

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APOLLO.¹

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,
HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

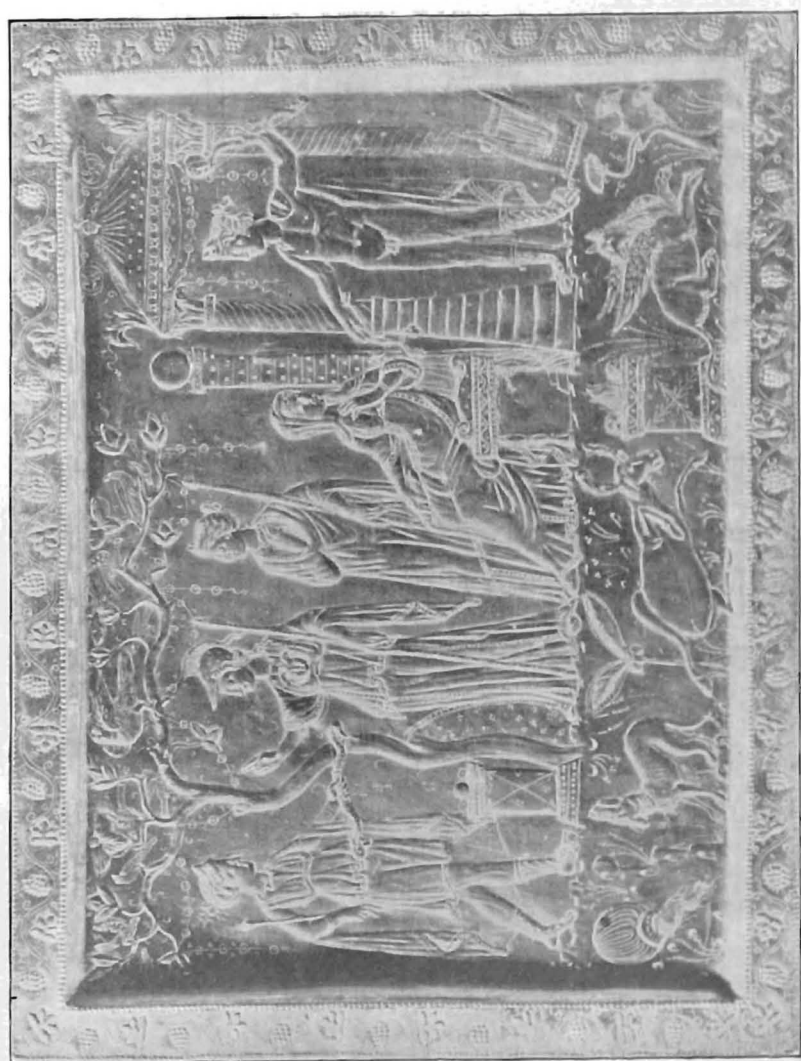
IN a recent study of the origin of the Cult of Dionysos,² I attempted to show that the solution of this perplexing question (one of the most perplexing of all the riddles of the Greek Mythology) was to be found in the identification of Dionysos with the Ivy, and in the recognition that the identification with the Vine is a later development, a supersession of an early and less rational cult, if, indeed, we can call that a supersession which does not wholly supersede; for, as is well known, the Ivy and the Vine go on their religious way together, are seen in the same processions, climb over the same traditional buildings, and wreath the same imperial and sacerdotal brows. In some ways the Ivy seems to have a more tenacious hold upon human regard and custom than the Vine: it behaves in religion as it does in nature, clinging more closely to its support in wall and tree than ever Vine can do, and giving a symbolic indication both by rootlet and tendril that wherever it comes, it has come to stay. It appears as the tattooed totem-mark upon the worshipper's bodies, the sign of an ownership which religion has affirmed and which time cannot disallow.

Now this view that the Ivy is the fundamental and primitive cult-symbol in the worship of Dionysos was not altogether new: as I pointed out, it had been very clearly stated by Perdrizet in his *Cultes et Mythes de Pangée*: it had also been suggested by S. Reinach (from whom, I suppose, Perdrizet derived it) as the following passage will show: I had not noticed it when writing my paper:—

“Le lierre, comme le taureau, le chevreau, le faon, est une

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 12 Oct., 1915.

² Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. April, 1915.



forme primitive de Dionysos, dont il est resté l'attribut ; les Ménades déchirent et machent le lierre comme un animal sacré, victime de *σπαργμὸς* ou de *νεβρισμός* ; et Plutarque sait, sans le dire formellement (car il n'est pas homme à révéler les mystères) que l'effet de cette manducation du lierre est de rendre les Ménades *ἐνθεοί*, de faire passer en elles la divinité" (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, ii. 105).

This agrees very nearly with my own statement as to the meaning of the chewing of the Ivy by the Maenads : but if the identification of the Ivy as a primitive form of Dionysos is not new (I should say, of the Ivy as *the* primitive form), the reason for the identification is altogether new. As I pointed out, Perdrizet (and, I may add, S. Reinach) see the Ivy off the oak : when we see it on the oak, the whole process of the evolution of the cult becomes intelligible : the Ivy is sacred because it partakes of the sanctity of the oak ; both of them are sacred because they are animistically repositories of the thunder. A collateral proof of this may be found amongst the Lithuanian peoples : as Grimm points out, " the Lettons have named it (the ground-ivy) *pehrkones* from their god *Pehrkon*". This is the Thunder-god *Perkun*. The importance of this consideration is very great : in the nature of the case, there can be no intermediate link between the Ivy and the Oak : the Ivy is the last link ; whatever other creeping or climbing plants (Vine, Smilax, Clematis) may develop Dionysiac sanctity, they can only do so in a derivative and secondary manner : if the Cult of Dionysos is to be explained, it must be from the conjunction of Thunder, Oak, and Ivy as a starting-point. I am now proposing to discuss the origin of the Cult of Apollo, using the results already attained as a guide ; for, as I shall presently show, there is much that is common in the manner of genesis of the two cults in question, and the solution of one will help us to the solution of the other.

Before, however, we proceed to the investigation of the Apolline cult, it will be proper to make a few remarks on the Dionysos cult, as it is expounded in a volume which has appeared since my paper was written. I am referring to Miss Gladys M. N. Davis' work on the *Asiatic Dionysos*. The object of this laborious and learned work, in which the writer shows as great familiarity with Sanskrit literature as with Greek, is to show that the Greek Dionysos is not really Greek

at all, but of Asiatic origin. Asiatic in Miss Davis' book means many things : it may mean the Ionic School in literature, it may mean the Phrygian School in religion, but the final meaning, with regard to which the other two are alternative and secondary, is that Dionysos is an Indo-Iranian product ; to understand it we must go to the Avesta and the Rig-Veda. The perplexing titles which Dionysos bears will all become clear from Sanskrit philology or Medo-Persian geography. The central point of the theory is that Dionysos is the Soma, the divine and divinising drink of our Aryan ancestors, which appears in Old Persian under the name of Haoma, and which when theomorphised is one of the greatest of the gods in the Indian Pantheon.

The identification is not new : Miss Davis uses freely Langlois' *Mémoire sur la divinité Védique appelée Soma*,¹ and points out that Langlois was accepted in his identification by Maury in his *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*.² She might also have referred to Kerbaker, *Il Bacco Indiano*,³ which would have had the advantage of supplying a more modern student of the theory than those writers who belong to a time when everything ancient was Indian, and when Sanskrit was the last word in philology.

In any case, there was *prima facie* ground for re-opening the question of the Oriental origin of Dionysos ; for it must be admitted that we cannot completely explain the legendary exploits of Dionysos in India as religious creations whose motive is to be found in the campaigns of Alexander ; the opening verses of the Bacchae of Euripides are sufficient to suggest that Dionysos had some links with Persia and with Bactria at a much earlier date ; and whatever may be our story of the evolution of the cult, it will not be complete unless these pre-Alexandrine as well as the post-Alexandrine elements of Asiatic influence are taken into account. According to Miss Davis the Greeks were Medizing before the Persian war, not only in commerce but in literature and religion. The proof of this Medism is the dithyrambic movement in poetry (closely associated with the Dionysian revels on the one hand, and with the Ionic School of poetry on the other), and the Bacchic movement in religion. At

¹ *Acad. des Inscript. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xix. Paris, 1853.

² Paris, 1857.

³ *Mem. R. Acad. di Arch. Lett. e Belle Arti*. Napoli, 1905.

first sight, each of these supposed influences seems to be unlikely ; I am not expert in dithyrambic poetry and its extravagances, but it seems to be in the highest degree improbable that the Greeks, at the time when their literature was nearing its full-bloom, should have shown so little originality as to copy wholesale from the Persians the dithyrambic method, and that the Vedic poets are the proof that the dithyrambic method was there to copy : and I am sure that the major part of Miss Davis' parallels are unreal and her conclusions illusory. As, however, I am not really in a position to discuss the dithyrambic movement in Greek poetry, perhaps I have said more by way of criticism than I am entitled to say. So I pass on to make one or two remarks on the proposed identification of Dionysos with the Soma.

In the first place, then, it follows from the proposed identification of Dionysos with Soma that Soma is the Ivy, or a primitive surrogate for the Ivy. In the next place, it may be granted that if the Proto-Aryans drank a beverage compounded from Soma-Ivy, the proceeding is one which belongs to the elementary strata of Aryan belief (it might even be pre-Aryan), and has nothing whatever to do with any possible loans contracted by the Greeks in the Persian period, which go under the comprehensive name of Medism.

As far as I am concerned there is no need to deny Persian influences in religion. To take a single instance, we know from Aristophanes that the Cock was a Persian importation, and that he actually bore the title *Περσικός*. It is, however, equally clear that the Cock had a religious value in Persia, and was, in fact, the Persian Thunder-bird ; and it is in the character of the Thunder-bird that he takes his place in Sparta (displacing, no doubt, an original Woodpecker) and becomes the cult-bird of the Heavenly Twins, just as he was in Persia. So a religious symbol can be transplanted. That is not quite the same thing as transplanting a religion. If a religion appears to be transplanted, it will probably be found upon closer scrutiny, that it was in existence already.

