

THE ROMAN APOLLO AND KINDRED DEITIES.

by

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Prefatory Note.

The usual abbreviations have been employed in this thesis for the names of classical authors and their works, and in addition the following have been adopted in the case of the various works to which frequent reference is made:-

Wissowa, R.u.K.	Religion und Kultus der Römer. G. Wissowa.
Pauly-Wissowa.	Realencyclopädie des klassischen Altertums. Pauly, Rev. G. Wissowa.
Hastings' E.R.E.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. J. Hastings.
Dessau.	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.
Cagnat.	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes. R. Cagnat. Paris 1911.
Pliny N.H.	Naturalise ^s Historia. Caius Plinius Secundus.

Details of all modern works to which reference has been made in the text are included in the Book List at the end.

As it has been necessary to mention the Quindecimviri frequently, the form XVviri has sometimes been used for convenience. Also, where "Books" appears as a proper noun it refers to the Sibylline Books.

In the spelling of proper names I have endeavoured, where they are in common use, to employ the form which seems most familiar in English. Greek names have in most cases been transliterated. Where Greek and Latin forms of the same name differ, the Greek form has only been used when referring to the Greek conception.

In most of the cases where classical texts are

quoted in these chapters no variation of reading is involved, and the edition used has not therefore been named. Wherever possible, Oxford, Teubner or Loeb editions have been consulted. Where differences of reading might affect the argument the edition has been indicated.

Where the source of translations from classical works is not given they are my own. Every effort has been made to obtain the latest editions of both texts and translations, but under war conditions this has not always been possible. For the same reason it has been difficult to obtain all the relevant works of modern criticism, especially German and Italian publications.

Joan M. Frayn.

CHAPTER 1.Introduction.

It is proposed in this thesis to review the Roman cult of Apollo as a factor in the cultural development of the nation, and to see it constantly in relation to the whole of the civilisation which had its centre in Rome during the period from the legendary foundation of the city to the final ascendancy of Christianity over paganism. In so doing, we shall necessarily be required to discuss some of the cults associated with Apollo in Roman or Greek religion. These include the cults of Aesculapius, Veiovis and Sol. A preliminary discussion of the origin of the Apolline cult in Rome and a review of the sources for its history will suggest the various national cultures from which it sprang, and among them two, the Etruscan and the Greek, whose interplay can be discerned throughout. The examination of the former strain will lead us to discuss briefly such varied subjects as magic and divination, drama and funeral rites, and of the latter, medicine, philosophy and social reform. Both combine to produce the Sibylline Books and the Roman attitude to prophecy.

In these chapters the words "Apolline religion" may sometimes be used in preference to the more usual but

limited terms such as "the cult of Apollo". This is due to the fact that there are a number of religious and philosophical ideas associated with the belief in and worship of Apollo as a deity which, nevertheless, did not form part of the official cult either in Rome or Greece.

The breadth of our subject and its intricate connection with so many branches of Greek and Roman culture has led to the introduction of matters which may at first appear somewhat irrelevant. It is hoped, however, that their bearing upon the history of the cult of Apollo at Rome has been made clear in the course of our discussion. In particular, a chapter has been devoted to an examination of the cult of Aesculapius and of the relation between sacred and secular medicine in Greece and Rome. It was felt that the omission of some treatment of such fundamental issues would raise more difficulties than it would avoid.

On the other hand, some points which have in the past aroused much interest and controversy have not been exhaustively discussed here. For example, the possibility of an earlier precinct sacred to Apollo in Rome, before the vowing of the temple to that deity, has not been discussed in great detail, because it would only prove that Apollo was known in some form before the official introduction, and we hope to offer other evidence concerning

earlier periods for this. If such Apolline precincts did exist, they reinforce this argument, but the conclusion does not depend upon their existence or upon their situation. Such points as these cannot be much further elucidated in the absence of more definite epigraphical or literary evidence. Owing to this limitation it has been our aim to take, wherever possible, a broad view of the cult itself and the religious and cultural ideas associated with it, rather than to lavish attention upon such details as, it is felt, cannot at present be anything but ambiguous.

There have been very few full accounts of the cult of Apollo upon which to draw, and it is for that reason that so much reference has been made to the works of F. Altheim. Though Altheim has not treated this cult separately, he has discussed extensively the relation between Greek and Roman religion and the development of Greek cults in Rome.

Our aim throughout is rather to grasp the spirit of the religion than to observe merely its outward manifestations. Like the poet Martial, in the words quoted above, we would seek the growth of these religious

expedients in the mind of those who employed them, and, in turn, their influence upon the development of that mentality. In this connection we are obliged to view all religious conceptions which exerted real influence for any length of time as subject to constant adaptation, and in fact to regard religion as one side of the continuous process by which a national culture is evolved. This national culture in itself we see, finally, as playing its part in the evolution of wider cultural units exhibiting traces of a more comprehensive pattern.

CHAPTER II.

yet officially adopted. This is in any case a situation
The Establishment of the Cult of Apollo in Rome:
Sources and Tradition.

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize existing interpretations of the history of the Roman cult of Apollo and the sources from which they are derived. This will form a basis for the discussion of the cult from different points of view in later chapters. Some of the main problems, especially with regard to the date of the establishment of the cult, will also be raised here.

First, it is important to note that a distinction is to be made between the official inauguration of the worship of a deity by building a temple or establishing an annual festival, and the knowledge and even worship of that same deity unofficially. The influence of a cult could be discerned, and worship and observances instituted, before the cult became part of the state religion. This was the case at a later period, for example, with the cult of the Great Mother. It might even be possible to maintain that such was the condition of its being accepted as part of the national religion. Roman religion, owing to the high degree of organisation which it attained, is often discussed as if the Romans were quite ignorant of deities whom they had not

Serv. Ann., II, 72; Coll., I, 19; Pliny, N.H. III. Only yet officially adopted. This is in any case a situation hardly to be expected among polytheists. We may surely assume that the Romans were just as familiar with the deities and prophets of their neighbours as, for example, we are familiar with newspapers to which we do not ourselves subscribe. It is only when in some particular situation, or over a long period, we become dissatisfied with our own resource that we adopt another. Moreover, both in this case and in Roman religion, the breadth of knowledge varies with the cultural standard of the individual.

The date assigned to the official recognition of the cult of Apollo at Rome is 433 B.C., which is derived from Livy's reference (IV, 25) to the vowing of a temple to Apollo and to the dedication of it two years later (IV, 29). We know also of a precinct sacred to Apollo before this (447 B.C., Livy III, 63) but have no details of the religious ideas associated with it. There were also the Sibylline Books, the first recorded consultation of which was in 496 B.C. (Dion. Hal. VI, 17, 3). Their arrival is assigned by the following authorities to the reign of Tarquinius Superbus:- Varro, Antiq. IV; Dion. Hal., IV, 62;

Serv. Aen., VI, 72; Gell., I, 19; Pliny, N.H. XIII. Only one late author assigns it to the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.¹

These, then are our earliest fixed dates for Apolline religion at Rome, but as may be seen from the diagram (p.23) other information has to be considered. There is now a tendency among scholars to suggest and accept earlier dates for all Greek influence at Rome, and in the sphere of religion this has been particularly noticeable in the work of F. Altheim (especially, History of Roman Religion, pp. 30f., 249, et passim). Altheim would date the introduction of the Homeric deities into Rome from approximately the second half of the sixth century. With this statement, however, we approach the question of the form in which these deities came, and must consider whether this was the time of their official introduction.

Until recent years, modern accounts of Roman religion have been mainly concerned in the early period with the animistic cults which developed to a large extent within the Italian peninsula itself, and are in some cases recorded in Roman literature and the Roman calendar. The study of Virgil has contributed a great deal to the interest in this

1.

Lactantius. cf. Solinus and Joann. Lyd. as cited by Alexandre, p. 152-3.

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type of religion. That the inhabitants of Latium passed through such a primitive stage in their religious experience is indubitable. That the lower or less progressive elements of the population never advanced far beyond this level may also be admitted. Further, such a religious outlook had and always will have its attractions and its permanent influence. The feeling which inspires, for example, Ovid's "Numen inest" is of universal validity, and any religion would be the weaker for the lack of it.

But the context of many, if not most, of these beliefs is in the countryside and the life of the peasant-farmer. There, no doubt as long as that life lasted, the power of this religion was maintained. Further, those "numina" or deities whose functions were not too closely associated with the countryside were likely to have real meaning for the inhabitants of Rome itself and other town communities. For example, the cult of the Lares and Penates exercised considerable influence upon Romans of all classes and of every environment. Again, the ceremonies held in the city, sometimes in honour of sanctities whose meaning had largely passed away, would also interest the city population, in proportion to the attractions of the rites themselves. This may indeed be said to have been a very

important feature of Roman religious development.

But the Romans whom we know and study were mainly of the upper classes, as we have only the most slender evidence for the thoughts or feelings of the rest. It is therefore well to guard against attributing to these people a type of religion which, where it survived, had genuine attraction for and permanent influence upon a different section of the population. This is not to deny that such primitive religious ideas formed the heritage of the cultured Romans whom we know, and may have helped to determine their mental and spiritual outlook.

Altheim (Griechische Götter im alten Rom) has endeavoured to connect the earliest Roman worship of Diana, Mercury and Vulcan ultimately with Greek sources. This is, first, to suggest that all the deities mentioned in the earliest extant Roman calendar were not purely Roman or Latin in origin. So much had already been admitted elsewhere, in works mentioned by Altheim himself (e.g. H.J. Rose, Roman Questions of Plutarch, 72f., and Wissowa, R.u.K., 31, note 2). It also means that Etruscan religion is admitted to have had a strong Greek element at least as early as the Etruscan regime at Rome. Much of Altheim's

proof depends upon complicated and detailed evidence, the importance of which it is difficult to estimate accurately, but we may agree with the opinion expressed upon this subject by Professor Bailey (Religion in Virgil, p. 3, note 1) "It is possible, as H. Altheim (Griechische Götter im alten Rom) has recently endeavoured to show, that the period of Greek influence must be placed earlier than has usually been supposed. The perusal of his work leaves me suspicious of his ingenious trains of argument, though with the sense that his general conclusions may be sound."

Bearing in mind, therefore, the possibility of earlier Greek influence in Rome, we may now discuss the other facts recorded in the diagram. We have first indicated the two main sources of Greek influence upon Italy, namely the Greek mainland and islands, and the Greeks of Asia Minor, whose traditions might also to some extent be spread by the Phoenicians. These cultural influences no doubt met and crossed far more often than may be recorded in a diagram. Within the Greek mainland and the islands there are three main areas whose cultural influence can be traced in Italy: the Peloponnese, Northern Greece, and the Aegean. The cities of the Peloponnese through their colonies in Magna

Graecia and Sicily must have exercised considerable influence upon South Italy in religious as well as secular matters. It has usually been assumed that this did not affect Rome or Latium until the time of the Punic Wars, or at the earliest of the wars against Pyrrhus. We shall give reasons below (Chapter V) for suggesting that contact between Magna Graecia and Rome began at an earlier period.

Two aspects of this question, however, may be mentioned here. If F. Altheim is to any degree correct in deriving the cult of Diana of Aricia from the cult of Artemis at Rhegium, this involves the admission of Greek influence in the earliest stratum of Latin religion of which we have detailed evidence. It is, moreover, in the cult of Apollo's consort, who, in fact, appeared as such at the lectisternia in 399 and 217 (according to Livy V, 13, 6 and XXII, 10, 9). Altheim goes so far as to say (p. 121, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom*) "ist es dann aber nicht sehr viel sinnvoller, anzunehmen, dass diese überhaupt von Anfang an niemand Anderes gewesen sei als die griechische Göttin, so wie Mercurius niemals etwas Anderes gewesen ist als Hermes?" His arguments are, however, so intricate in this connection as not perhaps to be entirely convincing to all.

The importance of these arguments here does not depend upon their detail so much as upon a principle involved

Chalcidians landed at Cumae, peaceful commercial relations in the whole method of the discussion. It is assumed throughout Altheim's work that the Etruscans could and did transmit to Rome, among other things, some of the cultural influences of Magna Graecia. This is one of the possibilities the neglect of which has led to the assumption that the Romans obtained no cultural or religious ideas from Magna Graecia, except the Sibylline Books, until the time of the Punic Wars. It is, however, this exception which first leads us to examine the question. As will be maintained in later chapters, the Sibylline Books, represent according to tradition as well as to every probable reconstruction of the matter both Greek and Etruscan religious ideas. They were, in the legend, received by an Etruscan ruler of Rome from a Greek city of South Italy. And that city was Cumae, the meeting-place of Etruscan and Greek spheres of influence in Italy during the period when Etruscan power in the peninsula was at its height.

R. McIver (Greek Cities in Italy and Sicily) states that intimate connection between Republican Rome and Cumae began about 500 B.C. With regard to the Etruscans, he suggests that after the revolution at Rome the Cumaeans were bitter enemies of the Etruscans. Previous to this, however, we are told that after the time when the

Chalcidians landed at Cumae, peaceful commercial relations proceeded for more than a century. About 600 B.C. the Etruscans extended their area of conquest to embrace most of Campania, not including Cumae. It must be remembered also that primitive warfare and hostility between cities did not always preclude commercial and cultural relations. Another point to be considered is that expressed by R. McIver (Italy before the Romans, p. 128) as follows: "It is natural, in fact, to suppose that well before 800 B.C. ports of call were established which soon became a regular series echeloned all the way up the western coast". Elsewhere (C.A.H. Vol. IV, Chap. XII (Conway), p. 14) we are told that Etruscan trade with and through Cumae began not later than 700 B.C.

In later Roman tradition all this is summed up in the story of Demaratus (Pliny, N.H. XXXV, 6, (3) and 43 (12); Livy I, xxxiv, 2; Tacitus, Annals XI, 14) who was supposed to be of Corinthian origin, father of Tarquinius Priscus, and the earliest bearer of Greek culture and influence to Etruria and Latium. Tacitus prefers to regard Evander as having introduced Greek culture to Latium, but this does not alter the fact that the Etruscans were affected by Greek culture before their domination of Rome.

A clear statement of the connection between Greek

and Etruscan influence upon early Rome is given by Altheim (Griechische Götter im alten Rom, p. 2-3) and part of it may usefully be quoted here: "Man hat des Nebeneinander griechischer und etruskischer Einwirkung in der Geschichte der römischen Religion bisher als ein Entweder-Oder, als ein Nacheinander zweier grundsätzlich verschiedener Perioden aufgefasst: der griechische Einfluss hat den etruskischen "abgelöst". Wie sonderbar diese Anschauung ist, lehrt wiederum ein einziger Blick auf die allgemeinen Verhältnisse. Seit der Gründung von Kyme stehen beide Welten in Berührung miteinander, Griechisches ergießt sich in breitem Strom über Etrurien, zumal nachdem durch die etruskische Besiedelung Campaniens die Berührung eine unmittelbare geworden war. Etrurien wird damit zum Träger und Verbreiter griechischer Kultur." He goes on to maintain that religion could hardly remain untouched by these developments which affected the general culture of the peoples concerned.

It would seem that this view of the cultural relations of early Rome is likely to obtain increasing support among scholars, and if it is accepted it certainly gives added significance to many of the suggestions made in the following chapters. Most of them, however, do not

chosen for this purpose by designation. Designation was

entirely depend upon the acceptance of this view. Rather, it has been kept in mind as a probability that such was the pattern of early cultural influences upon Rome, and in particular that Cumae was a meeting-place of Greek and Etruscan culture at the time when the resulting ideas could readily be transmitted to the Romans by the Etruscans.

Of the details gathered and expounded by Altheim in "Griechische Götter im alten Rom" only one will be considered here, namely the association of Apollo with Rhegium. The beginning of this connection of Apollo with Rhegium is in that city's foundation legend as given by Strabo VI, i, 6. It would in any case have been probable that, as a Greek colony, it was founded under the auspices of Apollo Archegetes. But this legend suggests that the colonists were men dedicated to Apollo because of a dearth of crops and that they subsequently emigrated accompanied by others of their countrymen. It is highly probable that Strabo is right in supposing the colony to have been founded because of famine or shortage at home. This legend, in fact, introduces no unusual features except the idea that those colonists were specifically dedicated to Apollo, being chosen for this purpose by decimation. Decimation was

used in the ancient world for such purposes as selecting hostages or (Livy II, 59) persons for punishment, or goods to be dedicated to a deity. This last is the "tithe", and the use of decimation in Strabo's story forms a link between this and the purely military connotation which it usually bore in Roman history. The main purpose of introducing this idea into the legend was probably simply to emphasize the connection of Apollo with that particular foundation. Other South Italian cities, such as Hipponion, had similar legends. But as Rhegium, like Cumae, was on the west coast of South Italy, it was in a position to influence the Romans and Etruscans more than other cities were able to do in early times. We find therefore in this legendary association of Apollo with Rhegium further evidence of the importance of the cult of Apollo in South Italy, and of its importance in those cities with which the Etruscans and Romans were most likely to have trade or cultural relations.

It is not possible here to enter into detailed discussion of the cults of Diana and Artemis in Italy, as, in view of their recent treatment by Altheim and others, they offer in themselves a wide field for research. We may only remark that if the attempt to identify the Roman Diana with the Greek Artemis is considered successful, this has an important bearing upon the cult of Apollo. In

this connection we have to note the possibility that Massilia exercised some influence upon the cult of Artemis in its extension to Italy. With the cult of Artemis, mention may be made of the legend of Virbius, associated by Virgil (Aen. VII, 760ff.) and others with the Arician cult of Diana and with Hippolytus. If we are to believe that this legend came to Italy as part of the tradition surrounding that cult of Artemis which Altheim supposes to have helped to produce the cult of Diana-Artemis both on the Aventine and at Aricia, then we have an earlier date of arrival for another feature of the Apolline cult. For in the legend of Hippolytus the early Latins would probably meet not only Artemis but also Asklepios. This conclusion, however, depends upon the acceptance of a theory such as that expounded by Altheim, and the matter cannot be decided here. Even if Asklepios was known in or near Latium through this legend, it would be in a form far different from that in which the cult eventually came to Rome from Epidaurus.

Another possible source of Greek influence upon the religion of Italy is contact with Northern Greece, especially Illyria and Paeonia. This takes us back, however, to an earlier period and to more primitive stages of culture. We are told that as early as the Bronze age there was trade between Calabria and Greece, but that is only relevant as

The connection of Rome with Delphi must next be reviewed. We have in this sphere the possibility of

a reminder that the Adriatic could be crossed and re-crossed in very primitive times. The contacts likely to have any effect upon Roman religion would be those which were made by Illyria and Paeonia with Picenum or Umbria. Raids upon this part of the east coast of Italy, followed by more peaceful relations and occasional settlement are thought to have begun at least as early as the seventh century (R. McIver, *Italy before the Romans*, p. 98ff., cf. also p. 104ff.). Picenum and Umbria are supposed to have had cultural relations with Etruria as early as the seventh century. If, however, any influence came from this source upon the development of the Roman cult of Apollo, it would only be indirect and would probably concern the Paeonian conception of Apollo and his relation with primitive healing methods (see "The Connection of Paeon with Paeonia", by G.H. Macurdy, in the *Classical Review*, 1912, p. 249-251; also, *Troy and Paeonia*, by the same author). It is probable, moreover, that if any influence came from this direction it merely encouraged the Italian people in the use of herbal remedies and in the association of such expedients with divinity. Possibly some of this tradition was transmitted to Rome through Samnium, and formed a feature of the Sabine influence generally postulated for early Rome.

The connection of Rome with Delphi must next be reviewed. We have in this sphere the possibility of

Phocian influence in the formation of the Etruscan alphabet.

More certain is the Etruscan connection with Delphi as recorded in literature. There is the probability that Caere and Spina had treasuries there, which would suggest considerable and long-standing interest in the oracle. Further, we are told by Herodotus (I,167) that the people of Caere sent to consult the Delphic oracle after the battle of Alalia, 535 B.C. Livy informs us that Tarquinius Superbus sent his sons to Delphi (Livy I, 56).

We pass now to the consideration of the part played by the Greek and Oriental culture of Asia Minor in determining the form taken by the Apolline cult in Italy. There is, first, the possibility that some cultural influence was exerted by the Phoenician traders who visited the settlements on the west coast of Italy from early times. The Phocaeans also, who established colonies, for example, at Alalia and Massilia, may have made some contribution. There is the legend of Trojan influence in early Rome, associated with Aeneas. Further, it is now asserted by most authorities that the Etruscans came from Asia Minor and that they brought with them some oriental characteristics and possibly some pre-Hellenic ideas which they possessed in common with the Ionian Greeks and perhaps also some of

the Greeks of the mainland.

At some period during the sixth or early seventh century the idea of the Sibyl must have arrived in South Italy, coming directly or indirectly from the Troad. The introduction of the Sibylline Books at Rome and their use will be discussed in detail below (Chapter III and VI). It may be well, however, to give here our reasons for referring to these books frequently as "prophetic". As is generally agreed, the Sibylline Books did not contain prophecies of the future, in the sense in which these are commonly understood. Rather, they supplied instructions as to how to restore the "pax deûm" when, in face of some disaster or prodigy, it was felt that this divine approval had been lost. In this way, however, the Books appeared to deal with situations which, at the time when the verses were written, had not yet arisen. Further, they seemed able to anticipate the outcome of the measures which they suggested and, if the extant pseudo-Sibylline writings are any criterion, they may also have contained reference to the calamities destined to fall upon those who failed to carry out their advice correctly. In all these respects the Sibylline Books contained reference to the future, and it is for these reasons that it has been found convenient to call them "prophetic". It is hoped to define further in subsequent chapters the type of

majority. We shall therefore keep in mind the possibility of prophecy which they represent.

