arts by which the gods could be drawn to earth. The power derived from the monopoly of these names or arts, it may well be imagined, threw unlimited power into the hands of those who were initiated into the secret, and they used it to the full. These magic-mongers pretended to bring under control and check by various devices malevolent and powerful agents, who exerted their sway over the fortunes of mortals, and showed their malignant natures by poisoning human joys and aggravating the load of human wretchedness.

Incom-
municable
names.

¹ τρίς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον, Theocritus, vi. 39, and probably *conspuitur sinus*, Juvenal vii. 112. Cf. Lucian, *Navig.* 15 ; Pliny xxviii. § 36.

² Cf. Ch. xxx. 434.

³ Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 325. Cf. Granger, *The Worship of the Romans*, 277.

⁴ Angerona had no genealogy and was represented in art with a finger on her lip in an attitude of silence.

Armed with such formidable weapons as these, equally capable of quelling spirits of the unseen and inspiring terror in their fellow-creatures, such practitioners obtained an ascendancy which knew no bounds. Many families of magicians figure in Italian legends. The Fauni, who were popularly supposed to be the descendants of Faunus, a primeval Latin god, and the giver of oracles,¹ may have had their origin in a class of men who were credited with the possession of magical powers. The Salii, the priests of Mars, a god who himself reveals points of resemblance to the magician, also worshipped their patron deity by means of the magic war-dance. But while this belief in the power of magic gave the unprincipled professor of the black art an incalculable influence over the minds of men, magic is really antitheistic.² For the assumption of a power to control the spirits implies inability on their part to resist—a confession which could not fail to prejudice their omnipotence or supremacy. However that may be, as higher conceptions of the invisible world prevailed, such endeavours to cripple the influence of supernatural powers by means of magic gave way to efforts to calm their wrath or propitiate their favour.

From what has been said in the foregoing pages it will be seen that the whole system of Roman religion is in complete harmony with the Roman temperament. It has been already observed that the Roman mind was marked by practicalness, and the religion of the Roman was eminently practical.³ Underneath the Roman conception of the divine nature lies the animistic notion—a notion which widely prevails among savages of to-day—that the gods can be used as serviceable instruments to effect certain purposes which the worshipper has in view. Many of the spirits to whom the Roman paid honour or offered propitiation presided over agricultural operations. Saturn, the oldest of the gods, was one of this number. But their votaries were neither bound nor disposed

Brother-
hoods of
Magicians.

Magic
really
anti-
religious.

The
general
character
of Roman
religion.

Its practi-
calness.

¹ Afterwards identified with the Greek sylvan deity Pan.

² Cf. Jevons on Plutarch, *Q.R.* xxv.

³ Cf. Ch. ii. 20-24.

to render homage or sacrifice without obtaining some return for the attentions that they bestowed. No sacrifice was made and no temple was erected, for example, to Ventus, "Wind," or Aurora, "Dawn," for the reason that they served no particular objects in daily life or in promoting otherwise the welfare of their worshippers. To the Roman a religious man was one who submitted his piety and conscience to the injunctions of the law of the land, and scrupulously adhered to the numberless restrictions that it enjoined. Priests were necessary in order to see that the pious action failed in no essential element. The consequence was that the Roman religion resolved itself largely into cultus rather than doctrine; the *castitas*, "purity," required of the worshipper was in a great measure sacerdotal, and consisted merely of purification, while prayer was a magical ceremony. Upon the whole the Roman religion was jejune and external.

Its formalism.

But it possessed compensations.

It encouraged order

But if the Roman religion was from this point of view defective, it had counterbalancing advantages, which enlisted the respect of antiquity, and various writers have not been slow to testify to its utility. The very traits in it which offered an intrinsic contrast to those of the Greek religion arrested the attention and commanded the admiration of the Greek observer, and many of the Roman poets' pages are devoted to a glorification of the old simple Roman life and the old simple Roman faith in the gods. Interlaced as it was with Roman institutions, the Roman religion added seriousness, regularity, and obedience to the commonwealth. It imparted dignity to private life, ensured order in public, inculcated discipline, and inspired patriotism. It co-operated to produce that readiness to sink individual interests or predilections in the welfare of the State, which was one of the distinguishing features, if not the most prominent feature, of Roman civilization. In a word, it taught that the sacrifice of individualism was a virtue—the very individualism which had attended the rise of the small states of Greece, but had also accelerated their ruin.¹

¹ Cf. Ch. xxii. pp. 299, 300.

It must be admitted also that the Roman religion compared favourably with the Greek in point of morality. True, the gods of Rome were offshoots of the same stem as those of Greece, but they were not guilty of the enormities which disfigured the history of the gods of Greece, the heartlessness of a Kronos, the intrigues of a Zeus, the amours of an Ares. So that the Roman poet could claim with justice that the religious history of his country contained nothing to excite a blush.¹ Such vagaries as were attributed to the Roman divinities were more grotesque than shocking, and these blots were infrequent in the Roman mythology. The epithets applied to the "great gods" tell the same tale. Juppiter bears titles which have a moral connotation—he is *Optimus Maximus*; Vesta is a goddess of purity, and virginity is especially required in those who serve in her courts; and, again, the Household gods watch over the purity of family worship. But Roman devotion did not end here. It bore fruit. The qualities which were ascribed to the Roman gods and goddesses were reflected in the demeanour of the Roman citizen who bowed down to them in adoration. The religion of the days of King Numa is said to have been *frugi*,² "honest;" the magistrates of old Rome fulfilled their duties with scrupulous fidelity; friends seldom committed a breach of trust, and thieves were rare.³ Such was the religious system which was an animating principle of the Roman republic, which was largely instrumental in winning for Rome her conquests and her grandeur, which gave her the reputation of being the most religious city of the world, which excited the unqualified admiration of the statesman and the philosopher, and called forth the proud boast of her national poet:—

Hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
Supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis.⁴

¹ Propert. iii. 22, 30.

² Tertullian, *Apol.* 25.

³ Polybius vi. 56; G. Boissier, *La religion Romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*, p. 35.

⁴ Vergil, *Æneid* xii. 838. "Hence shall arise a race of tempered Ausonian blood, whom thou shalt see surpass men, surpass gods in duty." Cf. Cicero, *De Nat.* ii. 2.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RELIGION (CONTINUED).

Animism
and na-
turalism
contrasted

THE religions of Greece and Italy, as has already appeared to some extent, sprang from the same root, namely, the recognition of the presence of the divine power behind the veil of the visible universe, inspiring, vivifying, and immanent in every living thing, every inanimate object, every action.¹ For where man is weak and nature rude, he bows in reverential awe before the natural powers which he has not yet learnt to tame. Not only were Italian animism and Greek naturalism derived from the same source, but also after they had diverged, and when man had put nature under his feet, traces of the earlier stage survived. The good spirits co-existed with the evil; the higher order of spirits at last gained the upper hand and were not liable to magic, the lower order sank into the position of demons.

in Greece
and Italy.

So the origin both of naturalism and animism was one and the same; that is to say, a belief which practically resolved itself into a kind of pantheism. But though they originated in the same source, they developed in different directions, and in course of time offered an intrinsic contrast. The Roman mind rested content with worshipping the multitudinous forces of nature, or vague abstractions of pure thought. The inventive imagination of the Greek found scope in the highest forms of naturalism. Accordingly the Greek and

¹ The Latin word *numen* (from root *nu* which is seen in Greek *νεῦω* and Latin *nuo, renuo*), meaning "divine will," "deity," covered a wide area. It signified a manifestation of power, whether a presage or a revelation or a spirit.

Roman religions respectively, while containing elements in common, acquired an individuality of their own. The Roman bore to the end the impress of spiritism and fetishism, the Greek went on to polytheism; the Roman expressed his deep thoughts in allegory, the Greek clothed his ideas in vivid personalities; the Roman religion was marked by gravity, the Greek by brightness.¹

The naturalistic worship of the Greeks, then, consisted for the most part in investing elemental processes with a personifying fancy. While it was lacking in some of the valuable qualities appertaining to the Roman religion and especially the practical advantages, it gained in elasticity, beauty, and variety. Not that it necessarily implied any moral elevation in the objects of their worship. On the contrary, so repellent to thoughtful minds and tender consciences were the caprices that stained the gods and goddesses of the Greek earliest epoch, so unedifying was the life led by the dwellers on the Greek Olympus, that a reformer, like Plato, felt himself bound to banish Homer, their chronicler, from his Ideal State; and Euripides, the exponent of the growing scepticism of his day, puts into the mouth of one of his characters the not unnatural reflection: "How can the gods give laws to man when they themselves do not observe those laws? How can men be evil when they tread in the steps of the gods? The guilt is in the gods themselves."²

In the light of what has been said, it is possible to trace in the Greek and Roman religions the dominant and distinguishing qualities of the Greek and Roman character. While the Greek mind was liberal and progressive, the Roman clung to the old paths. His creed was cold, pensive, majestic; his ritual simple, more practical than ideal. He only aspired to know as much of the gods as served for the necessities of life. The Greek, on the other hand, set no limit to the play of his exuberant fancy. He took delight in

General character of naturalism.

Popular beliefs and philosophical refinements upon them.

Other differences between Greek and Roman religions.

¹ Cf. Ch. ii., pp. 22-24.

² *Ion*, 442.

inventing fantastic forms and bodying forth bright and cheerful creations. He could not bear isolation,¹ and solitude pressed upon his heart. He therefore loved to people the low-lying valleys, the hill slopes, and the forest glades with higher intelligences. Indeed, the same mind which exhibited an astonishing facility of resource in creating a pantheon, displayed in after ages an equal facility in destroying the fabric originally created.

Religion
and art.

The superiority of the Greek religion over the Italian from an artistic point of view was immeasurable. The Roman felt an instinctive aversion from all material representations of the gods. It was his pride that in the earliest and purest period in the growth of his religion he worshipped his deity without visible embodiment, except in symbol, it might be in the form of a spear planted in the earth, or a sacrificial hearth or a stone anointed with oil.² Those were the days when only the gods of husbandry were worshipped³ by the plain farmer and simple yeoman, who were the real makers of Rome; the days when, as Varro regretfully recalls, there was no image,⁴ no temple, save *atrium regium* and *atrium Vestæ*.⁵ This period extended over one hundred and seventy years; that is to say, according to the common calculation, down to the establishment of Diana on Mount Aventine in the reign of Servius Tullius.⁶ Such a religion obviously was little adapted to advance speculation, poetry, and art. But the Greek, unsatisfied with the worship of impalpable ideas and invisible principles, vague and tremulous in their outlines, turned instinctively in the direction of artistic repre-

¹ Cf. Ch. iv., pp. 41, 42.

² Cf. Propert. iv. 2, 59.

³ Pliny, *H. N.*, xii. 2.

⁴ "Sine simulacro," Varro L.L. v. 74. Cf. Tiele, *Geschiedenis*, § 139. Even the little niches or shrines (*adiculæ*) of household gods, ranged around the *atrium*, were regarded as inconsistent with the spirit of the traditions of Numa.

⁵ See Ch. xvi. 200.

⁶ The first complete and organized worship was that of the three Capitoline gods established in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.

sentation, gave rein to his lively imagination, his appreciation of the beautiful, and his delicate sensibility.

The moral elevation of the Roman worship, of which mention has been made in the preceding chapter, constitutes another difference between the religions of Greece and Rome. Many unseemly legends, which attribute to the gods anger, passion, hatred, and other frailties, mar the popular mythology of Greece. Such are the stories of the mutilation of Ouranos by Kronos and the intrigues of Zeus in the form of a ram or a bull. But it was the boast of the Roman that the religious annals of his country were not sullied by such escapades as these. It has already appeared that Vergil based his theology in a large measure upon that of Homer with an infusion of philosophic speculation. But an essential difference is visible in the treatment of the scenery and the legendary lore that this typical Roman borrowed from his brother bard. Altogether his idea of the gods is more reverent than the original. He represents them as pitying rather than sharing human weaknesses.¹ Far from appealing to his sympathy, the monstrosities associated with some of the immortals repelled the Roman,² and in the opinion of his national poet even the freedom from a fabulous history which his country enjoyed was a subject of congratulation:—

Moral aspect of the Roman religion.

Hæc loca non tauri spirantes naribus ignem
 Invertere, satis immanis dentibus hydri,
 Nec galeis densusque virum seges horruit hastis ;
 Sed gravidæ fruges et Bacchi Massicus umor
 Implevere ; tenent oleæ armenta que læta.³

To proceed to the successive stages in the growth of naturalism, it is certain that Greece as well as Italy passed through the stage of worship without images, which came

Stages in the growth of naturalism.

¹ Cf. Spence, *Early Christianity and Paganism*, p. 149.

² Cf. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* ii. 23.

³ Vergil, *Georgics* ii. 140. "This land of ours no bulls with fire-breathing nostrils have upturned, where the monstrous dragon's teeth were sown, no harvest of men has bristled up with helms and serried spears ; but heavy cornfields and Massic juice of wine fill it all, olives and shining herds hold it in keeping."—(MACKAIL, *transl.*)

Absence of temples and images in the earliest epoch.

under observation in connection with the religious institutions of King Numa. This absence of corporeal images must have resembled in its main features the condition of things which prevailed among the ancient Persians. Herodotus states that this people worshipped in no temples made with hands:—

ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιημένους ἰδρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιέουσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφύεας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι· τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μόνουσι θύουσι ἀρχῆθεν.¹

The historian here hits off the chief characteristics of the pure naturalism of the ancient Aryans, which apparently survived for a longer period in Persia than elsewhere. The same remark might have been made with regard to the Greek religion of the earliest epoch which lies within the reach of inquiry, and it is stated on the authority of Pliny² that the old Italian religion exhibited the same phase of development.

It would be an endless task to try and thread the intricate mazes of naturalism and enumerate the various forms of it that prevailed in Greece and Italy, but one or two typical instances may be adduced.³

Worship of the sky.

Of the nature-powers worshipped the oldest and most prominent was the sky, which was looked upon as a living being. It has already appeared that the gods and goddesses

¹ i. 131. "It is not their practice to erect statues or temples or altars, but they impute folly to those who do so; because, it seems to me, they do not think the gods have the same nature with men as the Greeks imagine. They are accustomed to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains and offer sacrifice to Zeus, which is the name they give to the whole circuit of the firmament. They sacrifice to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds. These are the only gods to whom they have sacrificed from the earliest times."

² *H.N.* xii. 2.

³ The objects venerated were mainly those which had some affinity or resemblance to the nature of man, e.g. animals, or those which were necessary to life, e.g. fire and water.

common to the various branches of the Aryan family prove in reality to be fewer than was once supposed. Still, it is undeniable that the natures of some gods in the Greek and Italian pantheons betray striking points of similarity, and their names also bear a recognizable relation to each other. Assuredly an unmistakable connection exists between the following series of names for the spirit of the sky—the Sanskrit Dyâus, the Greek *Ζεὺς*,¹ the Latin Diespiter or Juppiter,² and the German Ziu. The prominence assigned to the sky god even at an early period is forcibly attested by the coincidence in India, Greece, and Italy of the additional title of father, as in Dyâuspitâ, *Ζεὺς πατήρ*, and Juppiter.³ Underneath these words lies the idea of brightness,⁴ and the sky is represented as the bearer of daylight. These gods had not yet assumed a definite shape, they still bore the meaning of heaven; but they did not remain stationary at this point, and it is interesting to follow the different developments that each of these gods underwent in different parts of the globe, for the characters that they assumed are perfectly in keeping with the natural instincts of the race to which they severally belonged and with the environment in which they were placed. True to his ordinary character, the Indian of the Vedas rested satisfied with the primitive conception; his Dyâus is still sky, is very faintly delineated, and is really little more than an abstraction. Whenever this limit is transgressed and the sky god gains in distinctness he is regarded as a father, and his fatherhood is practically the only touch of personality that attaches to this nature power in India. Elsewhere the evolution of the conception differs. The ancient German, a warrior by temperament and training, raised the god of the sky to the position of the chief god of war. But we are chiefly concerned with the

A common root.