Is there, then, any probability that an equation can be made between the Soma-plant and the Ivy ? An equation, I say, not a transfer : in the case of such primitive matter, that supposition is unnecessary. Botanically, we cannot identify, for the Soma plant is still an unknown quantity. It was a mountain plant, and it was a

creeping plant with long tendrils, and it grows on the rocks, and is also, apparently, a tree-climber ; its juice is yellow, and has intoxicating value, either naturally or when subject to fermentation. This intoxicating quality makes it the drink of the gods and the medicine of immortality. Probably it is this intoxicating quality which causes it to be spoken of in terms borrowed from *mead* and the honey out of which it is made.

Now it is clear that thus far there is nothing to forbid an identification, or a quasi-identification of Soma with the Ivy : it might be the Ivy, or a first substitute for it.¹

In the next place, there is a parallelism between the two cult-creepers, in that each of them is closely related to the Thunder-god and the Storm-gods. In the case of Bacchus, there was a tendency on the part of students to ignore this connection, although one would have supposed that the relation of Dionysos to Zeus and Semele, and the emphasis which the legend lays on his birth in a thunderstorm, would have been sufficient to establish it, to say nothing of the thunderous elements which turn up in the language of the Bacchae. Now that we see the Ivy on the Oak, we need not have any hesitation in connecting Dionysos with the Thunder. In the case of the Soma the same thing is true ; Soma is especially connected with the thundering Indra, and is actually said, in one case, to be the son of the Storm-god Parjanya.

The mention of this latter god raises an interesting problem : for Parjanya is commonly held to be the equivalent of the Lithuanian (and Slavonic) Oak-and-Thunder god Perkun ; now we have already in our essay connected Dionysos with Perkun, through the title *Perikionios* which the Greeks gave him, a title which we suggested was a mere misunderstanding of a primitive Perkunios. We should thus have made connection between Dionysos and the Soma, through the common element of a primitive thunder-cult. If this can be maintained, it will be a result as illuminating as it is interesting.

The chief objection to it comes from the standpoint of the comparative philologist. In Hastings' *Encyclop. for Religion and*

¹ I have taken the yellow colour of Soma to be the colour of its juice : it should, however, be noted that some varieties of ivy have yellow berries : cf. Theokr. *id.* i. 31, καρπῶ . . . κροκοέντι, and Plin. H.N. 16, 147, semen . . . crocatum.

Ethics, under the article *Aryans* (a splendid summary of our present knowledge of our ancestors), Schrader objects to the identification of Parjanya with Perkun, on the ground that the Sanskrit *j* cannot be equated with the Lettish *k*. It is possible, however, that the objection is wrongly taken, and is still too much under the influence of the belief that everything Sanskrit is primitive. The Norse equivalent of Perkun appears to be Fjörgynn; and this suggests a form Parganyas behind the extant Sanskrit deity. After all, the equation between the two Storm-gods (accepted by Usener and others in modern times¹) may be defensible.

We must be prepared, on the other hand, for an adverse verdict on the point before us from the experts in comparative philology: so that it will be wise not to build too hastily on the equation between *Perkun* and *Parjanya*.

A further caution must be emphasised in regard to the assumed derivation of *Perikionios* as a title of Dionysos from *Perkun* or *Perkunios*. The identification has met with a good degree of approbation. *Perikionios* had, in any case, an uncanny and artificial appearance. There are, however, those who express hesitation or reserve. For example, Mr. A. B. Cook doubts whether the title *Perikionios* was used by anybody who had come into contact with *Perkun-worshippers*, and thinks that *Perikionios* is quite explicable on its own merits without being regarded as a mere misunderstanding of a primitive *Perkunios*.

This may be so, but on the other hand Mr. Cook admits that in *Zeus* (i. 241, n. 15) he had been tempted to make a similar equation of Greek *Pikoloos* with the Lithuanian *Pikulas*. This last is a very interesting case on account of the suspicion which at once comes to one's mind that we are dealing with some survival of the ancestral Woodpecker. In the case of the Greek name, *πίκος* stands out clearly enough: the Lithuanian name has never, as far as I know,

¹ Usener, *Götternamen*, 97, says of Perkun: "Die bedeutende gottgestalt ist uralt: ind. *Parjanya*: alt-nord *Fjorgynn*, slav. *Perun*". See J. Grimm, *Klein. Schr.* 2, 414 ff. Bühler in Benfey's *Orient u. Occ.* i. 214. Zimmer, *Ztsch. f. d. alt.* 19, 164 ff. We may also compare Oldenberg, *Veda*, p. 226 n.: "Der Name (*Parjanya*) bekanntlich aus indog. Zeit. vgl. den litauischen *Perkunas*, den nordischen Gott und Göttinn *Fjörgyn*. Nach Hirt: *Idg. Forschungen*, i. 481, wäre die Bedeutung 'Eichengott'."

been explained. When the Christian religion affected Lithuanian beliefs, it seems to be pretty clear that *Pikulas* became the name for the devil. For the bird-ancestry of the devil (as a dispossessed thunder-bird) there is not a little evidence ; the so-called cloven hoof is probably a bird's foot : so there is no impossibility in finding the Woodpecker in *Pikulas*, but the matter needs closer examination before we can speak definitely.

Now let us take some further objections, and after we have stated them briefly we shall be able to go on to the problems of the Cult of Apollon.

There seems to be no adequate evidence that *Soma* is a fire-stick. It is inherent in our theory of the sanctity of the Ivy as derived from the thunder and the oak, that the Ivy is a primitive fire-stick : we know, in fact, that this is actually the case. The first fire-sticks amongst the Greeks are made of Ivy, Oak, Laurel, etc. Apparently the Ivy holds the place of honour, which is just what we should not have expected, apart from its link with the thunder and lightning. If we were starting out to make fire by friction, ivy-wood is about the last thing which we should have dreamt of using. Its use is a sufficient proof that there was an occult reason for its use.

Now let us turn to *Soma*. There is the same traditional production of fire, carried on religiously, among the Indians even to our own day ; but no sign that *Soma* was a wood capable of becoming a fire-stick. The fig-tree has a prominent place in this regard, as it seems to have a subdued place in Dionysian cults, but there is no sign of *Soma*-wood. The objection is a strong one. There is, however, something to be said on the other side. In Indian myth, *Soma* is not only the companion of Indra, the thunder, and of Parjanya, the rain-storm ; it has also a close connection with Agni, the fire. It is possible, then, that the Vedic *Soma* is not the first form of the stimulant, but a later and more potent one, which has displaced the first cult-symbol, something in the same way as, let us say, the Vine becomes more effective than the Ivy. Or, in Vedic times, the primitive fire-stick might have disappeared.

There are other objections arising from the want of agreement in the cult-use of the plants in question. We know that the Ivy is chewed by the Maenads, and that is about all that we do know : in the case of *Soma* we know minutely its preparation ; that it is crushed

between two stones, compared to thunder-bolts, and so perhaps the stones are actual celts supplying one more thunder element to the ritual ; that the yellow juice is mixed with flour, etc., fermented and strained through a strainer of sheep's wool : but there is not a suggestion that Soma is chewed, nor a hint that Ivy is pulped and decocted and strained. Thus we seem to be in two different cult regions, and are tempted to conclude that Soma cannot be either the Ivy or Dionysos. Is there any way of avoiding this conclusion ? Let us study for awhile an analogous sacred drink, the Kava of the Polynesian and Melanesian. Kava is the root of a pepper tree, the *Piper Methysticum*, out of which they make in the South Seas a mild intoxicant with a soapy taste. The method of its preparation varies somewhat in different islands. The root is chewed by a chief who, when he has macerated a portion, squeezes the juice of the portion which he has chewed into a bowl, where it is mixed with water, strained through cocoa-fibre, and then drunk out of small cocoa-shells which are filled with great ceremony to the men of the company out of the large Kava-bowl. In some of the more civilised islands (Samoa, for instance) the Kava is not chewed ; it is grated ; a rough grater is made in Samoa by driving some nails into a piece of tin ; the grated root is then mixed with water and strained ; in Samoa the preparation is made by the hands of the prettiest girl in the village, who mixes the drink and strains it with great deliberation and care. She is the priestess of the occasion ; but if you were to tell the natives in one of the less civilised islands that you had seen a woman making Kava, they would be consumed with laughter.¹

Here we have a case analogous in some respects to the brewing of Soma : and it suggests that in the pre-Vedic history of Soma, the plant was chewed and not pounded ; we easily attach too much antiquity to things Vedic. Suppose we conjecture that the Soma was chewed by the Brahmans, and so made potable : we should then have restored parallelism with the action of the Maenads with the Ivy. Yes ! it will be said, but you must also have an ivy-drink prepared. Your Maenads must be as elementary in their dietetic prologues as the South Sea islanders. Who shall say they were not ? The whole process is a sacrament, and they might have just as religiously prepared a drink-god as chewed a leaf-god. So let us say

¹ See Rivers, *Hist. Melanesian Society*, i. 82.

that if hypothesis be allowed free play, it is not impossible that Soma might be that ivy, with a somewhat more highly evolved method of preparation.