As will be seen from the diagram, a great deal of this evidence concerning Greek religious influence upon Italy has reference to a period much earlier than 447 B.C., the first fixed date for the cult of Apollo at Rome. The latest of the entries upon the chart is the first recorded consultation of the Sibylline Books (Dion. Hal. VI, 17). Wissowa (R.u.K.) would make the introduction of the cult of Apollo contemporary with that of the Sibylline Books. This would mean that it was introduced before 496 B.C., and before the end of the Etruscan regime at Rome or at the time of its fall.

It is probably impossible, with the scanty evidence now existing, to decide the exact date of the introduction of the cult of Apollo at Rome, and perhaps it is not altogether desirable to do so. For to assign a fixed date to the arrival of a cult is often to obscure the fact that, in many cases, the introduction of a new deity does not mean the sudden and dramatic discovery of an object of worship hitherto unknown. This may be, in fact, one of the reasons why we possess no record of the exact date at which the Romans first began to worship Apollo. Such a date was not likely to be supplied in the case of a deity whom, for a long period, the Romans vaguely knew and whose influence was felt by individuals long before it was transmitted to the

majority. We shall therefore keep in mind the possibility that the Greek Apollo may have been known to some sections of the Roman population, though not worshipped officially, as early as the first half of the sixth century. In the next chapter we shall give further reasons for supposing that during and towards the close of that century the Romans became increasingly aware of the cult of Apollo.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN CULT OF APOLLO.

DATE.

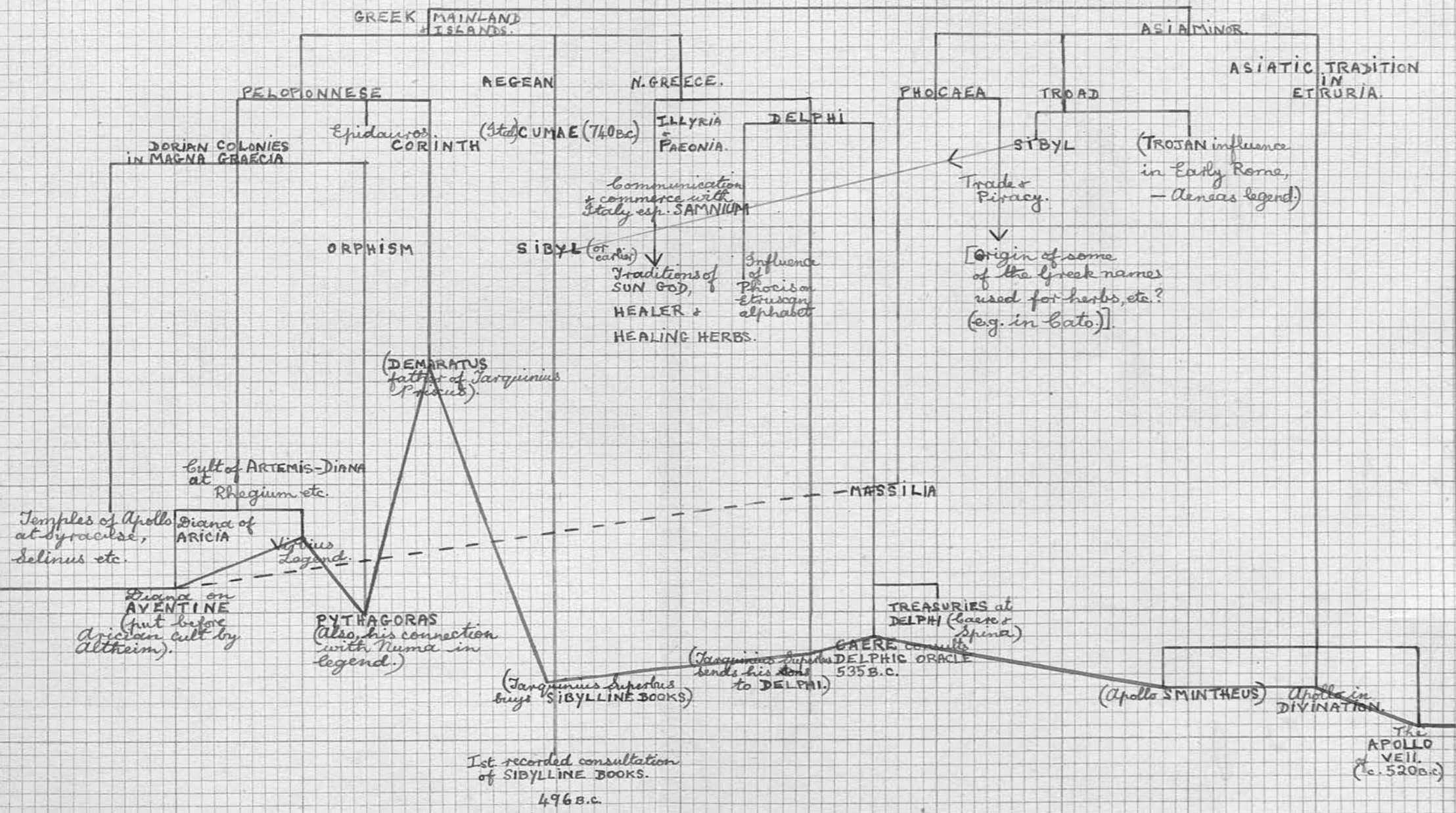
THE HELLENIC WORLD.

700 B.C.

500 B.C.

DATE OF APOLLO'S RIVAL AT ROME at least, at latest, on this line.

400 B.C.



[EARLIEST FIXED DATE FOR CULT OF APOLLO AT ROME = 447 B.C.]

CHAPTER III.

Apollo in Early Italy.

In discussing the Greek Apollo as accepted and worshipped by the Romans, we must consider not only the sources and dates of the Greek influence which brought the cult of Apollo and many other religious ideas to Rome, but also the various influences affecting its arrival and early development there. The question of an earlier date for Greek influence at Rome has been raised in the last chapter and is of great importance in this connection. But fortunately we are no longer committed to the separation of Rome from the rest of Italy or of Italy from the rest of the Mediterranean world in our discussions.

It is generally realised to-day, as a result of the extensive archaeological research in the Mediterranean lands that migrations of tribes as early as the Neolithic age affected the population of classical times, and that primitive trade relations, involving long journeys, at first by land, and then also by sea, were established as early as the Bronze age. Trade of this kind, we are told, (R. McIver, Italy before the Romans, p. 134; C. Saunders, Vergil's Primitive Italy, Ch. 1.) was in progress during the Bronze age between Italy and the Balkans, across the narrower stretches of the Adriatic; between the Aegean lands and Sicily and Sardinia; between Sicily and Campania. Soon we have Cretans visiting

Sicily, Phoenicians in Sardinia, Illyrians plundering Picenum. All this activity, of course, followed the easiest routes, and was usually limited to the coastal districts. By the middle of the ninth century, we find the Etruscans from Asia Minor settling in Italy, and traders from Greece and the Orient calling at settlements on the west coast of Italy from Cumae to Etruria (McIver, op.cit., p. 128.) By the end of the eighth century B.C., the Greek colonies of Syracuse in Sicily, and Cumae in Italy have been established and others are soon to follow. Rome has also been founded perhaps with the help of settlers from Greece or Ionia (Cf. the Aeneas legend, Whatmough, Foundations of Roman Italy, p. 273).

In the sixth century, the Etruscans were ruling a large part of central Italy, were in communication with all the neighbouring peoples on the mainland of Italy and with Corsica. Throughout the rest of Italy, trade and cultural relations existed among all but the remotest mountain districts, though of course tending to run in a North to South direction rather than East to West, owing to the position of the Apennines. (Even so, for trade between Apulia and Magna Graecia, see McIver, op.cit., p. 107.)

Such statements as the following (Whatmough, op. cit., p. 272) warn us that there is no period at which we can safely regard the western Italian settlements as

isolated units: "Prehistoric traffic passing north and south in western Italy no doubt crossed the Tiber by an ancient ford or ferry very near to that group of primitive settlements which was to become the eternal city....."

In view of the above facts (drawn mainly from the following authorities: R. McIver, op.cit., and *The Etruscans*; Whatmough, op. cit.; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IV; Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom*) we must discuss the development of Roman religion with reference to the many different types of culture and religion with which Rome from time to time came into contact. It would appear that, in particular, the cults of Apollo and other Greek deities in the classical age of Rome must owe their origin and form to one or all of the following influences: the culture of a pre-Hellenic Mediterranean race; contacts with races outside Italy and with invaders in Italy; and the subsequent association of Apollo in Italy with indigenous cults and identification with local heroes and numina.

The possible influence of an original Mediterranean stock in the religion of Rome and Italy is limited to very primitive trends, which, though many survived into historical times, do not differ extensively from those of other peoples at the same level of civilisation. There are in Roman religion traces of animism and probably of human sacrifice and other primitive conceptions, but these are not connected

with such cults as that of Apollo, except in so far as the more primitive mentality has left its mark upon all ideas received from races further advanced in culture. The idea of the Sibyl readily comes to mind in this connection and will be dealt with from this and other points of view in Chapter VI.

In many departments of Roman religion, we might also discover survivals of particular beliefs from very ancient times among the most primitive stratum of the population. There would, however, be less evidence of this in the cult of Apollo, as it never had any strong appeal among the uneducated in Rome and Italy. The country folk, when they did eventually become acquainted with Apollo's cult, associated him with various deities of springs and healing. The credulous of both town and country doubtless added him to their magic formulae and were vastly impressed by his prophetic fame. Even if primitive beliefs were gathered up into the new cult, we should probably know nothing of them, as we have little record of the thoughts of the lower classes in Roman times. Whatever influence the less cultured may have exerted upon the cult of Apollo, we may be fairly sure that, except perhaps in South Italy, it was in the direction of the

dark Etruscan religion rather than the Greek god of enlightenment.

For there were two aspects of the Roman cult of Apollo, the light and the dark, corresponding to the two levels of culture or types of civilisation through which it was transmitted from the Greeks. It would be inaccurate to refer to these as the Etruscan and the Greek Apollo, though the sinister appearance of the "Apollo of Veii" typifies the darker side of Apollo's character in Italy. Both conceptions, however, originated mainly in Greece.

In the development of Greek religion, we see a considerable difference between the ἑκατηβόλος Ἀπόλλων of Homer, and the same god as viewed by the Orphics, for example, and Pythagoras. Homer certainly regarded Apollo as a god of prophecy, but by this he meant a patron of the mantic art, not of inspired prophecy, which involved a more spiritual conception. This point is discussed by Rohde, (*Psyche*, p. 289f) who maintains that inspired prophecy was a late development in the Greek cult of Apollo, and owed something to the Dionysiac cult combined with it. By way of illustration, Aeschylus, fragment 34, is quoted: "ivy-crowned Apollo, the Bacchic frenzied prophet." (Cf. Virgil, *Aen.*, VI, 78, and the ready explanation of Servius.) Rohde considers that the Dionysiac

version of the Greek Apollo would be known in Rome during the period of Etruscan domination, before the arrival of cult introduced mysticism into Greek religion, an idea summed up in the word ἔκστασις. The name Sibyl was given to those who uttered this type of prophecy and the Sibyl legends would therefore belong to this period, as also the legends of "prolonged ἔκστασις" as in the case of Abaris and Aristeas. Upon this theory the Orphic cult, as an extension of the Dionysiac, would arise in the same period and form part of the ἔκστασις development. If this is to some extent a true interpretation of the cult of Apollo in Greece, it forms a parallel to the history of Apolline religion later in Italy.

Altheim (Griechische Götter im alten Rom) contends that Apollo came to Rome mainly through Etruscan influence. He bases his argument partly upon the Etruscan domination of Rome during the period preceding the official introduction of Apollo at Rome, and partly upon the fact that the Sibylline Books arrived in the reign of an Etruscan King. While these contentions are quite true, though chronology must be observed very carefully in the first, with regard to the second point it should be noted that in the legend the books were received very reluctantly by Tarquinius.

It seems more probable that the development of the cult in Rome proceeded somewhat as follows. An Etruscan

version of the Greek Apollo would be known in Rome during the period of Etruscan domination, before the arrival of the Sibylline Books. This is highly probable on account of the close political and cultural relation then existing between Etruria and Rome, their geographical proximity, and the considerable evidence of a cult of Apollo in Etruria. It also helps to explain the reception of the Sibylline Books at Rome. This Apollo, to match the rest of Etruscan religion and the Tuscan character, would be of the type of the Apollo of Veii, and would as in Etruria tend to be connected with divination and magic. (Cf. Apollo's appearance in magic formula discussed in Chapter VII.)

Secondly, both Etruscans and Romans in Cumae met the Sibyl idea. They also encountered the written word, not for the first time, but now in the form of literature, and this impressed them more than the Sibyl herself. It is quite probable that the Etruscans, upon hearing the legends of the Sibyl in Magna Graecia, evolved their own prophets such as the nymph, Vegöe, in conjunction with local animistic beliefs. On the other hand, coming as they did from Asia Minor, the home of the Sibyl, it might be suggested that they brought their prophets with them. This type of prophecy should, however, be distinguished from divination by animals and birds, which we know was also practised by the Etruscans and almost certainly

derived from their Oriental home. Divination and haruspicy, though continued by the Romans long after they had reached a higher stage of culture, represent a more primitive level of experience than direct prophecy, since they show to a greater extent confusion of the material and the spiritual.

There were, however, two types of prophecy, one of which owed more to the idea of divination than the other, and belonged more nearly to that level of culture. The prophet who obtains his knowledge of the future through his own observations of omens and portents belongs to the same type of development as the magical practices by which the human seeks to overcome or circumvent the divine. The belief in prophecies obtained directly from nymphs and other animistic sources may be intermediate between the magical and the "inspired" type of prophecy. When prophecy is attributed to a human being under the inspiration of a god, we reach a new phase in religious development, will be discussed in detail below. (Chapter VI.)

Yet whatever may have been the ideas of the Etruscans concerning prophecy, the adoption of the Sibylline Books by the Romans brought Greek influence in religion more directly to Rome, a development not perhaps wholly pleasing to the Etruscans. Next, through Greek influence

connected with these books, the Greek deities of Magna Graecia, including Apollo, were introduced and for them temples were built.

Allowing for various lesser influences and interrelations, this means that the Etruscan spirit in religion came first, at any rate in this cult, and then in the Sibylline Books and the final arrival of the Apollo of Magna Graecia came all the varied religious ideas associated with the Sibyl, the Orphics and Pythagoras. The exact nature of these influences and their effect on the cult will be considered in the following chapters. Here it will be sufficient to discuss the date and manner of their arrival and the conditions prevailing at the time.

It should not be supposed, however, that the influence of Magna Graecia replaced that of Etruria, or that Etruscan influence was not renewed from time to time. Etruria continued for many years to provide the furniture of official religion at Rome (e.g. Pliny, Nat. Hist., 34, 43). It also affected the form of religious observance considerably as will be seen in a later chapter. In essentials, however, the Greek Apollo finally overcame his Etruscan counterpart in the Augustan revival.

With regard to this Etruscan Apollo we have also to consider the question of Apollo Smintheus. Altheim

(op.cit., p. 163, not 6) says "Auch daran darf vielleicht erinnert werden, dass der Kult des Apollon Smintheus von der Etruskern frühzeitig rezipiert worden ist." This cult they may have brought with them from its original home in the Troad or adopted from Magna Graecia. If the Etruscans really obtained this early, however, it seems probable that they brought it with them, as it would not have been sufficiently established in Magna Graecia till 700 at the earliest. Apollo as pest-god is in keeping with the appearance of the Apollo of Veii and the Etruscan outlook in general. Also, there is not trace of this aspect of the cult in the tradition taken over later in Rome from Magna Graecia. Nor, as will be seen below (Chapter V), is the Smintheus cult in Magna Graecia prominently associated with the original function of Smintheus.

Altheim's theory (op.cit., p. 164) that "Apollon gerade auch als Heilgott durch etruskische Vermittlung nach Rom gelangt sei" is quite acceptable, providing that it is understood this refers to the earlier arrival of Apollo in Rome, and that his connection with healing at this stage was in a very primitive context. We would suggest that the development of a god of pest and pestilence into a god of healing and health was only beginning at this point.

Considerable emphasis is laid upon the connection of the Roman Apollo with Etruria, and there is some evidence

to support this. Altheim does not, however, consider the possibility of two introductions of the cult. In the case of the cult of Diana in Latium, he considers that the Etruscans brought her cult (under a form of the name "Artemis") with them from Asia Minor, and that the Latins first knew her in this form and worshipped her on the Aventine Hill and afterwards at Aricia. Another form of the cult arrived later in which the goddess became known to the Romans by a Latin translation of one of the Greek epithets given to Artemis. This, though not exactly corresponding to the cult of Apollo, in which for example there was no change of name, forms an interesting parallel. It is particularly useful to compare the two cults, as there seems to be more evidence concerning Diana-Artemis in Etruria than Apollo. Moreover, they were associated together there, and to some extent we may accept Altheim's assumption that what is true of the origin of the cult of Diana in Etruria may be true also of the Apollo-cult there.

It is not, then, impossible to suppose that the Etruscan cult of Apollo became known to the Romans during the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, if not earlier. Wissowa (*Religion u. Kultus*) regards the arrival of the cult of Apollo as contemporary with that of the Sibylline Books. This would mean that Apollo arrived toward the end of the

sixth century, and if combined with Altheim's view that he came through the Etruscans, gives us the "first arrival" which we suggest, though the exact date cannot be decided owing to lack of evidence. In fact the Romans by that time could hardly have escaped some knowledge of the god. Whether he was then worshipped officially at Rome is doubtful, but any Roman who wished to pay his respects to Apollo would not have far to go to find an Etruscan temple or image for his worship.

On the other hand, direct Greek influence from Magna Graecia during the period in which the Romans were completely surrounded by the dominating Etruscan civilization would be small indeed. It was not apparently until the end of the sixth century, when the Etruscan power began to wane and the Romans grew restless, that the religion of Magna Graecia affected them directly. The legend (Dion. Hal. IV, 62; Serv. Aen. VI, 72; Pliny, N.H. XIII, 88 et. al.) tells of books from Cumae being offered to a reluctant Tarquin - whether the first or second monarch of that name is not entirely clear. They were moreover always associated with Cumae and the Sibyl-legend there, and with Greek forms of religion. One of the many Greek forms of religion which they introduced was that of Apollo, and from that time the Greek Apollo was officially established in the religion of Rome. But we must now consider what grounds there are for supposing that this introduction was

made through Magna Graecia and that this was the brighter and more enlightened form of the cult.

When we speak of the official religion of Rome in the early days, we are discussing that body of precepts and practices ascribed by later tradition to Numa Pompilius. Numa is the focus alike of the fulsome praise of the pagans and the scornful criticism of the Christians and would seem to be a personification of the spirit of the ancient religion and a convenient landmark in those tracts of pre-history where there is little certain guidance either for the ancients or for us. It was, then, the "religion of Numa" which received Apollo upon his second introduction if not at his earliest arrival. It was in the context of this religion that the need for a new deity was felt and interpreted.

According to the most complete accounts (Livy I, 18, and Plutarch, Numa) of Numa, he was of Sabine descent, and as our authorities insist, not in contact with the Greeks of South Italy. He was not, of course, in communication with the mainland of Greece, and no Etruscan influence is mentioned. The only suggestion is that he obtained the inspiration for his far-reaching social and religious schemes from his Sabine countrymen and the nymph, Egeria. Of the two alternatives, the nymph would seem to be the more probable, in view of the fact that the Sabines, an inland, agricultural people, backward even in later times,

them with Numa's own teaching. The supposed intention of could scarcely have originated much of this advance unless under Greek influence themselves. Moreover, at least in the traditional form, the nymph has a Greek name.

Then there is the curious tradition of Numa's association with Pythagoras. Most of our ancient authorities are greatly concerned to prove that Numa was not connected with Pythagoras or his followers, yet it seems strange that such an unlikely tradition ever arose without some foundation. Moreover, though Livy and Plutarch doubt this tradition when discussing Numa himself, Livy and Pliny (N.H.XIII, 27 (13)) seem to accept the suggestion that the contents of Numa's books, discovered in 181 B.C., were in part Pythagorean philosophy.

It is even more surprising to realise that none of the authors who relate this story definitely asserts that the books did not belong to Numa or that their origin was doubted at the time of their discovery. Pliny, in fact, assumes that they dated from the early days of Rome, as he uses them to illustrate the lasting qualities of the parchments which he supposed them to include. In St. Augustine's account, for which he regarded Varro as his source, the reason for the burning of the books is as follows (de Civ. Dei., VII, 34B): "ubi cum primores quasdam causas legissent, quur quidque in sacris fuerit institutum Numae mortuo sentatus adsensus est." Those who considered this to be the reason why the books were burned clearly associated

them with Numa's own teaching. The supposed intention of Numa regarding these books is explained by Plutarch. Whether Numa or any of the early Roman statesmen really took such a view remains uncertain, and it may be simply a reason given for the lack of literary tradition in early Rome. But there seems to have been in the case of other leaders of thought, for example Pythagoras, a reluctance to commit spiritual doctrines to the limitations of the written word, which may imply considerable discernment. The only suggestion of falsehood with regard to these books is in Livy's account, XL, 28) "vulgatae opinioni, qua creditur Pythagorae auditorem fuisse Numam, mendacio probabili accomodata fide." "Yet he is casting doubt not upon the origin of the books, but upon their contents. Livy implies that there was some hesitation regarding the treatment of the books and the matter was referred to the senate. The whole incident, however, when all allowances are made for confusion in the authors' accounts, shows us a side of Roman religious affairs which we very seldom see. Here are the conservative Roman officials, with the consent of

1. See below, Chap.V. It is, however, probably unnecessary to suppose that, at this stage in human history, men had more than a vague impression of the danger of the static representation of spiritual truths, so easily outmoded or misconstrued.

the great philosopher."