Development of Indian Dyâus and German Ziu.

¹ The origin of the word is seen more distinctly in the genitive *Διός*.

² Composed of *Diovis* or *Jovis* and *pater*, "father."

³ Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 670, and Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 242, refer to a Scythian *Ζεὺς Παναῖος* and a Bithynian *Ζεὺς Πάρας, Παπρωός*.

⁴ Root *div*, "cast," "shoot," "beam," "shine."

Zeus

correlatives of Dyâus and Ziu in Greece and Italy. The Greek god Zeus attained in course of time to the sovereignty over the rest of the occupants of the Greek pantheon, but he did not attain to this high rank at a bound. For reasons that will appear in the sequel, Thessaly and a part of Epeiros, once held by Thessalians, seem to have been the home of this god, but in course of time his cult spread to every part of Greece. Though, as we have seen, his personality is distinctly marked as lord of heaven, he is essentially an elemental deity. To him at the partition of the universe was assigned the province of sky and cloud:—

Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι.¹

as a sky-god,

as a storm-god,

In the capacity of a god of the elements he bears a variety of lofty titles which bear testimony to the power that he wielded in ancient times. Such are the terms "cloud-compeller," and "lord of the thunderbolt." He made his sovereign will known to men by the lightning-flash and other electric phenomena. A sanctuary was erected in his honour on the peak of Mount Olympus in Arcadia, and tradition told that the man who set foot there would cast no shadow—a natural consequence of intruding within the realm of light. His token was the *ægis*, a representation of the storm-cloud scudding across the sky. But as might be expected in a god whose birthplace lay in a region which was subject to storms and well supplied with water, like Epeiros, he bears the names *νῆπιος*, "spirit of the waters," *ὑέτιος*, and *ἄμβριος*, "giver of rain and shower."

as an upholder of morality.

Still, his duties were not limited to controlling the elements. He extended his protection to the sublunary sphere. He was a guardian of hearth and home, and an avenger of wrong done to guests or suppliants who appealed to him for protection or succour. He was the terror of evil-doers generally. He crowned the arms of his followers with success, and held victory in the palm of his hand. He ruled over Olympus with Hera at his side,

¹ *Iliad* xv. 192. "But Zeus drew (by lot) the wide heaven, in clear air and cloud."

surrounded by his merry court of gods, goddesses, and nymphs-of-honour. But though he arrogated to himself or was allowed these high prerogatives, he was not permitted entirely to divest himself of his earlier attributes and forget his humble antecedents. The phrases *Ζεὺς ἕει, νίφει, βροντᾷ*, "Zeus rains, snows, thunders," were retained in ordinary speech, and betokened his original character as a god of the sky. On the other hand, his far-reaching influence is attested by the Orphic line:—

Survivals
of his
original
character.

*Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.*¹

The development of the worship of Juppiter follows the same general lines as in the case of Zeus. It is no easy matter to disentangle the various elements of which Juppiter was composed, and separate the original constituents from the accretions of a later time. After the worship of Zeus had gained a footing in Italy many of his attributes were transferred to his Italian counterpart. It has already appeared that Juppiter was in the first instance but little more than an animistic spirit. Unlike Janus, however, and some other spirits who fell under the same category, with the lapse of time Juppiter acquired a distinct personality and attained to a high importance. But, like Zeus, he retained his connection with the elements and was indeed even more emphatically naturalistic than the Greek god.² But he is more than the god of celestial phenomena, the awful tempest and death-dealing levin-bolt. There were benign aspects to his character, and, like his Greek colleague, he befriended the husbandman and the rearer of cattle; the youthful population was also the object of his divine benevolence. His chief quality is *liberalitas*, "generosity," for it was he that

a complex
character.

¹ "Zeus is the beginning, Zeus the middle; out of Zeus all things have been made."

² His name, like that of Zeus (p. 478), stands for the operations of nature, as witness the common expressions, "sub Jove frigido" ("under the cold sky"), and the "Juppiter ridet" ("Juppiter smiles") of the poet Ennius, expressions which show that there was but a thin partition between the god and the element that he represented.

sent the fertilizing rainstorm,¹ and bestowed blessings of other kinds upon men. Such was the original aspect of Juppiter. But in course of time he also set aside these vulgar attributes, to assume a loftier character and a more august office. This change corresponded with the moral advance and intellectual development of the people over whose fortunes he presided. Juppiter typified purity and sanctity, and upheld virtue and right. But his duties embraced a yet wider range. It was he that assumed the tutelage of the domestic hearth and guarded the rights of property, a fresh point in the parallelism between the Roman and the Greek god. It was he that took the stranger under his patronage and requited any injury done or insult offered to him. Afterwards, when Rome extended her boundaries and became predominant over Latium, Juppiter extended the borders of his dominions also, until finally he assumed the rôle of king of gods and men. The powerful deity of the storm had now become the helper of his people in battle and the "bestower of victory." It was only just and reasonable, therefore, that he should share the fruits and enjoy a prominence proportionate to the progress which his favourite nation achieved. Accordingly he now fixed his temple on the capital of its chief city, he was installed as the guardian of the state as a whole. Thus the enlargement of Juppiter's province and the extension of his power were in their nature consonant with the character of the Roman people and kept pace with the evolution of the Roman commonwealth.

The transition from the worship of the elements to the worship of trees is easy, for the same powers which presided over the elements conditioned the growth of vegetation. It will not be necessary, therefore, to wander far a-field in search of instances in point. Zeus and Juppiter are intimately associated with tree-worship.

The principal reason why the worship of trees is so widely distributed does not require any abstruse explanation. It is

¹ Cf. the titles *elicus*, *pluvius*, *imbricator*, *frugifer*.

Moral
aspects of
Juppiter.

His
political
aspects.

Tree-
worship.

Why trees
were wor-
shipped.

because they are useful to men in a primitive state of civilization.¹ To say nothing of the emblematic meaning of trees, as, for example, the idea that a yew-tree is often associated with death, and that green trees symbolize immortality, they provided fire and weapons, and supplied other means of self-defence and aggression.² We have it on the authority of Pliny³ that certain trees were sacred to certain divinities, the winter oak (*æsculus*) to Juppiter,⁴ the laurel to Apollo, the olive to Minerva, the myrtle to Venus, and the poplar to Hercules. It was not a great step in advance, therefore, to place the abode of the god or goddess in a grove, and even to regard a single tree as the seat of the deity, which consequently was an object of veneration. The natural historian who has already been cited alludes to the awe-inspiring stillness which brooded over these sacred groves. Speaking of trees, he remarks: *Hæc fuere numinum templa, priscoque ritu simplicia rura etiam nunc Deo præcellentem arborem dicant. Nec magis auro fulgentia atque ebore simulacra quam lucos, et in iis silentia ipsa adoramus.*⁵

It has already appeared that Zeus was a god of the atmosphere and the source of fertility, the giver of light and warmth, rain and moisture. He was therefore naturally associated with trees. Such is probably the solution of the epithet which was applied to him at Rhodes, *ἐνδεδδρος*, "the inhabiter of trees." But nowhere was he so closely connected with the tree as at Dodona, which stood at the foot of the ridge of Tmaros in Epeiros. It will be remembered that Zeus was there styled the lord of the

Zeus as a
god of
vegetation.

¹ Cf. note above, p. 476³.

² Cf. Phædrus iii., xvii. 61, and the passage in Pliny referred to in the next note.

³ *H.N.* xii. 2.

⁴ It is significant that the *æsculus* (esculent oak, probably connected with *edo*, "eat") was dedicated to Juppiter, as was the *φηγός* (connected with *φαγέω*) to Zeus. Cf. Ch. vi., p. 67, and later, p. 483.

⁵ *Plin. ibid.* "These were the temples of their deities, and according to primitive usage simple country folk still dedicate a remarkable tree to the deity. We do not revere images flashing with gold or ivory more than groves, and their very stillness inspires awe."

waters or of rain. Still more complete was his identification with the oracular oaks of Dodona, a proof of the high antiquity of the worship of Zeus in this region. Apart from his association with vegetation in general and the imposing proportions of the oak, there were special reasons why he should have close relations with this particular tree. The species referred to is the *φηγός*, which yielded an edible acorn,¹ and the Dodonean Zeus was known at Skotussa in Thessaly by the title of *φηγοναῖος*.² Its fruit furnished the inhabitants with means of subsistence before corn began to be cultivated. It was the vehicle by which the lord of the thunderbolt descended to earth and made known his will to mankind. So closely was the deity associated with the tree that he was believed to reside in the trunk:—

The divinity inherent in the tree.

τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς ἐφίλησε καὶ ὄν χρηστήριον εἶναι
τίμιον ἀνθρώποις, ναῖεν δ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγού.³

¹ Cf. Ch. vi., p. 67, and above, p. 481 n; *Iliad* v. 693; vii. 60; Hesiod, *Fr.* 18, 39, 7. But *φηγός* is not used in the *Odyssey*; *δρῦς* is used in *Odys.* xix. 217 in reference to Dodona.

² Cf. Schol. on *Iliad* xvi. 223; Müller, *Fr. hist. Græc.* ii. 463, 4; Zenodot., in Steph. Byz., on *Δωδώνη*; Murr, *Die Parusie der Gottheit*, p. 5.

³ Hesiod, *Fr.* 54. "This Zeus loved and ordained to be his oracle, honoured of men, and he dwelt in the stock of an oak." *ναῖεν* is Valckenaer's reading for *ναῖον*, "die Stätte."

The earlier history of Greek oracles is bound up with Dodona. It practically resolved itself into an elementary and instinctive meteorology; indeed, divination generally in the ancient world partook of this character. For in an age when agriculture was the chief employment a knowledge of atmospheric changes was of supreme moment. The connection of the oracle with the weather appears from several features in the descriptions of Dodona. (1) The god Zeus, who inspired the oracle, was, as we have seen, originally a weather god. (2) He manifested his will by the rustling of the oak-leaves in the wind. Similarly the rustling laurel of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, *Hymn. Homer. in Apoll.* v. 390; *Odys.* xiv. 328; Preller, *Gr. Myth.* (4th ed.) i. 1, p. 285. So, too, among Italians (*Aeneid* vii. 82), Indians (Leist, *Alt. Jus Gentium*, p. 29), and Slavs (Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 856). (3) Doves were associated with Hellenic religion from a very early time (Evans, *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 7), and doves bore an important part at the oracle of Dodona. It may have been because birds were susceptible to changes in the atmosphere, and a careful study of their habits and movements might serve to establish a law or rule of guidance. (4) The situation of Dodona was exposed and wind-swept. The chief passages dealing with Dodona are *Odys.* xiv. 328;

But he was also inherent in the branches.¹ It was a piece of this oracular oak that the goddess Athene inserted in the keel of the good ship Argo, to serve as a talisman which might communicate the will of heaven to the ship's company, when they had sailed far away in quest of the Golden Fleece. The inference is that the fragment possessed properties similar to those which belonged to the parent tree.

The same phenomena present themselves in Italy also; ^{Jupiter.} indeed, the worship of trees and pillars was congenial to the inhabitants of the rural districts of that country, but, as might be expected from the prosaic nature of Roman religion in general, fewer legends gather around the subject than in Greece. The historian Livy² speaks of a sacred oak with which an historic incident is connected. When Romulus defeated the inhabitants of Cæcina and slew their leader, he carried the spoils stripped from the body of his antagonist, and laid them at the foot of an oak which was held sacred by the shepherds. Thereupon he marked the bounds of a temple to Jupiter, and proceeded to bestow the surname Feretrius upon its tenant. Festus alludes to a still more precise parallel to the oak of Zeus at Dodona. He mentions a shrine dedicated to Jupiter and situated on the Esquiline; Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fuit fagus arbor, quæ Iovis sacra habebatur.³

Æsch., *Prom.* 852; Soph., *Trach.* 171, 1169; Herod. i. 55; Paus. i. 17, 5. The Delphic oracle, which represents especially the political phase in the development of the Greek oracle, also betrayed traces of naturalism. Apollo was a sun-god; his powerful rays dried up the marshes roundabout, to the lasting benefit of the country. But other nature-powers were grouped around him at this centre of worship.

¹ Philost., *Imag.* ii. 15. The phenomena connected with Zeus, as described above, appear also in the legends relating to other gods. Apollo is identified with the laurel, Dionysos with the vine; the latter bears the name Οἶνος, "wine." Hesych., *Corp. Insc. Gr.* iv. 7462; Ovid, *Met.* xi. 125; Murr, *Die parusie der Gottheit*, pp. 14-17, and *Die Pflanzenwelt*, p. 138. Demeter and Ceres, in like manner, are identified with wheat, and the epithets applied to this produce are transferred to her, χλοή, ξανθή, φωνικπέσα. See Murr, *Die parusie*, pp. 18, 19.

² 1, 10.

³ P. 87, ed. Müller. "Fagutal, a shrine of Jupiter, in which there was a beech tree considered sacred to Jupiter." Cf. 340A, 348B, and

Such were some of the forms of naturalism. It would be impossible to attempt an enumeration of these spirits of woods and wells who assumed the endless variety of fantastic forms, gentle or fierce, sedate or whimsical, just or capricious, which were conjured up by the lively imagination of antiquity.

Gradual
growth
of the in-
dividuality
of gods.

But naturalism, though it was an advance upon the cults of an anterior age, was not the highest pinnacle to which the Greek mind attained. The final triumph of Greek genius, independently of influences from outside, was achieved when the nature-powers who had hitherto been but dimly discerned were endowed with human form as well as human attributes. It need not be supposed, however, that this stage was reached otherwise than by slow degrees. The movement was the outcome of successive ages and the operation of various intermingling influences. At first the severance between the divinity and his manifestation was slight, as is seen from the examples of tree-worship and sky-gods. For Zeus and Juppiter were hardly dissociated in the popular imagination from the elements over which they exercised their power; and the deity and the object in which he was supposed to be embodied almost defied discrimination. Accordingly, these nature-powers appear to have assumed no bodily shape, and various considerations concur in corroborating this view. The divinities might be classified as male or female, figuring the creative or receptive forces in nature which they represented, but that was all.¹ Nor were they conceived as possessing any ethical characteristics. Their dealings with mortal men were marked by an indifference to merit or demerit. Indeed, they hardly seem to have borne personal names, and in all probability Herodotus's description

lucus Fagutalis, Varro, L.L. 5, § 49, Müller; Juppiter Fagutalis, Pliny 16, 10, 15, § 37. The word *delubrum*, that is *lignum* (wood), stripped of its bark for purposes of worship, was so explained by Festus, p. 73. Müller: *Delubrum dicebant fustem delibratum, hoc est decorticatum, quem venerabantur pro deo.* See Schrader, *Reallex.* 859; Bötticher, *Baumkultus* 220; Murr, *Die Parusie der Gottheit* and *Die Pflanzenwelt*.

¹ Cf. Ch. ii., p. 23.

of the Pelasgi admits of a wider application to the Greeks and Italians :—

Ἔθνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὐνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω.¹

Even at a much later period the Greeks observed but little distinction of sex or other qualities in the clouds of nymphs, water-sprites, satyrs, nereids, and other beings of an inferior order. Such were the Dryades and Hamadryades or “spirits of the oak,” as their name indicates; and, again, the numerous tree-nymphs who sometimes form groups, like the *Μελίαι*, the *Πτερίδες*, and the *Πτελεάδες*, signifying respectively the spirits of the ash, the fern, the elm, or appear singly as Aigeiros, Lotis, or Pitys. All of these were originally identified with trees, especially those of uncommon size and beauty, and afterwards personified tree life and growth.