It is interesting to be able to point out that we have, even in England, suspicious traces of the survival of an ivy-drink. Professor Lake reminds me that in Lincoln College, Oxford, they drink Ivy-beer on Ascension day; i.e. beer in which ivy-leaves have been steeped overnight. Mr. Lake says that "it always seemed to me to be a very unpleasant drink". In Gerard's *Herball*, p. 707, we find further traces of the same custom:—

"The women of our northern parts, especially about Wales and Cheshire do tun¹ the herb ale-hooue into their Ale, but the reason thereof I know not; notwithstanding without all controversie, it is most singular against the griefes aforesaid; being tunned up in Ale and drunke, it also purgeth the head from rheumaticke humours flowing from the braine." *Alehoofe* is a popular name given to the ground-ivy and is commonly taken to be a corruption of the Dutch *ei-loof* or *ivy-leaf*. If so it is a modification induced by the fact that the ivy is drunk in ale. It is interesting to observe that the ivy has medical value, according to old Gerard. That point should be carefully noted. There is not a trace of it in the Oxford custom, which is attached to the beating of the bounds in two Oxford parishes.²

¹ For the use of this word, nearly in our times (I believe it is still in use in Lancashire), we may take White, *Selborne* (*Garden Kalendar* for 1768): "Tunned the raisin-wine and put to it 10 bottles of elder syrup," etc.

² The following is the account of the Ivy-ale given in Clark's *History of Lincoln College*, p. 209: "On Ascension day, the parishioners of St. Michael's, and, till recently, the parishioners of All Saints', beat their bounds. To enable this to be done, since the line of the boundary passes in at Brasenose gate and out of Lincoln gate, a dark obscure passage, left for the purpose through Brasenose buildings into Lincoln, is opened for that morning. By old custom, a lunch is provided for the parishioners who have attended the vestry. Formerly St. Michael's lunch was set in the buttery as being in that parish, All Saints' in the Hall, as in their own ground. For this lunch a tankard of ground-ivy ale is prepared—i.e. of ale in which ground-ivy has been steeped overnight. If the manciple has been too generous in his allowance of the herb, the flavour is too marked for modern taste. The origin of this 'cup' I have never seen explained. I have heard a religious origin conjectured for it, that it was emblematic of the 'wine mingled with gall'."

In drawing attention to the use of ivy-ale in the beating of bounds at Oxford, we must not forget that the beating of bounds is a very early and very religious act. It is recognised as being closely related to the Roman ceremony of the Ambarvalia, when on the 29th day of May the farms and fields undergo lustration with processions and prayers.

"Of all the Roman Festivals," says Warde Fowler, "this is the only one which can be said with any truth to be still surviving. When the Italian priest leads his flocks round the fields with the ritual of the Litania major in Rogation week he is doing very much what the Fratres Arvales did in the infancy of Rome, and with the same object. In other countries, England among them, the same custom was taken up by the Church, which rightly appreciated its utility, both spiritual and material; the bounds of the parish were fixed in the memory of the young, and the wrath of God was averted by an act of duty from man, cattle, and crops." (1)

In view of the antiquity and wide diffusion of these customs, practised for the purification of a community and the averting of evil therefrom, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the drinking of ivy is itself a part of the religious ceremony and has preservative value. And this means that it must make for itself a place in the *materia medica*, which owes so much in its earlier stages to the knowledge of the magical virtue of plants and animals.

We are able to show that this drinking of ivy steeped in ale or steeped in wine has a very definite place in early medicine; so that we need not any longer think of it as surviving only in the customs of an Oxford college. We have already shown the use of ground-ivy in ale from Gerard's *Herball* (A.D. 1597); the same *Herball* will tell us that (p. 708) "the leaves of Ivie, fresh and greene, boiled in wine, do heale olde ulcers, and perfectly cure those that have a venemous and malitious quality joined with them; and are a remedie against burnings and scaldings. Moreover the leaves boiled with vinegar are good for such as have bad spleenes; but the flowers and fruit are of more force, being very finely beaten and tempered with vinegar, especially so used they are commended against burnings."

There is more to the same effect, borrowed apparently from Dioscorides, perhaps through the medium of Dodonaeus, who in his *Stirpium Historiae* writes as follows:—

"Hedera . . . viridis autem, foliis eius in vina decoctis, ulcera grandia conglutinat, quaeque maligna sunt, ad sanitatem reducit : tum igne factas exulcerationes cicatrice includit. Porro cum aceta cocta folia lienosis prosunt. Flores autem validiores sunt, ut ad laevorem redacti cum cerato ambustis conveniant."

We have, then, in the Oxford custom a survival of early medicine as well as of early religion. The two are not very far apart in their origins.

Before leaving this point, let me say something about kava itself : for kava also lies at the heart of a problem, the problem of the origin of the Melanesians. Its importance lies in the consideration that all Polynesians and Melanesians drink kava, though they vary somewhat in the manner of its preparation. Then they brought the kava with them at some stage of the migration from Indonesia into Melanesia. In the same way, the Melanesians, as far to the S.E. as the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, chew the betel leaf, for the most part as in Southern India and Ceylon, with the accompaniment of lime and arecanuts. Mr. Rivers, who has recently made such a careful study of Melanesian society, has come to the conclusion¹ that "Melanesian culture is complex, having arisen through the settlement of two immigrant peoples, named after their use of kava and betel, among an earlier population possessing the dual system of society" (i.e. society in two exogamous groups, each group only marrying with the other).

Now Rivers suggests the following sequence of migrations : "First, a people possessing the dual organisation of Society ; next, an immigrant people who introduced the use of kava, and were the founders of the secret organisations of Melanesia ; third, a people who introduced the practice of head-hunting and betel-chewing ; and lastly, relatively recent influences, from Polynesia and Micronesia."²

According to Rivers, kava differs from betel in that it is used over a more restricted area of the world than the widely diffused betel (ii. 255) ; its use is "limited to Polynesia and Micronesia, Melanesia, including the Admiralty Islands, and New Guinea, and there can be little doubt that it is within this area that we must look for the origin of the practice".

¹ *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 575.

² *Ibid.* ii. 290.

Rivers then goes on to suggest that kava-chewing may be an early form of betel-chewing, the betel pepper being replaced by the kava pepper, and the change from the leaf to the root being the result of an observation made upon a rat who was seen to chew the root and to behave abnormally in consequence. This tradition was told him by a native of the island of Pentecost and confirmed in another quarter. So we should have, first, betel-leaf chewing followed by kava-root chewing, then as the result of a fresh immigration, more betel-leaf chewing by a later generation, and so Melanesian manners are explained.

There is, however, a difficulty in accepting this order of events. It ignores the fact that kava-drinking is a religious act, associated with the chief events of life, while betel-chewing appears to be nothing of the kind. Mr. Rivers admits that (ii. 146) "the drinking of kava is a prominent feature of the ritual of such occasions as birth, initiation, and death, and on these occasions kava is offered to the dead with the accompaniment of a prayer".

There is another objection to Mr. Rivers' statements : if kava is derivative from betel, the practice of chewing is earlier than the custom of grating the root. Certainly, we should say ; but Mr. Rivers strangely thinks that chewing kava is the more recent custom : (ii. 247) "in the Banks and Torres Islands the root is chewed, but in the New Hebrides, which we have *every reason to regard as a region of more archaic culture*, there is no chewing".

Probably when we know more about the inhabitants of Indonesia and the Malay States, we may find the origin of kava on the mainland, without reference to the betel-pepper at all. At present we do not know the story of the Melanesians sufficiently, before they reached Melanesia. Arguing from language and from the presence of many Aryan roots in the Melanesian vocabulary, Dr. George Brown, who is one of the best skilled of Melanesian missionaries, came to the conclusion that while the people are Turanian, they have been mixed with elements from an Aryan migration : and I believe Dr. Codrington was of the same opinion. Some day we shall know more about the origin of these great migrations, from India and elsewhere into Malaysia and thence to Indonesia, by which the South Seas were peopled, and perhaps we shall also know the origin of

kava-drinking: the discovery will be a chapter in the history of religion.

And now let us come to the origin of the Cult of Apollo. Our reason for discussing this as a pendant to the study of the Cult of Dionysos, lies in the proved mythological consanguinity of the two gods. They exchange characters and titles, they overlap in function. To some extent this overlapping of function characterises the whole Olympic Pantheon: the gods encroach upon one another to such an extent that Lucian represents Zeus as laying down restrictive laws, and insisting that Asklepios shall not meddle with oracles nor Athena with medicine.

But the relation between Dionysos and Apollo is much closer than that which would be expressed by occasional exchange or invasion of one another's functions. Sometimes their very names seem to be alternative, so that it is not easy to tell which deity is involved in a statement. In a line preserved from the *Likymnios* of Euripides¹ we have an address to

δέσποτα, φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παῖαν Ἀπολλων εὖλυρε.

Here Bacchus is invoked who loves the laurel (*Daphne*) (which one would have supposed to be an Apolline title), and is equated with the *Paian* Apollo. A similar transfer of title is found in a fragment of *Æschylus*,² where Apollo is spoken of as

ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Βακχεύς, ὁ μαντῖς.

Here Apollo has the ivy for his cult symbol, just as in the previous fragment Dionysos had the laurel. Each of these transfers invites the hypothesis that in some sense Dionysos is Apollo.



PLATE I.—COIN OF ALABANDA IN CARIA.

In the same way Apollo appears on the coins of Alabanda in Caria as Apollo Κίσσιος, and sometimes the goat of Dionysos is added, or the reverse of the coin bears the ivy-crowned head of

¹ *Fragg.* ed.² Nauck, 477.

² Fr. 341. It should, however, be noted that *Βακχεύς* is Nauck's emendation for *βακσιος* or *καβαιος* in the passage of Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 18, 6), from which this and the preceding fragment are derived. The observed identity of the two gods is due to Macrobius.

Dionysos, if indeed it is Dionysos and not a variant of Apollo. It has also been pointed out that at the festival of the Hyacinthia, ivy-crowns are worn ; but this festival certainly belongs to the cycle of Apollo.

The conjectural equivalence becomes a positive statement in the rhetorician Menandros, who tells us that at Delphi the names Apollo and Dionysos are alternatives :—¹

Μίθραν σε Πέρσαι λέγουσιν, ὦρον Αἰγύπτιοι, σὺ γὰρ εἰς κύκλον τὰς ὥρας ἄγεις, Διόνυσον Θηβαῖοι, Δελφοὶ δὲ διπλῇ προσηγορίᾳ τιμῶσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Διόνυσον λέγοντες.