If in this passage the author, in the words "Sabine domination" refers to the period of Sabine influence before

the tradition-loving populace, summarily destroying the works of the legendary creator of their most sacred traditions. And there were no repercussions or recriminations. The story is therefore unique and requires considerable explanation.

That these books should be attributed to Numa at all shows what a long period his name covered in the minds of the ancients. For at the time when Numa was supposed to have been King of Rome, books could hardly have existed there, certainly not the "chartae" of Pliny. It was moreover a long time before Rome had any literary language at all, and still further was the day when, as some of our sources suggest, books in both Greek and Latin were known there. It may be instructive at this point to consider the following statements from "The Roman Spirit", by Albert Grenier (trans. M.R. Dobie), p. 53, "We know that, in spite of the obvious anachronism, Roman legend made Numa a disciple of Pythagoras. If it is true that tradition sums up under the name of Numa all the long process of social and religious organisation which went on in Rome under Sabine domination, the anachronism disappears. In that case, the legend represents a memory of the influence exercised on Rome by the moral ideas and legislative activity which had resulted, in Southern Italy, from the teaching of the great philosopher."

If in this passage the author, in the words "Sabine domination" refers to the period of Sabine influence before

the rule of the Etruscan dynasty at Rome, the anachronism is as glaring as ever. For we are still faced with the fact that this "Sabine domination" must have ceased almost entirely by the end of the seventh century when the Etruscans were supreme in central Italy. Pythagoras, however, would not have been teaching in Magna Graecia until the second half of the sixth century. In any case, it would seem that only a very small part of the reforms ascribed to Numa could have taken place at so early a period. Whether it was due to Sabine or other influence, such a complete system of religious administration could hardly have arisen before the sixth century, though some specific parts of it may date back to the Sabine (pre-Etruscan) period. We may suggest, however, that the name of Numa was used, not perhaps intentionally, but by a familiar tradition, to cover "all the long process of social and religious organisation which went on in Rome" until about 500 B.C., except that which was specifically introduced by the Etruscans. This, incidentally, might account for Arnobius' (*adversus Gentes*, II, 73) saying that Apollo was not mentioned in the rituals of Numa - the Etruscan Apollo would not be in the scheme attributed to Numa, and the second arrival of Apollo was too late for him to be officially part of "the religion of Numa".

This would mean that the earliest features of "the religion of Numa" were developed in pre-Etruscan Rome, mainly

under Sabine influence. Subsequent additions to the Romans' own religion were associated with these, including ideas received from ~~Magna~~ Graecia, either directly or through other races, until the time of Pythagoras.^{1.} The lower chronological limit of the period is, however, always vague, and this explains in part the uncertainty of later writers as to whether Pythagoras contributed anything to this religion. In fact, the rise of Pythagoreanism in Southern Italy coincides chronologically with the border-line between legend and history in Rome.

It is easy to see, therefore, that if Pythagoras ever exerted any influence upon Roman religion, it might well have been included by tradition in the legendary rather than the historical period. But if it belonged rather to the early historical period, why was it not assigned to its proper place in the record? The reasons for the confusion are probably that, in the first place, religious reforms gain authority from their antiquity and were therefore often linked with the great figures of the past either by those who introduced them or their respectful followers. Secondly, developments of a more spiritual and abstract nature leave fewer material traces and do not always impress the chronicler.

But if such confusion arose, or more accurately, if

1. These may have been the Di Novensiles, especially as we are told that the word "Novensiles" was Sabine.

an attempt was made to naturalize some of the ideas due to Pythagoreanism in the official religion of Rome, why did Livy and Plutarch not accept it? Moreover, upon the first recorded occasion when the question of Pythagorean or South Italian influence arose, i.e. when the books of Numa were found in 181 B.C. (Livy, XL, 29; Pliny, N.H. XII, 27 (13)) why were those books treated with such caution and their connection with Numa apparently disregarded?

For the answer to this question we must consider the history of the time at which these books are said to have been found. If we are to regard Livy and Pliny as accurate in assigning this event to 181 B.C. or thereabouts, it falls in a period when the older Romans were troubled at the strength of the Greek influences then pervading the city and increasing from year to year. In 186 B.C. an attempt had been made to suppress the Dionysiac cult, which by its excesses had shocked responsible citizens. A reaction in favour of the old Roman discipline was setting in, and in 184 B.C. Cato, the stern and dignified champion of the older Roman manners, became Censor. Cato, who had observed the effect of foreign and often extravagant and frivolous ideas upon the once faithful and practical citizen-soldiers of Rome, was strongly opposed to Greek culture on principle. It is therefore not surprising that in 181 B.C. the possibility

that Rome's most sacred institutions were connected with Greek philosophy was received with suspicion and distrust. Moreover, relations between Rome and the Greek cities in the South had not been friendly since it first became clear that Rome was aiming at the supreme control of Italy. They had always rallied to the side of Rome's enemies, and their part in the war with Hannibal and their final subjugation would not dispose the Romans to favour any close association of Rome's history and religion with Magna Graecia.

We cannot therefore regard the attitude of later Romans toward the possibility of Pythagorean influence upon early Roman religion as evidence that it did not exist. In fact, though Plutarch does not favour the theory, he gives many instances of Numa's resemblance to Pythagoras in his religious and philosophical views. Some of these Plutarch openly admits, as when he tells us that Numa resembled Pythagoras in the preference for bloodless sacrifice, and in the symbolism by which he placed the undying fire in the centre of the round temple of Vesta, and in many other respects. Pliny also shows a knowledge of this tradition when he tells us that Numa first established the custom of sacrificing corn to the gods. Moreover, Plutarch's description of Numa's general religious and philosophical outlook emphasizes the similarity. Mention of a

change in the Roman attitude to the dead and the introduction of a deity who may have been Proserpina also suggest a connection with Magna Graecia, whence indeed came the worship of the three "mystical" deities, Ceres, Liber and Libera, in 596 B.C.

Now, if we continue to regard Numa as the personification of Roman religious progress between about 700 and 480 B.C., it will not seem impossible for some or all of the above ideas, and others, to have been introduced from Magna Graecia in the later part of that period. This is to some extent supported by Bailey (Phases of the Religion of Ancient Rome, p. 213), where he says: "It is possible that the teaching of the Pythagoreans may have penetrated to Rome from Magna Graecia and Sicily at a comparatively early period" - earlier, that is, than other Greek philosophy.

The other criticism made by Livy of the theory of Pythagorean influence is expressed in what he seems to have regarded as an unanswerable question, "ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset, quo praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset?" (I, 18, 3). That the prejudice and obscurity of the tradition have confused the historian here seems probable in view of the very form of the question. It was

quite unnecessary in any case to add the word "unus", as there was no need to assume that Numa or anyone else travelled alone. Livy must also have been aware that the inhabitants of Latium were not without means of communication with their neighbour states, at any rate in the sixth century. He seems quite willing to accept the tradition that the sons of Tarquinius consulted the oracle at Delphi, which involved the knowledge of Greek language and custom and a much more difficult journey. In view of the evidence we now possess concerning communications between races in early times, we are in an even better position to realise that this is no valid objection to the association of Pythagorean ideas with the development of Roman religion.

In referring here to Pythagoreanism, we must also remark that the ideas transmitted to Rome from Magna Graecia, where they arrived earlier than Pythagoras' own time, may have been affected by his predecessors, the Orphics. The connection between Orphism and Pythagoreanism and other forms of religion and philosophy therewith associated in Magna Graecia will be more fully discussed in Chapter V.

We have then the fact that all our authorities attribute early Roman religious development during a period of unspecified duration to the legendary Numa. Likewise, our fullest accounts of Numa all mention his association with Pythagoras. We have, as explained above, good reason

to suppose that where authors vigorously reject this suggestion, they do so under the influence of traditional prejudice, and where the idea was rejected by Roman officials, the same prejudice is even more certain. There is also the generally accepted tradition that the sibylline Books were introduced from Magna Graecia in the time of the Tarquins and the first cults officially established at Rome by their advice were those of the deities most closely associated with Pythagoreanism and Orphism, i.e. Apollo and his mother and sister and Persephone, Demeter and Dionysus. During and immediately preceding these developments, Pythagoras lived and died in Magna Graecia where he and his followers were the cause and also the victims of considerable political unrest. Meanwhile a dynasty was falling in Rome, and the Roman people were shaking off the Etruscan yoke. In view of all these circumstances, it would seem that Pythagorean influence during the formative period of Roman religion is as fully proved as any development of that period.

The whole question of the early history of the cult of Apollo is further elucidated by a consideration of the two sides of Apollo's character as viewed by the Romans. It would seem that the Etruscans had received, from the Greeks or elsewhere, mainly the destructive side of Apollo's nature, and therefore this was the view which they would pass on to the Romans. When other, more direct Greek

influence extended the cult in Rome, it was the positive creative attributes which were stressed, as in the Greek cult itself, as far as it was possible with the Roman mentality. Thus, the Romans received him as Apollo Medicus. Such a change in the interpretation of Greek forms of deity appears to be paralleled in the case of Vulcan, who with the Etruscans and early Romans represented destructive fire rather than the creative power harnessed by the craftsman.

There is little trace of Apollo in connection with the underworld or death, destruction and punishment in Rome, though the earlier Etruscan Apollo must have fulfilled this function. At the time when the Etruscans received the cult of Apollo, whether from their own ancestors or neighbours in Asia Minor or from the Greeks, the religion was as yet only at the stage of its development depicted by Homer. If, as we suggest, this was the conception of Apollo which first arrived in Rome, and if, as would appear, none of the underworld deities, such as Ceres, later imported from the Greek world, filled just this primitive need, we shall expect to find some cult where this function of deity continued to be prominent.

There was one deity, Veiovis, in the early Roman religion who seems to have been associated with a primitive and predominantly fearful view of death and destruction. There is not a great deal of evidence concerning the cult of

Veiovis, and to judge from Ovid (*Fasti*, III) the later Romans were uncertain as to his original character and meaning. He was apparently a god of the underworld and is now considered to have been the counterpart of Jupiter and therefore sometimes equivalent to Pluto or Dis. His festival appears in the earliest calendar, on May the twenty-first, between the Lemuria and the Carnaria. The cult continued to flourish in later times, as we hear of two temples vowed to him in 200 B.C. and 192 B.C. respectively. Veiovis was frequently confused or associated with Jupiter by Latin writers, but for some reason was also on occasions identified or connected with Apollo. We are told (*Gell. V*, 12, 12; cf. *Serv. Aen. III*, 761) that his statue in the temple "inter duos lucos" at Rome represented him in the type of Apollo as god of death with the arrow of destruction. The worshippers of Soranus Pater at Soracte identified their deity with Apollo and Veiovis and sometimes referred to him as Dis Pater. It is suggested also that on coins (H. Mattingly, *Veiovis and Divus Augustus*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1933) when the members of the Gens Julia were deified, they received the attributes of Veiovis which were also those of Apollo and Jupiter.

Veiovis was certainly an Etruscan god, and may have been one of the nine lightning gods. He was probably associated with the underworld in divination. (C. Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella*; see also Bailey on Ovid,

Fasti III, 429 - 516).

Possibly the association of Veiovis with Apollo reacted also upon the character of Veiovis and would account for the suggestion of youth about him (e.g. Ovid, Fasti, III, 437¹).

We may suggest, therefore, that the darker side of Apollo's character seemed, after the arrival of the later Greek Apollo from Magna Graecia, rather to resemble Veiovis than any other deity known to the Romans; and as they were not all sufficiently advanced in culture to dispense with that form of religion, Veiovis gained in importance and replaced the older Apollo. This process would necessarily cause some confusion in the minds of the less discerning worshippers and would doubtless take place without official notice or announcement. By Augustan times, the transfer of function would be complete, but the manner in which it had been accomplished was obscure and the only result a vague association of an underworld deity, Veiovis, with Apollo.

A hint of this development may be seen in the words of Altheim, (History of Roman Religion, p. 252) with reference to the Gens Julia, "If, then, we may assume a cult of Apollo by the gens, it will have been assimilated to that of Veiovis and have been understood from his dark side, that

1. There is an attempt by Altheim (History of Roman Religion) to connect the idea of the "sanctuary" between the Arx and the Capitol with Apollo and the Delphic oracle. As Veiovis was also connected with this asylum, a confusion might have arisen there, but if so, it would be the result of a more general confusion of the two cults.

was turned in the direction of death." But, for the reasons given above, we should prefer to say that the cult of Apollo originally had its dark side and that assimilation was not necessary. Instead, there was a gradual, vague, perhaps unintentional removal of this type of religion from the cult of Apollo to a cult which was at that time more suitable for its expression.^{1.}

By that time, as we have suggested above, the Romans had been fortunate in meeting upon Italian soil one of the most progressive religious thinkers and one of the strongest and most lasting schools of Greek philosophy. We do not wish to assert, like some of our ancient authorities, that Pythagoras himself actually visited Rome, but that his teaching decided to a considerable extent the form in which Greek religion and especially the cult of Apollo finally came to Rome. The Romans were afterwards to see these cults in many other guises (in Graeco-Roman drama; Hellenistic philosophy; in connection or identification with oriental deities and emperor-worship). But here they met, almost for the first time, those creations of a more advanced civilisation which were to act as a stimulus

1. Considerable interest was shown (e.g. by Roscher) some years ago in the connection between Apollo and Mars in Roman religion. The occasional identification or confusion of these deities must have arisen soon after the first or second arrival of the Apollo-cult, partly because of the natural likeness in function of the gods of peoples at the same cultural level. Also, perhaps because the cult of Mars was influenced early by the cults of Apollo in Magna Graecia. Mars had not the chthonic connections of the Etruscan Apollo.

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to the further development of their own national character and culture. We have been reminded (Altheim, op. cit. p. 273) that Rome had very little direct contact with Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries, and was thus deprived of any share in the most brilliant achievements of the race. But it may be that she had already taken all and perhaps more than her people were capable of assimilating at that stage. She had at least encountered that form of religion in which for the first time "man recognised himself as a figure of eternity." (Altheim, op. cit. p. 228) Further reasons will appear for distinguishing the two strains in the Roman worship of Apollo. We have already mentioned the probability that the Apollo of whom the Romans learnt from the Etruscans was akin to the Roman deity both in character and origin.

In general it would seem that the Etruscan conception of personal and anthropomorphic deities, or rather their version of the same Greek deities, held little appeal for the Romans. They accepted Etruscan religious organisation and equipment, not the Etruscan form of the Greek legends and their view of the personalities of these gods and the spirit of Etruscan religion did not capture the imagination or leave more than a slight impression upon the minds of the Romans. This must have been in part due to the fact that the Etruscans



CHAPTER IV.

The Etruscan Apollo.

It has been suggested in Chapter III that the first encounter of the Romans with Apolline religion was during the period of Etruscan domination, when they must have met the Etruscan Apollo. We shall now consider in some detail the character and cult of this Apollo, comparing them wherever possible with the Apollo of the mainland of Greece and of Magna Graecia. In so doing we shall be examining this religion from its darker side, as already indicated, and further reasons will appear for distinguishing the two strains in the Roman worship of Apollo. We have already mentioned the probability that the Apollo of whom the Romans learnt from the Etruscans was akin to the Homeric deity both in character and origin.

In general it would seem that the Etruscan conception of personal and anthropomorphic deities, or rather their version of the same Greek deities, held little appeal for the Romans. They accepted Etruscan religious organisation and equipment, but the Etruscan form of the Greek legends and their view of the personalities of these gods and the spirit of Etruscan religion did not capture the imagination or leave more than a slight impression upon the minds of the Romans. This must have been in part due to the fact that the Etruscans

were conquerors and owed their position in Rome not to their spiritual ascendancy but to their superior capacity for organisation and the conduct of practical affairs; in part also to the poverty of Etruscan spiritual ideas.

There is not, of course, an extensive amount of evidence concerning the cult of Apollo in Etruria, nor is there reason to suppose that it was an especially important part of Etruscan religion. It appears that the Etruscans knew Apollo at any rate in historical times as a sun deity, and probably identified him with an earlier sun-god of their own. (See Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries*, and others.) According to Thulin (*Die Götter des Martianus Capella*, p. 18, n.1) Apollo appears on mirrors with laurel, and with the lyre, clad as a bard, also with Artemis and an Etruscan goddess, as sun and moon deities. Apollo's connection with the sun, however, was never very prominent at Rome, at any rate in early times. In so far as there was such a cult in Etruscan or pre-Etruscan Rome it may well have been of the type of the Sol Indiges of whom we hear later at Rome. Moreover it would seem from the evidence adduced by Altheim (*Griechische Götter im alten Rom*) that in the cult of Artemis as known to the Romans in early times the goddess was not primarily understood in connection with the moon, but as *πόρεια θεῶν*.

The Etruscan Apollo may also have had some connection with healing. This would be a natural development if the cult was of Homeric origin or character. There were healing waters in Etruria as elsewhere, and in at least one case they were sacred to Apollo. There is also the slight connection of Etruscan drama with healing, which will be discussed below. We know of no other Etruscan deity who dealt specifically with healing, though offerings for healing were given, sometimes in the form of representations of parts of the body. But such offerings might have been given to almost any deity and there is no real evidence that the Etruscans had either a cult or a practice of healing such as that which was associated with Apollo and Asklepios in Greece and later in Rome.

In seeking the Etruscan influence upon the cult of Apollo at Rome, therefore, we must look at the other phases of this religion. In the earliest period of Etruscan power we have little evidence for Roman religion or history and such changes as are mentioned for that age are included in "the religion of Numa", while few are attributed directly to the Etruscans. Towards the end of the Etruscan regime at Rome, however, we are told that the Sibylline Books arrived, and thereafter most religious developments are assigned to the influence of some prophetic books. Those who have wished to assume that their contents and influence were in the direction of the Greek religion of the sixth century or thereabout,

have always found difficulty in relating some of their alleged advice to Greek religious observance.

It has already been suggested that although the Sibylline Books represented direct Greek influence in Roman religion, they were frequently confused with or diluted by Etruscan and other prophetic writings. This, we aver, was the main reason for the periodic recension of the Sibylline Books and though not perhaps applicable to all cases, it at least accounts for the custom. It is stated by Wissowa (R. u. K., note to page 536) that the expressions Libri Sibyllini, libri fatales and libri simply, are for Rome completely identical. He goes on to admit that there were other libri fatales in Veii, as indicated by Livy (V, 15ff). In accordance with this principle of identification, in the list given by Wissowa of the forms of worship introduced by the Sibylline Books the Ludi Taurii are included. The celebration of these games is mentioned by Livy, XXXIX, 22, i, but without reference to their introduction. They are also discussed by Servius (Aen. II, 140) but here they are said to have been introduced ex libris fatalibus and we are told that some thought the Sabines had such games. Our only other source is Festus (p. 351) who assigns their introduction to the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. F. Altheim (in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Taurii Ludi) agrees with Wissowa that these games were introduced by the advice of the Sibylline Books

which were identical with the libri fatales, but is anxious to prove that, nevertheless, the Ludi Taurii came to Rome through Etruscan influence. This is unnecessarily difficult, as there is in fact no evidence for the identification of "libri fatales" with the Sibylline Books.

It is often suggested that the Ludi Apollinares were first introduced on the advice of the Sibylline Books, but as noted by Warde Fowler (The Religious Experience of the Roman People) they were, according to Livy's account (XXV, 12) introduced by one of the prophecies of Marcius. Another reference, this time to "libri" without qualification, is in Livy III, 10. Here the mention of duumviri suggests that they may be the Sibylline Books, and that Livy did not think it necessary to identify them more distinctly. This, if indeed it applies here, does not apply to cases where the duumviri are not mentioned. (For a further account of Livy's references to prophetic books, see Additional Note at the end of this chapter.)

The passage of Livy (V, 15) mentioned above is interesting in this connection. "Sic igitur libris fatalibus sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse....." These, however, are the reported words of an Etruscan haruspex, and to suppose that by "libri fatales" he meant the Sibylline Books is to assume that a man of Veii, then actually an enemy, had access to or knowledge of the contents of books not usually

accessible even to Roman citizens. In connection with this incident there is no mention of a consultation of the Sibylline Books, though the Delphic oracle is involved. To that extent, we have here a situation, whether historically true or not, resembling that which must have existed before the introduction of the Sibylline Books. Before, that, the alternatives were Delphi or Etruria; and whenever the Books failed or the dilemma was not considered to be of a type for which the Books might usefully be consulted, the Romans returned to the older methods. (cf. Livy XXII, 57) That in the passage quoted above the words "libris fatalibus" are placed side by side with "disciplina Etrusca" suggests that the haruspex is appealing to the religious expedients of his own nation, which would be well-known also to the Romans. This is not to say that "libri fatales" and "disciplina Etrusca" are one and the same, but that they belong to the same national religion.

It seems that it would be difficult to prove that "libri fatales", even when it refers to books existing at Rome, necessarily means the Sibylline Books, especially when we know that other prophecies such as those of Marcius and Vegoë were actually used by the Romans. Incidentally, in Livy XXV, 12, ix, the so-called prophecy of Marcius, the performance of the necessary sacrifices is required of the decemviri. We cannot assume from this that the decemviri

necessarily had change of other books of prophecy in addition to the Sibylline, but the various prophetic books must have been closely associated in the minds of the Romans for such a confusion, if confusion it is, to arise. Further, if no other writings were ever associated with them, why were the Sibylline Books revised in later times? A further objection to the assumption that the "libri fatales" were the Sibylline Books is that the remedies prescribed by the books, if taken together, are so various as to make it incredible that they proceed from one set of books representing Greek religious ideas current at one period in one or possibly two localities.