The relations of the tree-spirit to the tree are not always represented in the same fashion. According to the oldest view they are blended with the life of the tree; their life depends upon its growth, and when the tree falls the tree-nymph weeps.² But the nymph is also portrayed as roaming in the neighbourhood of the tree or abiding in the plant, but not dependent upon it for her life.

Representations of the tree-spirit and the tree in legend,

The tree, then, need not be more than a temporary habitation of the *numen*, but when the spirit departs, the tree continues to be a sacred object, and even a pillar hewn out of the tree retains the sanctity of the original. It is an easy transition, therefore, to the worship of pillars and stones,³ which, however, is a less realistic representation than the worship of the living tree, but none the less

and in art.

¹ ii. 52. “The Pelasgians used to sacrifice all kinds of victims with prayer, as I was informed at Dodona, but they gave no surname or name to any of them, for they had not yet heard of them.”

² Cf. Callimachus's *Hymn to Delos* v. 79, also the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*, and Bent, *The Cyclades*, 27.

Cf. Tylor, *Prim. Culture* ii., pp. 160, 215.

interesting. The visitor to the Museum at Naples does not need to be reminded of the prominent place occupied by pillar-worship in art, for the wall-paintings of Pompeii, which are preserved there, furnish many illustrations of the practice. No more fascinating page occurs in the history of Greek archæology than the artistic representations of the combination of the human and pillar form of tree-worship in the Mycenæan age.¹ Thus, on a Knossian ring "an armed God is seen descending in front of his sacred obelisk, before which the votary stands in the attitude of adoration. It is the artist's attempt to express the spiritual being, duly brought down by ritual incantation, so as temporarily to possess its stony resting-place. Elsewhere we see the figure of a Goddess . . . beneath her sacred tree and tended by her handmaidens."²

The endowment of the deity with living form.

The bearing of these early representations of the "dual conception of divinity" upon the presentment of them in living form is self-evident. The world of gods, as has already appeared, is a reflection of the worshipper's inner consciousness. He endows the objects of his devotion with a personality similar to his own. But other causes probably imparted an impulse in the direction of anthropomorphism. It may be that the fortuitous success of some individual votary, like an answer to prayer or relief from disease, enhanced the reputation of a local spirit, who, in consequence, outstripped the rest of the candidates for public favour. It may be that geographical and social considerations contributed to deepen the impression. Greece, being a land of pathless mountains and valleys, afforded natural seclusion, and this circumstance facilitated the development of a particular spirit into a deity of clear-cut and definite personality. He outgrew the local limits to which his worship had been hitherto confined. This is not all. He was exalted into the position of a deity, so soon as a

¹ See Evans, *The Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26. Cf. p. 10.

community publicly adopted his cultus and placed themselves under his divine protection. But he still suffered to some extent from the indefiniteness that attached to nature-powers in general.

The representation of gods in the form of beasts marks an advance towards ascribing to them a pronounced individuality. When the worshippers endeavoured to bestow upon the object of their worship a "local habitation and a name," and to picture it to themselves, they proceeded to clothe it with the form of some actual living being with the appearance of which they were familiar, for it is only by actual observation of beings composed of soul and body that men can conceive creations of pure spirit. Whatever properties attached to the former were attributed in a more intense degree to the latter.¹

Zoo-
morphic
deities.

The human mind was now ripe for a nobler order of religion, namely, anthropomorphism, for zoomorphism was only an intermediate stage and not the be-all and end-all of religious evolution. The gods and goddesses now divested themselves of their bestial attributes, and though they were still part of nature and not its creators, anthropomorphism wore a much more intellectual character than the religious conceptions that preceded it. The nature-powers had hitherto been very vaguely conceived, but possessed a human shape, though that shape was not accurately determined. Polytheism tends to efface the boundary between the human and divine, and heavenly institutions borrow their complexion from the human. The man defies and adores his own natural passions and emotions under the names of gods of war, love, or song. But he can only conceive of superhuman powers in his own likeness; these creations of his mind are therefore largely reflections and idealizations of himself, the transfiguration of mortal men

Rise of
anthropo-
morphism.

¹ Of the habit of investing nature-powers with animal shape, India, where wild beasts of formidable size and ferocious character continually obtruded themselves upon the eye of the natives and impressed the imagination, affords examples in abundance. Cf. Ch. iv. 41.

Extra-ordinary strength of the gods.

with their virtues and vices.¹ And, as was natural at this early stage of social sentiment, he conceived them as endowed with abnormal strength. But brute force was not their only quality, for the superhuman beings were also invested in the popular imagination with the affections to which human nature is heir and the infirmities incident to humanity.

The influences of social environment.

Further, the life of the gods and goddesses borrowed many of its features from the institutions of earth. Their habitations were formed on the pattern of the houses of men. No longer did the spirits inhabit the sky or springs, or trees or pillars, nor did even sacred groves or enclosures (*τεμένη, templa*)² suffice for their dwelling-places, though set apart for their use and consecrated to their worship. The deity was now enthroned within a hall, and the shrine, *ναός*, or *cella*, of an immortal was framed on the model of the *μέγαρον* or *ædes* of a mortal. It was as if Zeus or Juppiter were a mighty master of the divine household, with this difference, that his wisdom exceeded that of men, that the heavenly establishment exhibited more imposing dimensions than the earthly original, and that he himself was sire of gods and men.

Temples were copies of houses.

Gods resemble earthly rulers,

and their kingdoms are reflections of those on earth.

This was not all. What was heroic or magnanimous in the visible world found its corresponding place in the invisible realms. Under the head of class distinctions³ it was observed that certain families signalized themselves above the rest of their fellow countrymen, and partly by rendering real service to the community, partly by recommendations of wealth, partly by ostentation, achieved power and influence, often beyond their desert. Finally, kings were evolved out of the heads of these notable families. It was these earthly chieftains who afforded a basis and precedent

¹ Cf. Heraclitus, *Fr.* lxxvii. (Ed. Bywater) 'Ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοί ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεώτες' and Arist., *Pol.* i. 2, § 7.

² Both words come from the root *tem*, "cut," seen in Greek *τέμνω*, "cut."

³ Ch. xx. 267-270.

for the new conceptions of the gods; and as some Oriental potentate, by holding aloof and seldom offering himself to the vulgar gaze, might increase the awe of his subjects, so in like manner his divine counterpart was viewed with greater reverence in proportion to the mystery in which he was enshrouded. Even the etiquette of the celestial courts was formed on the analogy of that of earthly palaces. The votary must draw near to the god as he would approach a king, and influence him by similar methods. He must therefore assume an attitude of humility, must sue for grace, must, in token of submission, prostrate himself to the earth (*προσκυβεῖν*), or come on bended knee (*supplicare*), or at least lift the hand with the palm turned upwards. He must sometimes present himself tied and fettered with bands and swathes as a sign of self-surrender. The higher the authority of the god the more strongly were these features of his worship accentuated.

Yet again, while the gods were exalted above the heads of men they were still supposed to share the natural affections of mankind, and so far from enjoying an immunity from vicious excesses, they frequently betrayed hideous deformities on the side of morals. For reasons that have already been noticed,¹ in the earliest epochs the gods, having themselves but a heathen code of ethics, would hardly be expected to take a severe view of breaches of morality, provided their rites and claims were duly observed. Not only were they blind to desert or indesert, but they themselves gave way to outbursts of sensual love and fitful moods of brooding hate, which warrant the remark of the Greek Xenophanes, that men worshipped humanity "just as lions might adore lions and horses horses,"² and also justify the strictures of Euripides, who holds the gods up to incredulous detestation. "If," says the latter, "the gods do aught unseemly, then they are not gods at all."³ But as civilization progressed,

¹ Ch. xxv., p. 330.

² *Fr.* 5, Ed. Mullach.

³ *Fr.*, from *Beller.* Dind. 294.

and as soon as it was seen that good actions were rewarded and evil requited, customary morality gradually grew up; the gods took it under their protecting care, dictated the moral sense and the retributive reproaches of conscience, prompted the poet's denunciations against injustice, and inspired his auguries of vengeance upon crime.

Syncretism
began
early in
Greece.

The recognition of anthropomorphism, as will readily appear, marked an epoch in the religious development of Greece and Italy. It smoothed the way for the reception of deities external to their pale. Already, as we have seen, a process of fermentation and amalgamation had begun within the borders of Greece; the ideal personifications of the Hellene had been superinduced upon the vague and misty nature-powers of the Pelasgian; tribal deities had been associated together,¹ neither dethroned nor triumphant; discordant and contradictory elements are found co-existent and crystallized by the idealizing imagination of Homer.

Influence
of the East
upon
Greece

But this fusion of native deities was swelled by the influx of extraneous elements, and when the current set in from the East it was only a matter of time to effect a revolution of thought which was destined to be far-reaching in its consequences. No two races could present to view a more striking or vivid contrast than the Greek and the Oriental; the former was restless and tumultuous, the latter reposeful and unchanging. But the inquisitive mind of the Greek was not likely long to be proof against the fascinations of the storied Orient. Eastern doctrines of emanation, deeply tinged with materialistic pantheism, if they did not gain final adhesion in Greece, at any rate furnished food for speculation to the intellect and were woven into the tapestry of mythology. Assyrian and Babylonian gods secured a lodgment in Greece and were installed in the Greek pantheon; dark and bloody superstitions, like the human sacrifices of the Phœnicians, met with a ready acceptance, and the cult of the bloodthirsty "lady of Tauris" was

¹ Cf. Ch. xxvii., p. 373.

engrafted upon that of Artemis, the benign queen of the chase.¹ But no country influenced Greece more profoundly than Egypt. Its mystic rites were easily absorbed, and the historian Herodotus does not hesitate to trace the names of Greek deities wholesale to the land of the Nile.² But the beast-headed monsters of Egypt lost much of their repulsiveness when decked out by the graceful fancy and gay mythology of the sacred singers of Greece in an embroidery of legendary lore and a tissue of beautiful imagery.

The movement did not terminate there. Even Rome, for and Rome. all its conservatism and immobility in religious matters, was not insensible to the glamour of the East. During the later Republic this influence was beginning to make itself felt; under the early Empire it gathered force;³ the Romans now displayed a readiness to associate the deities of other Syncretism in Italy. countries with the old gods of Rome, and they extended hospitality to a host of new-comers. This spirit of accommodation had in reality begun early in Italy, as it had in Greece. Such an occasion was the capture of Veii, an Etrurian city, in 391 B.C., which fell before the arms of Camillus after a siege of ten years. The splendid resistance of the Veientes, which was generally believed to have been inspired by their patron-goddess Juno Regina, commanded the admiration of the conquerors. They decided to invite⁴ her to accompany them to Rome. The goddess acquiesced, or it was stated that she had nodded assent, and her sacred image was taken with due solemnities to her new home. Etruria always exerted a powerful influence over the regulation of Roman ceremonial. In short, the growth of religious experience at Rome kept pace with the

¹ Cf. Ch. vii. 85.

² ii. 52.

³ The reaction in favour of paganism and the religious regeneration that ensued began under the auspices of Augustus and lasted till the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

⁴ Livy v. 22. Cf. Ch. xxvii. 376.

enlargement of her political horizon and the extension of her dominions. It was a far cry from the age of Faunus, when worship was simple and religion rude, to the mystic ceremonies of the Egyptian Isis. But Rome had passed through several spiritual changes since that era. Numa, the priest-king, had come and established a sacerdotal organization. Tarquin the Younger had given the Roman religion a new direction, as Rome began to figure in the history of the world and wished to be invested with a halo of glory. Under his influence Greek conceptions found their way into Rome through the medium of the Etruscans or Greek colonists in Lower Italy. If these ideas did not succeed in ousting the native spirit of Rome, if the Roman religion maintained to the last its tendency towards abstraction and love of cultus, they at least filled the old forms with a new content and breathed into them a new life by giving them a new meaning. The change was momentous, and the multiplicity of gods who had taken up their abode in Rome elicited comment or complaint from patriotic writers. Cicero observed that it was no longer a little rill, but a whole flood of Greek civilization that flowed to Rome. But if Cicero could pass this remark, the religious restorers and reformers of the next generation had good cause to protest against the invasion. It was the simple religion of their ancestors that had made Rome what it was¹ and fitted the Roman race for universal dominion :—

Stolidum genus
Bellipotentes magi' quam sapientipotentes.²

These new-fangled doctrines were alien from the ancient spirit and remained an exotic. The poet Vergil voices the national sentiment when he revolts at the sight of the dog-headed "barking Anubis" of Egypt and the rest of the motley array of Eastern deities ranged at the battle of

¹ *Maiores nostri, religiosissimi homines* (Sallust, *Cat.* 12).

² Ennius in Cicero, *Div.* ii. 56, 116. "A rugged race mighty in war rather than in wisdom." Applied to the *Æacidæ*.

Periods in
the history
of Roman
religion.

Roman
reformers.

Actium against the gods of Rome, and he makes Augustus move forth to battle accompanied by

Patribus Populoque Penatibus et magnis Dis.¹

in fact, by all the forces which in the past had built up the empire of Rome. Juvenal is equally emphatic and more explicit; he cannot repress his indignation at the rabble of Asia who trooped to Rome in the train of gods and goddesses of Egypt, Syria and Persia, with Isis, Serapis² and Mithras at their head. The moralist, therefore, bids his readers return from the emotional extravagance, passion, and mystery of these foreign superstitions to the simple creed of their forefathers.

The fact remained, however, that Greece by the fifth century B.C. and Italy by the first, were permeated by Eastern influence, and the poems of Vergil as well as Homer present to view a panorama of Aryan and Eastern divinities mingled together, in which mythology afforded rich material to poetry and poetry reflected lustre upon mythology. But though this infusion enabled Paganism to hold its ground for two centuries, and the efforts of reformers revived the ancient spirit for a time, they only afforded it a respite, that is, until it yielded before a livelier and better Faith, the transparent truth, the unobtrusive earnestness of Christianity.

¹ *Aeneid* viii. 679. "The fathers, people, gods of the household and of state." Antonius' alliance with Cleopatra was a *nefas* (688). Cf. 698-703, and the impassioned appeal, *Georg.* i. 498; Horace, *Odes* iii. 4, 53.

² The relics of Eastern religions are among the most instructive in Italy. Such are the temple of Isis at Pompeii, the Serapeum at Pozzuoli, the Pyramid of Cestius at Rome, and the Canopus at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE IDEAS OF A FUTURE LIFE.

The im-
portance
of the
belief in
im-
mortality.

THE belief in a future life forms an integral and essential feature of a religion.¹ It may be observed that, as a rule, the conception is never properly grasped by the uncultivated,² and that the richer the mental endowments of the race or individual, the nobler are its or his aspirations after immortality.³ Nor were the Greek or Italic races exceptions to this principle. For them the subject possessed a peculiar fascination, and though their ideas in many respects developed differently, they present to view some remarkable resemblances. This consideration brings us back to the subject of an earlier page, namely, the origin of Greek and Roman religion.

Ancestral
worship a
factor in
ancient
religion.

The earliest sources of the religion of the Aryans, as we have already seen,⁴ really lie beyond the reach of human investigation. It is possible, however, to trace two currents of thought which, if they originated independently, converged during the course of their development. Of Nature worship,

¹ Ohne den Glauben an ein künftiges Leben, eine künftige Belohnung und Strafe könne keine Religion bestehen. Lessing, xi., p. 63, Lachmann. Cf. Schopenhauer, *Par.* ii., p. 37.