We knew from other sources that Delphi was almost like a common sanctuary to the two deities. Plutarch had, in fact, told us that Dionysos was almost as much at home in Delphi as Apollo.² The same identification is suggested for Apollo and Dionysos at Rhodes and elsewhere, with the addition of Helios ; for, according to Dio Chrysostom, it was said τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν, and this is confirmed by Rhodian coins which show Helios (= Apollo) crowned with ivy and grapes in the Dionysiac manner.

There must, surely, be some underlying reason for these common titles and sanctuary, and for the confusion of the personalities of the deities in question.

Then there is a curious parallelism in the rituals of the two gods, for if the priestess of Apollo chews the laurel for her inspiration, the same thing can be said of the ivy-chewing Maenads, whatever be the meaning of the inspiration sought.

We may refer at this point to a curious case of Bacchic madness, in which the inspired women eat the ivy, the smilax, and the laurel, of which the first two belong to the ritual of Dionysos, and the third to the ritual of Apollo. Antoninus Liberalis records the story of certain maidens who were turned into night-birds. He calls them

¹ Menand. Rhet. ed. Sprengel, iii. 446^b.

² Plut. *De Ei. ap. Delphos*. 9. τὸν Διόνυσον ὃ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν.

A good illustration of this may be found in the archaic Greek mirror, figured by Miss Harrison in *Themis*, p. 142, where the two gods stand face to face, with the solar disk between them. Here also we have Apollo, Dionysos, and Helios in conjunction.

Minyades, and says they left their father's house, and as Bacchants on the mountains fed on ivy, smilax, and laurel, until Hermes touched them with his rod and transformed them into birds.

It seems lawful to conclude that the chewing of ivy by the Maenads, and the chewing of laurel by the Pythian priestess are ritual rites of the same significance, and, as was stated above, the intention is the absorption of the god by the worshippers. The cults involved are parallel.

Pursuing the investigation a little further, we come to an important discovery by Mr. A. B. Cook,¹ that the laurel which we are accustomed to regard as so characteristically Apolline, had been substituted for the oak, even at Delphi itself. This time it is Ovid that lets the cat out of the mythological bag. Mr. Cook sums up the matter as follows: "The oldest of the Apolline myths is the story of the god's fight with Python at Delphi. Ovid (*Met.* i. 445 . . .), after telling it, adds that to keep in memory this signal victory the Pythian games were instituted and that 'whoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (*aesculeae* . . . *frondis*) ; *the laurel as yet was not*, and Phoebus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses, from the nearest tree'. It appears, then, that the laurel had been preceded by the oak at Delphi."² After having shown the priority of the Delphic oak to the Delphic laurel, Ovid goes on to tell the story of Daphne. We can read back the myth into its original elements. When we give Apollo oak-sanctity, we begin to understand the meaning of his consanguinity with Dionysos. The laurel, then, is surrogate for the oak. The sun-god is, in some way, connected with the Thunder, and with the Sky, before he becomes the patron and spirit of the orb of day. We can find occasional traces of the thunder in the traditions of Apollo. Some-

¹ *European Sky-God*, i. p. 413.

² Ovid, *Met.* i. 445 *sqq.* :—

"Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos
Pythia perdomitae serpentis nomine dictos.
His iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusve rotave
Vicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem.
Nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.
Primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia. . . ."

times his arrows are said to be lightnings : thus Pausanias (iii. 1, 6) says that Aristodemus died by a lightning-stroke, whereas Apollodorus (ii. 173) explains his death as due to an arrow of Apollo, and so not by sunstroke, if the two traditions are the same. And that Apollodorus means us to understand that Apollo's arrow is the lightning, appears from another passage (i. 139) where

Ἀπόλλων . . . τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν.

Mr. A. B. Cook offers a further suggestion of Apollo's connection with the lightning, in the observation that "two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named Bronte and Sterope, thunder and lightning," and remarks acutely that "the Sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god".¹

He also points out a singularly apposite parallel in the Babylonian theology, with its close inter-relation of Shamash (the Sun-god) and Ramman (the Thunder-god) as Shamash-Ramman. "These two conceptions of storm-god and sun-god, which to our way of thinking seem diametrically opposed, are in point of fact by no means incompatible. 'In many mythologies, says Dr. Jastrow, the sun and the lightning are regarded as correlated forces. At all events, the frequent association of Shamash and Ramman cannot have been accidental.'"²

These very luminous comments show us the direction in which to look for the solution of our problem. It is the original Sky-god (= oak-god) that has shown the two faces, one bright and one dark. Dionysos stands to Apollo in the ratio of the dark sky to the bright. More exactly, they are both Sky-gods, but Dionysos belongs to the dark sky with traces of the bright sky. With Apollo it is the converse order. Each is a child of Zeus, but Dionysos is on the thunder-side of the house, Apollo on the sunshiny side. But as we have shown, they are not so very far apart ; Apollo does sometimes handle the thunder.³

¹ *Zeus*, i. 337.

² *Ibid.*, i. 578.

³ In replacing the Delphic laurel, as we shall presently do, by a previous cult-oak, we may have to replace the laurel-maiden by an oak-maiden. Is she Dryope? or is *Dryope* another name for the woodpecker? We are in the oak-area for certain. Probably *Dryope* is really an oak-maiden, and it is Dryops, her father, that is the woodpecker. Mr. Cook points out that after Dryope had visited the temple of Apollo, she was carried off by the Hamadryads, who caused a poplar to spring up in her place. Note

We can take a further step in the investigation. Each of the two gods is concerned in the production of fire, and their vegetable symbols show that each of them may be described as a fire-stick. We have already explained that the ivy became a fire-stick, because such fire-sticks are naturally made out of wood which has been recognised as containing the sacred fire, the lightning, and which are able under friction to give out again the fire which they have concealed. It is well known that our ancestors made fire by friction of oak-wood. For instance, as Frazer points out,¹ "perpetual fires, kindled with the wood of certain oak-trees, were kept up in honour of Perkunas; if such a fire went out it was lighted again by friction of the sacred wood". He goes on to observe that "men sacrificed to oak-trees for good crops, while women did the same for lime-trees; from which we may infer that they regarded oaks as male and lime-trees as female". The sex distinction in firewoods arose by natural analogy, the boring-stick being regarded as male, the other as female. That is, the lime-tree is the female conjugate of the oak in the making of sacred fire. The sex of the stick is not constant; it is defined by the relative hardness of two kinds of woods: ivy might be male, for example, to laurel; it might be female to oak.² It is not the case in the first definition that the ivy is male to the oak, because it clasps and rings the oak. As a matter of fact its embrace might be interpreted in quite the opposite sense. Shakespeare makes the ivy feminine in *Midsummer Night's Dream*:—

The female Ivy so
Enrings the barked fingers of the Elm.

(Act IV. sc. i.)

the suggestion of the poplar as a surrogate for the oak. I am inclined to suggest that the original name of Dryops was Dryopikos (the Oak-Picus), which was wrongly taken to be an adjective. We get a similar form in the *Epinal Glossary*, 648: fina = marsopicus (i.e. Picus Martius).

¹ *Magic Art*, ii. 366.

² The wood of the plane-tree, for instance, is male to the wood of the birch. Thus when the Russian peasants make the *givoty agon* or living fire, the proceeding is described as follows: "Some men hold the ends of a stick made of the plane-tree, very dry and about a fathom long. This stick they hold firmly over one of birch, perfectly dry, and rub with violence, and quickly, against the former; the birch, which is somewhat softer than the plane, in a short time inflames" (E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, p. 259).

But these sexual specifications are mere poetic imaginings ; primitive man was occupied with a more practical view of things ; he wanted to find out which woods made fire, and to construct for himself a scale of relative hardness of the sacred woods out of which fire could be made. If he used two pieces of the same wood, one piece was male and the other female. If he used oak and ivy, one kind of wood was male and the other female.

Now recall our observation that the laurel at Delphi was a surrogate for the oak. The natural suggestion is that at Delphi, the laurel as a fire-stick has replaced some earlier wood. It may have been that oak and oak have been replaced by oak and laurel : the laurel will be the softer wood and is female. Now we begin to see daylight on some mythological amours : there is the case of

	Dionysos and Caroea (Miss Nutt) :
and	Apollo and Daphne (Miss Laurel).

It is the fire-sticks that explain the mythology.

On this showing, Apollo would be some kind of wood : we have nearly shorn him of his sunbeams. We are to look for his origin in the vegetable world, just as we found Dionysos hiding away behind the ivy. In what direction shall we look ? Our first suggestion would be that we should look oak-wards ; for we have come to suspect that the oak, in the worship of Apollo, had anterior sanctity to the laurel. The analogy of the Dionysian cult suggests that we look for one of the parasites of the oak. Now the singular thing about the oak-cult is that the oak contains within itself the differentiation of the cult of the Sky, into bright sky and dark sky, to which we were just now alluding. The ivy is the symbol of the thunder, the mistletoe is the symbol of the sunshine : but even in the mistletoe there are suggestions of thunder and lightning, as, for instance, when Balder is killed by an arrow that is made from a piece of mistletoe. Shall we say, then, that Apollo, who is the bright sky with suggestions of thunder is the mistletoe ? There is something to be said for the solution, though perhaps the real answer is not quite so simple.

Mistletoe in Greek is ἰξός ; and its solar value is attested by the story of Ixion, the mistletoe-man, who goes round and round in Hades on a solar wheel. But Apollo himself is a mistletoe-man.

There was a town in the island of Rhodes called Ἰξίαι, and this town of Ixiai, or Mistletoe-town, worshipped Apollo under the title of Ἰξίος Ἀπόλλων, or the Mistletoe-Apollo. The parallel with the Ivy-Dionysos worshipped at Acharnai, is obvious. We shall make the suggestion, then, that Apollo is either the mistletoe, or something connected with mistletoe: only, as in the case of ivy, it should be the mistletoe *on the tree*, deriving its sanctity from the oak, in which the Sky dwells animistically as sunshine or as thunder.