In the absence of any more definite evidence, it seems reasonable to interpret "libri fatales" as a general and "libri Sibyllini" as a particular term for an expedient well-known in the fifth and sixth centuries not only at Rome but in Etruscan and possibly also Sabine towns (cf. the use of "fatalia", e.g. Livy XXXIX, 46, with reference to the prophecies of a "vates"). To suppose that at the time of the arrival of the Sibylline Books in Rome such an idea was unknown or unfamiliar in Rome and Etruria is to suggest that the idea of prophetic books and the whole impulse to adopt them came from Magna Graecia. But there is no trace of the use of such books among the Greeks of Magna Graecia and in fact only the unsubstantial Sibyl-legend supported by casual, scattered verses. We have already remarked that Tarquin in the story

did not receive the books with any enthusiasm. But that is not to say that he disapproved of them as prophetic books. If this story reflects any truth at all, he probably hesitated to commit himself or Rome so finally to Greek (post-Homeric) religion. We need not, however, stress the personality of Tarquin as introduced by the legend, for it is more probable that the idea of those particular books arose from a more progressive Roman element and that the reluctance was shown by the Tuscan ruling and priestly party.

The Etruscans, we gather, quite early in their settlement of Italy, were using other sources of prophecy such as the Delphic oracle and passed on this usage to the Romans. In Livy V, 13, the Romans consult both the Delphic oracle and the Etruscan haruspex with this "libri fatales," but such double consultations are rare in our records. After the arrival of the Sibylline Books, as we have remarked (Chapter III), the Romans did not often consult Delphi, and even in Greek religion it is probable that the Sibyl was to some extent in opposition to or competition with the Pythian priestess. The Etruscan interest in Delphi must have been strong at some time, especially in Caere and Spina, and seems to have dated from an early period if Herodotus' reference in Book I, 167, has any foundation. It would have been difficult at any date much earlier than this for the Etruscans to have any influential books of prophecy, though the remnants of Etruscan literature extant suggest that they specialized in liturgical

writings and epitaphs.

Regarding it as possible, therefore, that the Etruscans had some sort of prophetic books, known to the Romans when the Sibylline Books were adopted, and subsequently apt, together with other such literature, to be associated with the Sibyllina, we must next consider the type of religious observances suggested by these books, with a view to distinguishing the Etruscan strain. For we have in this matter of prophecy part of the conflict, which continued with varying intensity at Rome for about five centuries, between what may be called the Etruscan and the Greek spirit in religion.

If we omit the introduction of characteristically Greek deities and rites, the main type of religious celebration adopted by the Romans either through prophetic books or explicitly from the Etruscans took the form of games, sometimes associated with funeral rites or sacrifices to "di inferi". These games are usually (e.g. Livy VII, 2, 4-7) introduced in cases of famine or pestilence or both (for the association of these emergencies see Chapter V). In many such cases more substantial assistance was also procured from Etruria (e.g. Livy, IV, 12, 13, 25, 52,).

The Etruscans themselves had such games, were in fact experts in their conduct, as Livy tells us in Book V, 1, where he uses for these celebrations the interesting word "religiones". Herodotus (1, 94) would connect games, of a different type and with no expressed religious significance,

but designed to distract the populace in time of famine, with the original migration of the "Lydians" to Italy. The same kind of celebration was held by the people of Caere (Herod. I, 167) upon the advice of the Delphic oracle in consequence of disease, but on this occasion in connection with the death of the Phocaeans, and significantly the word used is *ἐραγίω*. This was apparently a well known feature of primitive religious thought and ceremonial in Italy and may be discerned also in comments upon the Ludi Taurii. According to Servius the Sabines, if they had any games corresponding to the Ludi Taurii, performed them "ut lues publica in has hostias verteretur." Festus tells us that the Ludi Taurii were first instituted because of a disease among women, and also that the di inferi were honoured at these games. This, though not necessarily accurate was evidently considered likely. (cf. Livy XXV, 13, and Macrobius Sat., I, 17, 29, who suggest chthonic sacrifices at the institution of the Ludi Apollinares.) The Etruscans were famous also for the celebration of funeral games and the Romans were inclined to extravagance on such occasions (e.g. Livy II, 7) if not restrained by sumptuary laws. In later times both the funeral celebrations and the other games included gladiatorial shows, (for introduction of gladiators at a funeral see Livy, Per. XVI, and Cass. Dio, XXXVII, 51, 4) which were a usual accompaniment of funeral rites in Etruria. Funeral celebrations including less barbarous contests were held also in Greece from the Homeric age.

Such games, with or without gladiators, seem to have been a feature of Etruscan and Roman religion from quite an early date (Livy V, 1, at Veii; I, 35, at Rome under Tarquinius Priscus: cf. Tertullian, de Spect. V, 92). Livy informs us that it was for this purpose that the Circus Maximus, where it was afterwards customary to hold the Ludi Apollinares, was built. The nine-day festival (Livy, I, 31) is reminiscent also of Roman funerals. It is in fact hardly an unwarranted assumption that such games were one of the oldest forms of religious rite among the Etruscans, may even have been known to them before their settlement in Italy, and that they may have some connection with the worship of the dead or of the gods of the dead.

Another type of spectacle, frequently incorporated in these games, and in at least one case (Livy XLI, 28) in funeral celebrations, was the ludi scaenici. These, according to Livy (VII, 2, 4-7) were also of Etruscan origin, and in his account the "artifices" remind us of the Etruscan ludi in Livy V, 1. Plutarch has another version of the matter (Quaest. Rom. 289C (107)). These early dramatic interludes were performed to the same kind of music as was used at funerals. Further, the Latin word "persona" - "a mask" is supposed to have been derived from Phersu, the name for a man engaged in a very barbarous type of contest in an Etruscan

painting (Poulsen, Etruscan Art, p. 13, n.2, et al.).

It appears, then, that the origin of Roman drama (at any rate comedy) was Etruscan, and that it was introduced as an extension of the older Etruscan type of ludus which was not always adequate in cases of special emergency. Possibly its origin in Etruria was similar, but the older type of ludus, not including a specifically dramatic element, may also have had its origin in funeral celebrations and retained the connection.

These ludi scaenici, at Rome, however, were undoubtedly associated with the cult of Apollo, though at what date this began is uncertain. The earliest certain date is 212 B.C. when the ludi Apollinares were introduced and included dramatic representations as an important feature. (Also at Ludi Saeculares later, see Acta for A.U.C. 737, Dessau 5050.) According to date, therefore, it might easily be due to Greek influence, but as no connection appears between Apollo and drama in Greece or Magna Graecia, even after his union with Dionysus, and we have no certain connection between the Ludi Apollinares and Greek influence, it is more probable that we should assign to this, as to most other features of these games and dramatic performances, an Etruscan origin. Ter-tullian (de Spect. X, (96)) combines the two possible religious sources of these performances, ascribing the action to Dionysus and the music to Apollo, and including other associated

deities. But it is clear that the music was already in these shows when they came from Etruria and although Greek and South Italian elements may have been added at any period of their development, they are more easily associated with Etruria and Apollo than with Greece and Dionysus. Other evidence for the connection of Apollo with Roman drama is: Vitruvius, de Arch., I, vii, 1; Pliny, N.H., 36 (9); Livy, XL, 51 (also the parasiti Apollinis).

If we are to some extent justified in attributing the origin of Roman drama to an extension of the Etruscan type of ludus, such as was originally employed for funerals, celebrations of victory and for distraction in periods of famine and pestilence, we have perhaps found a more satisfactory reason for the weakness of Roman drama than the causes usually assigned. Among these three functions of the games, be it said, at Rome the last was the most usual, at any rate in later times (cf. Livy's remark, XXV, 12, 15, *victoriae non valetudinis ergo*) but this may well be due to Greek influence through the cult of Apollo Medicus which would then be well established in Rome. But, whatever may have been the original reason for the celebration of these games, it appears certain that whereas Greek drama developed into a festival, Roman drama developed out of one. Greek drama apparently arose from a desire to express something which it was felt could not be expressed in any other

way. Etruscan and Roman drama arose from a desire to impress the population for the immediate purpose of distracting their attention from a difficult situation. Such a development might be expected in the case of such eminently practical peoples. We still employ drama for both these purposes, but it is not difficult to distinguish the one type from the other and to observe that one shows no essential possibilities of development.

Drama requires for its successful development either a strong emotional stimulus of broad and comprehensive appeal, or a clear moral ideal, or both. It was built up in Greece on the former as encountered in the cult of Dionysus. In Rome it had neither, and consequently never achieved any real progress. This may have been due in part to the fact that, although Etruscan in origin, it was not developed far with them and could not compete with the greater attractions of gladiatorial shows. At Rome its original connection with the cult of Apollo led to its becoming, like that cult, too precariously intellectual without the necessary addition of a vivid ethical challenge. This phase seems to have been induced by the attempt both in Etruria and Rome to develop tragedy upon Greek lines, an impossible task without a similar background and impulse.

It is in fact possible that Etrusco-Roman drama had an origin similar to that which A.W. Pickard-Cambridge

(Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, p. 220) is concerned to reject for Greek Tragedy: "The attempts to explain tragedy by deriving it from dramatic representations at the tombs of deceased heroes, or by the forms of a supposed passion-play, however conceived, appear to run contrary to the evidence."

The use of the same type of celebration both for funerals and for encountering difficulties which arose from famine and pestilence can be readily understood. In both cases we have the attempt to provide relief from the fear of death and at the same time to propitiate the powers who have caused disaster. We cannot, however, undertake to decide here which of these uses for the festival came first. Both, we may say, involve at the lowest some considerable development of communal life.

We have sought to connect the cult of Apollo in Rome with drama and the Etruscan type of games and in so doing to trace Etruscan influence in the Roman cult of Apollo. This influence if it resulted in the developments we have mentioned, was undoubtedly in the direction of cruelty, barbarism and love of display, though in the eventual growth of Roman civilisation tempered by contact with Greece, these tendencies were less crudely displayed. Moreover, as the Greek Apollo gained favour with the Romans, it became more difficult to associate such manifestations with his cult. It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of the Etruscan influence in the Roman cult of Apollo in early times,

but it clearly diminished as Rome's contact with Greek civilisation increased. Other features of the Apollo cult at Rome which we have traced to Etruria are the dilution of the Greek Sibylline prophecies and the resultant introduction into Roman religion of further Etruscan elements at intervals even after the Romans became affected by Greek culture. We do not intend this to be pressed in the interpretation of all or even most of the changes in Roman religion inaugurated by prophecy, but to be used as a clue to the understanding of Roman religious development through the years, particularly in the cult of Apollo.

Additional Note.

The following are the main instances of the consultation of prophetic books recorded in the earlier parts of Livy's history which in any way illustrate the remarks in this chapter:-

- I, 56. On sending of embassy to Delphi by Tarquinius Superbus. Livy says this was because Etruscan soothsayers only gave advice on public prodigies. It seems that Livy wishes to account for the consultation of Delphi, probably because he expected the Sibylline Books and haruspices to suffice, though they did not always do so even later. If he is right in saying that the haruspex only gave advice in public emergencies this may be the reason why the Etruscans first resorted to Delphi.
- IV, 26. Vowing of temple to Apollo. Duumvirs consult "libri".
- V, 13. Pestilence; Sibylline books consulted.
- V, 15. War with Veii. The draining of the Alban lake suggested by haruspex. The Delphic oracles consulted.
- VII, 27. Pestilence. Decemvirs consult Sibylline Books. Lectisternium is ordered.

- X, 38 Sacrifice performed "ex libro vetere linteo lecto" by an old priest who said he got the idea from ancient Samnite religion.
- X, 47 Asklepios brought from Epidaurus by order of the "libri".
- XXI, 62, 6. Sibylline Books consulted because of prodigies. Expiations very confused. Greek and Etruscan elements.
- XXII, 1, 18. Decemvirs consult "libri" and are advised that money should be offered to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Particular emphasis is laid upon offerings to Juno Regina, and another Etruscan goddess, Peronia, is included.
- XXII, 9, 9. The Sibylline Books are mentioned and the vows are to Mars, Venus Erycina, Mens and Jupiter. Some of this is Greek and all could be interpreted in terms of Greek religion.
- XXII, 9, 9. "Libris fatalibus" used in this chapter for Sibylline Books, but this is made clear by the context.
- XXII, 36, 6-9 "libri" again. Etruscan context.
- XXII, 57. Books ("libri" only) consulted because of unchastity of two Vestal Virgins. Fabius Pictor sent to Delphi. Meantime, by order of "fatales libri", a Gaul and a Greek were buried alive.

The following list, showing the position of the main types of Apolline cult in Southern Italy and Sicily respectively may serve as a useful basis for discussion. (Evidence for these cults, mostly well-known and undisputed, is collected e.g. in Eadly *Wissenschaften* s.v. Apollo etc., and G. Giannelli, *Culte e Mitte della Magna Grecia*.)

CHAPTER V.

Apollo in Magna Graecia and Sicily.

Turning now to the more enlightened side of the cult of Apollo at Rome, we must seek mainly in Magna Graecia the reasons for the acceptance at Rome of certain features of the cult, and perhaps even more important, the reasons for the rejection or omission by the Romans of some of its associations. We shall first review the various forms and names under which Apollo was worshipped in Magna Graecia and Sicily and thereby discover what happened to the deity the colonists brought with them from the mainland of Greece. In so doing, we shall inevitably encounter the personality and teaching of Pythagoras as well as the legends and troubled history which surrounded his school. Some estimate of the effect of these influences upon the religion of Rome will then be attempted.

The following lists showing the position of the main types of Apolline cult in Southern Italy and Sicily respectively may serve as a useful basis for discussion. (Evidence for these cults, mostly well-known and undisputed, is collected e.g. in Pauly Wissowa s.v. Apollo etc., and G. Giannelli, *Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia.*)

A consideration of the sites of these cults, where they can be established with certainty, will show that a considerable impetus was given to them, especially at

South Italy.

Metapontum.	Lykeios, Karneios, Hyperboreos.
Croton.	Pythios, Hyperboreos.
Crimisa.	Alaios.
Tarentum (?).	Hyakinthos.
Thurii (?).	Karneios.
Rhegium.	(Legends).
Cumae.	Zosterios, Iatros, the Sibyl.

Sicily.

Syracuse and Ortygia.	Daphnitas, Karneios, Pythios, Hyakinthos, Temenites.
Agrigentum.	Paian. (Hyakinthos?)
Leontini.	Hyakinthos.
Catane.	Boedromios, Smintheus, Hyakinthos.
Tauromenium (later).	Karneios, (Archegetes on coins).
Eryx.	Smintheus, Hyakinthos.
Enna.	Archegetes.
Messana.	Smintheus.
Naxos.	Archegetes.
Selinus	Paian.
Phintias.	Karneios, Smintheus.

In all these cases, except where the contrary is indicated above, there are definite indications of a cult, either in the form of archaeological or literary evidence, or coins whose inscriptions bear unambiguous testimony. The list is not exhaustive and there are also many other towns in S. Italy and Sicily which may have had a cult of Apollo, judging by uncertain coin-types and obscure literary or epigraphical references. But the above lists contain sufficient items to assure us that the cult of Apollo was widespread and important in Magna Graecia and Sicily, and to include the main titles under which he was worshipped there.

A consideration of the dates of these cults, where they can be established with certainty, will show that a considerable impetus was given to them, especially at

Croton and Metapontum by the teaching of Pythagoras and his followers. The influence of this school will be considered in detail below.

The cult-names of Apollo in this region are, of course, mainly reminiscent of the religion of the mother-cities. Although many, if not most of these colonies must have been founded after consultation of the oracle at Delphi and under the auspices of Apollo Archegetes, this name for the god does not seem, in most cases, to have retained its importance long after the foundation of the cities. The other cult-names of most frequent occurrence are: Karneios, Hyakinthos, Pythios, Smintheus¹. Of these, the first two are Peloponnesian, the third is a relic of the Delphic influence mentioned above, and Smintheus is apparently derived from Rhodes. Another cult-name which seems to point to Rhodes as its source is Alaios.

Other names, such as Paian and Iatros, indicate that Magna Graecia and Sicily knew Apollo in his healing function. This aspect of the deity would also be known through the legend of Philoctetes, current in connection with Macalla near Croton. (See Giannelli, op.cit. p. 188ff.) The usual forms of this legend ascribe the healing of Philoctetes to Asklepios or the Asklepiades, but most of our sources for the

1. That these and other such epithets originally denoted separate cults now united with that of Apollo, though not specifically discussed here, is borne in mind throughout.

association of the legend with S. Italy conclude it with the foundation of a temple of Apollo Alaios. That Apollo was associated with Asklepios and healing in Sicily, at any rate in later times, we know, for example from the coins of Agrigentum and Selinus, and from Cicero's reference (In Verr. IV, 127-128) to a statue of Apollo Paeon removed from the Syracusan temple of Asklepios by Verres. We shall return again to discuss this Apollo, as the deity who actually came to Rome, but it will be easier to see why the Romans adopted this form of Apolline religion when we have examined the others.

First, then, let us consider Smintheus, who appears mainly in the Rhodian colonies. Here we have a pest-god as old as Homer, and apparently evolved in connection with the plagues of field-mice which were common in Greece. (An interesting account of these "field-voles" may be found in W. Warde Fowler's Roman Essays and Interpretations, p. 167-8) The cult seems to have originated in the Troad, where there was a famous temple of Smintheus in Alexandria. The second important seat of the cult was Rhodes, where an annual festival, Sminthia, was held, and as in several of the colonies in Sicily, a month was named after this deity. It seems probable, therefore, that Smintheus belongs rather to Asia Minor than to the mainland of Greece, and this is further supported by the fact that the first

sun-deity with whom this type of pest-god was associated were probably an oriental one such as Baal. The most illuminating account of this type of religion is in the Old Testament, I Samuel, Chapters 5 and 6. Here the Philistines, being smitten with "tumours" and other troubles owing to the presence of the Ark of the Lord among them, are advised by their priests to return the Ark, with a guilt-offering of five golden tumours and five golden mice. This passage is also an excellent illustration of the primitive confusion of human disease with agricultural misfortunes. A similar confusion is to be found throughout the more primitive or "dark" side of the Apollo-cult at Rome and has been mentioned in Chapter IV.

It is, of course, easily understood if the conditions of archaic society are envisaged. Failure of the food-supply usually led to some form of deficiency disease or to the use of some unsuitable form of diet with disastrous results. On the other hand, the suspension through illness of the work of the foodgatherers or the farmers might mean scarcity or famine in a society where food reserves were small or non-existent. Again, the general lack of vitality and the intermittent illness in malarial areas was and is associated with a low standard of living where starvation is always a possibility.

There is, however, no evidence that the cult of

of Apollo Smintheus in Magna Graecia and Sicily retained its ancient association with the field-mouse. It seems probable that by the time Smintheus had become associated with Apollo and elevated to a position of importance in the religion of ~~the~~ cities, the original limited agricultural function of the deity had been overlaid by a more general conception of a god who could both hurt and heal.

The Etruscans also seem to have met this form of the deity somewhere, possibly in Asia Minor, or among the Phoenicians who traded with the western settlements. (Altheim, Griechische Götter im alten Rom, p. 163, note 6; Whatmough, Foundations of Roman Italy, p. 230.) There is, however, no evidence for a cult of Smintheus in Rome (except e.g. an attempt to connect the use of the surname Mus with this deity). Yet it belongs to the type of religion which had most appeal for the Romans, concerning directly a single detail of practical life. It is, of course, possible that field-mice as an agricultural pest were not so troublesome in Latium as in parts of Greece and Asia Minor. For among the many numina deemed necessary for the protection of Roman agriculture, including Robigus to prevent mildew, we do not hear of any fulfilling this function. But it is quite probable, as already remarked, that Smintheus had lost that precise function when the cult reached Italy. Another consideration, very important for all relations

at Tarantum, may well have been, as suggested by Gianelli, between the religion of Magna Graecia and that of Rome, is chronology. Soon after Rome's traditional foundation, when it was no more than a primitive village, Greek settlers were arriving in Italy and Sicily to build the outpost of a civilisation that was already at a higher stage of development. Even so, the religion of the Greeks of that age might have had some appeal for the earliest Romans. But it was not at that period that the Romans had any considerable contact with S. Italy. When the Romans first gained any real knowledge of the culture of Magna Graecia, they were already associated with the Etruscans, and the Greeks had passed the primitive stage. Soon after this came Orphism in S. Italy, and an interest in the individual and the abstract not calculated to appeal greatly to the sixth-century Roman. If, therefore, the Romans adopted a pest-god of the type of Smintheus, they would obtain their deity from Etruria, where this "time-lag" did not operate so effectually. With reference to the cult-name Hyakinthos, we enter a new sphere of religious ideas, that of the Dorians of the Peloponnese, though in this case we are probably discussing a cult which they adopted from the earlier inhabitants of that country. Through the legend by which he was attached to the cult of Apollo, Hyakinthos also retained his chthonic associations, and this was the only point at which his cult ever touched the Romans. The Hyakinthia, as celebrated

at Tarentum, may well have been, as suggested by Gianelli, (Culti e Miti, p. 27,) the pattern of the Ludi Tarentini, which were introduced at Rome in 249 B.C. But these games were celebrated at Rome in honour of Dis and Proserpina. In fact, we have here lighted upon one of the few cases in which there was chthonic influence in the Greek cult of Apollo. By the time, however, that the Ludi Tarentini came to Rome, all chthonic deities had been overwhelmed by the spreading of Orphism and later, Pythagoreanism. The Orphic underworld deities, especially Demeter and Persephone overcame all others in that field. Of the rest, only a few characteristic legends, ceremonies and memories remained. It is important to note, however, that here again we meet the connection between a chthonic cult and public games. (See Chapter IV,¹)

Another Peloponnesian cult is that of Apollo Karneios. This cult, with its military and agricultural significance, might have appealed to the Romans. But in fact it was not of great importance in the cities with which Rome came into contact at the period when she was open to the cultural influence of Magna Graecia. Also, by that time it is doubtful whether Apollo Karneios had a sufficiently

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With regard to the cult of Apollo Hyakinthos in Magna Graecia as also that of Apollo Alaios, some authorities, in order to explain the two cult-names and the association of the former with Poseidon, have suggested a connection with the sea. This, as it has no relevance to Roman religion, has been omitted here.

definite meaning even for his own worshippers to fulfil the Romans' requirements.