² It is stated by Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 271, that some negro tribes in Central Africa have no idea of another life, but in a later passage he adduces evidence to the contrary; and as Wilson pertinently remarks (*West Africa*, c. 12), the native African would equally doubt his present existence.

³ The idea of a mere survival in descendants appears at an early period. For instance, in the *Apastamba* (Aphorisms of the Sacred Law) ii. 9, 24, 1-4, we read: "Thou art born again in thy descendants; that, O mortal, is thy immortality." Cf. the *Āditja* 10, 63, 13; *Æschylus*, *Choeph.* 503.

⁴ Ch. xxxi. p. 455.

which forms the more important and characteristic of these two influences, we have already spoken at some length. It remains for us to touch upon the second, the worship of ancestors, which, though it cannot be regarded as the single source of religion,¹ has proved a powerful factor in shaping the beliefs of the untutored races of the world, especially owing to its personal aspect, the personal feelings that it arouses and the personal ties that it affects. The worship of ancestors was in all probability an offshoot of the worship of the souls of the departed, and this, in its turn, during the primitive stages of social sentiment resolves itself into the dread of ghosts, who are supposed to haunt the living, to avenge themselves for neglect, and to inflict all manner of evil upon those who incur their wrath; for against the Shades the strongest fight in vain. But social development probably exercised an important influence upon the popular conceptions of the nature and condition of departed spirits. The evolution of gods from ghosts points, therefore, to an intimate connection between spirit-worship and social organization. In the earliest era of civilization men stood almost on the same level; no differences of rank existed,² and in consequence the spirit-world reflected the same uniformity; its tenants seldom rose above the dignity of ghosts. The case was otherwise when society crystallized, and the house-community, the clan, the brotherhood, the tribe came into existence, with common associations, common aspirations, and common memories. Under such a settled form of government the respect for deceased ancestors assumed a high importance.

But ancestral worship was not the last word in the growth of religious ideas, and, as the development of ancestor-worship kept pace with the development of the family, so in like manner, when society advanced, the worship of heroes gradually grew up out of the worship of ancestors. For, as a

Rise of
hero-
worship.

¹ Cf. Ch. xxxi., p. 454. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, p. 9.

² Cf. Ch. xx. 260, 261, and xxxii. 486.

rule, it was the reputed ancestors (*ἀρχηγέται*) who were regarded as heroes.¹ Where some members of the community have signalized themselves and shed lustre upon their family, town or country, they are elevated almost to the position of gods; their fellow-citizens or countrymen take a delight in rendering them homage and a pride in perpetuating their memory. Still, there is no essential difference between them and the common dead, from whom they are distinguished mainly by the circumstance that they receive at their tombs the homage of a whole family or some similar association.² The worship of ancestors therefore represents an intermediate stage in religious development.

Ancestral
worship
was wide-
spread.

Be that as it may, ancestral worship is widely distributed. It appears amongst races of the most varied character³ and presents to view parallel phenomena. It will be seen from the evidence brought forward in the succeeding pages that the Greeks passed through this stage, and that the Romans were not behind any race, ancient or modern, in the devotion that they paid to the spirits of the departed.

Main
features of
ancestor-
worship.

The characteristics of ancestral worship, wherever it appeared, were generally of the following nature. The main point which should be observed is that the dead were supposed to keep the form which they bore in this life, and all the qualities of the body were transferred to the ghost. The latter had the same appetites; required draughts of

¹ Rohde, *Psyche*; Steuding, § 5. But see Meyer's appendix to *Ursprung der Odyssee in Hermes* xxx.

² "In the later representations of art, which are certainly based upon ancient conceptions, they usually appear as warriors, because tribal ancestors were generally described as such, and often on horseback, seated on a throne or reclining on a dinner couch and feasting, surrounded by their worshippers, who, as mortals, are drawn in much smaller proportions than the heroes themselves." Steuding, § 4; and *Mittheil. d. deutschen archæol. Inst. zu Athen* xxi. 347.

³ China is a conspicuous case. Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, p. 55, says, "The real religion of China and of the Formosan Chinese is undoubtedly that of the worship of ancestors. This existed long before the days of Confucius, and whilst discouraging other forms of spirit worship encouraged this." Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien*, p. 414; A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 17. Still more pertinent to our purpose is the evidence of the belief among the Old Prussians, Lithuanians and Slavs.

fresh blood to revive his fainting or feeble vitality; possessed the same sensibilities, felt wrong-doing, cherished resentment, and indulged spite, as before. He resided in the grave, and as the tomb was his dwelling, it was made in the shape of a house;¹ thence he made excursions to harass and terrify those against whom he felt aggrieved. But sometimes the soul assumed the form of an animal, such as a bat or a bird.² The snake in particular was regarded as embodying a soul, probably because it lived in the earth and was in the habit of stealing along with a rapid, noiseless motion.³

The worship of ghosts occupied a prominent place in the religion of the Romans, but neither the names nor the occupations ascribed to the spirits were very clearly differentiated.

Roman terms.

The word *manes* was a flattering title, meaning "pure" or *Manes*.

¹ Cf. Tsountas and Manatt, pp. 259-260; Ridgeway, p. 511.

² This superstition survives in the use of *geister* in Germany and *saules* in the north of England, for moths that flit around a candle or lamp, perhaps from the old notion that the souls of the dead fly about at night in search of light. These words put us in mind of the later use of the Greek *ψυχή*, for butterfly, which was regarded as an emblem of the immortal soul. *Ψυχή*, however, was derived from the circumstance that this insect passes through a kind of death in the chrysalis stage. The gross and grovelling habits of the caterpillar, as a symbol of the vices that clog and encumber the soul, casting its skin as it advances towards maturity, is a fit emblem of the soul ridding itself of the grossness of the flesh. The dove was often associated with sepulchral worship, for example, at Cyprus. Cf. Evans, *Mycenaeae Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 7; and among the heathen Lombards, *ibid.*, and Paul diac. *De Gestis Longobardorum*, v. 34.

³ The souls of ancestors were also said by the Romans to put on the forms of animals. The snake seems to be the commonest, perhaps because the reptile could glide in and out in a mysterious manner. Cf. *Aeneid* v. 95, *fanulus parentis*. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, 592, describes a fresco at Herculaneum. A snake is eating the cakes on an altar which bears the inscription *genius huius loci montis*. Granger, *The Worship of the Romans*, p. 58. So numerous were the snakes at Rome that they became a veritable plague until the city was burnt down and they perished in the conflagration. The belief is not peculiarly Roman. It is not unknown in Greece and India; Schrader, *Reallex.* 31, cites cases in Lithuania. But the spirits were also supposed to pass into beans. Cf. Pliny, *H.N.* xviii. 29. Hence beans were used in sacrifices to the dead. Hence sorceresses put beans in their mouth when imprecating curses against their victims. Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 576. Hence, too, in dreams following a meal of beans the souls of the departed were believed to visit the dreamer. The *Flamen Dialis* was forbidden to eat the bean and even to name it.

"good,"¹ and was applied to them with a view to propitiating their favour. These were the glorified ghosts of those who had received the rites of burial. Each family rendered homage and made offerings to the spirits of its own ancestors, who, regarded from this standpoint, were styled *di inferum parentum* or *di parentes*. But there was a formidable class of spirits called *lemures* or *larvæ*, that is, the troubled ghosts of those who were deprived of burial, or those who were weighed down with a sense of guilt, and these wandered to and fro, continually seeking rest and finding none. But there was a third class. These were the *lares* who were at once tutelary spirits of the household and guardians² of meadows, roads and vineyards. At first each home had one *lar familiaris*, but in later times they appeared in pairs, and since the *lares* were believed to keep watch and ward over the inmates they were represented with dogs at their feet. At each meal and family feast they received an offering of food and a fresh crown.³ The household gods were not forgotten on such occasions in Greece. Whenever any food fell from the table at a meal it was not picked up again, but left for the attendant spirits to consume.⁴ This curious custom is not confined to Greece, but occurs in the regions of the Baltic.⁵

Lemures
and *larvæ*.

Lares.

Greece.

Pre-
cautions.
against
evil spirits.

The survivors had much to fear from the displeasure of the *lemur* or *larva*, and this consideration dictated precautions against their evil influence. As may well be imagined, their presence was not assiduously courted.

¹ From an old Latin word, *manus*, "good."

² They were represented by little wooden images with good-natured countenances, and as clothed in skins; little dogs lay at their feet, to symbolize their watchfulness. Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.*, § 51. Jevons, *in loc.*, p. xl., refers to a coin of the Gens Cæsia, where the *lares* are represented with a dog at their side. Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.*, § 42, and *Lari sacrificat*, "he eats up all before him."

³ Since children were not supposed to affect the survivors for good or ill they were buried under the eaves of houses (*suggrundaria*), and received no offerings. Juvenal xv. 14. This accounts for Vergil's placing them at the threshold of the Nether World. *Eneid* vi. 427.

⁴ Aristot., *fr.* 180R, in Diog. Laert. viii. 34; Athen. x. 427E.

⁵ Schrader, *Realex.*, p. 21.

Accordingly, when the spirits had partaken of the oblations of food or drink they were bidden to take their leave. "Depart," the Romans used to say, "depart, ye spirits of our forefathers."¹ In like manner, the Greeks invited them to withdraw with the remark, "Begone, ye souls, the Anthesteria have not yet come."² Other customs may be traced to the same feeling. Such was the studious anxiety on the part of the survivors not to see the spirits, which prompted the practice of turning away their heads in setting fire to the funeral pile,³ and worshipping with head covered.⁴ Such, too, was their motive in thwarting the return of one whose death had been falsely reported in a strange land. He was not allowed to enter through the door for fear he might be a ghost. He was therefore obliged to seek admittance by the roof.⁵

That the worship of ancestors formed a prominent feature Greece. in Roman religion is clear; indeed, the Romans, as we have seen, hardly rose above the animistic level of religious development, of which ancestral worship forms a part. The Greeks, however, even by the time of Homer had, generally speaking, advanced further than this stage. For, as a rule, in the Homeric conception of the unseen world the spirits had ceased to haunt their tombs, or the land of the living, and tenanted a spirit-world out of reach of the attentions of those that they had left behind them. The poet is doubtless the unconscious expositor of the views and feelings of his own contemporaries. Yet evidence of an earlier stage is not wanting in the Homeric poems. Underneath the passage which recounts the burial of Patroclus lies the idea of doing

¹ Manes exite paterni: Rohde, *Psyche*, 239. This was said on the Lemuria, May 9th, 11th and 13th, when the souls were believed to rise from their graves.

² *Θύραζε, Κήρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια.* Schrader, *Reallex.* 21, mentions a similar custom in Old Prussia: "Ye have eaten and drunken, ye spirits, begone, begone." And in India also, *ibid.* 31.

³ *Aversi tenuere facem.* Vergil, *Aeneid* vi. 224.

⁴ *Capite velato, or obvoluto.* This is the more likely reason. It has been usually supposed, however, that it was done to avoid the sight of any evil omen.

⁵ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, and Jevons xxxv., on the passage.

The Iliad. kindly service to the departed, an idea which eloquently expresses the dark and bloody superstitions which once attended the practice of propitiating the ghosts of the dead. The Greeks, acting upon the commands of Agamemnon, their king, reared a funeral pyre, on which they placed oblations of various kinds and rendered proper honours to the dead. When the preparations had been completed, Achilles addressed the shade of his departed comrade :—

Χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισιν
 Πάντα γὰρ ἤδη τοι τελέω τὰ πάροιθεν ὑπέστην.
 Δώδεκα μὲν Τρώων μεγαθύμων νείας ἐσθλοῦς,
 Τοὺς ἅμα σοὶ πάντας πῦρ ἐσθλίου Ἐκτορα δ' οὐ τι
 Δόσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν.¹

Achilles in this scene not only pays due offerings to the dead, but slaughters twelve Trojan captives to appease the shades of his friend.

*The
Odyssey.*

*Necro-
mancy.*

The description of Odysseus's interview with the pallid phantoms of dead heroes in the spirit-world in like manner contains reminiscences of this cult of the grave. The hero has gone on this errand to the empire of the dead to seek counsel of the prophet Teiresias, who has now been numbered among the dead and gone. Arrived on the scene he proceeds without delay to slaughter animals for sacrifice, according to the directions given him by the enchantress Circe, and digs a pit a cubit in length and breadth. Around this he pours a drink offering to all the dead, with mead, wine and water, and sprinkles white meal :—

Πολλὰ δὲ γονούμην νεκύων ἀμένηνα κάρηνα,
 Ἐλθῶν εἰς Ἰθάκην στείραν βοῶν, ἧ τις ἀρίστη,
 Ῥέξειν ἐν μεγάροισι, πυρὴν τ' ἐμπλησμένον ἐσθλῶν,
 Τειρσίῃ δ' ἀπάνευθεν οἶνον ἱεροσέμενον οἴω
 Παμμέλαν', ὃς μῆλοισι μεταπρέπει ἡμετέροισιν.²

¹ *Iliad* xxiii. 179-183. "All hail to thee, Patroclus, even in the house of Hades, for all that I promised before am I now accomplishing. Twelve valiant sons of great-hearted Trojans, behold, all these in company with thee fire devoureth: but Hector, son of Priam, will I nowise give to the fire to feed upon, but to dogs."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*) But when Achilles saw the dream he betrayed some previous doubt or speculation about the reality of existence in Hades, 103.

² *Odys.* xi. 29, "and entreated with many prayers the strengthless

The change effected by the Tribal Wanderings.

The influence of migration.

Afterwards a change came over their conceptions of the next life, a change of momentous import. This revulsion of feeling bears a close relation to the historical events called the Tribal Wanderings. To appreciate the significance of the movement, it will be necessary to recur to the subject of a previous page. It was seen at an earlier point¹ of this inquiry that the migrations of the Aryan races exerted a profound influence upon their social evolution. No less powerful was their bearing on religious development. The Tribal Wanderings and the epic poetry that grew up in connection with them coloured the religious history of Greece. When the Greek tribes gave way to pressure in their rear from stronger forces than themselves, they were impelled southwards in the direction of the islands and the coast of Asia Minor. It has already been observed² that a fusion of religious elements ensued, for tribal deities accompanied the community committed to their charge, and the invaders also, apprehensive of offending the deities of the invaded, embraced the beliefs and continued the cults that they found in existence. Accordingly the migrations of the Greek tribes serve to explain at once the overlapping of the departments over which different deities presided, the gradual delimitation of their domains and the restriction of the sphere of their activities.

The change in the ideas of the future life.

The body no longer in the grave,

but the soul sped to a spirit-world.

This was not, however, the only effect. It revolutionized the ideas relating to the character of the spirit-world. Hitherto, as has already appeared, the ghosts, to which all the properties of the body were imputed, were supposed to live on in the grave, and there receive tributes of food and drink from time to time at the hands of their relatives. The migrations changed all this. Unable to continue the cults of the grave in their ancestral homes, familiarized with the features common to all graves, they began to conceive the existence of a general abode of the departed whither

¹ Ch. iii.

² Ch. xxvii., p. 373, and xxxii., p. 490.

spirits fled¹ after dissolution.² According to this theory, after separation from the body the soul was supposed to become an airy being and wing its way through the portals of the unseen to the common receptacle of souls. But though the soul is said to leave behind all the encumbrances of mortality, to be destroyed on the funeral pyre,³ it is conceived as retaining a human form. Still, it is only a shade (*σκιά*, *umbra*), viewless and unsubstantial, or an image (*εἶδωλον*, *simulacrum*, *imago*), thin and yielding as smoke or wind. When an attempt is made to touch spirits of this kind they vanish and are seen no more.⁴ Altogether the life of a spirit is empty and joyless.