Assuming, then, the connection of Apollo with the mistletoe we have to examine into the distribution of the mistletoe and the trees upon which it appears. We are told by Frazer (G.B. xi.) to distinguish between the *Viscum Album*, which seldom grows on oaks, but most commonly on apple-trees, or poplars, and the *Loranthus Europaeus*, which attacks chiefly oaks. Suppose we find the mistletoe growing freely on some other tree than the oak, say on a poplar or a pine, will it not be a natural conclusion that it has brought with it the sanctity of the oak, of which the parasite has become the carrier? And if we were right in detecting at Delphi an original Oak-Apollo, will it not follow that we may also expect to come across cases of a Poplar-Apollo, or of an Apollo of the apple-tree? Whichever kind of mistletoe is the original Golden Bough, it is clear that in England we chiefly know the mistletoe on the apple-tree, while in Brittany one is constantly reminded of its presence on the poplar. So we will make quest of the various forms in which Apollo may appear.

First of all we ask for traces of poplar sanctity and of association of the tree with Apollo. Here again we are indebted to the investigations of Mr. A. B. Cook, who, without making use of the mistletoe as a link, had detected a transfer of the Oak-Apollo to the Poplar-Apollo. He states his case as follows in the *European Sky-god* (p. 419):—

“We have seen him as an oak-god. It remains to see him as a poplar-god. A Roman coin of Alexandria Troas shows Apollo Σμινθεύς standing before a poplar-tree with a tripod in front of him. Another coin of Apollonia Illyria, struck by Caracalla, represents the statue of Apollo inside his temple, behind which appear

the tops of three poplar-trees.¹ Apollo, then, in several of the most primitive cults, was connected with the oak or poplar, the *αἰγειρος*, a word which meant 'oak' before it meant 'poplar'."

(He compares *aesculus* = *aeg-sculus*.)

Finally, Mr. Cook argues that the name Apollo in its primitive form *Apellon*, is to be explained by a gloss of Hesychius that ἀπελλόν· αἰγειρος ὃ ἐστὶ εἶδος δένδρου, i.e. Apellon, a *poplar*, a *kind of tree*. We shall return to this derivation later.

We have now shown that there is some reason for the belief in a vegetable-Apollo, connected with the oak, and its surrogates the poplar and the laurel. In the case of the laurel, the connection is probably through the fire-stick, in the case of the poplar through the mistletoe. Next let us ask whether there is any probability that the mistletoe carried its sanctity to the apple-tree. Is that also to be described as a vegetable-Apollo? Shall we look for an apple-Apollo as another form of the mistletoe-Apollo, and comparable with the Ivy Dionysos? From inscriptions found at Epidaurus, we actually recover what looks like an Apollo of the apple-tree in the form Apollo Μαλεάτης (from μαλέα, an apple-tree). Usener makes the parallel for us with Dionysos συκεάτης from συκέα, and δενδρίτης from δένδρον. The word can only mean a god of the apple-tree: that is, it is derived from μῆλον (Latin *malum*).² As, however, Maleates is thrown into the Asklepios-cult by its occurrence in Epidaurus, attempt has been made to derive it in a geographical sense, from Malea, supposed to be a centre of Asklepios worship. The name is, however, too widely diffused for this, or similar, location.

It turns up again, without the attached Apollo, in an inscription, τῶι Μαλεάται, from Selinus;³ and in the temple of Asklepios at Athens sacrifice was made first to Maleates and then to Apollo. Thus the three deities Apollo, Maleates, and Asklepios are again in connection with one another. Usener thinks that the two cults of Apollo and Maleates have been fused; they are almost united in the

¹ The identification of the numismatic trees is not quite certain.

² It cannot come from μῆλον a sheep, for this has no form μᾶλον corresponding to it in dialect.

³ The inscription is IGA. 57. Note also the term Μαλοφόρος (? for Demeter) in the temple of Apollo at Selinus (Roscher *Lex.*, ii. 2306).

Athenian ritual. It would be simpler to say that the Cult of Apollo the Healer has reached Athens on two different lines.¹

This is not the whole of the evidence : there are traces of an Apollo Μαλοεῖς, which must surely be related to Apollo Maleates ; in an inscription from Lesbos (IGl. ii. 484) we find as follows :—

τᾶς
τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος
Μαλ(οἶ)ντος ἀρχίχορον καὶ ἱε-
ροκάρυκα τῶν γερέων.

It seems then, natural to conclude that we have evidence to warrant us in a belief in an Apollo of the Apple-tree.²

With regard to the occurrence of both Apollo and Maleates at Athens, Farnell justly observes³ that “two sacrifices to the same divinity under different names are not infrequently prescribed in the same ritual code”. He thinks, however, that the objection made on the ground of quantity holds : “the verses of Isyllos have this value, if no other, that they prove that the first vowel in Μαλεάτης was short ; we must abandon . . . the supposition that the term could designate the ‘god of sheep’ or the ‘god of the apple-tree’”. So he looks for a geographical explanation either from Cape Malea at the South of Laconia, or an obscure place of the same name in Arcadia. The solution does not seem to me to be satisfactory : it does not explain the duplication of Apollo and Maleates, nor find ground for the diffusion of the title ; it leaves Apollo Maloeis still in obscurity, and loses sight of the parallel with Dionysos Sukeates. Probably some other explanation may be found of the short vowel in the Paean of Isyllos : the progression of the accent in Maleates might have something to do with it.

The actual passage in Isyllos is as follows :—

¹ The inscription is CIA. ii. 3, n. 1651. We should consult for the foregoing Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, pp. 87, 89 ff., and Preller-Robert, *Gk. Myth.* i. 252. The latter says the cult exists at Sparta as well as Epidaurus, and suggests a Thessalian origin. (?)

² The inscription will be found in Conze, *Tab. XVIII.* 1. Bechtel, *Dialektinschr.* n. 255. Hoffmann, n. 168. Gruppe objects to the apple-tree, apparently on the ground that the first *a* in Μαλεάτης is short. But *vide infra*.

³ *Cults*, iv. 237.

οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκῃ πειραθείης
 εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπίου, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἄγνου
 πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.

Isyllos himself derives the epithet Maleates from an eponymous *Mālos*, whose name he scans with a long *alpha* in the very same line in which *Μαλεάτα* is introduced, as follows :—

πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα
 βῶμον κτέ.

There is, therefore, no reason against our scanning the end of the line as

βωμοῦ θύσαις Μᾶλεᾶτα

with spondaic ending and synizesis of the vowels (compare the spondaic ending of the first of the lines quoted above).

There seems to be no reason for ruling out the form *Māleāτης* in the way that Gruppe and Farnell get rid of it. Moreover, there are other possible explanations, though perhaps none is so probable as the one which is given above.

We must not forget that we have definite proof that the apple-tree was sacred at Delphi to the god Apollo. That comes out from a passage in Lucian's *Anacharsis*¹ where Solon explains that the prizes in athletic contests are "At Olympia a wreath of wild olive, at the Isthmus one of pine, at Nemea of parsley, at *Pytho* some of the god's sacred apples". It will be difficult to ignore this bit of evidence; Farnell (p. 134) admits that "the laurel, the plane-tree, the tamarisk, *even the apple-tree*, are sacred to him," and that "some of his appellatives (!) are derived from them".

The statement of Lucian may be illustrated (as Mr. A. B. Cook suggests to me) from a Delphian coin which shows the apples on the victor's table. We shall refer presently to the silver dish from Corbridge on the Tyne, containing, perhaps, a variant version of the *Judgment of Paris*, with the scene laid at Delphi, and Apollo, on that supposition, in the place of Paris. In this representation, we have the apple depicted on the altar of the god. On one altar we have certainly the Delphic apple: on the other we either have two apples, with a flame between them, or as



PLATE II.—COIN
OF DELPHI.

¹ *Anacharsis*, 9.

Mr. A. B. Cook thinks, two fire-fenders evolved out of a pair of archaic ritual horns. One apple suffices me for the desired cult-symbol. As to the meaning of the silver dish from the North of England, we shall have more to say presently.

To Mr. Cook I am also indebted for a couple of valuable confirmations of the theory of a cult-relation between Apollo and the apple.

The first is from the coins of Eleutherna in Crete, which have on one side a nude Apollo standing, with a round object in his right hand and a bow in his left.¹ This round object is commonly taken to be a stone; but Mr. Cook is almost certain, from a copper coin of Eleutherna in his own possession, showing Apollo with an apple in his hand, that the round object referred to is an apple.²



PLATE III. —
COIN OF EL-
EUTHERNA IN
CRETE.

The next piece of evidence is more difficult to interpret. There was a famous sanctuary of Apollo, near Klazomenai, known as the Grynaean grove. The name was apparently derived from Gynos, an oak-stump, and is suggestive of the original connection of Apollo with the oak-tree. In this Grynaean grove was a tree bearing apples, which was the centre of a dispute between Mopsos and Colchas, who divined the number of apples on the tree. Note the connection of the sacred apple-tree with the sanctuary of Apollo.³

To the foregoing we may, perhaps, add the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells of the metamorphosis of the virgin Ktesulla into a white dove. This young lady was dancing at the Pythian festival by the altar of Apollo, and a certain Hermochares became enamoured of her, and sent a declaration of love inscribed on an apple. We see again the prominence given to the apple at Delphi, in the Pythian Festival, not only to the apple as the symbol of the god, but as a means of divination. Apparently what Hermochares did was to write on the apple the oracular statement that "You'll wed an Athenian named Hermochares"; then he opened negotiations with the young lady's father, being previously unknown to either. This custom of

¹ Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*. Macon, 1890, p. 138 f., pl. 12, 18 f.

² Cf. B.M. Cat. Crete, pl. 8, 12 f.