Apollo Pythios was to the Greek peoples as a whole one of the most influential forms under which the god was worshipped. The god of Delphi exercised great power, even in the West, by his prophetic function, and some of the cities of Magna Graecia had treasuries at Delphi. Apparently, during the Etruscan regime and perhaps before, the Romans had consulted the Delphic oracle. But after the arrival of the Sibylline Books, they did not resort to Delphi again for some time. In fact, the Sibyl, as she was perhaps intended to do, took the place, here at any rate, of the prophetess of Delphi.

There remain for discussion Apollo Hyperboreos and also the Apollo Iatros who actually became the deity of the Roman cult. Rome might easily have adopted the Hyperborean deity instead of the medical god, for as we hope to show, they were both, at the time of Rome's adoption of Apolline religion, greatly under the influence of Pythagoreanism and owed their prominence in the religion of Magna Graecia to that movement. The Hyperborean Apollo was not, however, sufficiently direct in function and interpretation to appeal greatly to an alien people. In fact, without entering upon the much-disputed question of the precise origin of

Hyperboreos, we may perhaps venture to say that this epithet, denoting as it does origin rather than function, would not commend itself to the religious Roman of that age. Hyperboreos in Magna Graecia when the cult became famous through the support of the Pythagoreans or was introduced by them, must surely have meant "outlandish", different from the Apollo they already knew, the centre of that strange religion which Pythagoras had brought with him from "foreign parts". The possibility of attaching this epithet to the deity of Pythagoras was no doubt suggested by its connection with Delos, where, as we are told by Diogenes Laertius, the philosopher preferred to offer his bloodless sacrifices at the altar of Apollo Genetor. The Romans, however, were more prone to distinguish their deities by their functions than even by personal names, and if they added the name of a locality to the name of a deity, it was for the practical purpose of stating the exact origin or present centre of the cult, as with Juno of Veii or Diana of Aricia. If, as Iamblichus tells us, the people of Magna Graecia really referred to Pythagoras as Apollo Hyperboreos, the "god of the Never-never-land" as it were, they were probably aware that it was a kindly, half-humorous and very appropriate nick-name.

Here, however, we enter upon the difficult question of the relation between Orphism and Pythagoreanism in S. Italy

and the development of the cult of Apollo in Rome. It is generally supposed that when Pythagoras arrived in Croton about 530 B.C., he found Orphic groups already established throughout Magna Graecia, teaching doctrines of purification and after-life for the individual and basing their theology of the present world upon the deities Helios, Dionysus and Apollo, frequently identified. Of these cults the Pythagoreans seem to have retained mainly that of Apollo and to have added to the Orphic doctrines a mathematical philosophy, a closer organisation of believers and a further interest in music and healing. (See Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion, p. 216ff.) It has usually been assumed, however, that although Rome received the Sibylline Books from Cumae at the end of the sixth century and thereafter drew her inspiration in religious affairs mainly from S. Italy, the Orphic and Pythagorean systems did not affect the Romans at all until, at the earliest, the time of the Punic Wars. Some arguments for Pythagorean influence in the period from the arrival of the Sibylline Books at Rome to the introduction through them of the main Pythagorean cults have been given in Chapter III.

All information about Pythagoras and his followers is, of course, confused by that aura of legend and misunderstanding which at any period of history surrounds those who show originality. Consequently, it is impossible in

■ some cases to discover the facts at all, but in others a little of the truth may be discerned. As an example of the way in which legends grow up, we may note the remark of Iamblichus. (De Vita Pythag., 177). Here we are told that Pythagoras was accused of boasting that he was Apollo, because when a statement of his was questioned he asked the questioner if he would thus doubt an oracle of Apollo.

That the Orphic religion included the worship of Apollo can be seen from the fragments of later Orphic poems, and from the references of Latin writers, e.g. of the Augustan period (Ovid, Metam. XI, 8; Statius, Silvae, V, i, 23ff), to the association of Orpheus with Apollo. Orpheus was also accorded some reputation for healing and the Orphics seem to have recognised Apollo Paean in this connection (W.A. Jayne, Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations, p.225; cf. W.H.S. Jones, Malaria and Greek History, p.57, and Orpheus' herbal lore in Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXV, 12). But when Apollo is mentioned at all in invocations or Orphic theology, he is usually identified with the sun, as in the famous lines (Kern, Orphic Frag. 297a),

Ἥλιος ὃν καλέουσιν Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον,
Φοῖβον ἐκηβελέτην μάντιν πάντων ἐκάεργον,
ἰητήρα νόσων Ἀσκληπίον· ἐν τάδε πάντα.

This is in accordance with the Orphic interest in cosmology. It has frequently been noted, especially with reference to Greek religion, that Apollo was always the more spiritual conception and Helios always associated with the physical sun. The Orphic cult, therefore, would appear to mean a change of outlook here, and this is in part due to their having transferred most of the spiritual attributes of the Greek Apollo to his more human representative, Orpheus. We shall find that this happened more than once in Apolline religion, and as much at Rome as in Greece. Apollo as god of prophecy never satisfied his peoples unless they could name his prophet. For this purpose they acclaimed Orpheus, Pythagoras, the Sibyl, Aristeeas, Augustus and others. It is interesting to note that the waning of the Apolline cult coincides with the disappearance of the Apolline prophet and the reception of the Christian Messiah.

This transfer of spiritual function and consequent emphasis of Helios was not, however, a feature of the Pythagorean conception of Apollo, as among other reasons the more subjective and mystical attitude of the Orphics toward the physical world was somewhat modified by the development of scientific or philosophic discussion.

The Roman version of Helios, not apparently differentiated from the older Sol Indiges, retained the

This view, as indicated with that of the Orphics of divinity.

usual Greek interpretation and was associated mainly with the physical sun, as e.g. in Plautus, *Bacchides*, 255:

Volcanus Luna Sol Dies, di quattuor,
Scelestiorem nullum inluxere alterum.

It was not until Augustan times that an attempt was made to reconcile the two lines of thought and bring the sun-god into connection with Apollo. (Horace, *Carm. Saec.*, 9ff.)

The probability of Pythagorean influence upon Roman religion, especially the cult of Apollo, has been affirmed in Chapter III. It remains here to discuss the Pythagorean interpretation of the cult as far as it can be ascertained from the available evidence, and the nature of the influence they could or did exert. The lack of evidence in this case is a great difficulty and is doubtless the reason for the comparative neglect of this philosopher by modern scholars. It is generally accepted that it was the intention of Pythagoras himself that there should be no written testimony of his beliefs, which might be open to misinterpretation by posterity. If so, it seems probable that to some extent he has suffered what he tried to avoid.

It is, however, necessary here to seek the original Pythagoras as well as we may. For in discussing the influence of the Pythagoreans upon the development of Roman religion in the period from approximately 530 B.C.

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This view, as Plutarch realised, is closely connected with that which forbids the making of images of divinity.

to 450 B.C., we are dealing with the influence of Pythagoras himself and the first generation of his followers. Such extensions of this philosophy as came after this can only be of value to us as evidence of the general trend of his thought or the possible result thereof. In trying to reconstruct, however tentatively, the modes of thought and belief adopted (or adapted) by the original Pythagorean brotherhoods and their leader, we must account both for the existence of those societies and for the power of Pythagoras as a leader.

In most modern accounts of Pythagoras, the emphasis is laid upon his mathematical theories, or those later ascribed to him, or at best, the Pythagorean view of the universe, which was indeed closely connected with their mathematics. James Adam, however, (in *Religious Teachers of Greece*, p.197) recognised another aspect of the philosopher's activity, but seems, in spite of the title of his book, to have been obsessed by the narrower meaning of philosophy, to which any other characteristic of Pythagoras must be subordinated. Our ancient authorities, however, in so far as they serve us at all, do not encourage that view.

We are told (Plutarch, Numa) that Pythagoras did not commit his philosophy to writing for fear of misunderstanding, and if this is true it is also possible that the

philosophical speculations later attributed to him are either not his, or were considered by him to be unnecessary if not dangerous to posterity. Moreover, if Pythagoras had considered that his main vocation was the exposition of the type of mathematical and scientific system associated with his name, he would surely have adopted that most reliable method of transmitting factual knowledge, the written word. That he did not do so suggests that either he was not primarily interested in transmitting factual knowledge or that it was, at any rate, not information of the kind which the Greek language of that date could express. The second of these alternatives is weakened by the consideration that the Orphics, who are generally supposed to have preceded Pythagoras, had no hesitation in writing of similar beliefs.

When we consult our ancient authorities concerning the work of Pythagoras we find the emphasis is not placed upon the mathematical and scientific system. Plato (Republic, 600 B) in his only direct reference to Pythagoras, comparing him with Homer, says: ὡς περ Πυθαγόρας αὐτός τε διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠγαπήθη, καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πυθαγόρειον τρόπον ἐπινομάζοντες τοῦ βίου διαφανεῖς πῆ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις;

One noteworthy point about these words is that in them he speaks of Pythagoras personally, as distinct from his followers which is not the usual practice when referring merely to their

theories. Further, Plato uses the word ἡγαπήθη, and how-
ever weak may have been the meaning of the word for Plato,
it suggests some degree of feeling for the man personally.
It will also be observed that in this passage Pythagoras is
not placed in the same category as Thales of Miletus, is
not in fact quoted as a "wise man", but as an example of
strong personal influence, capable, however, of enduring after
the death of the leader himself. And this personal influence
concerns a way of life, re-emphasized in the passage we have
quoted by the position of the words τοῦ βίου. It is
their way of life that distinguishes the Pythagoreans from
the rest. It is this for which the Pythagoreans are
exceptional, (διὰ φωνῆς). It is evident, then, that
Plato does not here regard Pythagoras as primarily a scient-
ific genius, nor may we interpret "way of life" in this
context as merely a dietetic regime, involving for example
abstinence from beans.

It is somewhat unfortunate that such details as
the avoidance of eating beans have captured the imagination
of both ancient and modern authorities to the exclusion of
more relevant considerations. Men do not inspire love and
veneration either by peculiarities of diet or mathematical
calculations. The former would not even have been noticed
apart from the personality (ἄνθρωπος) of the philosopher,

The duty with whom, according to this view, the while the latter, if developed to any extent by Pythagoras himself, would not account for his extraordinary influence, especially upon people who were not greatly interested in either mathematics or metaphysics. James Adam (op.cit. p. 191-2) speaks of "the tendency to idealise both the founder of the society and the original foundation itself" as having produced the legends which conceal the beginnings of Pythagoreanism. But surely the tendency to idealise the founder was a fundamental part of the Pythagorean society and the legends are very strong evidence for this fact, as well as for another, even more important here, namely that the main influence in the formation and maintenance of Pythagoras' exceptional personality was Apolline religion. We are told (e.g. in Hastings's E.R.E., by J. Burnet) that one important Pythagorean belief was that the end of human life was "*ὁμοίωσις θεῶ*". The evidence for this is strong, and although it continues at a later period than the examples quoted by Burnet, the theory is in every case associated with Pythagoras himself. Burnet insists "that the Pythagoreans all agreed in tracing everything to the inspiration of a great individual", and we must also notice that they were very soon called after Pythagoras. It seems highly probable that Pythagoras' own religious ideas and the growth of his following depended upon some realisation of the possibility of divinely inspired personality.

noi capi del partito oligarchico metapontino". The objections to "The deity with whom, according to this view, the philosopher aspired to be united or to resemble was certainly Apollo." All our later authorities (Iamblichus, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, Plutarch,) agree in ascribing to Pythagoras a particular interest in Apolline religion, and all the legends emphasize this. The story of Aristeas, (Herod. IV, 13ff.) especially links the Pythagoreans with the cult of Apollo. In fact, by G. Giannelli (Culti e Miti della Magna Græcia) it is interpreted as an account of the Apolline "revival" produced in Metapontum by the Pythagoreans. The reasons given by him (page 64-65) for the connection of the Aristeas of Herodotus' story with the Pythagoreans are conclusive, without reference to the fact that the name, Aristeas, occurs in the list of Pythagoreans given by Iamblichus. Giannelli's theory is, however, that the Aristeas who came to Metapontum was not the same man as the Aristeas of Prokonnesus, but a Pythagorean who used the name to gain influence for the reinvigoration of the cult of Apollo there.

Giannelli goes even further when he says (p.67) "del nome di Aristeas si valse forse uno dei discepoli di Pitagore, per tentare di rialzare le sorti del suo partito, mentre esso sempre più perdeva terreno e pericolava nella difficile lotta con le fazioni ostili: sia che ciò abbia fatto di sua iniziativa, sia, com'è più probabile, d'accordo

identification of Pythagoras with Apollo. The belief of mental purpose, and so upon continuity of personality rather than physical reappearance or revival. Aristeas has in both his earthly sojourns been a missionary of Apollo. Pythagoras, in the story of his previous incarnation as Euphorbus (Diog. Laert. VIII, 4) maintains the spiritual connection with Apollo throughout. To Xenophanes, of course, the dog was more interesting than the spirit which might inhabit it. And later students of Pythagorean religion seem to some extent to have shared this point of view.

It would appear, however, that the main impulse of Pythagoras' own religious teaching must have consisted in an exceptionally strong belief in the continuity of spiritual development and the dependence of this upon the degree of spiritual relationship or identification with deity, in this case Apollo. The character of this deity was affected by, even while itself affecting, the physical, mental and spiritual activities of Pythagoras himself. Here meet upon common ground the *ἑνωσίωσις θεῶν*; the theory of reincarnation and all the legends and misunderstanding thereby produced; the injunction *ἔπου θεῶν*; the strong personality of Pythagoras; his reluctance to communicate his religion in writing; the frequent repetition (e.g. in Phil. Apoll. Ty.) of *ἔυρεῖναι τοῖς θεοῖς* etc., with reference to the Pythagoreans, and finally the popular

identification of Pythagoras with Apollo. The belief of Pythagoras in contact or even union with the deity, which incidentally he may have discovered and even continued to hold in connection with earlier more primitive magico-religious ideas, was certain to be misinterpreted. If Pythagoras claimed to be in any sense one with Apollo, the populace naturally said "he is (or claims to be) Apollo".

Taking this to be the basis of Pythagoras' own teaching and personal influence, we must return to the other problems raised in this chapter. First, Aristeas of Metapontum, if he was not actually identical with Aristeas of Prokonnesus, may well have been associated by the Pythagoreans, in good faith, with the spiritual mission of the earlier Aristeas, but understood by outsiders to be claiming identification with him, or the crudest form of reincarnation. Doubtless also, many of Pythagoras' own followers misunderstood the spiritual implications of his doctrine.

Next, we must discuss the effect of this doctrine of spiritual identification with or exceptional inspiration by Apollo upon Pythagoras' own activities, and the effect

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1. This may perhaps be compared with the difficulty of interpreting Christ's relation to God the Father. The confusion upon this issue came to a head nearly three hundred years after Christ's lifetime and may to some extent still exist. That more feeling was stirred in the case of the Christian dilemma than the Pythagorean may be due in part to the fact that more attempts were made to formalize or codify the teaching of Christ.

of those activities upon the cult of Apollo. All accounts of Pythagoras agree as to his interest in intellectual progress and enlightenment. In this he helped to develop the Greek cult of Apollo along the line already indicated for him. It is also clear that Pythagoras had ethical principles for the practice of which the brotherhoods were created. Further he was, like all Apolline "prophets", interested in healing. At any rate, he had physicians among his followers, while other members of the brotherhoods practised certain therapeutic methods based apparently upon dietetics, herbal remedies and "music". We cannot here enter into a discussion of the meaning of "music" in Pythagorean healing, but we must associate it with the theory of goodness as the health of the soul (used e.g. by Plato, *Philebus*, 160, ff., and considered by Burnet, E.R.E., to have a Pythagorean origin) and with Pythagorean and Platonic theories of "harmony". It is also interesting to note that Empedocles was supposed to have revived a woman who appeared to be dead (*Diog. Laert.* VIII, 60). Rohde says that this seems to have been "a psychophysical experiment". We shall discuss in a later chapter the reasons for considering such an experiment to be by no means an isolated occurrence in this context.

Meanwhile, we must consider the outcome of this with

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1. Cf. *Phil. Apollo. Ty.* I, xi. *καὶ οὐ θεοῦ οὐκ εὖ ποιοῦντες, ὅν μὲν ἂν ὑγιαῖ τε καὶ ἀτρύτων κακίας εὐρωσι, πέμπουσι δὴπου στεφανώσαντες.*
 Also note the connection of Apollonius with the cult of Asklepios, and the attempt to associate Asklepiian healing with moral judgment and moral purification.

regard to the cult of Apollo. Pythagoras is now revealed as a religious leader, in the succession of the "prophets of Apollo", who gained followers and fame through a personality which reached exceptional development in the exercise of a religion founded upon the cult of Apollo (especially the Delian version). Under his influence and that of his followers, this cult was extended in the direction of mild, and mainly rational methods of healing and of intellectual progress and a broader spiritual outlook.

Of this ample provision, spread before long throughout Magna Graecia and Sicily, the Romans took what crumbs they were able to digest, as well as some (e.g. the contents of the so-called Books of Numa) which they were never really able to assimilate. They received Apollo Iatros and some notion of less primitive healing methods; in the spiritual realm they accepted, with new deities of the after-life, a less barbarous view of death than the Etruscans had been able to bestow. They missed, of course, a great deal more than they grasped, as indeed did Pythagoras' Greek followers also, in particular the attempt to find a common basis for the religion and science of their day.

Some of the Pythagorean ideas which the Romans were unable to grasp at this early period recurred later, and we can trace throughout Roman religion the struggle between these higher and purer religious views and the

darker strain assisted by the Etruscans. The main features of this contest became less marked after the Augustan "revival", but it is interesting to find, for example, that Apollonius of Tyana is related to have protested against the Etrusco-Roman type of gladiatorial show as celebrated then at Athens (Phil. Apollo. Ty. IV, xxii).

It is clear that when the Romans adopted Apollo Iatros from Magna Graecia the whole region must have been affected by Pythagorean influence in the cult of Apollo. It is more reasonable to suppose that the cult of Apollo Iatros itself arose through Pythagorean influence than to seek some racial or local connection, e.g. with Korythos in the Peloponnese. There can at any rate be no doubt that the Romans accepted the Apollo of Magna Graecia mainly in his healing function because the need for this in Rome was felt and understood, and that in so doing they received, in however small a proportion, some of the influence of Pythagoras.

CHAPTER VI.

The Sibylline Books.

In discussing the Sibylline Books we shall find that our subject falls readily into two parts, the idea of the Sibyl and the idea of the books. We have already given reasons for supposing that the former was adopted from the Greeks and the latter from the Etruscans. In fact, the idea of the Sibyl belongs to the broad, imaginative outlook more characteristic of the Greeks, and that of the books to the narrower practical efficiency of the Etruscans. Each of these phases of thought can be found outside the classical Roman period, but they combined to produce a conception peculiar to the Romans and remarkably enduring. Even at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. it was thought necessary to burn these books in order to end their heathen influence, and still they were lamented by nationalistic poets who regretted the passing of the old Roman religion. Nor was it only the pagan who revered these books and their prophetess. The early Christian writers were quick to see the value of the Sibyl's support and their attempts to utilize it were inspired at least by a genuine respect for the idea and its authority. Tertullian thought that the Jewish oracles published under the name of the Sibyl were genuine and the original prophecies mere imitations: "You,

too, I think have a Sibyl - since this name belonging to a true prophetess of the true god has been very widely used to cover those who seemed to prophesy." (Apol. XIX, 1. (Loeb.).

The idea of the Sibyl was, as is well known, widespread in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean at least from the time of Heraclitus onwards. Three places especially claimed to be the home of the original Sibyl, and many years after the birth of the legend Varro could mention ten well-authenticated Sibyls. Yet, in spite of this, the Sibyl was, among the Greeks, more of a legendary marvel than a prophetic expedient. This was no doubt due to the rival attractions of the oracles at Delphi and elsewhere, which were for the Greeks of the classical period more accessible and of established reputation. Among the many conjectures as to the origin of the Sibyl legend it has been suggested that it was invented by the Greeks of Asia Minor to compete with the fame of the Delphic Apollo or with the authority of the Homeric poems. It has also been connected with Orphism (Bailey) and its origin assigned to the early years of that movement in Greece. While it is difficult to find any such connection in legend, origin or doctrine, the two developments are similar in certain respects. Both grew up and flourished rather among the people than the priest-hoods; neither had important shrines or considerable artistic representations, yet both appealed strongly to the

imagination and supplied a much-needed assurance which more primitive or less adaptable cults were failing to provide.

The Romans, however, had no such superfluity of prophetic guidance as the Greeks, and in their earlier years they were obliged to make the journey to Delphi to question the oracle. There is no indication that the Sibyl during her residence at Cumae enjoyed any reputation for her current prophecies. Even Tarquinius Superbus, it would appear, sent to Delphi to enquire concerning a land-settlement problem (Livy, I, 56) and according to this account the oracle did not attempt to support the Tarquins but was suspiciously vague when questioned as to the future ruler of Rome. The verses in the Sibylline Books were not mainly of Cumaean origin, but from Erythrae, whither Augustus sent for a new collection in later days. As will be suggested below, the original oracles must have been widely sought to suit the peculiarly difficult requirements of the Romans. Other additions were made to the books from time to time, as is indicated by the traditions which associate with those of the Sibyl at Rome the prophecies of Marcius and Vegoé.