The description of the spirit-world in the eleventh book of

¹ The superior activity of the spirit and the rapidity with which the soul travelled to its new home is enforced by the story of Elpenor's death (*Odys.* xi. 58). He has arrived in the spirit-world before Odysseus, though wind and wave have conspired to speed the latter on his journey. The conceptions of the soul's nature, as would be expected, are very vague. The possession of a soul is not the privilege of human beings only (Ch. xxxi.). The primary idea was that the soul was identical with the breath. Such was the original meaning of the Greek *ψυχή*. It is sometimes even used for the voice (*Iliad* ix. 401). The same notion underlies the Latin *anima* (akin to *animus*, "mind," and *ἄνεμος*, "wind," *Iliad* v. 696); the Sanskrit *âtman*, "breath," "spirit," "self"; the Greek *πνεῦμα*, "breath" and "soul"; and the Latin *spiritus*, "breath," "spirit," and subsequently "soul." The representations of the soul as "air," "vapour," "shade," are widespread in all ages. The confusion between the functions of the various parts of the body, and between the body and soul, would seem to survive in Modern Greece. For the belief that the spirit resides in the stomach seems to have been held. Even now one hears in conversation the phrase *πονεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου*, for "my stomach aches" (Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 392).

² The Greek and Roman superstitions about death are curious, but present parallels to what is found among savage races of to-day. The soul escapes through the mouth (Herondas iii. 3; vi. 37; Anacreon, 29, 7; Petron., 62; Pliny vii. 53); or nostrils or eyes (Babrius, 95, 35); or a wound (*Iliad* xiv. 518; xvi. 505; *Aeneid* x. 486, 487); and takes wing (*Iliad* ix. 408) to its future abode. It leaves with a groan at the thought of parting with earthly ties and being snatched away from the endearments of life (*Iliad* xvi. 856). This idea is thoroughly Greek. So *γλυκὴς αἰὼν* (*Odys.* v. 152; *Iliad* xxii. 58; xvii. 17). Vergil, *Aeneid* xii. 952, *vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*.

³ *Odys.* xi. 218-222. These lines express concisely the Homeric conception of the nature of the soul.

⁴ Thus when Odysseus and Æneas try to embrace their parents (*Odys.* xi. 205; *Aeneid* vi. 700) the apparitions vanish as thin air or a dream.

Homer's
description
of the
shadowy
world.

the *Odyssey* affords a good idea of the Greek view of the state of the soul after death.¹ The poet makes Odysseus, the hero of his poem, seek Teiresias, the prophet, now in the land of shadows, in order to learn of him how he may return to his native land and recommend himself to the favour of the gods. But the poet has included in his description some elements of a much earlier belief. The life of the dead in these regions is a continuation of that on earth, and their tastes and occupations in this abode are the same. Teiresias is still a soothsayer, Orion a mighty hunter, and Minos a judge. The Trojan warrior in Vergil's imitation of Homer still bears arms and still drives his chariot:—

Future life
a con-
tinuance of
the
present.

Idæum etiam currus etiam arma tenentem.²

Nor do their pastimes differ:—

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris,
Contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena ;
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.
Nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,
Iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.³

Thus the pleasures they enjoyed on earth make up their happiness in Elysium also, the noble steed, the nodding plume, the glancing spear:—

Quæ gratia currum
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentis
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.⁴

¹ Vergil, in *Æneid* vi., has copied Homer's style and sentiments, but has interwoven the philosophic ideas of Platonism with the materials which he borrowed.

² *Æneid* vi. 485.

³ vi. 642. "Some exercise their limbs in tournament on the green sward, contend in games, and wrestle on the yellow sand. Some dance with beating footfall and lips that sing ; with them is the Thracian priest in sweeping robe, and makes music to their measures with the notes' sevenfold interval, the notes struck now with his fingers, now with his ivory rod."—(MACKAIL, *transl.*) The description of the pursuits of the heroes and bards in the Fields of the Blest is taken from Pindar, *fr.* 95 (cf. *Ol.* 2, 61). Cf. Ovid's elegy on the death of Tibullus, *Am.* iii. 9, 60-66.

⁴ *Ibid.* 654. "Their life's delight in chariot and armour, their care in pasturing their sleek horses, follows them in like wise low under earth." (MACKAIL *transl.*)

But though their earthly occupations are represented as continuing unchanged, they are generally speaking unreal, and the spirits possess no consciousness of active power. There are, indeed, exceptions to the rule. These are they who have been favoured or feared by the immortals, and they retain feeling in order to enjoy special rewards for their merits or to reap retribution for their crimes. Others of this feeble folk, when their exhausted energies have been replenished and their eyes opened by draughts of blood, feel a return of the old sensations, and give expression to their sorrow. Among the assembly of phantoms who throng to taste of the drink-offering, the fair women who come forward, as soon as their tongues are loosed by the oblation of blood, proceed with feminine vanity to recite their birth and descent. Achilles yields to the calls of natural affection, and exulting at the news that his son is worthy of his father's fame, moves majestically away in silent contemplation. Ajax alone is still in a melancholy mood. Though Odysseus tries to soothe his former rival's wounded pride, yet he, with a silence more eloquent than speech, refuses to listen, and without vouchsafing a word stalks away with dignity and in disdain.¹ Such are some of the scenes in which Homer represents the spirits as retaining human sensibilities. But this cannot compensate for the dreariness of the life that they lead. No one may return from this realm of death; it is sundered from the world of the living by impassable rivers. No prayer or offering on earth may reach those who dwell there. None of them take thought for the survivors, save when a visitor like Odysseus seeks them out and restores their vitality by the shedding of blood, for they have drunk deep of the waters of oblivion.

Unreality
of the next
world.

Thus far the Homeric description of the spirit-world. It lies in the West, and when Odysseus starts on his journey

The idea of
a sub-
terranean
spirit-
world.

¹ Vergil imitates this passage in his account of Æneas's interview with Dido of Carthage, whom he had faithlessly forsaken. The injured queen deigns to give no answer to his passionate protestations of innocence (*Æneid* vi. 469).

A wild
region in
the West.

to consult the blind soothsayer, now numbered among the dead, he sets sail towards the West, across the stream Okeanos. He had previously learned its situation and nature from the enchantress Circe. It was a wild shore, studded with groves of poplars and willows, which shed their fruits before the season—a waste of life which was not an unfitting emblem of death. Thus instructed he sets out on his journey, and finally arrives at the limits of the world, the earth-encircling, deep-flowing river.¹ But even Homer's description betrays considerable confusion. Such phrases as *χθόνα δόμεναι*² and *γαίαν ὑπὸ στρυγερὴν ἀφικέσθαι*³ point to the belief in the existence of a region beneath the earth. The probability is that the idea of an under-world was a development from the older theological tenet of which we have already spoken under the head of ancestral worship. According to this the souls of the departed dwelt in the tomb, and the local cults of gods who resided in cavern-like chambers beneath the earth may serve to throw light upon the rise of this idea.

Some of the features in the life of the spirit-world will repay attention. They result in a great measure from the theory of continuance which, as we have seen, was the chief characteristic of the conceptions of the future life as held by the Greeks of the Homeric age. Perhaps the most interesting point in this connection is that the society of this unseen world is organized after the pattern of earthly kingdoms.

The
kingdom of
the dead
was a
reflection
of a
kingdom
on earth.

The remark has already been made that in early stages of social sentiment, as there are no differences in rank in the earth above, so there are no such distinctions in the world beneath, for the latter borrows a character and colouring from the former. But as civilization progresses, as noble families gain importance, and chiefs arrogate despotic authority or assume kingly magnificence, the familiarity with their pomp and power reacts upon the views of the relations

¹ *Odys.* x. 505-540 ; xi. 13.

² *Iliad* vi. 411. Cf. xxii. 482.

³ *Odys.* xx. 81. Cf. xxiv. 204.

of the gods to each other, and also upon the ideas entertained with regard to the nature of the world to come. The pageant of earthly royalty finds its counterpart in the court of the infernal king.

The prominence acquired in this way by certain deities may be explained by the following causes, or, at any rate, the movement received an impulse from the following considerations. Already the public mind had been prepared for the reception of such thoughts by the widespread worship of the powers of the lower world (*χθόνιοι*). These were especially associated with regions where Nature appeared in her savage aspects, where deep woods, impassable gorges, yawning caverns, and beetling precipices lent terror to the scene; or where extinct craters testified to the havoc wrought by her in her angry moods. Such was Amphiaraios. This hero took part in the expedition against Thebes, and was one of two survivors. He was being pursued by the enemy towards the river Ismenius (so the tale ran), when Zeus with his thunderbolt opened before him a rift in the earth, which swallowed up both him and his chariot. The ruler of heaven further endowed him with the gift of immortality. Ever after he was worshipped by the inhabitants as a hero, and was vouchsafed divine honours. Translated without dying to his subterranean habitation, he dispensed oracles by means of dreams. Amphiaraios represents not an uncommon class of local heroes transferred to the lower world to reign over the shades. Their chief significance lies in the circumstance that as they were lords on earth they were lords below, and the halls where they held sway perhaps were pictured in the popular imagination as being constructed on the pattern of the under-ground temples associated with the sepulchres of kings. Such tombs have been brought to light at Mycenæ and elsewhere.

But there were others of a still more notable character than Amphiaraios. Prominent among them was Hades. That this god belonged to a region of Elis and possessed features in common with Asklepios may be regarded as

Influence
of nature.

Hades a
god of
death.

certain. But by the Homeric age his sovereignty had extended to the whole of the lower world.¹ He is styled the Zeus of the world below (*χθόνιος, καταχθόνιος*), bears a sceptre, and sits on a throne. Death and Sleep dwell in his domain, and resemble their lord.² The suppliant for his favours was to strike the earth with his hands, in order to make the god hear, and also to offer black victims and dedicate to his honour the dark-hued cypress³ or other quickly fading trees, appropriate emblems of mortal hopes. But he is also a god of the living, in so far as he takes under his protection the corn, while it rests in the bosom of the earth. His token is a *cornucopia*, or horn full of fruits, and his title, Pluton, the "bringer of wealth," or Eubuleus, "well-wisher." But these qualities assume a still greater prominence in the person of his spouse Persephone. The daughter of Demeter, ancient goddess of the cultivation of corn and the protectress of the corn-field, Persephone (in Attic Persephetta)⁴ was gathering flowers with the daughters of Okeanos on a meadow near Enna, in Sicily, when Hades carried her off to his infernal dominions, just as she was in the act of plucking the death flower of the narcissus. The bereaved mother in her grief sought for her with torches, and learned her daughter's fate from Hekate ("smiter from afar")⁵ and Helios (the sun). Failing to obtain from Zeus the restoration of the maiden, she stopped

His
consort
Perse-
phone.

¹ This god owed his name to the scene of his kingdom. For Aides and Aidoneus are derived from *á, ἰδεῖν*, and denoted the "invisible one," or "giver of invisibility." His name survives in Modern Greece (Bent, p. 473). Usually he wears a helmet, which serves as a cap of darkness. Cf. the Gothic *halja*, Old Norse *hel*, Scandinavian *hel*, Lithuanian *Vielona*. See Schrader, *Reallex.*, p. 869.

² Many untutored races regard death as a sleep, and the gods Death and Sleep as brothers. Cf. Homer, *Iliad* xiv. 231; Vergil, *Æneid* vi. 276.

³ Steuding, p. 13.

⁴ The first part of this name is probably connected with the old name for spelt. See Schrader, *Reallex.*, 871; and Prellwitz, *Etym. Wörterbuch*.

⁵ The connection between child and corn appears in other legends. See Steuding, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, p. 23. The rôle supported by Persephone in producing fertility is assigned in Italy to Feronia, whose name was probably connected with *far*, "corn," but altered by a popular etymology from a supposed connection with *feria*, "festivals."

the growth of corn, and widespread distress ensued. Finally a compromise was arranged by which Persephone spent only a third of the year in the world below. But side by side with this conception of a patron of fruitfulness Persephone sustains another character. If she is the goddess of fertilization in spring, so she is the goddess of destruction in autumn. So much is implied in the legend associated with her name to the effect that she spent a season in the world below. But it is further corroborated by the etymology of the termination of her name. Undoubtedly it is connected with the root of *φόνος*, "slaughter," and *φονεύω*, "slay."

The poverty of Roman mythology and the meagreness of the material at our command is nowhere better exemplified than in the case of these powers of darkness. The approach of death was attributed to the activity of Orcus. Tellus or Terra Mater ("mother earth") appears in the capacity of a kindly mother who takes the departed to her bosom, and she bears other titles, differing according to the province assigned to her. As the guardian of the *manes* and *lares*, respectively the "good" and "protecting spirits," she is Mania or Larunda. As the guardian of the *larvæ* she is Avia ("grandmother") Larvarum. As the goddess of the silent world she is Dea Muta or Tacita. But none of these deities attained to completeness or are sharply delineated. The reason is obvious. The Romans never thoroughly conceived a uniform realm of the dead, being content rather with the earlier stage of the cult of the grave. Vergil's description of the under-world in the sixth book of the *Æneid* betrays the exotic character of the poet's ideas respecting the future life, as indeed was the case with most of the mythology of the Romans.

The Italian ideas of the lower world bare and meagre.

Such were the supreme rulers of the lower world. But kindly as are some of their traits, life in the subterranean spirit-world is defective, desolate and dreary; therein ghosts gibber, and generally silence reigns.¹

Life in the lower world.

¹ *Iliad* xxiii. 101; *Odyss.* xxiv. 5-14. In Verg., *Æneid* vi. 492, the ghosts of dead warriors try to raise the battle cry, but no sound succeeds. Pars tollere vocem Exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis.

The Greek
abhorrence
of death.

To confine ourselves to the Greek creed, such a chill prospect of futurity was little to the taste of a Greek, with his high ideals of humanity and beauty, mental and physical, and his appreciation of the joys of life. This is well expressed in the conversation that takes place in the world of spirits between Odysseus and Achilles. The visitor speaks words of consolation, and reminds Achilles of the honour in which he was held among the living: surely no less honour attends him among the dead? But the proud spirit of the Greek warrior rebels against the gloomy contrast between his fame while living and his feebleness when dead, and the answer comes:—

Μὴ δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεύ.
Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἔων θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ,
Ἄνδρῖ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίωτος πολλὸς εἶη,
ἢ ἧ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.¹

Afterwards a reaction followed. From what has been said it is not surprising that a desire arose for a more cheerful conception of the life to come, but the change was not effected until after the Homeric age. A region of bliss was now conceived whither heroes and heroines specially dear to the gods were translated without dying to spend a life of untroubled felicity.² The name of this region is in Greek Ἠλύσιον πεδίου,³ and it lay in the far west, by the river Okeanos, partly perhaps from a supposed resemblance between the extinction of life and the setting of stars, partly from the glories of a sunset,⁴ partly because of the mild

Elysium.

¹ *Odys.* xi. 488. "Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, great Odysseus. Rather would I live upon the soil as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that are no more."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*) Cf. *Iliad* xx. 64.

² Menelaus is privileged to obtain admittance to Elysium because he has Helen to wife and the deathless gods consequently deem him to be a son of Zeus (*Odys.* iv. 569).

³ The "field of arrival," or "of the departed."