³ *Myth. Vat.* i. 194. Serv. in Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 72.

writing an oracle upon an apple for subsequent elucidation is well known to us from the *Judgment of Paris*, with its apple inscribed *To the Fair*. Divination by apples still survives in out-of-the-way corners. An old English custom is to peel an apple spirally, and throw the skin over your head without breaking it. The fate and shape of the projected apple-paring will tell your fortune in love, and reveal by its curves the name of your true lord or lady. Here it is in verse from the poet Gay :—¹

This mellow pippin which I pare around
My shepherd's name shall flourish on the ground.
I fling th' unbroken paring o'er my head,
Upon the grass a perfect L is read.

L stands for Lubberkin the desired shepherd.

My lady friends tell me they still practise this method of divination, which commonly results in an oracular S for their shepherd's name.

To the previous reasoning an objection may be made that the action of Hermochares in throwing the apple is nothing more than a conventional love-token. For example, here are cases of such love-apple throwing from the Greek Anthology :—

No. 78.

τῷ μῆλῳ βάλλω σε · σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἐκούσα φιλεῖς με,
δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος ·
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὃ μὴ γίγνοιτο νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα,
σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.

No. 79.

Μῆλον ἐγὼ · βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις · ἀλλ' ἐπίνευσον,
Ξανθίππη · κἀγὼ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

In each of these epigrams the apple is the love-token thrown by the man at the woman, with the warning that rejected love means fading beauty, the apple being in that case the symbol of decay which answers to the roses in the lines :—

Gather the roses while you may,
Old time is still a-flying, etc.

No doubt the custom of love-making by apple-throwing existed. At

¹ Gay, *The Shepherd's Week*. (The custom referred to is not confined to the British Isles; I have noted it in Norway and in Mesopotamia. It is a very old folk-custom.)

the same time, this does not quite meet the case of Hermochares and Ktesulla at the Pythian Festival. Here the apple is sacred as well as amatory, and we naturally expect an oracle. The custom for the gods to write decrees and oracles on fruit is not confined to Greek life. For example, in a painting on one of the rooms in the Memnonium, Rameses the second is seen seated under a persea-tree, on the fruits of which the supreme deity as Ra-Tum, the goddess of wisdom, and the sacred scribe (Thoth) are writing the name of the Pharaoh. Again, at Medinet Habou, Thothmes III is led before the tree of life by Hathor and Thoth, and on the fruits of the tree the god Amon-Ra is seen to be inscribing a sacred formula.¹

So here again we have the custom of writing oracles on fruits : and we infer that if the love-passage between Hermochares and Ktesulla had been a mere case of apple-throwing there would have been no reference to an inscription and no allusion to the Pythian Festival,² nor to the temple of Artemis into which the apple was thrown.

Here is another interesting confirmation of the connection between Apollo and the apple, and the diviner's art. In a Patmos scholion to a passage in Thucydides the object of which is to explain the title *Μαλόεις* as applied to Apollo, we are told that there was a young woman, a daughter of Teiresias, whose name was Manto ; when she was dancing one day, she lost a golden apple out of her necklace, and being sad over its loss she vowed that if she ever found it, she would establish a shrine in honour of Apollo ; this actually happened, and

¹ Joret, *Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, i. 262.

² For further reference with regard to apple-throwing see Gaidoz, *La requisition d'amour et le symbolisme de la pomme* (École pratique des sciences historiques et philologiques, 1902). B. O. Foster, *Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Antiquity*, x. 39 ff. For the foregoing and other references I am not a little indebted to Mr. A. B. Cook. Gaidoz shows that in the Irish story of Condla the Red, a fairy throws the hero an apple. He now goes without food or drink for a month, living only on the magic apple, which grows again as fast as it is eaten. See also Vergil, *Ecl.* 3, 64, for apple-throwing by the nymph Galatea :—

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

But this is from Theocritus.

Apollo was worshipped accordingly under the title of Apollo Maloeis. Note the recurrent features in the story : the young lady is a priestess of Apollo ; while her name (Manto) and her parentage (Teiresias) alike show that she is skilled in the art of the diviner. She is ornamented with a necklace of golden apples, to which it is natural to ascribe a religious significance ; they are symbolic of the ritual and of the god to whose service she is attached.¹

We may be asked parenthetically at this point, whether, in view of the use of the apple for purposes of divination, and the occurrence of the apple as a sacred symbol in the Cult of Apollo, we ought not to regard the famous *Judgment of Paris* as a modification of a previous *Judgment of Apollo*. The name by which Paris is commonly known in the *Iliad* is Alexandros, which need not be interpreted martially, as the Defender of other men, but is capable of bearing the meaning ἀλεξίκακος, which Macrobius says is given to Apollo, the Averter, i.e. of witchcrafts, poisons, etc.

Now it is not a little curious that we actually are said to have an artistic version of the apple-judgment in which Apollo takes the place of Paris, and makes the interpretation of the oracle inscribed on his own apple. The representation in question is upon a silver dish to which we have already referred, found at Corbridge near the Roman Wall in the year 1735. It will be found described by Professor Percy Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1915, Pt. I, pp. 66-75. It represents a scene at Delphi, with the three great goddesses of the judgment in the centre, flanked on the left by Artemis (who seems to occupy the position of Hermes) and on the right by Apollo, with his bow in one hand, and his lyre at his back. It is certainly surprising that the scene of the judgment should be laid at Delphi and not on Mt. Ida. Is it really a *Judgment of Paris*, as

¹ The passage is as follows (see *Rev. de Phil.* i. 185):—

Μάντω ἡ Τειρεσίου περὶ τοὺς τόπους χωρεύουσα
τούτους μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραιῶν ἀπώλεσεν·
εὗξατο οὖν, εἰ εὖροι, ἱερὸν ἰδρύσειν τῷ θεῷ.
εὐρούσα δὲ τὸ μῆλον τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ
Μαλοεῖς Ἀπόλλων ἐντεῦθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμᾶτο.

The same incident is referred to by Stephanos Byzantios, s.v. Μαλλόεις (sic), who took his information from the *Lesbika* of Hellanikos:—

Μαλλόεις· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ· καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μαλλόεις,
ἀπὸ τοῦ μῆλου τῆς Μαντούς, ὡς Ἑλλανικὸς ἐν Λεσβικῶν πρώτῳ.

has been suggested? Upon this Professor Gardner remarks as follows:—

“The difficulty will be raised that the scene of judgment is not Ida but Delphi, and Apollo takes the place of Paris as judge. Apollo is certainly at home in his chief shrine. The Altar at his feet and the griffin indicate Delphi, and the fountain Castalia is symbolized by the vase to the left, where a rocky ground is clearly indicated. . . . It seems paradoxical to cite as a representation of the *Judgment of Paris* a scene where Paris does not appear . . . and where Delphi and not Ida is set forth as the place of the event. But we are justified in doing this because we have proof in several of the vases of Italian origin, that in one of the versions of the myth current in Hellenistic times Paris was thus superseded by Apollo.

“We have first a vase at Vienna of the fourth century B.C. on which, though Paris is present, the scene is shown to be Delphi, by the presence of Apollo leaning against his laurel, and a tripod. Later Paris disappears, as on an Apulian vase, where we have the three goddesses and Hermes, but no Paris, at Delphi, which is indicated by the sacred omphalos, and on either side of the omphalos we have figures of Zeus and Apollo. Apollo is seated as one at home, and Zeus is addressing him, evidently referring to him the point in dispute. . . . On another Italian vase, where the scene is still Delphi, as is shown by the presence of the omphalos, Zeus and not Apollo is seated on a throne as arbiter.”

Professor Gardner suggests that these monuments do represent an actual shifting of the tradition which he takes to be a shifting from Paris, who actually judges, to Apollo who ought to judge. At all events, it is clear that the Corbridge dish is not to be treated as containing a representation belonging to a silversmith of the third century A.D.,¹ but as containing a tradition of a much earlier period. And the question arises whether, if the theme has rightly been identified, the real shifting of the tradition is not in the opposite direction to that assumed by Professor Gardner, in view of the fact which we have brought to light that the apple which, with its oracle, is the real centre of the tradition, belongs to Apollo and should naturally be

¹ “It clearly is the work,” says Professor Gardner, “not of an inventive artist but of a long-established and well-trained school. In its fabric we can see the results of many generations of trained artificers.”

subject to his interpretation. The objection to this will be the well-attested antiquity of the Paris tradition. It is a very strong objection, but not a vital one, in view of the known persistence of folk-lore variants side by side with the canonical forms of the legend.

There is, however, a further possibility which may have to be reckoned with. Paris himself may be a duplicate Apollo who has either lost celestial rank or never quite attained to it, some primitive herb or herbalist, an *ἀλεξιφάρμακος*, of the Apolline order, just as Helen, whom he espouses, is suspect of being an original vegetable-deity. This would require that Paris also had an original apple-tree, on which oracles could be written. The problem is not yet capable of evaluation. I incline to believe that the solution lies in a displacement of Apollo (perhaps in his shepherd life) by the shepherd of Mt. Ida. To hold this opinion, it is not necessary to accept Professor Gardner's identification of the scene depicted on the Corbridge dish. That might be merely a group of Delphic deities, with associated cult-symbols, and need not have any historical or quasi-historical meaning.

If we have found our apple-god, we must not leave the consideration of this part of the subject without venturing at least a suggestion as to the reason for finding the apple-god in the neighbourhood of Asklepios. It may have arisen from the simple fact that, to the ancients, mistletoe and ivy both had medical value. The mistletoe, in particular, was almost a panacea; and ivy retained its medical value nearly to our own times, as we have seen above from Gerard's *Herball*. This is not in the least affected by the fact that both plants are medically worthless! If one wants to see the value of mistletoe, let him visit the Ainu of Japan, and ask what they think of it. Here is a reference from Mr. Batchelor's book, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore* (p. 222):—

"The Ainu, like many nations of Northern origin, hold the mistletoe in peculiar veneration. They look upon it as a medicine, *good in almost every disease*, and it is sometimes taken in food and at others separately as a decoction. . . . The mistletoe which grows upon the willow is supposed to have the greatest efficacy. This is because the willow is looked upon by them as being a specially sacred tree."