There was about the idea of the Sibyl a universal-ity and an objective sanction unequalled by most of the popular beliefs of Greek and Roman times. Here were prophecies valid for all nations, through thousands of years,

whose mother goddess known to the Greeks nearly two

associated with the brilliant cult of Apollo, and yet strangely aloof from it. Nor was the Sibyl a national, Roman figure; in fact it was for this very reason that she shaped the outlook of the Romans while apparently contriving their destiny. That the fate of Rome was united with that of the whole world and later of the universe was readily appreciated by those who believed that her destiny was guided, in detail, by ageless and inspired prophecies.

It is also noteworthy that the figure of this aged woman competed in popularity with that of the handsome Apollo. Many are the descriptions of her in literature and very various; we are also informed by Pliny (N.H. XXXIV, 11, (4)) that no less than three effigies of her stood in the Roman forum. Whether these all represented the same Sibyl or each a different one is of small account here. It suffices that they represented a wise woman, whose wisdom was not bounded by mortal age or limited by mortal resources. No goddess at Rome could challenge her fame, until the Great Mother was introduced by the Sibylline Books themselves. We are told also that in later days the Decemviri assumed oversight of this cult, and thereby whether they knew it or not, they acknowledged that the wise woman whose book they had so carefully guarded was but one of the many manifestation of the Mediterranean anean mother goddess known to the Cretans nearly two

If it be true that there were double the designs on the underside of the archway to the Sibyl's cave at Cumae (cf. Saunders, *Vergil's Primitive Italy*, p. 38) then perhaps the Sibyl inhabited the actual shrine of the anean mother goddess known to the Cretans nearly two

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thousand years before.

The legend of the Sibyl assisted the development of the Roman mind in several directions. Such a vivid, lasting and fertile idea would naturally help to broaden the mind and stimulate the imagination of a nation. That the fate of Rome was watched and guided from its foundation till the return of the Golden Age, that the Sibyl "Χαλίων ἑτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν" led the Romans first to an abiding sense of destiny (the "fatum" of the Aeneid). From this without difficulty they reached the Stoic conception of Providentia and so were not unprepared for its fuller fruition in Christianity. This subtle connection of the prophetess with a feeling for the providential government of the universe is strikingly illustrated in Cicero's De Natura Deorum, where Balbus says: "velut a te ipso hesterno die dictum est anum fatidicam Pronoean a Stoicis induci id est Providentiam. Quod eo errore dixisti, quia existumas ab is providentiam fingi quasi quandam deam singularem, quae mundum omnem gubernet et regat." (II, 29). In Book I, 8-9, where this point is introduced, eternity represented by the "saecla" is suggested as a reason why a mere god could not be in control of such a vast scheme.

But more than this is involved in the Roman attitude

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If it be true that there were double-axe designs on the underside of the entrance to the Sibyl's cave at Cumae (C. Saunders, Vergil's Primitive Italy, p.28) then perhaps the Sibyl inherited the actual shrine of her forerunner as well as her character and popularity.

to these books. The idea of an inspired book is not, of course, peculiar to the Romans. It is, however, important because of the extraordinary part played in Western civilisation by the Bible, similarly and yet with important differences guarded and interpreted by the Christian Church. The similarity in the treatment of these books may arise from a common tendency in humanity at a certain stage of development. Books seem to be a great mystery to the illiterate and must therefore have been so to a great part of Rome's population in the early days. Even later, sufficient familiarity with the written word to breed confidence and criticism would not belong to more than a small section of the population. We may use as a comparison the "sortes Vergilianae" which to some extent took the place of the Sibylline Books when their popularity waned. The recurrence of this attitude in the Christian era with regard to the Bible may be partly explained as an inherited characteristic of the Italian and other races, strengthened by the great Roman literary tradition.

But it is the differences which have counted and are still counting more than the similarities in this case. We shall observe later the difficult task of interpretation allotted to the XVviri and the smaller colleges that preceded them. It is clear that while faith in the books lasted, faith in their interpreters must have been equally strong. Though at least one case is recorded of persons obtaining

illegally information as to the contents of the Books (Dion. Hal. Antiq. IV; Val. Max.) the grave punishment meted out seems never to have been disputed, and the population was more than content to accept the interpretation of a small body of men who possessed few special qualifications, in matters of the greatest importance. The attitude of the Christians to the Bible has been for centuries, and in some cases still is, similar. But the issue raised at the Reformation and never since forgotten did not disturb the Romans. Like many other possibilities in the process of evolution, it passed - perhaps because men were not ready to see its implications and were unable or unwilling to grapple with them. For it is doubtful whether any of the Romans, except perhaps dimly the poets, ever realised what their belief in those books involved. They revered them, and consulted them at first as a practical expedient, later perhaps rather as a symbol. But they did not see beyond the act or its symbolism, like others before and since, blinded or confused by their own symbol. Thus they were scarcely conscious that the essence of their belief was the acceptance of a sanction and an inspiration beyond and above themselves. The ancients were not far from conceiving the implications of such a position for the nation or for mankind as a whole, but even so could not have dealt

with the further question of the individual in this connection.

It is also instructive to notice that the Sibylline Books were only a "last resort" and an intermittent source of advice sought with specific and limited application. This also has been and sometimes is a feature of the treatment of other such resources. In the case of the Sibylline Books it could not have been otherwise, because, as any who were closely acquainted with their contents must have felt, they contained no philosophy of life, no sustained ethical teaching, but represented only the negative side of religion. Even so, this point did not entirely escape the notice of the later Romans, as may be seen from the words of Ulpian (Ulpianus, in the life of Aurelian ("Vopiscus" in the *Historia Augusta*) "Sero nimis, patres conscripti, de reipublicae salute consulimus, sero ad fatalia iussa respicimus, more languentium qui ad summos medicos nisi in summa desperatione non mittunt....."

The extant Sibylline and pseudo-Sibylline writings give us some clue to the type of religious literature represented by the genuine Books. The consultations of the Books, as recorded by Livy and others, the XVviri who guarded them, the place where they were kept and efforts made to replace or revise them have all been discussed at length by Alexandre, Bouché-Leclercq, and other authorities.

But some practical questions concerning them have neither been asked nor answered.

There is the Greek oracle, supposed to have formed part of the Sibylline collection, preserved by Phlegon, concerning purification rites to be performed after the birth of a hermaphrodite. Professor Rose (Handbook of Greek Literature, p. 74) says this is not earlier than 125 B.C. and may even be a later forgery. But if it is an attempt to copy the style of the original oracles, why is so much space devoted to the expiation of a single omen? If every event was thus treated in the original Books, they must have been many more than three. Professor Rose, like others, dismisses all the Sibylline oracles, Greek and Roman, as having been written after the event, but if they were all so written, how did they gain and maintain for hundreds of years such a reputation and sanctity, especially if the Romans took the attitude described by Livy, XXV, 12?

The probability that these books would not suffice in mere length of content for the number of emergencies for which they were consulted is an additional reason for the suggestion made in Chapter IV that they were not the only "libri fatales" used by the Romans. In this connection there is also the story of the purchase of the Books which

verse could bear two different interpretations.

contains the idea that there were originally nine volumes, of which six were destroyed. If this is susceptible of any explanation, it might be explained as an attempt to account for an obvious sign of incompleteness about the Books themselves, or for their failure to meet all situations. The Books must also have been very varied in content and generalized in expression if they were to meet the needs of the Romans for many years to come.

For the Romans expected a great deal of these Books, and moreover the information they desired was of a practical nature and there is no indication that when received it was ambiguous. The famous obscurity of the Delphic and other oracles is not a characteristic of the Sibylline Books, and it is unlikely that such subtleties would have appealed greatly to the Romans. An illustration of this appears in Cicero's attitude to the answer of the Delphic oracle about Pyrrhus (Cicero, de Div. II, lvi, 116) as expressed by Ennius. Cicero's opinion is that Apollo's oracle never said "Aio te Aiacida Romanos vincere posse," because, first, Apollo did not speak Latin, and the Greeks would not have understood him if he had done so; also by Pyrrhus' day these replies were no longer given in verse, and finally, this verse could bear two different interpretations.

It is difficult, however, to envisage a set of oracular verses which, while sufficiently general to be applied to situations for which they were not originally intended, were susceptible of only one interpretation, and invariably resulted in a definite practical undertaking. There are among the answers of Greek oracles quoted in literature a number which are sufficiently vague to be used as a solution to problems other than those for which they were composed. But even so, the interpretation and application of these to the circumstances and mentality of another nation in a distant land would be a considerable task. This apparently was the work of the XVviri, and its difficulties are suggested by the tradition (Zonaras, Annal. VII, 11, and Dion. Hal. IV, 62) that Greek interpreters or clerks were employed by the college to assist them (cf. also Aug. Civ. Dei, XVII). Wissowa (R.u.K., p. 534) while discussing the changes made from time to time in the method of electing the XVviri, considers it very improbable that any outsiders would be allowed to read the Books.

Any examination of the advice received from the Sibylline Books as recorded by Livy and others and its effect on the Romans at various crises in their history will lead us to conclude that the XVviri executed their

their task in the main with efficiency and discretion. That the difficulties of interpretation lay with the XVviri is clear from the line of Tibullus referring to Messalinus, upon his entry into that college, "et ipse precor quid canat illa doce". (II, 5.) In speaking here of interpretation, however, we do not mean to imply that the Sibylline verses were intentionally obscure or contained, like Greek oracular utterances, some kind of double entendre or other mystification. The task lay in the application of the writings to the circumstances and this might be more difficult in some cases than in others.

There is also the practice of arranging the verses in the form of acrostics, which Alexandre (*Excursus ad Sibyllina*, p. 232ff,) considers to be an invention of the XVviri and their attendants in order to get over the difficulty of relating the irrelevant verses to the prevailing emergency. Others have seen in it an attempt to prevent the insertion of forged verses. It is doubtful whether the Romans in the late sixth and early fifth centuries could have dealt with such devices, but possible that they ignored them at first. Most people, however, would agree with Cicero (*de Div.*, II, 54) that acrostics lack the spontaneity which was expected in prophecy, at any rate in more primitive times.

of the... It is suggested (Alexandre, 230-1) that at first the duoviri or decemviri, with the help of slaves who knew Greek, selected from the books any passage which seemed to have some bearing on the situation. But later, influenced by the Greek and other oracles, they introduced a greater element of chance, as is implied by the use of the word "sortes" in Virgil, Aeneid, VI, 72. This would place more responsibility upon the priestly college, as the passage drawn might have no direct connection with the matter at issue. That, in course of time, such of the Sibylline replies as are recorded by the historians became more and more stereotyped and had less radical effect upon the religion and life of the state, may be partly due to this change in the method of consulting the Books, as well as to the change of attitude which it implies.

For the original assumption upon which the tradition and influence of these Books was based was that within them was contained useful and heaven-sent knowledge for the guidance of the state, to be interpreted carefully and intelligently by chosen citizens. But when this degenerated into the assumption of a free gift of information to be obtained without effort, a magical "something for nothing", the virtue of the Books had well-nigh departed.

The opportunity to assist the spiritual progress

of the nation through the belief in inspired prophecy lay then with the college of XVviri as they were finally called. Certainly their power was limited. They could only consult the Books on the authority of the Senate, and Dio Cassius suggests (XXXIX, 15) that without a senatusconsultum they could not publish the result of their consultation. But within these limits they were free to produce any remedy which might be even vaguely suggested to them by those Greek hexameters.

Nor should we be too much impressed by the accusation of deception made against such an institution. Latin writers of later times make much of the idea that the Tarquins and later the governing class of the republic used the Sibylline Books to safeguard their own power and improve national morale. No doubt this was a strong motive, though more likely to have operated consciously in later days. Moreover, a religious institution is valid only so long as belief in its efficacy survives among those involved. As soon as even a single individual outgrows it, alteration, extensions, research are demanded, and if these are not fostered or if the religion has no capacity for growth, a real danger exists. And the danger to a community which has allowed its religious institutions to become invalid is not so much from those who actively oppose them, as from those who, either because

they are not conscious of the issue, or for less creditable reasons, continue to accept them. But perhaps humanity never acts with such pathetically mixed motives as it does in religious affairs. If this is true to-day, how much more so in the ancient world when the spiritual experience of the race was so much less and its emotions more crude? Yet surely this prophetic committee was not necessarily either more or less cynical than a convocation of bishops.

We turn now to the Jewish and Christian imitations of the Sibylline Books, which are one of the greatest proofs of their influence in the ancient world. The early Christians were not slow to find, even in the religion of Apollo, that which they could use for the glory of God, nor were they ashamed to be well versed in the literature of paganism. In the "Shepherd" of Hermas (Vision I ff.) we again meet the old prophetess, very old and very wise, with a book in her hand. Like Hermas, we should guess that she was indeed the Sibyl, but no, her name is now Ἡ Ἐκκλησία and we note that this time she has not been cheated of perpetual youth.

We are not here concerned in detail with the doctrines and exhortations contained in the extant books, but there are points worth mentioning which show that those Christians who used Apollo's prophetic tradition possessed

to some extent the rational outlook once associated with him. These books are chiefly a continual repetition of the theme of final judgement and warnings of punishment to fall upon those opposing the true religion. They are, of course, the familiar utterances of a lonely, misunderstood and sometimes persecuted minority. But it is worth noting that probably the same wearisome repetition existed, for a different reason, in the original Sibylline Books and perhaps simplified the work of their interpreters. At any rate, in these later productions, we have instead of prophecy, the reiteration of a single, inadequate panacea.

Yet there is at least one respect in which this piece of Christian writing is less inadequate than many later works, and that is in its social and ethical ideas. Certainly much of this can be attributed to Jewish tradition, but it is extraordinarily vivid and definite and the spirit of it seems to have been lost between then and now: for example,

πᾶς δὲ λιγὴν, πᾶς ἄρμος ἐλεύθερος ἀνθρώποισιν
ἔσεται, ὡς πάρος ἦεν, ἀναιδεῖν τ' ἀπολεῖται. (II, 31ff).

In Book VIII and elsewhere there is emphasis upon the κοινὸς βίος (cf. the use of κοινὸς and κοινωρία in the N.T. and the Apostles' Creed) which has not since received much notice in official Christianity.

CHAPTER VII.

So, then, has the tradition of the sacred prophecies, the sanctity of the "Word", the divine criterion in human affairs come down through the centuries. So through the years, though much has fallen away, and much has developed beyond the intentions of those who first used the Books, the essential features of the tradition have been preserved and extended.

and in Greece at any rate the latter was more specifically the healing god. The extent of the difference between Greek and Roman religious custom in this respect may, however, merely reflect differences in the development of medical science in these two civilisations. In Greece specialized medical work arose earlier and the specialized medical deity appeared earlier too, though, as will be maintained later, this does not mean that medicine came first and religion afterwards. At home, Apollo, and such vague healing powers as were cherished by the Italians before him, held the field until the time when new and more efficient methods were being introduced from

Perhaps also it reflects the development of disease, especially malaria, in these lands. (Of. S. S. Jones, Malaria and Greek history.) It is suggested that malaria attacks, and the weakness resulting from the disease, could frequently be relieved by medicines used in Egyptian shrines, whereas at that time no scientific treatment was available for malaria. This may have led to an increase in the popularity of the cult of Asclepius (Aesculapius) corresponding to some extent to the incidence of the disease and its effects. While it is illuminating to bear this theory in mind when considering the cult of Aesculapius it is, of course, impossible to apply it rigidly to an attempt to describe the growth of a religion to a single external cause.

CHAPTER VII.

The Apolline Cult and Roman Medicine.

1. Apollo.

Since Apollo was originally invoked at Rome as a God of healing, this function of the deity must be discussed in some detail. But in this connection, in both Greek and Roman religion, Apollo was closely associated with Asklepios (Aesculapius) and in Greece at any rate the latter was more specifically the healing god. The extent of the difference between Greek and Roman religious custom in this respect may, however, merely reflect a difference in the development of medical science in these two civilisations.^{1.} In Greece specialized medical work arose earlier and the specialized medical deity appeared earlier too, though, as will be maintained later, this does not mean that medicine came first and religion afterwards. At Rome, Apollo, and such vague healing powers as were cherished by the Italians before him, held the field until 293 B.C. when new and more efficient methods were being introduced both

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Perhaps also it reflects the development of disease, especially malaria, in these lands. (Cf. W.H.S. Jones, *Malaria and Greek History*.) It is suggested that malarial attacks, and the weaknesses resulting from the disease, could frequently be relieved by methods used in Asklepian shrines, whereas at that date no scientific treatment was available for malaria. This may have led to an increase in the popularity of the cult of Asklepios (Aesculapius) corresponding to some extent to the incidence of the disease and its effects. While it is illuminating to bear this theory in mind when considering the cult of Aesculapius it is, of course, impossible to apply it rigidly or to attempt to ascribe the growth of a religion to a single external cause.

in medicine and religion. Although the history of the two cults is somewhat intermingled, an attempt will be made here to treat them separately in the order required by their historical development.

Discussion of the Roman Apollo as a medical deity soon reveals him as holding a position in that respect totally different from that of Asklepios (Aesculapius) and many other healing deities of other religions. There is at first sight no definite healing practice with which to associate him in Italy. The early history of medicine in Rome and Italy is necessarily very obscure owing to the present lack of evidence, and there are few records of cures performed by or under the auspices of Apollo in Italy or of healers who worked under this patronage. Many have been willing to accept at their face value the statements of Cato and Pliny to the effect that there were no doctors or medical art in early Rome. (See below, p. 127-128)

If therefore we can discover with what type of healing or with what attitude to health and sickness Apollo was at first connected among the Romans, we shall perhaps be able to define more clearly Apollo's position as a healing god at Rome and to trace more fully the development there of the Greek cult of Apollo.

Medicine and religion in Italy, as elsewhere, seem

to have arisen amid those miscellaneous and rather inefficient attempts to deal with emergencies which are usually called "magic." These, in primitive Italy, range from the elaborate formulae and detailed Oriental technique of the Etruscan soothsayers to the hopeful application of homely remedies three or seven times and resort to waters whose potency could only be imagined in terms of the ever-present "numina". But these various types of "magic" practices, even in the confused form in which they have been handed down to us, imply different levels of culture, different intellectual background, as well as differences of physical environment.

First, there are the early Italian and barbarian deities of healing, some of which persisted locally for many centuries. Many of these were demi-gods or heroes perhaps enshrining the memory of famous tribal healers. Others were vague personifications of very ancient animistic cults. Of the former, the priest delineated by Virgil, (Aen. VII, 750f.) "fortissimus Umbro" is the type. Such healers, both divine and human, seem to have been fairly common (e.g. Pliny, N.H. XXVIII, 6, (3)). In the case of the "Marsi" a tribe seems to have possessed and exercised sufficient medical knowledge, especially as regards serpent bites, to gain the reputation of being each and all able to

heal as well as personally immune. From Pliny's account of these people (as above and N.H. XXV, 5, (2); also Gell. Noct. Att. I, xvi, 11) they appear to have had among them snake-charmers whose art was hereditary and probably included some slight medical knowledge. It is not clear whether the Marsi served any deity (Angitia?) but there must have been other such healers whose art was linked with primitive religion, as for example in the cult of Bona Dea.

Among Italian deities connected with healing and health were Angerona, Angitia, Feronia, Strenia, Vacuna, Carna, Belenus, Re'itia, (See W.A. Jayne, Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations, and Whatmough, Foundations of Roman Italy, etc.). These can, of course, only be called Italian in the sense that they were to be found on Italian soil in historic or late pre-historic times. As will be noticed, this list, and probably any more protracted catalogue, consists mainly of female deities. We are reminded here of the female element in the most primitive religion of the Mediterranean basin. There were other goddesses in this sphere, such as those connected with child-birth and those bearing the names of certain diseases. We may also glance at the Etruscan cults here, noting that many of these were feminine.

But of these goddesses of health or healing, we have perhaps most information about Bona Dea. She, like several

others, ultimately found a sanctuary at Rome, but her cult existed also at Bovillae and elsewhere in central Italy. She has also been identified with an Umbrian deity (Conway, *Italic Dialects*). Apparently here temples were centres of healing where herbs were stored for that purpose and where priests and other attendants dispensed primitive remedies. Snakes are said to have been kept in the temple and are associated with the cult, as with that of Aesculapius and other healing deities. The importance of the snake in the primitive religions of these Mediterranean countries has aroused much discussion and speculation, but Pliny at any rate (N.H. XXIX, 22) gives us the point of view of a practical Roman. Primitive medicine in Italy seems to have been rather obsessed with the treatment of snake-bite, but surely that is, at any rate in part, because not only were they common among the country workers, but they were dangerous and yet could be treated with some success by the tribal healer. With a minimum of technical knowledge and equipment a peasant could be rescued by the healer from what his companions would know to be imminent death. But the efforts of the ill-equipped "medicus" in cases of organic disease would seldom meet with such brilliant success. This probably accounts for the negative attitude to sickness shown by the early Romans not only in the names and attributes of some of their healing deities, such as Vacuna, but in their great anxiety to

avoid serious disease, expressed throughout Roman literature from the song of the Arval Brethren onwards.

It would appear, then, that this Bona Dea, who was later equated with Hygeia and Valetudo, always vaguely connected with Faunus, and never very distinctly personified, was the most popular of the many forms assumed by a common:passionate female spirit in whose name the profuse Italian herbs were gathered and administered.^{1.}

Divinity was also associated with the various medicinal springs throughout Italy and neighbouring lands. Many of these deities were ultimately identified with Apollo, and both Romans and barbarians seem to have realised the similarity, as for example in the case of the Celtic deities, Bormo and Grannus. But there were also springs under the protection of Apollo himself, even at Rome (Front. de Aq., 1, 4; Martial, VI, 42).