⁴ This belief obtains among the Redskins of North America. When they die they travel to the shades of their fathers, towards the setting sun. Dawson, *Fossil Men*, 384; and Catlin, *North American Indians* i. 10.

climate and rich products of the west, vague reports of which had reached the Greeks. Their life is "easiest for men":—

Οὐ νιφετὸς, οὐτ' ἄρ' χειμῶν πολλὸς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος,
 Ἄλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνέοντασ ἀήτασ
 Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπουσ.¹

The Walhalla of the northern mythology likewise is a Walhalla. creation of a later age, but presents parallels to the Elysian Fields of the Greeks. The brilliant hall was the place whither the Einherjer (or "the brave") were translated. It stood in Gladsheim² and was so lofty that its summit was hardly visible. Around it grew the grove Glasur, the leaves of which were golden. Hither kings came after death, and renowned chiefs, who had carried the blood-dripping sword far and wide, passed from scenes of blood to this world of glory; here they were welcomed at their entrance by Bragi and Hermode, messengers from Odin. The divine heroes who had already arrived rose to offer a greeting to the new-comers and vied in doing them honour, while the Walkyries³ tasted wine for them. When settled in their new abode they found pleasures to their heart's desire, pleasures admirably accommodated to their natural instincts. For, as the Greenlander's region of bliss is a place where there are birds, seals and reindeer without end, as the New

¹ *Odyss.* iv. 565. "No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain, but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men."—(BUTCHER and LANG, *transl.*) Similarly according to the Vedas the blest region is a place where "the breezes blow, where gentle showers bedew the ground, where white streams of milk and honey flow, where the cows do not kick the milkers, where the weaker brother has not to pay dues to the stronger"—a truly oriental conception. The Mandans of North America afford another instance of the effect of nature upon creed. To them, living in a climate where they suffer from cold in winter, hell is a place in the north, of barren and hideous aspect and covered with eternal snows; heaven has a genial and delightful climate and abounds in buffaloes.

² Viz., the "house of joy." See Golther, *Germ. Myth.* p. 475.

³ These were battle-maidens, who, adorned with gold ornaments, rode through the air and distributed the death-lots. They were recognized by the light streaming from their lance-points and a flickering brightness that attended them.

Hollander looks forward to a heaven where there is abundance of game and food and rioting, and as in the Vergilian Elysium the heroes kept up a mimicry of war, so in Walhalla the amusements accorded with the tastes of the heroes when they lived on earth. Every morning at cock-crow they marched out in full panoply and fought furiously with each other. But at mid-day all wounds were healed and the combatants repaired to the banquet together.¹

¹ The idea was destined to undergo a further development in later times, which do not fall within the range of our inquiry. For later legends place this blissful region in the Islands of the Blessed, *Μακάρων νῆσοι*, *Fortunate Insulae*. These mansions of the good and great were situated in the west, and their denizens spent their time in untroubled felicity. H. Lewy (p. 217), thinks that *Μακάρων (νῆσοι)* were so-called from Melqart, the Phœnician Herakles, and that these Blessed Isles were originally placed in Sicily. Afterwards, as the horizon of the Greek sailor's geographical knowledge extended, the Isles were presumably placed further westward. The same author thinks that *Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον* may be traceable to a similar source, perhaps an adaptation of *'Elišā* (Sicily or South Italy, according to a Targum on Ezekiel xxvii. 7). Strabo i. p. 3, iii. p. 150, places both the *Μακάρων νῆσοι* and *Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον* in Spain.

From the fifth century onwards another idea is traceable which gradually grew up together with the belief in a retributive justice and future accountability according to the virtues and vices practised in this world. Under the influence of the Orphic doctrine the conception of a judgment of the dead obtained hold of men's minds. Minos, Aiakos and Rhadamanthos decide cases and assign abodes in Elysium or the gloomy prison of Tartarus. Cf. *Odys.* xi. 575. But neither of these later conceptions attained to completeness.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEAD AND THE LIVING.

THE cult of the dead, as we saw in the last chapter, was a highly important feature in religious belief. We now turn to the usages practised by the survivors; many of them were eloquent of the feelings entertained towards the departed, full of pathos, replete with interest, and rich in suggestion. But there was another side to the picture. Often this worship was attended by horrors which entailed much misery, and the graves could speak of many a tale of suffering, the outcome of ignorance and superstition. For, as we have already observed, fear is the leading characteristic of religion in the animistic stage. Unquestionably, the spirits of the departed were in the first instance regarded as leading a troubled existence; where their feelings were outraged or neglected they gave the survivors no rest till satisfaction had been done; and the most natural channel of communication was the dream.

The pathos and interest of customs connected with ancestral worship,

but not devoid of terrors.

The importance of the dream in divination is well-known. So common is the belief in the ability of the dreamer to apprehend the present and forecast the future, so deep-rooted is the conviction that the departed convey warnings by means of dreams, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon the subject. Only a few features need be noticed. Herodotus¹ states that the Nasamones, an African race, when they wished to divine, used to repair to the tombs of their ancestors and lie down to sleep, waiting for an intimation as

Dreams.

¹ iv. 172.

to the course they should pursue.¹ So it is among savages of to-day. Since death and sleep are akin to each other,² they believe that their departed relatives return to admonish or advise.³ Oftener still the visit is of a more disagreeable nature, and as soon as the sleeper awakes he hastens to calm the disquietude of the departed.

Homer.

The narrow partition between the savage and the Greek of Homer's time appears from the Homeric poems. To the Greek poet dreamland is no baseless fabric but a reality. The unearthly visitants wear a formidable aspect, are of gigantic stature and amazing presence. Unlike the later poets he does not represent the dreamer as thinking he sees, but as really seeing them in sleep. Hesiod in like manner recognized a close connection between Destiny, Death and Dreams:—

Νῦξ δ' ἔτεκε στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κῆρα μέλαιναν
καὶ Θάνατον, τέκε δ' ὕπνον, ἔτικτε δὲ φύλον Ὀνειρώων.⁴

The apparition of Patroclus, to whose shades Achilles straightway offered human sacrifice in obedience to the vision, is described by Homer:—

Ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο,
Πάντ' αὐτῷ μέγεθός τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' εἰκνῖα
Καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χροῖ εἴματα ἔστο.
Στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν.⁵

¹ The savage also supposes that the spirit leaves the body and roams at large. Cf. Lucret. iv. 453-468.

² Cf. Ch. xxxiii., p. 508².

³ Sometimes the gods or demons reveal their will by visiting the sleeper (*Iliad* i. 63; *Odyss.* xx. 87, 90). The dream is *θεῖος*, "inspired" (*Odyss.* xiv. 495). The same superstition obtains among the Redskins (Dawson, *Fossil Men*, 254) and Arabs (Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 286, 287).

⁴ *Theog.* 211. "Night bare hateful Destiny and black Fate and Death, and also bare Sleep and likewise the race of Dreams."

⁵ *Iliad* xxiii. 65. "Then came there unto him the spirit of hapless Patroklos, in all things like his living self in stature, and fair eyes, and voice, and the raiment of his body was the same; and he stood above Achilles' head and spake to him."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*) Cf. 69-107.

In like manner Æneas in Vergil receives visits from his deceased father:—

Me patris Anchisæ, quotiens humentibus umbris
Nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago.”¹

The most urgent reason therefore for paying scrupulous attention to the spirits of the deceased was a dread lest they might return to harass the sleeper or otherwise disturb the peace of mind of the survivors. The thought that enemies whom a man had helped to the grave either in battle or by foul play might do so was sufficiently appalling.

Moreover, not only injured foes but discontented friends required propitiating; else who knew that they might not inflict plagues or bring down some catastrophe or otherwise mar the happiness of the survivors? Such a precaution inspired the words of a Tschuwasche² in addressing his deceased father, who was apparently jealous of the continuance of his fair fame and returned to walk in familiar haunts:—“We honour thee with a feast; here thou hast bread and various kinds of food; thou hast all that is needful, trouble us not, and come not again.”

The classical writers frequently allude to the practice. The following is the account given by Lucian³ of an incident at Corinth. The owner of a house, not having received due burial rites, haunted his successors and would not be pacified till the Pythagorean philosopher Arignotus came to the rescue and laid his ghost. This he did by instructing that the skeleton should be dug up and properly interred. Pliny the Younger relates a like experience at Athens⁴ with a like remedy. As in the former case, a philosopher, Athenodorus by name, was called in to exercise his kind

¹ *Æneid* iv. 351. “In my sleep, often as the dark shades of night veil the earth, often as the stars lift their fires, the troubled phantom of my father Anchises comes in warning and dread.”—(MACKAIL, *transl.*) Cf. vi. 695.

² Castrén, *Vorlesungen*, p. 122.

³ *Philopseudes*, § 31.

⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vii. 27.

and Italy. offices.¹ The biographer of Caligula in like manner has placed on record the following statement.² It was a matter of common knowledge, says he, that before the regular interment of the murdered emperor took place, the watchers in the Lamian gardens were terrified by hideous spectres, and not a night passed but that the house where the murdered man breathed his last was haunted by pallid phantoms or was the scene of some alarms of this nature until it was burnt down.³ But this was not all. Not only have the ghosts power to trouble the living, but they have the will, and who knows but that they might any day carry to the infernal regions some of those who were left behind?⁴ When such superstitions had seized the survivors adieu to all hopes of happiness or prosperity. So long as such a belief had a hold on the popular mind, it is not surprising that the survivors bent their energies towards inviting the aid or deprecating the anger of the dead. Of some of the expedients employed by the survivors to appease their wrath or allay their unrest, or rid themselves of their troublesome attentions, we have already spoken.

Precautions against the influence of evil spirits.

Such were some of the precautions observed against

¹ So, too, in the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, 499, the slave Tranio puts into the mouth of the goblin which rendered the house uninhabitable: Nam me Acheruntem recipere Orcus noluit, quia præmature vita careo.

² Suetonius, *Calig.* 59.

³ The truth is, the belief in the power of departed to work mischief survived to a late period after the era of civilization. The French *revenant* for "ghost" is a relic of the superstition. Cf. J. Happel, *Die Anlage des Menschen zur Religion vom gegenwärtigen Standpunkt der Völkerkunde aus*, Haarlem, 1877, p. 326. It is this belief which has ever thrown so much power into the hands of magicians and other impostors.

⁴ Such a belief is commonly attributed to ghosts by Germans, Slavs, and Wallachians. See Wasmandorff, *Die religiösen Motive*, p. 10; Simrock, *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie*, Bonn, 1869, p. 450; Wuttke, *Volksaberglaube*, § 765; and Schott, *Wallachische Märchen*, 1845, p. 297. From an inscription quoted by Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte* iii. 647, it would appear that the sentiment was not foreign to the Roman mind. A husband tries to soothe the susceptibilities of his dead wife. It runs as follows:—"Spare thine husband, dearest, I beseech thee, spare him, that he may continue for many years more to bring thee offerings and garlands and fill the lamps with oil."

annoyance from that quarter. But it would be wrong to ascribe them altogether to this motive; and they were doubtless dictated by several considerations. While we shall probably be right in supposing that fear lay at the root of these observances in the earliest age, yet, as civilization advanced and enlightenment spread, higher thoughts rose in the ascendant and the gloomy views and grim practices that have been described gave way to a lively concern and loving care for the repose of the departed.

The term *manes*, "kindly spirits," in itself bears testimony to the milder view that gained ground concerning the nature of the spirits. An old inscription bids the bystander do them honour:—

Sympathy
with the
dead.

Manes colamus namque opertis Manibus
Divina vis est æviterni temporis.¹

Their votaries looked to them for protection and prosperity. So it was throughout the Aryan world. In India the ancestral spirits were described as watching over their friends and sympathizing with them in weal and woe; they were "rich in blessings"² and possessed power to "make the crops to grow." In Greece also the poets represented them as being "givers of wealth."³ In Iranian mythology they were styled "mighty" and "victorious," and were said to flit around those dear to them on earth,⁴ shielding them from harm, when occasion called, and standing at their side on the battle-field.⁵ Apart, therefore, from the promptings of natural affection, self-interest stimulated the survivors to endeavour to alleviate the condition of the dead and to provide for their comfort. Throughout the ritual and customs which will arise for consideration run the two ideas which have been noticed above,

¹ Ritschl, *Op. phil.* 4, 244, 250, 252. "Let us worship the kindly spirits, for, if duly buried, they have divine power for ever and ever."

² Rigveda 10, 15, 3, 9; 10, 17, 3.

³ *πλουτοδοῦναι*.

⁴ Diog. Laert. *prooim.* 6.

⁵ The Iranians held feasts in their honour on the last ten days of the year (Avesta, Spiegel, *Überset.* ii., p. 1). The Germans believed that they hovered on earth on the last twelve days of the year, and these days are still called *Die Zwölfsten*.

a fear of giving offence to the spirits and a sympathy with their forlorn condition.

The
necessity
of burial.

The welfare of the spirit, then, depended in a great measure upon the treatment of the earthly remains. The prospect of leaving the dead unburied inspired horror in the minds of the survivors, partly, as has been seen, because in such a case they would incur their resentment, partly from a sense of fellow-feeling, since without burial their departed would not be able to reach the region of bliss, or even enter the gate of the supernatural world. No less was the dread of lying unburied oneself and being denied the last rites.¹ But this prejudice is by no means confined to Aryans, for it appears among races the most diversified and distant from each other. It occurs in Samoa. The islanders are convinced that only those who have been buried reach Paradise; the unburied wander about, and at night they can be heard shivering and whimpering in plaintive tones, "Oh! how cold, how cold!" In like manner the Rarotongans provided the dead with food, as much out of regard for their own interest as for the sake of the dead. But if a grasshopper were heard chirping near the grave, their superstition was rekindled. It was the signal for loud cries and yells. "Oh! our brother! His spirit has not reached Paradise; he is hungry, he is cold."²

Savage
races of
to-day.

Greece.

No more pathetic pleas for burial or melancholy descriptions of the state of the unburied are to be found than in Greece. Patroclus, as we have seen, appears to his friend Achilles in a dream, and entreats for burial. The funeral takes place with as savage accompaniments as if the deceased were an Asiatic *ghoul* :—

θάπτε με ὅτι τάχιστα, πύλας Ἀΐδαο περήσω.
τῆλέ μ' ἔργουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων,
οὐδέ μέ πω μίσησθαι ὑπὲρ ποτάμοιο ἔωσιν,
ἀλλ' αὐτῶς ἀλάλημαι ἂν' εὐρυπυλῆς Ἀΐδος δῶ.³

¹ The terms for these funeral ceremonies, τὰ νόμιμα, τὰ δίκαια, τὰ προσήκοντα, *iusta* and *debita*, show that they recognized the rights of the dead.

² For similar instances see Wasmandorff, p. 11; J. G. Müller, *Amerik. Urrel.*, p. 286; Castrén, *Vorlesungen*, p. 126; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie* vi. 303, 310.

³ *Iliad* xxiii. 71. "Bury me with all speed, that I pass the gates of

Elpenor's spirit meets Odysseus in the world of shadows. Unknown to his leader, who has last seen him in the halls of Circe, he has arrived in the abode of spirits sooner than Odysseus in his swift ship.¹ He has not received burial, and is therefore denied access to the unseen realms. He therefore implores his former comrade in arms, when he returns to the Island of Circe, not to forget so solemn a duty, dictated alike by friendship and humanity,² and the survivor, as soon as opportunity offers, hastens to tranquillize the shade of the departed. So, in like manner, the priestess who conducts Æneas to the lower world³ points out to her companion that the shades, who had been deprived of the necessary solemnities, were hovering along the banks of the Styx and stretching out their hands across the river in yearning for the further shore.⁴ She describes the disconsolate spirits as an "inops inhumataque turba," and explains the cause of their unhappy position:—

Nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
Transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.⁵

But sometimes a regular burial was impracticable; failing the observance of due ceremonies three handfuls of earth sufficed.⁶ From what has been said it is plain that the

Substitute 1
for burial.