That is a very good specimen of how primitive medicine is

evolved. Perhaps Apollo owes his healing art to his connection with the mistletoe ! For it is not only in far distant Saghalién or Japan that the mistletoe is regarded as a panacea. Pliny (H.N. 16, 44, 95) reports that the Druids called it in their language *omnia sanantem*: which, according to Grimm is the Welsh *olhiach* or *all-heal*.¹ Thus East and West, which are supposed never to meet, are united in their medical judgment.

The way to test this statement of the medical value of the mistletoe is to consult the early medical writers, and the best way to approach them is through the early Herbals, of which we have already given a striking example in the use of ivy and of ground-ivy. It must be remembered that the medicine of which we speak is coloured on the one hand by astrological influences (each herb having its own planet), and on the other by the doctrine of sympathies.

Suppose, then, we turn to Culpepper's Herbal, and see what he says about mistletoe :—²

"(*Mistletoe*) *Government and Virtues*. This is under the dominion of the Sun, I do not question ; and can also take for granted that which grows upon oaks participates something of the nature of Jupiter, because an oak is one of his trees ; as also that which grows upon pear-trees and apple-trees participates something of his nature, because he rules the tree that it grows upon, having no root of its own. But why that should have most virtues that grows upon oaks I know not, unless because it is rarest and hardest to come by. . . . Clusius affirms that which grows upon pear-trees to be as prevalent, and gives order that it should not touch the ground after it is gathered ; and also saith that, being hanged about the neck, it remedies witchcraft."

How redolent of antiquity this bit of folk-medicine is ! The mistletoe shows its solar virtue ; its connection with the sky-god through the oak in which the sky-god dwells ; and its transfer of its sanctity from the oak-tree to the apple, and it has, beside specific curative powers, the function of averting evil, in the comprehensive terms of witchcraft. Moreover, in a secondary sense, the sky-god

¹ The matter is discussed at length in Frazer, G.B. xi. 77 *sqq.*

² I quote from the edition of 1815 (p. 116), the first edition is, I believe, 1653. It follows Gerard and other Herbalists, but has many observations and bits of traditions of its own, some of them evidently of great antiquity.

and his power, resides in apple-tree and in pear-tree ; and Culpepper (or Clusius whom he quotes) might almost be a Druid in his care for the gathering of his medicine and his prohibition against its falling on the ground. It is just such a passage as the one we have quoted that brings out the parallelism between the mistletoe and the god Apollo, and helps us to see the latter as a projection from the former and from the tree on which it grows.

Those persons who tried to explain Apollo as the Averter were certainly right in fact, whatever they might have been in philology, for it is an exact description of the functions of the mistletoe, as well as the primitive belief of the early worshippers of the god in Grecian lands : and we see again that the plant is the real healer and the god its reflection.

It is very interesting to watch how medicine has evolved from the stage of the herbalist with his all-heal or panacea to that of the scientific man with his highly differentiated remedies. The progress of medicine has been phenomenally slow. In the eighteenth century it was still necessary in England to warn the domestic practitioner that the same herb would not cure all diseases or even the greater part of them. Here is an interesting passage from a medical herbalist, John Hill, M.D., a member of the Imperial Academy, who writes in the year 1770 on the *Virtues of British Herbs*, with an account of the diseases that they will cure.

P. viii : "This knowledge is not to be sought for in the old Herbals ; they contain but a small part of it : and what they hold is locked up in obscurity. They are excessive in their praises ; and in saying too much they say nothing. *All virtues are, in a manner, attributed to all Plants*, and 'tis the skill alone of a Physician that can separate in those that have any, which is the true. Turn to the Herbals of Gerard, Parkinson, or the more antient Turner, and you shall find in many instances, virtues of the most exalted kind related to Herbs, which, if you were to eat daily as sallads, would cause no alteration in the body." If we may judge from early Greek or modern Ainu medicine, the mistletoe should come under the historical judgment which Dr. Hill enunciates.

Now let us turn to the region of philology and see if we can find out the meaning of the name Apollo.

According to Gruppe, Apollon is Ionic, but the Greek dialects

show that there was originally an E in the place of O. Thus, we have, following Plato, the form Ἀπλοῦν in Thessaly; and we find Ἀπειλων (which is clearly for Ἀπελῶν) in Cyprus; Ἀπέλλων is reported for Dreros and Knossos. The earlier form is commonly held to be involved in the name of the Macedonian Month Ἀπελλαῖος. The Oscan form is *Appellun* (Usener, *Götternamen*, 308), and the Etruscan is *Aplu*, *Aplun*, or *Apulu*.¹ We need not spend time over the Greek attempts to explain a word of which they had lost the meaning. No one would now propose a derivation from ἀπολύω or ἀπόλλυμι, or ἀπελαύνω. The only ancient derivation which finds any favour to-day is Macrobius' explanation: ² "ut Apollinem apellentem intellegas, quem Athenienses ἀλεξίκακον appellant". This explanation of Apollo as the *Averter*, from a lost Greek stem corresponding to the Latin *pello* is, I believe, the one that finds most favour to-day.

But why should we not affirm a simpler solution, if we are to go outside the covers of the Greek lexicon? The Greeks, and in part the Latins, had no primitive word for apple: *malum* and *pomus* are philologically afterthoughts. What hinders our saying that *Apellon* is simply *apple*? We should, then, understand at a glance the title *Apollo Maleates*, and the curious duplication of Apollo and Maleates in the Asklepios cult in Athens.

The professional etymologists do not know anything about the origin of our word *apple*. Skeat, in his *Etym. Dict.*, gives us the following:—

- " M.E. *appel*, *appil*.
- A.S. *aepl*, *æppel*.
- O. Fries. } *appel*.
- Du. }
- Icel. *epli*.
- Swed. *äple*, *äpple*.
- Dan. *æble*.
- OHG. *aphol*, *aphul*.
- G. *apfel*.
- Irish. *abhal*.

¹ See Corssen, *Sprache der Etrusker*, i. 820.
Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 17, 14 ff.

Gael. *ubhal*.

Welsh. *afal*.

Bret. *aval*.

cf. also

Russ. *jabloko*.

Lith. *obolys*, etc."

and then remarks, "origin unknown : some connect it with Abella in Campania : cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 740. This is not satisfactory." Thus Skeat : but perhaps without doing justice to the Vergilian reference ; when Vergil speaks of *maliferæ moenia Abellæ*, we need not derive apple from Abella, but it is quite conceivable that the city may be derived philologically from its fruit. We will return to this point presently.

My suggestion, then, is that the name Apollo (Apellon) came from the North, the region of the Hyperboreans to which tradition refers the god ; and that it is the exact equivalent of the apple-tree. We are dealing with a borrowed cult, and with a loan-word. If this can be maintained without violence to philological considerations, it will harmonise exactly with the parallel case of Dionysos, and with the investigations which have led us to the hypothesis of an apple-tree god. It will explain what has sometimes caused perplexity, the want of any parallel to Apollo in the Northern religions. He is really there both as sacred apple-tree and as mistletoe, but is not personified, unless he should turn out to be Balder.

It may, perhaps, be asked whether the interpretation suggested will not require one or two other re-interpretations. For example, the month Apellæus in the Macedonian calendar is commonly interpreted as Apollo's month, on the analogy of Dios as the month of Zeus. There is, however, a possibility that it may mean apple-month, just as Lenæon means vintage-month. I have not, however, as yet succeeded in finding an ancient calendar with an apple-month in it.¹ The actual position of the month Apellæus in the Macedonian calendar is also not quite clear. It may be September or October, but it may be later. At Delphi it appears to be the first month of the year and has been equated with June.

¹ There is an apple-month in Byzantium, by the name *Μαλοφόριος* equated with the Attic-month Pyanepsion, i.e. September or October. See Bischoff, *De fastis Gr. antiq.*, 374.

Another question that may be asked relates to that part of Italy, on the Adriatic side, which goes by the name of Apulia. It is generally held that this is a name given to the country by Greek colonists, who named it after their god. The form is very near to the Etruscan spelling (Aplu, Apulun), but we should have expected something more like Apollonia if the god were meant. There is, moreover, a question whether it may not have been named apple-land, much in the same way as the Norse navigators gave the name of Vinland to the part of the American coast which they discovered, perhaps at a time when the wild grapes were ripe. There is another very interesting parallel that may be adduced in this connection. When King Arthur died, he was carried away to the islands of the blessed, to the island of Avalon or Avilion : the name is Celtic, very nearly the Breton form for apple.¹ And it was an apple-country to which Arthur was carried, a fact which Tennyson has versified for us :—

The island valley of Avilion,
Where falls not rain, or hail or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly, but it lies
Deep-meadowed, happy, *fair with orchard-lawns.*

It is, then, quite possible that the name Apulia was given by Greek settlers, not from religious motives, but in harmony with their first observations of the products of the country. Here, however, as in the case of the month Apellaeus, we are at present in the region of unsupported conjecture.

We have inferred that Apollo is a loan-word in Greek derived from a Northern name for the apple.

Now let us return to the point which came up in regard to the suggested derivation of apple from *Abella* in Campania. Our contention is that the derivation is in the reverse order, and that *Abella* is an apple-town, just as, for example, Appledore in N. Devon. The difficulty in the former supposition is that all the sound-changes in the various words for *apple* from Lithuania to Ireland are perfectly regular ; so that we should have to assume that the form *Abal* was borrowed by the Celts in one of their early Italian invasions and transferred to the Northern nations, before the characteristic sound-changes had been produced. It seems much easier to suggest that

¹ See Friend, *Flowers and Flower-lore*, i. 199.

the motion has been in the opposite direction, and that the Celts brought the word into Italy, instead of discovering the fruit there, and naming it after the place where they found it. In which connection we note that Vergil, who has spoken of the "walls of apple-bearing Abella," goes on to speak of the un-Italian martial habits of the people of Abella, who follow the warriors of the North in their military customs :—

Et quos maliferae despectant moenia Abellae,
Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias.