All this vague reverence was, however, prone to degenerate into superstition at any time, under particular influences and at the lower intellectual levels. And this superstition, which in many cases arose from a misunderstanding of the religious attitude, issued in "magic" practices,

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The quotation from Aeschylus in Theophrastus, Hist. Plant., IX, 15, must, in its context, be taken to refer to the gathering of herbs for medicinal purposes, at any rate as used by Theophrastus. This ambiguity in the word "φάρμακον" is only another example of the very slight differentiation made by the ancients between these two arts.

some of which may be called commonsense misunderstood. Pliny N.H. XXVIII, 5) tells us that it is said that medicine, if placed on a table before being administered will prove ineffectual. This maxim appears amid a collection of magical usages and is clearly considered by Pliny to be parallel to them. But is it not possible that this is a muddled version of the idea that medicine if it be left standing loses strength because of sediment? Pliny's Natural History is, of course, full of these ideas, and though he laments the fact that country folk are so secretive about their herbal discoveries, the number and variety of extravagant and confused recipes which he managed to collect is truly amazing. Though many of these are acknowledged to be of foreign origin, Etruscan, Egyptian, or Greek, some are clearly Italian.

Not only was the practical application of these maxims apt to be misinterpreted, but also the language itself. Cato's charm to be used in the cure of dislocations (CLXI, 1) must be in some foreign language not understood by those using it, and probably confused. If we could discover what language is used in these incantations we should have some clue to the source of the non-Italian elements in early Roman medical lore. We have, however, some knowledge of this from other sources, and must conclude that influence was exerted even in the field of medicine by the Etruscans. The

Etruscans had their female deities of healing, such as Nortia, and possibly made their thank offerings to them in the form of parts of the body, as did other peoples. They had their wise men (e.g. Tarquenna, Varro, Res Rom. II, 26 ff.) and apparently their wise women, (Caia Caecilia). Varro, in the passage cited, is quoting another Etruscan, Saserna. Pliny (N.H. XXXVI, 69, (27)) quotes a passage from Varro on the use of ashes for medicine and adds: "Witness the gladiators, for example, who when disabled at the games refresh themselves with this drink" (Trans. Bostock and Riley). These gladiators would probably be Etruscans or of Etruscan origin, and Etruria owing to her interest in gladiatorial shows would be sure to have numerous remedies associated with their work. It might be suggested that on analogy with the Greek *παιδοτροίβης* some sort of medical practitioner would be employed by the gladiatorial schools from quite early times. However, we should not be justified in assuming any extensive development of medical science in Etruria, and in fact it would appear that much of the lore they used had already fallen to the level of magic by the time they received it, whether from Babylon or their own much-disputed Eastern home. In Herodotus (I, 167) we have perhaps the first recorded case of a breakdown of their medical expedients and resort to Greek aid.

It is hardly to be expected that the Etruscans, with

a religion so cruel, so morbidly preoccupied with death and pain, could have developed an adequate scheme of medical lore. Death must have appeared in its crudest, most sudden and inexorable guise to the painters of those gruesome tomb-frescoes. Ancient medicine at its best, as we can see throughout the literature of Greece and Rome, could do but little to relieve or postpone the agonies of death, in comparison with the achievements of modern science.

But obsession with the horror of death and disease seems to have beset those who were most helpless in face of such enemies, and those most exposed to their attack. Death was never "twin-brother to Sleep" with the Etruscans. Homeric civilisation was simple and perhaps bred less disease than others, but probably even then, and certainly in the later days of Greece, more mitigation was at hand than among the Etruscans. Further, the Etruscans had apparently little respect for or interest in the body as an intricate and precious vehicle of life here or hereafter. It is therefore difficult to associate the barbarous cruelty of the Apollo of Veii with later conceptions of Apollo. Etruria can, we feel, have made only a small contribution to the vision of healing expressed for example by Virgil (Aen. XII, 391ff.):

"Non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra
proveniunt, neque te, Aenea, mea dextera servat:
maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora remittit."

The religion of Apollo, in the field of medicine, clearly represents a new spirit, an importation easily grafted

on to the old beliefs. For we have seen what these old beliefs included in this sphere. We are told also that the word "medicus" is of Italic origin. If so, it must surely have been used in connection with the above mentioned local medical customs. Both Cato and Varro in their works on agriculture speak of doctors as if they were numerous enough in their time to have been called in even by country folk - a practice which they discourage. Varro (Res Rom. XVI, 4) speaks of the employment of "medici" on yearly contract by farmers.

These must have sufficed for many years, especially as so many herbs etc. were available. But when civilisation brought with it new problems of disease, the old remedies proved insufficient. We have not now the evidence to decide exactly at what point of time or from what part of the Greek world the Roman cult of Apollo as a medical god arose. As already shown, however, (Chapter V) Magna Graecia holds many of the clues to this problem.

In discussing the temple of Bona Dea, Warde Fowler (Roman Festivals, p. 104f.) speaks thus: "No doubt Greek medical learning became associated with it, but that the knowledge of simples was indigenous in Italy we have abundant proof, and that it should have been connected with no cult of a deity until Aesculapius was introduced from Greece, is most improbable."

Now as we have seen, primitive medicine in Italy

was not only connected with numerous deities but also involved in magical rites and formulae, many of great antiquity and foreign origin. But there is a wide gulf between this and the Greek medicine which arrived at the same period as, if not actually under the auspices of, Aesculapius. It is not proposed to deal in this chapter with the controversy, either ancient or modern, between sacred and secular medicine, but we must point out the probability that even scientific medical development in Rome represented two different lines of thought. These were the progressive priestly school and the secular school. (For further discussion of this point, see Chapter VIII.) We are not therefore easily able to state the religious position of early medical practitioners at Rome.

However, it is clear that, whether sacred or secular, Greek medicine as introduced into Rome in the third century B.C. would be sharply contrasted with the traditional medicine discussed above. And not only is the gap unnaturally wide in thought but also in time, owing to the extreme antiquity of the bulk of the traditional lore and of the real validity of the cults therewith associated.

We have least evidence of either medical cults or medical discoveries, purely Italian, Roman or Etruscan, for the period during which there occurred the official

introduction of Apollo at Rome. During this period and before it, Rome was in touch with Magna Graecia, the Sibyl had arrived and new influences must have come upon the old inheritance of magic and medicine. It is unlikely that magic of the lowest order would be so closely associated with Apollo as with other deities of healing, and yet we have at least one case in which his name appears in a magical formula. Pliny (N.H. XXV, 60, (8)) gives a remedy for inflammatory tumours, to be applied by a maiden fasting to a patient who should also fast. She must say "Negat Apollo pestem posse crescere cui nuda virgo restinguat". The question is, how did Apollo get into this formula? Was his name there at first, or was it originally pure magic, or magic attached to the name of some now superseded deity? The appearance of Apollo in this formula does not seem to have attracted Pliny's attention and was therefore probably not so novel to him as to us.

It may perhaps be suggested that during the period in which many of the more crude primitive ideas both in religion and medicine were fading in Italy, the Apolline religion, though probably never having any definite school or scientific theory attached to it, by its influence helped to eliminate the worse forms of magic, as well as introducing new materia medica and non-medical ideas.

The general trend of the evidence seems to show Apollo as the god of the general practitioner, or even the spirit that assisted the paterfamilias to deal with increasingly difficult medical problems with a minimum of magic and a maximum of clean common-sense. Aesculapius on the other hand represents scientific and institutional medicine (perhaps with a bias toward psychiatry) directly imported from Greece, and owing little to Italian influence. The way had been paved by Apollo and now Apollo could retire as a medical god.

The Greek settlements in South Italy and Sicily were not without doctors and also philosophers whose speculation touched medical theory and sometimes led to practical measures for the maintenance or restoration of health. Empedocles in the fifth century was formulating theories about the pneuma, and is said to have stopped a plague at Selinus by diverting the waters of a river when they had become stagnant. His pupil, Epicharmus, is said to have written a treatise in which the medicinal use of cabbage is recommended as in Cato (Allbutt, Greek Medicine at Rome, Chap. III, p. 60). In any case, communication between these colonies and the mother cities in Greece was sufficiently frequent at any rate from the sixth century B.C. to ensure that Greek medical art would be known and practised there.

Among those interested in medicine in Magna Graecia

during the sixth and fifth centuries, the Pythagoreans were probably the most influential. As we have seen (Chapter V) they were always closely attached to Apolline religion and they had their own medical theory and practice, in which they stressed, for example, the Apolline gift of music. There was, however, among these followers of Pythagoras apparently at least one doctor of the Cnidian school, Democedes, whose history as we have it is somewhat legendary and obscure, but nevertheless important.

The longest account of Democedes, and the earliest is in Herodotus (III, 125ff). The main points of the story are that Democedes, a physician, born at Croton, joined Polycrates of Samos and was taken prisoner by the Persians. He cured Atossa of a pain in the breast and was therefore set free. Thus far Herodotus' story is the same as that given by Athenaeus (Deipnos. XII, 522). But each makes other additions, which though not historical need not invalidate the rest. Athenaeus connects Democedes with a custom at Croton whereby the chief magistrate's slave performs religious rites wearing Persian clothes. This ceremony, as it takes place on the seventh of the month appears to be connected with the worship of Apollo (Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenean Religion, p.443). Herodotus' version also involves the number seven, but this can be ascribed to the magical or religious importance of that number

in Asia Minor, which it is not surprising to trace in Herodotus.

This version, however, includes details more interesting from the medical point of view. If we may suppose that historically a doctor named Democedes practised in Samos, in Persia and in Croton, during the late sixth century, and that he was involved in the fall of Polycrates of Samos, this suggests, first, that doctors and others could and did move freely in the Mediterranean world at this time. From Iamblichus (Vita Pythag. 257 and 261) it appears that this same Democedes was also involved with the Pythagoreans in Croton. In view of his connection with both Croton and Samos, his profession and his historical and legendary association with the East, this seems probable. He could hardly have lived at that time in Croton, especially as a fairly rich professional man, practising as a doctor, without coming into contact with the Pythagoreans to a considerable extent.

But Democedes and other practitioners of the orthodox Greek medical schools were not the only healers among the Pythagoreans. The traditional picture of them, as in Iamblichus, for example Chapter XXIX, 163 and 164, is as follows (Trans. T. Taylor, 1818) "Of medicine, however, they especially embraced the dietetic species, and in the exercise of this were most accurate. And in the first place, indeed, they endeavoured to learn the indications

of symmetry, of labor, food and repose..... The Pythagoreans likewise employed cataplasms more frequently than their predecessors, but they in a less degree approved of medical ointments. Those, however, they principally used in the cure of ulcerations. But incisions and burnings they admitted the least of all things. Some diseases also they cured by incantations. Pythagoras, however, thought that music greatly contributed to health if it was used in a proper manner." (Cf. also Iamblichus, Vita Pyth. 264.)

Returning to Herodotus' account of Democedes' exploits at the Persian court, we find that Democedes cured Darius by using gentler methods than the other physicians, - called Greek methods - especially in getting him to sleep. Herodotus also remarks that at that time the Crotonian doctors were considered the best in the Greek world.

It appears, then, that in the sixth century we find established in South Italy, with its headquarters at Croton, medical practice associated in some cases with the Cnidian medical school, in others with Pythagorean or other philosophy. It is never closely associated with Asklepios, but only with Apollo. It is gentle in its methods, using diet, rest, music and sleep to assist nature, and not apparently including surgery, in fact, in the case of the Pythagoreans, openly opposed to it.

This activity immediately precedes the time when Apollo Medicus was officially introduced at Rome (Livy, XL, 51). At the beginning of the fifth century the Pythagoreans would be scattered and would thus spread their medical and religious views. That Romans as well as other Italians should be thus influenced can hardly be doubted. The extent and nature of this influence must, however, be discussed.

It has been pointed out (by E. Thrämer, Hastings' E.R.E., art. Health and Gods of Healing, ii. Roman) that Cato, who expresses contempt and suspicion of Greek medicine, was not entirely untouched by Greek influence in this very sphere. The *apsinthium Ponticum*, *brassica Pythagorea*, etc., must be Greek. Thrämer suggests that the source of Cato's cabbage recipes may be a Cnidian physician, Chrysippus, mentioned by Pliny (N.H. XX, 78) and that Chrysippus also wrote the *Commentarius* which Cato used. The cabbage recipes cannot supply conclusive evidence, as several ancient writers give similar prescriptions and some such remedies might in any case have been among the traditional Italian medical lore. But it would have been difficult for Cato at that period to have avoided Greek influence altogether, and the Greek names that he uses certainly prove that he owed something to it. In view of our discussion above, the adjective "Pythagorea"

is also noteworthy, though there were others who bore that name besides the philosopher. Pythagoras himself had evidently a reputation for herbal lore, as Pliny (N.H. XIX, 30) asserts that he wrote a book on the medicinal properties of squills. Later (XXV, 5, (2)) in giving a history of herbal lore, he says that, after Musaeus and Hesiod, Pythagoras dealt with this "in a book in which he attributes the origin and discovery of them to Apollo, Aesculapius, and the immortal gods in general." (Bostock and Riley.)

Pliny re-echoes and reinforces Cato's condemnation of Greek doctors (N.H. XXIX, 6-8). He is better qualified to discuss the evils attendant upon the practice of Greek medicine, as it had developed during Imperial times both for good and ill. But his statement that there were no doctors in Rome for six hundred years, which he himself indeed contradicts in the next chapter, in dating the arrival of Archagathus 535 A.U.C., needs further examination. If the writer means that until at the earliest 535 A.U.C. there were no medical practitioners who attended Romans, the statement is easily proved incorrect, but possibly this is not his meaning. First, then, Pliny is only speaking of Greek doctors, secondly they are doctors who take fees, and who in later times were rapacious and dishonest. He does not, he says, condemn the art of medicine but the paid practitioners at work from the time of Cato

to his own day. It was, he suggests, the unpopularity of these doctors which caused the temple of Aesculapius to be built outside the city. So these doctors are connected, it would appear, with the worship of Aesculapius. Their methods were violent and extreme. Archagathus himself was apparently famous or notorious as a surgeon. Cato's remarks on physicians give the same picture, except that no connection with Aesculapius is suggested by him.

In every respect, therefore, the Greek doctors against whom Cato and Pliny inveighed differed from the medical practice of the Pythagoreans and their associates. It is surely reasonable to suppose that the doctors against whom we are thus warned represent the medical tradition received directly from Greece during the third and fourth centuries B.C. Any religious attachment they had was with Asklepios, not Apollo. The religion and practice of these physicians falls to be discussed with the cult of Aesculapius below. It is sufficient here if we have shown that they represent the second, not the first stratum of Greek influence in medical matters upon the Romans. The first came from Magna Graecia, not directly from Greece, and must have been associated with Apollo. It was of a kind easily assimilated to the earlier healing practices of Italy and was without specialized practitioners, mainly in the hands of philosophers and laymen, supplementing the

the work of the village wise men and women. Regular fees were probably not charged for this healing, and there is at any rate no evidence for guilds of physicians at that time. The arrival of Greek doctors, in guilds as professionals, some at least attached to the Asklepiian religion, would naturally cause suspicion.

Some of the evidence is concerned specifically with the process of healing. The fact that the rate of sickness in some towns was very high and that of further developments. The records of healing, the rites and religious associations with them, as far as the evidence shows, were produced by the medical guilds during their period of high mental and material power, and were influenced by relations with other guilds. As a result of this, the original significance of the cult faded and the features of it retained their hold on the minds of even the educated classes, in the midst of a declining general level of culture and knowledge. That this for a time was the case, is the suggestion made in the last chapter. We have seen also the limits by which the influence of the cult was bounded. We have already seen how the cult's place as patron of healing was taken over by the gods. It is, of course, clear that Apollo never lost the association with light and with physical and mental well-being which the vigour of the Greek-Roman religion always retained.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Apolline Cult and Roman Medicine.

ii. Aesculapius.

Among the many Roman cults of health and sickness, only those of Aesculapius and Apollo (and possibly Bona Dea) are concerned specifically with the process of healing. The rest represent the state either of health or sickness in some form and were therefore not capable of further development. The methods of healing, the rites and religion associated with Bona Dea, so far as the evidence shows, were outgrown by the Romans during their period of swift mental and material development stimulated by relations with other races. As a result of this, the original significance of the cult faded and though some features of it retained their hold indefinitely upon the minds of even the educated classes, in the field of medicine the general level of culture now demanded a new outlook. That this for a time was supplied by the cult of Apollo is the suggestion made in the last chapter. But we have seen also the limits by which Apolline influence in this sphere was bounded. We have already remarked that Apollo's place as patron of healing was then taken by Aesculapius. It is, of course, clear that Apollo never lost his association with light and with physical and mental well-being until the vigour of the Graeco-Roman religion entirely passed into

the heritage of Christianity. But the breadth of vision represented by the Hellenic Apollo was never lost or confined to departmental issues even in Rome.

In so far as there was a specialised deity of healing with any wide appeal among the Greeks and Romans, it was Asklepios or Aesculapius. But that is almost the only statement that has up to the present time been made with certainty regarding the relations between medicine and religion in Greece and Rome. As, however, no estimate of the meaning of the Aesculapian cult at Rome can be made except on a basis of a certain relation between these two spheres of thought and work and those who were connected with them, some attempt will be made here, first, to discuss their relationship in the Greek world, then to trace its development among the Romans. It may be objected that the evidence we have of these matters is at present very slight and perhaps not sufficient to allow for definite conclusions. It can, however, be differently reviewed.

The clearest statement of the controversy regarding the sacred and secular tradition in Greek medicine is probably in Dr. E.T. Withington's article "The Asclepiadae and the Priests of Asclepius," in "Studies in the History and Method of Science." (ed. Charles Singer.) He gives a summary of the opinion of both sides, but inclines to believe that Greek secular medicine did not arise out of

inspired
priestly tradition. As the argument and general line of thought are similar to those adopted elsewhere (e.g. Singer, Legacy of Greece, art. Greek Medicine; Religion and Science; A short History of Medicine; Allbutt, Greek Medicine at Rome.) it may be useful to consider them in detail.

inspired
This view does not seem to be shared by W.C.D. Dampier-Whetham in "A History of Science in its Relation to Philosophy and Religion," where however the subject is not discussed at any length. In passing, it may be said that his reminder that "even to-day, charms are relied on in some parts of England and Wales," (p.28) is timely, in view of those criticisms of ancient medicine which disparage it because of its connection with low forms of magic.

as also
To resume, Dr. Withington says: "It seems improbable that anyone should even begin to study the natural course of disease, the great object of Hippocratic medicine, in conditions where supernatural intervention was continually expected." (p. 195 op. cit.) It is difficult to accept this statement in its entirety, and still more difficult to accept the other points made. The argument seems to be that because Hippocrates and his followers did not practise in temples or include in their writings actual priestly evidence, therefore secular medicine in Greece did not even develop from the priestly practice. We are told that the Hippocratic Art "makes no claim to supernatural aids or

inspired knowledge", but "clearly has and ever will have its essence in causation and the power of foretelling" - which is surely just the supernatural part of it. The secular theory, moreover, is supported by the fact that Plato classes doctors as *δημοειγοί*, with artists, pilots and others. But many of these also were members of guilds sacred to gods.

The matter is summed up (op. cit. p. 202) in the statement: "Possibly there was at first a simple shrine at Cos, where the Asclepiadae celebrated the name of their patron but did not expect him to appear ; while the dream oracle and the snakes came later from Epidaurus, and were for a time deliberately ignored by the medical school." It is certain, however, that the dream oracle and the snakes, as also the "Dorian earth-god followed by mystic snakes" (p.201) belong to a far more primitive level of culture than the Hippocratic school, and that, whatever position these physicians may publicly have professed with regard to the popular religious culture, both contemporary and archaic, of their race, it was their heritage and consciously or unconsciously the starting-point of all their speculation. Far from it being the case that "arts are not learnt in temples by observing real or supposed supernatural intervention" (p. 205) it is surely possible to achieve there, as elsewhere, "experience and the application of reason",

not only "to the natures of men and things", but to other processes which may possibly lie outside these categories.

The main piece of evidence adduced to prove that the Hippocratic school was independent of and unaffected by the cult of Asklepios is that there is little mention of it in their works, though it might be suggested that the religious would not necessarily introduce irrelevances into their scientific treatises. Incidentally, Aristophanes' "Plutus" has sometimes been alleged as a proof that the Asklepieia were discredited in Greece at that time. In that respect, however, they were in good company, since Aristophanes also satirized Socrates, - nor did that lessen his influence upon the progress of Greek philosophy.

The question of the attitude to Asklepios in the works of the Hippocratic school is, however, important for this discussion, and the negative conclusion mentioned above may perhaps not be entirely justified. The best-known and perhaps one of the most influential items of the Hippocratic literature is the Oath. The date of this may not be definitely fixed, but it is considered by the best authorities to be at least in the same spirit as the rest of this collection. The Oath is to be taken in the name of Apollo, Asklepios, Hygeia and Panakeia. These, we are sometimes told, are merely "trimmings" and their appearance here implies nothing as to the religious ideas of the

Hippocratic physicians. But if so, what was the purpose of their swearing by them? The Christians later evidently thought that these names had some significance, as they replaced them in a form of the Oath made for their own use. The Christian equivalent of this invocation of Hellenic healing deities was "Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever and ever; I lie not." (Trans. W.H.S. Jones.) We must therefore note that whatever this formula meant to the Christian, the pagan formula was presumed to have similar meaning for the pagan. The various forms of the Oath are fully expounded by W.H.S. Jones in "The Doctors' Oath", and for our present purpose the modern medical oaths quoted in the Appendix to this volume are very illuminating. A study of these documents reminds us that it is neither practical nor customary at any period to make important adjurations by names which arouse no sense of obligation in those who take the oath. The only deity whom the faculty of medicine at Montpellier (p. 60) found it useful to invoke was "the Supreme Being". In the English form of the oath taken by Glasgow medical students on graduation, the deity was significantly replaced by "the Provisions of the Promissory Oaths Act, 1868."