Hades. Far off the spirits banish me, the phantoms of men outworn, nor suffer me to mingle with them beyond the river, but vainly I wander along the wide-gated dwelling of Hades."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*) The same belief prevails in Modern Greece (Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, p. 125).

¹ *Odys.* xi. 51, 73. A drowned pilot uses similar language, *Æneid* vi. 362.

² Cf. *Odys.* v. 308.

³ *Æneid* vi. The description is based on *Odys.* xi.

⁴ The spirits of the unburied are still sentient. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 105.

⁵ 325-328. "Nor is it given to cross the awful banks and hoarse streams ere the dust hath found a resting-place."—(MACKAIL, *transl.*) Similarly Dido's curse takes the following form: cadat (Æneas) ante diem mediaque inhumatus arena (*Æneid* iv. 620).

⁶ The belief that the spirits of the unburied trouble the survivors still prevails in Greece (Wachsmuth, 125). But here also a few handfuls of earth satisfy the scruples of the living and the importunities of the dead (Protodikos, p. 9). Cf. Vergil, *Æneid* vi. 362; Horace, *Odes* i. 28, 22; Propertius iii. 7, 25; Varro, *LL.* v. 23; Petr. 114; Soph., *Antigone*, 256,

Aryans attached the utmost importance to the disposal of the bodies of the dead and lavished attentions upon them after they were gone. Indeed, there never was a period in their history when the pious office was not regarded as an imperative duty on the part of the relatives. But a further question arises as to the means employed in disposing of the body.

Burial
preceded
burning.

Reasons
for the
opinion.

The two methods, burial and burning, have prevailed at different times in early Europe, and they are often found side by side. Of the two methods, there can be no doubt that burial was the earlier,¹ as several considerations serve to show. The antecedent probabilities point to the conclusion that the principal object in view was the preservation, for as long a time as possible, of the likeness of the deceased; and this purpose could be best effected by burial in the lap of kindly Mother Earth.² A further motive actuated the kinsmen in taking this course. When Nature asserted her rights and decay set in, the form of burial which would protract the illusion longest would be the most popular. Thus burial was the best means of indulging the feeling, and preserving the memory of the departed. Accordingly burial appears in vogue at the earliest period of which we can catch glimpses. Such was the practice in India, when the Vedic hymns were written, for the Rigveda³ contains prayers

and *Schol.*; the *Edda*, Wolzogen, p. 311; Grimm, *Über das Verbrennen der Leichen*, p. 493. The importance attached to burial explains the horror of being exposed to the beasts of the field and fowls of the air, and the attempts made to rescue bodies on the battlefield. The answer given by Augustus to one who had been marked out for vengeance and begged for rites of burial was a shock to public sentiment: "He should find a grave in the vultures that devoured him." A humaner sentiment finds expression in Eurip. *Suppl.* 524, 538; Tacitus, *Annals* i. 23. Only traitors to their country or those who were guilty of other heinous crimes were debarred from the right. The Greek lawgiver Solon, even when he relieved the son of an unworthy father from other obligations, required at his hands the dutiful performance of this last office.

¹ Such was Cicero's belief *Legg.* ii. 22, 56; Cf. Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 187.

² The dead were often buried in their own houses. Cf. Vergil, *Æneid* iv. 494, 504; vi. 152; Servius on xi. 205; Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, n. 329.

³ For example, 10, 18, 10. Cf. Roth, *Die Todtenb. im ind. Alterth.* in *Zeitschr. d. morg. Ges.* viii. 467 seq.

in which Earth is implored to take the dead to her bosom. But this custom was superseded at a later period.¹ In like manner in the north of Europe, among the Thracians² and Slavs,³ both practices prevailed.

This brings us to the systems adopted in Greece and Italy. ^{Greece.} There is no evidence of cremation in the Mycenæan and pre-Mycenæan tombs of the islands and mainland of Greece. It must be borne in mind also that burial was practised at Athens down to the sixth century B.C.⁴ Altogether the conviction forces itself irresistibly upon the mind that burial preceded cremation in Greece.⁵

The evidence already adduced in regard to Greece is ^{Italy.} thoroughly consonant with the tenour of the documentary and monumental records of Italy. The antiquarians of Rome are explicit upon this point.⁶ Pliny, for instance, states unequivocally that burning was not the practice in ancient Rome. Afterwards burial and burning were practised side by side; but the tradition of burial died hard, insomuch that some families, like the Cornelii, clung to the original method.⁷ Moreover, a compromise between burial and burning was observed, for after the adoption of cremation it became usual to remove a limb and inter it separately.⁸ But the laws of the Twelve Tables and other records prove that burning was established early, and that the principle

¹ Rigveda 10, 15, 14; Atharvaveda 18, 2, 34. Cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 570; Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, p. 401; Schrader, *Realllex.*, p. 80. The Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians buried their dead.

² Herod. v. 8.

³ V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 521.

⁴ Cf. Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, pp. 328, 489, 509.

⁵ Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*. ii. 225.

⁶ The Siceli, one of the earliest strata of populations, practised burial. Cf. G. Patroni, *Monumenti Antichi* viii., p. 417.

⁷ *H. N.* vii. 187. Cf. Cicero, *Legg.* ii. 22.

⁸ The discoveries at the Esquiline Gate, as Dr. Schrader has pointed out, bear out the assertion; the bodies on the lowest level show no trace of fire. The Umbrians always practised burning, and the Sabines, who belonged to the same stratum, probably introduced it into Rome. Ridgeway, 498.

gained ground.¹ Still the practice remained of collecting the ashes and burying them or laying them in a tomb.

Possible causes of the change.

Influence of environment.

The necessities of warlike and hunting expeditions.

To pass to the causes which induced the new method. Different principles may have operated in different places. The probability is that the system of burial largely depended upon conditions of life, and that for the same reason circumstances conspired to effect a change of practice. It has already been seen how profoundly habits of thought were influenced by the mode of life pursued. Antecedently, it might be surmised that so long as life was unsettled, when war was the rule rather than the exception, or when maintenance in a great measure depended upon the fortunes of the chase, burning was the more frequent form of disposing of bodies. The reason for this state of things is not far to seek. In such circumstances it was highly important and the chief care to save the bodies from outrage, from falling a prey to ravenous wild beasts and the fury of enemies, or being used for magical purposes.² Burial afforded no guarantee of security. Accordingly, rather than expose their friends or relatives to insult at the hands of foes, or to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey, or to serve as magical relics to terrify the uninitiated, the tendency would be for the companions in arms to burn the body and bring the ashes home with them. When the validity of such a method of disposing of the body had once been recognized, the practice remained. Even in historic times the laws of war and international ethics acknowledged the liberty to claim the bodies of generals and to convey their remains to their families.

Influence of nature,

Another reason for the variation of method may be discovered in the natural aspect of the country. For, as we had occasion to observe previously, nature not only coloured

¹ Becker, *Gallus* 515, 516.

² Cf. Pliny, *H.N.* vii. 187. *Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit ueteris instituti; terra condebantur; at postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere tunc institutum.* For the value attached to relics or other portions of the body see ch. xxx., p. 434, and xxxiii., p. 501.

religious or mythological beliefs, but in other ways influenced the mode of life that was followed. If men were surrounded by marshy ground, cremation would be preferred. If on the other hand an abundance of timber was ready at hand, it facilitated and encouraged the practice of cremation.

But these considerations only applied to certain localities. We must look further a-field. A yet more potent and deep-

seated reason for the change probably exists in the nature of religious beliefs. Until recently the views advanced by Jacob Grimm¹ have passed unchallenged. This author held that the system of burning arose from a desire to offer the dead as a sacrifice to the gods. But this theory would now appear to be unsatisfactory. The reason for the custom should probably be sought elsewhere. It has been brought into connection with the ancestor worship which widely prevailed in the earliest ages. This superstition, as has been seen, entailed misery both to the dead and their survivors.

The former was believed to spend a restless existence at best. But the horror of his condition was aggravated by neglect of burial and the minute details necessary to the due regard for the pious observance. It may well be believed, indeed there are positive proofs, that the victims of such neglect might make life disagreeable or even a burden to their kinsmen. The evil-disposed spirits (like the *lemures*), it was supposed, were always meditating mischief, and as they could obtain no rest, so they would allow the survivors none. Any means, therefore, which would rid them of the presence of the goblin, and at the same time relieve themselves of the obligations of attending to its wants would be welcomed, and no more effective method of attaining this end could be found than fire.² Fire was the best agent of purification. It was eminently adapted to the purpose of sundering soul and flesh, and (what was invaluable in that stage of social sentiment) of

and religious ideas.

Grimm's view: burning meant sacrifice.

Suggested connection with ancestral worship.

¹ *Über das verbrennen der Leichen.*

² Rohde, *Psyche* i. 31, and S. Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde* i. 363, have independently arrived at the same conclusion. Cf. Schrader, *Reallex.*, pp. 82, 83.

destroying the departed soul's strength and power of injuring or wreaking vengeance. If the favourite treasures, weapons, or other precious objects belonging to the deceased were added to the funeral pyre, then there was good hope of freedom both from annoyance and responsibility. To fire, therefore, they resorted.

Objections
to this
theory.

This theory has much to recommend it, but is vitiated by the circumstance that the survivors in such a case continue to offer food and drink to the spirit of the departed. To account for the inconsistency it must be assumed that the usage was kept up, even though meaningless, owing to the conservatism characteristic of races in their infancy, especially in dealing with religious matters. This is no unfamiliar phenomenon. So did the ancient Roman prohibit the use of iron in certain acts associated with religious functions. So did the ancient Greek arraign in court the axe or knife of an assassin.¹ So did the ancient Egyptian adhere to the old hieroglyph long after a letter system had been evolved.

There is another consideration which militates against the view above mentioned. It appears inconsistent with the well-established circumstance that burning was employed in disposing of the remains of the good and great, who would be least likely to haunt the living. For, as has already appeared,² according to the Homeric conception it was those precisely that had deserved well of their country, or won renown on the battle-field, or rendered service to the gods, who were supposed to be translated to a region where they enjoyed well-earned repose. But to secure admission to the realm of happiness or tranquillity one condition must be fulfilled; they must be burnt on the funeral-pyre.

Purification
probably
was the
object in
view.

When everything is taken into consideration it seems more natural to refer, as does Professor Ridgeway, the practice of burning to the necessity or desire for purification. The horror of contamination by the touch of a corpse was a

¹ Ch. viii., p. 97, and Ch. xxvi., p. 364.

² Ch. xxxiii. *fn.*

well-known characteristic of the ancient mind. Homer alludes to this fear.¹ Vergil also speaks of the dread of pollution and the custom of lustration as a preservative against it.² No less was the anxiety to free the soul from all impurities of the flesh. Fire was a purificatory agent second to none; the use of it served both purposes, and satisfied the apprehensions of the living on both scores. Upon these grounds it seems right to trace burning to the desire of purification.

But a further question arises which exerts an immediate bearing upon the motives which underlay the practice of cremation. It may prove that the practice, so far as the Greeks are concerned, is traceable to historical and not to social or sentimental causes. Usually it has been supposed that, like some other customs, cremation proceeded from an Oriental origin. But in opposition to this view it must be borne in mind that neither Egyptian nor Phœnician nor Hebrew nor Arabian observed it. On the contrary, everything points to the rise of the practice in some quarter outside the pale of the Hamitic and Semitic races. Accordingly Fritz Hommel and others are inclined to attribute it to Sumerian influence,³ and this view derives countenance, if not corroboration, from the discoveries which have been made within the last twenty years.⁴ But probability suggests that it sprang up in another quarter, and there is a strong presumption in favour of the view which has recently been

The introduction of cremation

not from East or South,

¹ Cf. Soph., *Antig.* 1016. So in Modern Greece great stress is laid on purification after coming near a dead body (Protodikos, p. 120; and Bybilakis, p. 67).

² *Corpus totam incestat funere classem* (*Aeneid* vi. 150, 229). Whether it formed a regular feature of Roman funerals is not clear; but a ceremony of this kind was performed in February, when special honours were paid to the *Manes*. Cf. Macrob., *Sat.* i. 13. One reason for the ordinary custom of placing a cypress at the door of a house visited by death was to act as a warning to neighbours (Pliny xvi. 10, 18; Servius on *Aeneid* iii. 64). The same prejudice exists in other countries, e.g. India. Max Müller, in *Zeitschrift d. morg. Gesch.* ix., p. 1. The Jews were peculiarly sensitive on this point.

³ *Die Vorsemit. Kulturen in Ägypten und Babylonien*, Leipzig, 1882.

⁴ Schrader, *Reallex.*, 83, 84; Koldewey, in *Zeit. für Assyriologie* ii. 403.

but from
Central
Europe.

put forward, with characteristic force and lucidity, by Professor Ridgeway, as part of his original theory regarding the creators of the Homeric civilization and the originators of several religious conceptions which are embodied in the pages of Homer. This author maintains that cremation was one of the importations of an alien race hailing from Central Europe. Descending upon the south and mingling with the indigenous inhabitants they imbued the populations whom they reduced to subjection with the idea of burning the dead. But the change was not radical nor universally accepted. Only the nobler class embraced the practice of cremation; the masses adhered to the custom of burial and the cult of the grave with their more material accompaniments.¹ This view has much to recommend it. It might have been pointed out that some races, like the Kolarians of Bengal, reserve cremation for notable personages or the male sex, who in the opinion of savages possess a natural nobleness. They deny it to women and children, whom they regard as creatures of an inferior order. The truth is, the two systems, burning and burial, rest upon entirely different assumptions. It is supposed that by means of burning the spirits of males, who alone possess the divine spark, are totally divested of all the encumbrances of mortality, and pass to the ethereal regions, towards the sun and moon and stars. The souls of women and children, being only aqueous and earthy principles, end with the present state of being or hardly survive beyond the grave. The suggestion would carry conviction were it possible to show that the conquerors, who came down from the North, held views concerning the condition of the departed which would be in harmony with the idea of a direct derivation of the practice of burning from them also. Such proves to be the case. Some

The under-
lying prin-
ciple.

¹ *The Early Age of Greece*, 514. Following the train of thought in Chapter ii., and struck by the parallels to Greek and Roman usages found among modern races, as mentioned above, the present writer had been led to a similar conclusion, but had not been able to work it out with such a wealth of erudition as has been brought to bear on the subject by Professor Ridgeway.

Northern races did possess analogous views of the destination, abode, and state of the soul.¹

Whatever the cause may have been—and admittedly the whole subject is involved in considerable obscurity—the fact may be regarded as established that burial preceded burning, that the latter gradually gained recognition, and that the two methods for a long time over-lapped,² but in deference to the time-honoured usage, and for fear of unpleasant consequences, in cases of cremation the ashes were preserved or consigned to mother earth.³

The beliefs concerning the future life and the influence which they exerted on the mode of disposing the body have now been sketched. It only remains to fill up this outline that we have drawn and to illustrate them by a reference to a few features of ceremonials connected with funerals. Some of them rest upon the belief that the dead are still close at hand, are still intimately concerned with the welfare of the survivors, still rejoice at their prosperity, and still mourn with them in the hour of distress. But other usages summon up different associations and belong to a period in which the Greek and Italian had outgrown the crude superstitions of their forefathers and dimly discerned a happier state of existence beyond the grave. To attempt a discrimination of the usages and assign them to the several stages of thought

Features of
burial cere-
monies.

¹ Of one parallel presented by the Scandinavian Walhalla and the Greek Elysium we have already spoken. But see Ridgeway, *op. cit.* 520, 521.