Aen. vii. 740, l.

The original settlers of Abella may conceivably have been Celts. O. Schrader puts the case as follows for the borrowing of the fruit by the Celts :—

"As the names of most of our fruit trees come from the Latin : cherry (*cerasus*), fig (*figus*), pear (*pirus*), mulberry (*morus*), plum (*prunus*), etc.—I would rather assume that the names of the apple . . . are to be derived from Italy, from a town of fruitful Campania, celebrated for the cultivation of fruit-trees, *Abella*, modern *Avella Vecchia*. Here the cultivation of another fruit, the nut, was so important that *abellana* sc. *nux* = *nux*. In the same way the Irish *aball* . . . may have come from *malum abellanium* as the German *apfirsich* comes from *malum persicum*. . . .

"Attractive, however, as this derivation is, as regards the facts, I do not disguise from myself that phonetically the regularity with which Ir. *b* (*aball*), Dutch *p* (Eng. *apple*), H.G. *pf* (*apfel*), Lith. *b* (*óbulas*) correspond to each other, is disturbing in a set of loan-words. In Teutonic, especially, there seem to be no Latin loan-words which have been subjected to the First Sound-shifting. I assume, accordingly, that the Celts, as early as their inroad into Italy, took into their language a word corresponding to the Irish *aball*, which spread to the Teutons before the First Sound-shifting, and thence to the other Northern members of the Indo-Germanic family" (*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, trans. by F. B. Jevons. Lond. 1890, p. 276).

Some years later Schrader went further with the inquiry, and admitted that "it was possible that, after all, *Abella* might be originally related to the North European names for the apple, and that the place might be named after the fruit and not the fruit

after the place"¹ (*Real-Lexikon der indogermanischen Altertums*. Strassburg, 1901, 43).

It would seem to be involved in the preceding argument that the fundamental characteristic of the Cult of Apollo is to be sought in the region of medicine ; to put it in the language of mythology, that he was Paian before he was Apollo. Assuming that Paian or Paion is the proper term to be applied to a god of healing, as to Zeus, Asklepios, Apollo, or Dionysos, we have to look for the origin of the Healer in the plant that heals. Zeus and Asklepios will be healers through the links that bind them to the oak and the magic mistletoe : Dionysos will become medical because he is ivy, and ivy has great prominence in primitive medicine, for reasons which we have explained. The case of Apollo considered as a healer who personifies a healing plant, may be a little more complex ; we have shown how he is connected with the mistletoe and the apple-tree ; and also with the laurel ; there are suspicions, however, that he may be also connected with the peony, or Paian-flower, of which folk-medicine has so much to say. Then there is the curious tradition that, in the country of the Hyperboreans, there was a sacred garden dedicated to Apollo, and a worship of the god the priesthood of which cult was in the hands of the family of Boreads. Was this garden merely an apple-orchard with mistletoe growing on the trees, or may it not be possible that the peony and other sacred plants with solar virtues may have been tended within its enclosures ?

Our knowledge of this garden comes from a fragment of Sophocles (probably from the tragedy of Oreithyia), in which the poet speaks of the capture of the maiden Oreithyia by the god of the North Wind, who carries her away to the farthest bourne of earth and heaven, *to the ancient garden of Apollo*. Strabo, who is discussing the geographical distribution of the Goths and Germans, turns aside to speak contemptuously of those who mythologize about the Land at the Back of the North Wind, and the deeds that are done there, such as the capture of Oreithyia by Boreas. The lines of Sophocles

¹ Precisely the same conclusion is reached, but with a more positive statement, by Hoops in *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen in germanischen Alterthum* (Strassburg, 1905, p. 477 ff.). Feist, on the other hand, thinks the question must be left undecided (*Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*. Berlin, 1913, p. 190).

which he quotes are, however, of the first value to us. They show that Apollo was a Hyperborean god ; and that his sanctuary was in a garden. This was the kind of god that came in with one of the great migrations from the North. He brought his vegetable counterparts with him ; certainly the sacred apple came South, as we have shown from the worship of Delphi, and perhaps some other sacred plants. In this far Northern land, in some Island of the Blest, the deity was under the priestly care of the Boread family ;¹ perhaps in the first instance the cult was presided over by priestesses, Snow-maidens, of whom the White maidens of Delos may be taken as the representatives. Their male counterparts are the Sons of Boreas. If we have rightly divined the meaning of the White maidens of the North, Hyperoche and Laodike, who were the primitive Delian saints, we must allow that the heroes Hyperochos and Laodikos, whose shrines are in the sacred enclosure at Delphi, are a pair of Boreads, who, further North and in earlier days, would have been the priests of the sanctuary. The actual passage of Strabo, with the fragment of Sophocles, to which we have been referring is as follows :

Strabo, vii. p. 295. Nauck, *Fragg. Trag. Gr.* ed. 2, p. 333: οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινα Σοφοκλῆς τραγωδεῖ περὶ τῆς Ὀρειθυίας, λέγων ὡς ἀναρπαγεῖσα ὑπὸ Βορέου κομισθεῖη

ὑπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός
νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχάς,
Φοίβου παλαιὸν κῆπον,

οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὸ νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἐατέον.

For κῆπον in the third line some editors propose to emend σηκόν, because, as Miss Harrison says, they did not understand it ! Certainly the garden must stand, and it is the sacred garden of old-time, in the land of the Hyperboreans, to which ancient garden a modern garden at Delphi must have corresponded.

We may confirm our previous observation that the "garden of Apollo" was a real garden and probably a medical garden in the following way :—

We learn from Aristides Rhetor that the goddess Hygieia, who is commonly looked upon as a feminine counterpart of Asklepios, but

¹ Diodore, 2, 47, μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ [τῇ νήσῳ] τὴν Λητὴν γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶται κτέ.

who is in reality an independent young lady who lives next door to him and manages her own affairs, had such a medical garden as we have been speaking of. *To these gardens the sons of Asklepios were taken to be reared after their birth.* Nothing could be clearer, they were medical gardens. The first doctors must have been herbalists. This striking instance confirms us in our previous statements about the garden of Apollo.¹ We see also the importance of folk-medicine in theology. The history of one overlaps the history of the other.

There are also traces of sacred gardens belonging to Artemis, and to Hecate (who is in some points of view almost the feminine counterpart of Apollo and a double of Artemis). For the former we may refer to the garlands which Hippolytus gathers for the goddess from a garden into which none but the initiate may enter (Eur. *Hipp.* 73 *sqq.*): for the latter (a real witch's garden full of magic plants), we have the description and botanical summary in the Orphic *Argonautika*, 918 *sqq.*

In the Corbridge dish, to which we were alluding just now, the foreground is occupied by "a meadow in which plants grow". According to Percy Gardner, this meadow with its associated plants and animals is conventional. The objection to this is that the fount of Castaly is not conventional ornament; the animals represented are not conventional; the stag and the dog belong to the huntress Artemis, the griffin belongs to Apollo. If, then, the animals are cult figures, what of the plants? One of them appears to be a figure of a pair of mistletoe leaves, with the berries at the junction of the leaves;² the other is, perhaps, the peony. I should, therefore, suggest that the meadow in question is the medical garden of Apollo.

In conclusion of this brief study, it may be pointed out that we have emphasised strongly the Hyperborean origin of Apollo and his cult. There have been, from time to time, attempts to find the home of the god in more Southern regions, and with the aid of Semitic philology. The most seductive of such theories was one for which, I believe, Professor Hommel was responsible, that Apollo was a

¹ For the reference, see Aristides, vii. 1, ed. Dindorf, p. 73: *ομγενέ-
νους δὲ αὐτοὺς τρέφει ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Τυγείας κήποις.*

² We should have expected a slip of bay-tree, but the bay-tree leaves do not come off from the stalk in pairs, as the mistletoe leaves do.

Greek equivalent of Jabal or Jubal in the Book of Genesis : and the linguistic parallel between the names was certainly reinforced by the existence of Jubal's lyre, and by the occurrence of a sister in the tradition of the triad in Genesis. That such transfers are possible appears to be made out from the case of Palaimon, who is a Corinthian modification of Baal-yam, the Lord of the Sea. We are, however, satisfied as to the Northern origin of Apollo, just as we are satisfied, until very convincing considerations to the contrary are produced, of the Thracian origin of Dionysos. The argument of the previous pages proceeds from the known overlapping and similarity of the cults of the two deities in question. Neither can be detached from the Sky-father, nor from the oak and its surrogates. Each appears to be connected with the production of fire by means of fire-sticks ; in some respects this is the greatest of all human discoveries, and its history deserves a newer and more complete treatment. The connection of Apollo and Dionysos with the parasitic growths of the Sky-tree appears to be made out : and the parallelism between an Ivy-Dionysos and a Mistletoe-Apollo has been exhibited, with support from inscriptions. A new field has been opened out in the connection between early medicine and early religion, and it has been suggested that Apollo's reputation as a Healer, and Averter, may have a simple vegetable origin. A similar medical divinisation occurs in the case of the goddess Panakeia, the daughter of Asklepios ; her name is a simple translation of a vegetable " all-heal ".

Nothing further has been brought out as to the meaning of the associated Cult of Apollo's twin sister Artemis, beyond the suggestions which have already been made on the side of Twin Cult in my book *Boanerges*. There is evidently much more research needed into the origin and functions of the Great Huntress. Our next essay will, therefore, deal with the origin of the Cult of Artemis ; we shall approach it from the side of the related Cult of Apollo, and bring forward, incidentally, some further and perhaps final proofs of the correctness of our identification of Apollo with the Apple-tree.