² The word *bustum* (*buro*, "burn," as in *combuo*), used originally for the place of burning, was afterwards applied to a tomb (Festus, p. 32, Müller; Servius on *Æneid* iii. 22; xi. 201).

³ The word *sepultura* is used in a general sense for *crematio*. Cf. Drakenb. on Livy viii. 24. The calcined remains were preserved in a *φιάλη* or *λάραξ* (*Iliad* xxiii. 250; xxiv. 795); *olla*, *urna*, *testa*, (Propertius ii. 13, 32). But there is an important difference between the Greek and Roman practice in this particular. The former gathered the bones (*Odys.* xxiv. 72); the latter forbade the act: *Homini mortua ne ossa legito*, *XII. Tables* (Cicero, *De Legg.* ii. 22). Vergil, *Æneid* vi. 228, alludes to the Greek practice. The motive, however, was the same in both countries. It was a relic of the earlier belief that, since the dead were supposed to tenant or revisit the grave, some remains must be deposited there.

in regard to funeral obsequies, that is, the cult of the grave and the conception of a general abode of departed spirits, would be impossible in such short compass, and we must content ourselves with a brief delineation of them.

The terrors of the journey to the spirit-world.

According to the belief of the savage in the modern and ancient world, the road which the soul was obliged to traverse before reaching the land of bliss was only accomplished with difficulty and toil. It was long, and beset with peril. Fierce winds blew, precipices yawned, slender bridges spanned roaring rivers. Many and many a soul perished by the way. It was therefore incumbent upon the survivors to furnish the departing spirit with an equipment to face the terrors of the dismal road. Mythology is replete with instances illustrative of this conviction. In some countries, as in India, an ox was supposed to act as a guide to the traveller to the silent land—a natural supposition considering the high estimation in which the animal was held by the Indians in the earliest age.¹

The River Styx and its ferry-man.

But in the legendary lore of Greece, which is faithfully followed by the national poets of Italy, the disembodied spirit must be conveyed across the River Styx² by the grim ferryman Charon.³ None might pass that way who had not received rites of burial or at least been covered with a few handfuls of earth. To pay the passenger's fare an *obol*⁴ in Greece, and apparently a *triens*⁵ at Rome, was placed beneath the tongue of every corpse,⁶ and the omission to

¹ In the later legends Yama, a prince among the dead, rides on a buffalo. The change to this animal points to the birth of the idea in the South of India, where the buffalo supplanted the ox.

² "The loathly river" (*στρυγίη*, "to loathe").

³ In India (*Rigveda* 10, 63, 10; *Atharvaveda* 7, 6, 3) a river and boat are mentioned. The ferryman figures, under the name Charos, in the traditions of Modern Greece (see Bent, *The Cyclades*, pp. 363, 364, 488; Bernard Schmidt, 159-181, and notes; C. Wachsmuth, 20, 117, 118).

⁴ Cf. Lucian, *Catap.* 18.

⁵ Cf. Juvenal iii., 267: quem porrigat ore trientem; and for a similar custom, Simrock, *Handb. d. Myth.*, p. 600. See note below.

⁶ But it also served the purpose of compensation or purchase money for his property, which otherwise would have accompanied him.

fulfil this sacred obligation was attended by dire results to the dead and the living.¹

The company of some stalwart friend, attendant, or slave was not unnaturally considered desirable for setting out on the journey. Accordingly the Homeric hero is not merely expressing a triumphant taunt when he cries over his fallen foe :—

Companions.

Οὐ μὰν αὐτ' ἄπιτος κείτ' Ἄσιος, ἀλλά ἐ φημί
Εἰς Ἄϊδός περ ἰόντα πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο
Γηθήσειν κατὰ θυμὸν, ἐπεὶ ῥά οἱ ὄπασα πομπόν.²

This is the language of sober belief. The history of Italy tells the same tale. Some Roman antiquarians, repelled by the thought of such sacrifices, tried to explain them away. The truth is, however, that the custom is widespread and its cause deep-seated; the perpetration of such acts in ancient Italy is so well founded that the interpretation which their patriotism prompted them to offer must be rejected. In reality, the habit of sending human beings³ to attend chiefs and heroes in their journey to their long home and the idea that inspires the belief is found all the world over, in Gaul,⁴

Immolation of human beings on tombs.

Italy.

¹ Wachsmuth, 117, 118, found the custom in parts of Macedonia and Asia Minor. The only allusions to this *ναῖλον*, however, in Roman literature are Juv. iii. 267; Prop. iv. 2, 7. But the custom is widespread and probably obtained at Rome. The belief in the dread consequences that followed the neglect of the payment of this passage-money is well illustrated by a story mentioned by Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen, und Gebräuche*, Leipzig, 1848, § 136. The upshot of the matter was that all the family died except the stepfather; he, being no blood relation, was spared. The legends relating to a dangerous road leading to the abode of the departed might be paralleled from the traditions of untutored races in various parts of the globe. See Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 344; Max Müller, *Chips from a German Work-shop*, 266, 267. Most of these stories borrow their colouring from the circumstances of the inhabitants. Cf. Ch. iv., pp. 40-43.

² *Iliad* xiii. 414. "Ah, verily, not unavenged lies Asios, nay, methinks that even on his road to Hades, strong warden of the gate, he will rejoice at heart since, lo, I have sent him escort for the way."—(LANG, LEAF and MYERS, *transl.*)

³ The question of *suttee* has been already discussed (Ch. xv. 190-193).

⁴ Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 19; Pomponius Mela iii. 2, 3.

and Prussia,¹ among the Lithuanians,² Slavs,³ and Thracians.⁴ But as nations advanced in civilization and human sensibilities acquired more refinement, the more barbarous practices were discontinued. Though, however, human beings ceased to be offered on the tomb, remnants of the custom continue to this day, which bear irrefragable testimony to the existence of the usages in no dim and distant past.

Animals,
weapons
and imple-
ments.

The same motive which led to the immolation of human beings also prompted the slaughter of horses and other animals on the grave of their master. For they would be serviceable to him in the silent land where the horseman⁵ and the hunter would indulge in their favourite pastimes and find scope for their energies as on earth.⁶ Achilles, in the scene to which allusions have already been made, slew steeds and hounds to accompany the shade of his comrade Patroclus.⁷ Very common was the precaution of providing the departed with apparel to facilitate his passage and obviate discomfort on the way.⁸ But various other objects are frequently found at the present day which have survived the ravages of time and corroborate the statement that the boatman's oar⁹ and fisherman's rod¹⁰ were deposited on the mound under which their owner rested. For, as in the opinion of the savage of to-day, so in like manner to the mind of the early Greek and Roman inanimate implements

Reasons
for the
practice.

¹ Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 440.

² Such a sacrifice took place as late as 1341 A.D. Heathen rites died hard among this people.

³ As late as 777 A.D. (Hehn, *ibid.* 440).

⁴ Herod. v. 5. The same historian furnishes a minute and graphic description of the grim scenes that obtained among the Scythians on the death of a king, and the ghastly spectacle presented by his grave, in iv. 71, 72. Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 676, 677.

⁵ Cf. Ch. xxxiii., p. 504.

⁶ Like Orion in *Odys.* xi. 572.

⁷ Cf. Ch. vi., p. 68; *Iliad* xxiii. 171; *Aeneid* xi. 89. Mr. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 11, refers to a survival of the practice in Derry at the latter end of the nineteenth century.

⁸ *Odys.* xxiv. 67; *Iliad* vi. 418. *Aeneid* vi. 221 is inconclusive, but it is well known that at Rome the corpse was dressed in attire suited to the rank of the deceased. Cf. Juvenal iii. 171; Livy xxxiv. 7.

⁹ *Odys.* xii. 15; *Aeneid* vi. 232.

¹⁰ Sappho *fr.*

(paradoxical as it may sound) were endowed with a dual existence. It is true that some objects which have been brought to light in the sepulchres of Greece may have been placed there for the sake of ornament. But this principle is hardly applicable to clothes and copper kettles and vases.¹ Nor were they intended to serve as talismans, or to convey to posterity an idea of the civilization and conditions at the time they were placed in their present position. Nor was it an act of renunciation on the part of the survivors who thus displayed their willingness to part with them. Nor did it arise from a dislike on the part of the kindred against using the armour worn or weapons carried by the deceased. Nor was it an act of sacrifice, though such considerations must not be entirely left out of sight. These motives may indeed have been contributory causes, but they did not constitute the main principle. Rather, the purpose which they had in view was to consult the convenience and comfort of the departed, and to ensure the transmission of the weapons or other implements to the other world, they must be broken or burnt.²

But this was not the only provision made for the spirit, ^{Food supply.} who was setting out on his distant and dangerous journey. For the same reasons as were mentioned before, the soul of the departed required food, and his demands were sometimes pressed with an importunity which would take no denial.³ At all times he was pleased at the attentions which showed that his name was held in remembrance, and was displeased if they were withheld. The main purpose in supplying the deceased with sustenance, as has been said, was to renew the soul's enfeebled vitality; and of all kinds of food fresh

¹ Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, p. 277.

² Needless to say the custom still prevails in China. When Li Hung Chang died, a coach and team of horses (of paper) were burnt, and the Chinese constantly deface and render useless the clothes that they place in the grave. So, too, Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, p. 56; Catlin, *North American Indians*, letter 12.

³ So much is implied in the terms *placare*, ἰλάσασθαι, which were used in this connection. Cf. *μειλίγματα* in Æsch., *Choeph.* 14.

Close connection of the idea with ancestor worship.

blood was best calculated to secure that end. But an important point must be borne in mind which is closely connected with the different ideas that prevailed at different times regarding the kind of life led by the disembodied spirit. In the earlier stage, when ancestor worship was the common belief, the spirit was supposed to reside in the grave or hover in the immediate neighbourhood. Accordingly, the offerings of blood, meal, honey, and oil were poured into a trench or pit (*βοθρός*)¹ close to the tomb, or through a funnel which passed into the tomb itself.²

Continued after the rise of a belief in a general spirit world.

Afterwards, when, as has already appeared, the idea of a general abode for disembodied spirits was conceived, the offerings of food continued to be made, in order to sustain the corpse on his perilous journey to the silent land and likewise after his arrival at his destination. It was conveyed to the tomb in the manner described above, or placed side by side with the corpse.³ The apparel which the survivors provided was treated in a similar way. Like the food, clothing was buried with the deceased, as witness the traces of full attire which have come to light in the tombs at Mycenæ. But now, after the change of belief—and this is the chief consideration—the apparel was no longer to be worn in the grave. Under the altered circumstances, therefore, the garments must be burned before they can accompany the disembodied spirit to his future home.⁴

Reconciliation of the two theories.

¹ Cf. *Odyss.* x. 517; xi. 25.

² Paus. x. 4, 10 (with Frazer's note); Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, pp. 5, 510.

³ See Schliemann, *Mycenæ*, 283, 332. The drink oblations (*χοαί*) which are still made on graves in Macedonia, Trebizond, and Cappadocia, now take the form of dark wine (Wachsmuth, 123; Protodikos, 17). Cf. Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, p. 241.

⁴ Hence Melissa, the wife of Periander of Corinth, complained that the garments in which she had been buried were of no use, because they had not been burnt (Herod. v. 92). The Greeks were in this respect really on a par with the modern Chinese. The needs of the departed in China are "supplied by offerings of animals, rice, spirits, tobacco, &c., and of furniture, clothing, money, &c., made of paper. The eatables are presented before the shrine containing the spirit of the ancestor, and

But these were not the only ways in which the survivors studied the comfort and peace of the departed spirit. Indeed, this purpose, dictated partly by regard for the welfare of the dead, partly by the interests of the survivors, runs throughout the whole of their conceptions of the state of the dead. It was customary for the friends who attended the obsequies to call loudly upon the dead person by name. Many allusions to this practice occur in Roman literature,¹ and their simple pathos is eloquent of the feelings with which death was regarded. Madame de Stael speaks of a custom in Russia which is not devoid of interest in this connection. The Russian *moujiks* (or peasants) of her day were in the habit of speaking to the corpse before it was consigned to the tomb in the following terms: "Why have you left us?" they asked. "Were you unhappy on this earth? Was not your wife pretty and good? Why then have you taken your departure?"² The writer adds that the value of life is in this way impressed upon the minds of the onlookers. But the custom is really very ancient, and the motive lies deeper, though perhaps the reason suggested by the writer should not be overlooked altogether. Such a question as that addressed to the deceased peasant certainly would have the effect of reconciling his fellows to life. It may have been due to the fear of premature burial, in case the person may

Calling the departed by name.

The reason for this usage.

there eaten by the offerer, who is considered only to partake of the material substance, while the ethereal essence of the sacrifice has been consumed by the spirit. The paper articles are burned, and so are supposed to pass into the spirit world."—Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa*, p. 56. The Latin *silicernia*, or funeral feasts, which resembled in many ways the Greek *περιδειπνον* and the Indian *graddha*, rested upon the assumption that the spirits took part in the meal as at the *lectisternia*. For this reason the spirits were invoked; food was eaten in silence to avoid disturbing the unseen guests; hence the word was derived from *silere*, "to be silent," but Non. i. 235 and Servius on *Æneid* v. 92 see in it a reference to the gravestone (*sillex*) near which the feast was held. The spirits were supposed to take the strength out of the food and leave the remainder to the kinsmen or the priest—a common notion among savages at the present day.

¹ Vergil, *Æneid* i. 219: nec iam exaudire vocatos; Ovid, *Tristia* iii. 3, 43; Amm. Marc. xxx. 10.

² *Dix années d'exil*, ch. 11.

have fallen into a trance.¹ The probability is, however, that in the first instance it was meant for an invitation to the spirit to take possession of its final resting-place.²

Final
scene.

The funeral ceremony is now ended, and with it terminates our inquiry into the working of the human mind at the early epoch of European civilization; the kinsmen take leave of the departed for the last time with salutations thrice³ repeated, and other exclamations:—May the earth lie lightly on thy ashes! Adieu, fair soul! Farewell, farewell, farewell!⁴

¹ Servius on *Æneid* vi. 218.

² The dirge and other loud lamentations were dictated by the desire of retaining the spirit in the body for a time. Such is certainly the idea of the Chinese (Spiess, *Die preussische Expedition nach Ostasien während der Jahre 1860-2*, p. 263). This throws light on Propertius v. 7, 23 and Ovid, *Tristia* iii. 3, 41. Cf. Servius on *Æneid* vi. 218; and *Iliad* xxiv. 719. Self-torture and other extravagances were similarly supposed to be well-pleasing to the shades below, and were not merely demonstrations of sorrow. But a reaction took place later (Tibullus i. 1, 67; Statius, *Silvæ* ii. 6, 96). Helgi in the Edda begs his wife to weep no more, for her tears fall in blood drops on him (Wolzogen, p. 260). A mother in a Servian folksong receives a like answer from her dead son (Talvj, *Volkslieder der Serben* i. 67).

³ τρίς ἑκάστον αἰῶσαι (*Odys.* i. 65); ter voce vocavi (*Æneid* i. 219).

⁴ Terra tibi levis sit; ave, anima candida; vale, vale, vale. The same formalities were observed even in cases of fictitious burial, when the dead had lost their lives at sea or in war. In such cases cenotaphs were erected, and they were considered equally valid (Thuc. ii. 34; Eurip., *Hel.* 1241). In Chariton iv. 1 an εἶδωλον is carried on the couch, to represent the deceased. The modern Greeks place an image of the missing person in bed and chant dirges around it. Wachsmuth, 113. Cf. *Odys.* ix. 64-66 and Eustath. *in loc.*; *Æneid* iii. 304; vi. 325; Auson. *Parentalia*, præf. poet. v. 13; J. Grimm, *Das Verbrennen*, p. 261; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie* vi. 304; Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, p. 398.

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