The next point raised by the consideration of the Oath is the omission in the Christian form of the clauses relating to what W.H.S. Jones (op.cit. p. 53 et al.) calls the "inner circle". These are the clauses binding the

physician to assist his teacher and his teacher's family and to teach only such pupils as are apprenticed to him by written agreement and subject to the medical law. Several reasons have been given for the omission of this by the Christians, and they are discussed by W.H.S. Jones, who cannot however accept them. His own suggestion is that the compiler of the Christian oath thought those clauses anti-Christian because the Christians were opposed to secret societies (as the Roman church is to-day), but admits that it is not certain that doctors formed such a society or that Christians were debarred from joining them. As this reason does not seem entirely satisfactory it is supported by another. "The sentences which encourage an inner circle of practitioners show an aristocratic exclusiveness, which is in sharp contrast with the universal brotherhood of Christianity." (p. 54) These explanations, as the writer sees, are not conclusive. If he is substantially right in saying that the medical profession formed a close society or guild, then surely the objection of the Christians toward it would not be that it was a secret society, but that it was dedicated to Asklepios. In fact W.H.S. Jones seems to be on the track of this when he draws the parallel with Mithraism in Note 1, page 54. It would

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Cf. the fact noted by W.H.S. Jones, in his introduction to Hippocrates, Vol. IV (Loeb), p. liii, note 1, where he says that in the MS θ of "Regimen" a reader has tried to erase the name of the heathen deities ($\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\Delta\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$, Ch. LXXXIX, 128ff.).

the religious point of view." (p. 14.) The writer of
be the flavour of Hellenic religion about the medical
profession which would alienate Christians. It will be
remembered that even the Apostles in the New Testament were
suspicious of cures not performed in the name of Christ
(Mark 9, v, 38; Luke 9, v. 49; cf. Acts VIII, 20-23, XIX.
12-16). The name of the power invoked for healing, though
evidently considered very effective (e.g. Acts III, 6) was
not sufficient in the eyes of the followers of Christ.
The healer must belong to the Christian community, as it
were, and not to any other body or any other faith. That
Christian opinion upon this question became no more lenient
as the years passed by may easily be seen (e.g. St. Augustine,
de. Civ. Dei III, 12, A-C).

This attitude on the part of the Christians tends
to show that as late as the beginning of the Christian era,
medicine in the most scientific circles was not as completely
divorced from religion as some have suggested. But this
conclusion can be further substantiated by reference to the
writings of the Hippocratic school. With regard to these,
the differences among the modern interpretations are still
more marked.

Sir Charles Singer (in Religion and Science, Chap.
II) chose the treatise on the Sacred Disease as an example
of the growth of the rationalistic interpretation of
phenomena as opposed to the religious: "It is the first
work in which the scientific is clearly set over against

the religious point of view." (p. 14.) The writer of *περὶ ἰγῆς νούσου*, we are told (p. 16) "has distinguished^{1.} between science on the one hand and religion on the other."

An entirely different interpretation of this and other passages from the Hippocratic corpus may be found in R. Herzog, "Die Wunderheilungen von Epidaurus", p. 149f. Here it is suggested that the Hippocratics did not entirely exclude τὸ θεῖον from their medical science. The writer

stresses the distinction made in *περὶ ἰγῆς νούσου* between magic and ritual purifications on the one hand, and useful religious exercises, καθαρταὶ οὓς ἔχρην τάντιά τούτων ποιεῖν τε καὶ εὐχεσθαι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἰγὰ φέροντας ἰκετεύειν τοὺς θεούς." He goes on:

"Diesen Standpunkt hebt der Autor durch mehrmalige Wiederholung des Satzes hervor, der für alle Krankheiten gelten soll: τὰύτα δ' ἔστι θεῖα ὥστε μὴ δεῖν ἀποκρίνοντα τὸ νόσημα θεϊότερον τῶν λοιπῶν νομίσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπινα.

Other examples (from *περὶ ἀέρων* etc.) are given of this view, "der sich nicht gegen die religiöse, sondern nur gegen die zauberische Behandlung der Krankheit wendet."

If in view of these contrasting interpretations an impartial study is made of the attitude of the Hippocratic writers toward religion and philosophy, two points may be made clear. First, there is seldom a trace of that

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The particular view taken by the author has led to his translating ἀνθρώπινα in the passage quoted from *περὶ ἰγῆς νούσου* as "natural", which tends to obscure, or at least to impoverish the thought expressed in the Greek.

type of rationalism which is concerned to deny or disparage what it cannot disprove. Secondly, there is here a reverent and reasonable view of life not often excelled at the present day. That this view may be more easily said to manifest "religio" than "religion" is in no way to the discredit of the ancients.

These statements are based upon a consideration of the general tone of the Hippocratic treatises, especially "Airs, Waters and Places", "The Sacred Disease", "Regimen", and "Decorum". The question of date and authorship does not arise here, as our purpose is to survey the development of the medical tradition with regard to religion which was eventually passed on to the Romans. It is, however, interesting to note that among these traditions not only are gods and religious exercises mentioned with approval, but in Regimen IV Hellenic deities are mentioned by name. The general attitude to religion in these works may be

summed up in the words of *περὶ Διαιτήσεως IV, LXXXVII, τὸ μὲν εὐχεσθαι ἄγαθόν· δεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν συλλαμβάνοντα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖσθαι* . Such is the advice to the patient; the physician is to remember that *οἱ δὲ ἰητροὶ θεῶν παρακεχωρήκασιν. (περὶ Ἐυσχημοσύνης, VI)* .

For those interested in philosophical speculation the subject is discussed in "Airs, Waters and Places", XXII, and in "The Sacred Disease", III, IV, and XXI. Since this

attitude toward contemporary religion can only be compared with that of Socrates, we should hesitate to label it atheistic or irreligious lest we repeat the mistakes of Anytus and Meletus without their excuse.

In view of this it may be useful to review the different interpretations of the tablets found at Epidaurus. It is only necessary to compare the exposition, for example, of the case numbered XXVII by Herzog (C.I.G. Pelop. i, p. 221) in "The Legacy of Greece," (art. Science,) and in "Storia del Pensiero Scientifico" (Enriques and de Santillana, p. 307). In the former it appears as an illustration of the quackery associated with Asclepian healing, in the latter "è chiaro che l'operazione fu effettivamente compiuta da un sacerdote, mascherato da Asclepio." The writer goes on to say that this method is typical of the Epidaurian practice as recorded in the tablets. Moreover, incubation is here considered to have led to observation of symptoms, of the effects of remedies applied and of the results of treatment.

This is not the universal opinion upon the methods used in Asclepian temples and a more moderate view is taken by R. Herzog (op. cit. p. 83 et passim). Here it is assumed that in the surgical cases the Asclepian miracles are purely dreams, induced by the physical condition of the patient, which was in itself able to lead to recovery. The same is considered to be true of some of the cases of blindness, but in others, for example LXV p. 96, it was "eine rein psychische

Heilung durch den Affekt des eifrigen Suchtriebs.....",
as also in cases where speech was restored (p. 97).

There is much to be said for this view, and this interpretation of the miracles is strongly supported by R. Herzog's own remark (p. 67) upon the use of "ἔδοκει" in the stelae. He notes that these inscriptions when describing what happened to the patient almost always say "ἔδοκει", thereby implying that such was the patient's impression. Thus neither the writers of the tablets nor those who read them regarded them as literal records of the methods of treatment. The only definite statement is "ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο". Moreover, the cures were not all immediate and patients had to wait as much as thirty or forty days, and even eight years before they were cured.

This leads us to suspect that much of the controversy about sacred and secular medicine arises from a misunderstanding of the ancient point of view. The whole question of the ancient view of health, sickness and death is only vaguely understood at present, possibly because our own attitude toward them is vague and we do not readily understand how they appear to people of low mentality or culture. To understand the Graeco-Roman attitude toward their gods of health and healing it is necessary to remember the whole context of their thought. It is moreover impossible to discuss ancient healing and especially religious healing without reference to the parallel

development of it in Christianity. It is, however, hardly accurate to describe them as parallel, since they eventually merge.

First, upon consideration of the Epidaurian tablets, the accounts of Christ's miracles in the New Testament, and the majority of ancient works of history, it will be realised that accurate statements of objective truth were the exception, not the rule. The same honest preference for hyperbole, mystification and inaccuracy can be found to-day among persons of low culture, especially in Mediterranean or Eastern lands, and among children. This may sometimes be attributed to defects of observation, understanding or expression, for all of which allowance must be made in interpretation.

A specific case of misunderstanding of the ancient attitude to healing may be found in St. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, Book III, chapter xvii, L, where it is St. Augustine who, perhaps, unintentionally, obscures the meaning of an incident in the early days of the Aesculapian cult at Rome. Disease had broken out among women at Rome during the war against Pyrrhus. "Ubi se, credo, Aesculapius excusabat, quod archiatrum non obstetricem profitebatur. Pecudes quoque similiter interibant....." The account goes on (M) "Quae cum in annum alium multo

gravius tenderetur frustra praesente Aesculapio, aditum est ad libros Sibyllinos." Further (N) "Tunc ergo dictum est eam esse causam pestilentiae, quod plurimas aedes sacras multi occupatas privatim tenerent: sic interim a magno imperitiae vel desidiae crimine Aesculapius liberatus est." St. Augustine says that the shrines were occupied by humans because they had fallen into disuse as the dwellings of the gods. "Sed tunc interim elegans non pestilentiae depulsio, sed deorum excusatio procurata est."

It seems that we have here a case where a disease, due to overcrowding (cf. Livy III, 6 and Thuc. II, 52) baffled the medical experts both sacred and secular available in Rome at that time. But such is not St. Augustine's interpretation of the incident, nor probably were his sources any more exact.

One frequent cause of confusion in the minds of the ancients was probably the conscious or unconscious use of psychiatric methods. These brought them face to face with phenomena which, though doubtless capable of scientific explanation, are even to-day only partially understood. The use of suggestion and hypnotism, often informal and accidental, has been already affirmed (for Greece, e.g. M. Hamilton, Incubation, p. 176f; for the ancients world in general, S. Angus, The Religious Quests

of the Graeco-Roman World, Chap. XXII, p. 416).^{1.}

The temptation to employ real or apparent deceit in this realm has been expressed very clearly by Sir W.M. Ramsay (Luke the Physician, p. 15-16). Discussing Acts, XXVIII, 8-10, he says that Paul himself performed the first cure, but that Luke probably helped with the others. "In this passage attention is concentrated on Paul, so long as historic truth allowed; but Paul's healing power by prayer and faith could not always be exercised. Such power is efficacious occasionally in suitable persons. As soon as it begins to be exercised on all and sundry, it begins to fail, and a career of pretence deepening into imposture begins. Accordingly, when the invalids came in numbers, medical advice was employed to supplement the faith-cure, and the physician Luke became prominent. Hence the people honoured not "Paul", but "us"."

Such must inevitably have been the dilemma of the priests of Asklepios and other contemporary healers. But the cures at Epidauros are attributed to various agencies. There is nothing stereotyped about them. Whatever organisation there was, it could not have been efficient enough for the planned deception and quackery of which it has been accused. The dominating idea is of hope and faith in a beneficent power, and this was sufficient both to gather patients and to inspire healers and attendants.

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Considerable encouragement towards the use of suggestion etc. many have arisen from the prevalence of malarial conditions in Greece and Italy (See W.H. S. Jones, Malaria and Greek History).

Even "Ἄπιστος" ("Doubting Thomas") had sufficient faith to apply for and undergo the treatment (Cf. Frag. XXXVI Herzog).

As Herzog remarks, for most of these patients the Asklepieion was a last resort, when all other remedies had failed. This meant that the patients were mostly in a state of mind peculiarly suited to religious and psychological experiments. It will be recalled that such was the condition of most of Christ's patients (cf. Mark V, 26, and Luke VI, 43, "ἦτις οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀπ' οὐδενὸς θεραπευθῆναι." What is stated here is implied elsewhere). The psychological factor in these cures is important, and before the use of anaesthetics, when even such anodynes as opium were not in general use, must have been very desirable. The Romans seem to have been preoccupied with the pain and discomfort attendant upon medical treatment. Yet they were not as a nation likely to be very sensitive. Indeed for this very reason, psychological methods of healing did not take hold among them, at any rate until the old Roman type gave way under the Empire to a different racial mixture with a changing psychology. Experiments on the border-line of consciousness seem not to have interested the Romans particularly, though they were usually ready to accept more spectacular superstitions.

This feature of the Greek Asclepian cult seems to have been stressed in the curious off-shoot which flourished for a time in Daunia (Strabo VI, 284, et al.). The cult of Podaleirios and Calchas here is the earliest trace of an attempt to establish in Italy rites and beliefs connected directly with Asklepios, not Apollo. The Greek Asklepios was, of course, known and worshipped in the Greek cities of South Italy and Sicily from an earlier period.

The Daunian worship of Asklepios' Homeric associates may point to an earlier arrival of the Asclepian cult in Italy, prior to its official encouragement by Rome. (Cf. The cult of Artemis, in F. Altheim's *Griechische Götter im alten Rom.*, chap. III, section II.)

But in the Roman cult of Aesculapius adventures into the realm of the unconscious and practical miracles directly wrought by mysterious means, inexplicable even to their agents, do not seem to have assumed much importance or achieved any development there. Many of the inscriptions which mention Aesculapius are mere thank-offerings for health, such as might have been, and in fact frequently were, offered to other deities. Few imply the direct interference of the god or his ministers. Those which do so, especially in later times, probably belong to the days when "conectores" interpreted the advice of the divinity and it was then carried out. This means that the practical genius of the Romans was asserting itself at the expense of the precarious and

incalculable psychological methods, which were probably, under conditions then existing, incapable of further development.

The practical attitude of the Romans toward these matters is well illustrated in Vitruvius' advice (de Architectura I, ii, 7) on the selection of sites for temples of Aesculapius and Salus, which he says should be in healthy localities, near a good water supply. "Ita efficietur, uti ex natura loci maiores auctasque cum dignitate divinitas excipiat opiniones". This point of view is difficult to understand to-day and can only be compared with Plutarch's suggestions in Quaestiones Romanae, 286D, about the position of the temple of Aesculapius at Rome. They are not parallel, however, as Plutarch is not discussing the validity of the arrangement from a religious standpoint.

The influence of the Aesculapian temple in the development of hospitals is often noted, especially in the matter of architecture. It may also be suggested that this cult fostered some of the first attempts at social service, in this respect also preparing the way for the greater vigour and assurance of the Christians. The tradition which associates the Aesculapian temple with the care of sick slaves may be contrasted with the words of Pliny (Ep. VIII, 24) "Vides a medicis, quamquam in adversa valetudine nihil servi ac liberi differant, mollius tamen liberos clementiusque tractari." These words also emphasize the

gulf between the medical profession and the cult of Aesculapius.

From the evidence available, which is small, it seems that Roman doctors had very little real connection with the Aesculapian cult, and even the medical guilds in Rome and the provinces, during Imperial times, offered only a formal allegiance to it, and sometimes less than that. It would appear that the line of medical tradition represented by the majority of the Greek doctors in Rome, at any rate in Republician times, was the more rationalistic part of the heritage of secular medicine.

A recent correspondence relating to this subject in a daily newspaper is of interest as showing the misconceptions which still arise, and also the relevance of this study at the present time. The discussion was provoked by the statement in an article in "The Scotsman" (Oct. 11th. 1944) by Dr. N. Maclean that "hospitals had their origin in the Church. The old world knew nothing of the pity and love which has reared hospitals over all the earth." This led to an assertion by correspondents of the

1. The spirit which prompted M. Ulpus Honoratus' dedication to Aesculapius and Hygeia must have been rare but not unattainable: "Pro salute sua suorumque et L. Juli Helicis medici, qui curam mihi diligenter egit secundum deos." The religion of Aesculapius on Tiber Island may have been, in general, narrower than this, the more so since it was less successful than its Greek original.

2. Commencing in "The Scotsman", October 14th, 1944.

healing performed in the Asklepieia, and later a distinction was made between pagan and Christian work of this kind on the ground that the pagan healing was probably only obtainable for payment. This was corrected by Prof. H.J. Rose (Oct. 14th.) when he instanced the care of unwanted invalid slaves on Tiber Island. Reference could also have been made to the Greek Asklepieia, where the tablets show that, though an offering to the god was expected, no definite payment was made and all types of people obtained treatment.

Underlying this correspondence, however, were the assumptions which have always confused the whole issue. There has been and still is in some circles, a tendency to ascribe all humanitarian impulses to the Christian Church, which is frequently conceived as having originated in vacuo, or, like Athena, suddenly emerging fully equipped from the mind of the Deity. Though, with the aid of Prof. Rose, the discussion in "The Scotsman" was satisfactorily closed, and the probable origin of organised healing in Europe expounded with accuracy, the source of the misapprehension was never precisely traced. It was from the confusion between Christianity in particular and the religious impulse in general that the difficulty arose.

It is our aim in these chapters to show the cults of Apollo and Aesculapius not only as contributing to the general ascent of ancient society to higher levels of thought and life, but also as part of the religious and cultural

environment in which our present religion and culture were slowly and laboriously developed. The early Christians were, after all, men and women born and brought up in the Roman Empire, who could only express their new opinions and emotions by the modification of methods already familiar to them. Had there been no humane feelings in the ancient world before the coming of Christ, and no humanitarian activity resulting therefrom, not only would that world have been unable to transmit his gospel as efficiently as it did, but it would have been unable to express it in action at all. It was not primarily in the methods employed that Christianity differed from its forerunners, but in the intensity and purity of the emotions which inspired them.

While so much discussion of this subject must remain mere speculation owing to lack of evidence, it may have been profitable thus to review the cults of healing associated with Apollo and his circle, in order to trace in them their gradual development and that of the Roman attitude toward them. Viewed in this way, the development of the Aesculapian cult shows the progress of popular thought from the idea of immediate healing by magical or other control of natural forces, to a gradual realisation of the sustained spiritual exertion required for the successful encounter even of those emergencies which seem purely physical.

CHAPTER IX.

The Later Development of the Apolline Cult at Rome.

When we consider the cult of Apollo in the Augustan Age and later, we find a religion greatly changed in status and meaning. It has been noted that the worship of Apollo was not well adapted to form part of the Roman state religion and in fact was somewhat aloof from it in earlier days. In some respects it was even less suitable to become the religion of an empire and an imperial house. The adoption of this cult by the state or its leader had scarcely less effect upon it than had similar treatment later upon Christianity. Instead of a vague but characteristically Greek deity, belonging rather to those gods with whom Pythagoras associated, ὄρωμένων καὶ οὐχ ὄρωμένων, (Philostratus, Apoll. Ty., I, 32), Augustus required a well-defined, stereotyped and impressive figure-head. That both his own character and that of his chosen deity did not lend themselves entirely to this function increased the fame of his regime and helped to prolong the life of paganism.

To suggest, however, that Augustus deliberately chose Apollo as his patron from amongst all the other deities of his time might be to misrepresent the situation. His biographers inform us that Augustus showed particular interest in the god from his youth, as was not unnatural for a young aristocrat well-versed in Greek culture. It will be remembered that, among others, Sulla had shown a similar

preference. Moreover, Apollo as Archegetes had always been a patron of cities. Also, with his likeness to the oriental gods so frequently associated with imperial dynasties, Apollo was peculiarly adapted to an occasion best described in the words of Cumont (*Religions orientales dans la Paganisme romain*, p. 34): "De ce moment date en Europe l'alliance du trône et de l'autel". And though probably neither this nor any other such reason consciously weighed with Augustus, Apollo as god of enlightenment and intellectual progress was appropriate to the needs at any rate of the intelligentsia of the age.

It has been said with some truth that Apollo was not connected with the sun or art or literature at Rome until the Augustan age. The lofty conception of Apollo as a god of intellectual pursuits among the Greeks may be seen for example in the words of Plutarch, when in "The E at Delphi", 384 F, he refers to the educational aspect of

Apolline religion as follows: "ὁ θεὸς οὖν φίλος Ἀπόλλων ἔοικε τὰς μὲν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀπορίας ἰᾶσθαι καὶ διακλύειν θεμιστεύων τοῖς χρωμένοις, τὰς δὲ περὶ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸς ἐνίεναι καὶ προβάλλειν, τῷ φύσει φιλοσόφῳ, τῇ ψυχῇ ὄρεξιν ἐμποιῶν ἀγωγὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν."

Again, in 386 E, "he said 'that the god is a most logical reasoner the great majority of his oracles show clearly; for surely it is the function of the same person to solve and

invent ambiguities. Moreover as Plato said, when an oracle was given that they should double the size of the altar at Delos (a task requiring the highest skill in geometry), it was not this that the god was enjoining, but he was urging the Greeks to study geometry". (Leeb.) Such a view of religion, strange indeed to us, is revealed again by Plutarch, *ib.*, 387 B, where he suggests that, as a prophet, Apollo is concerned with the working out of cause and effect. In fact, Plutarch's Apollo transcended a mere sun-god, and his views on this subject, (*The Oracle at Delphi*, 400) would have been strangely confirmed if he had lived to witness the strange syncretisms of the next two centuries (as recorded for us, for example, by Macrobius).

That the Romans readily adopted this feature of Apolline religion in this period is shown first by the attitude of the poets. W.F. Jackson Knight (*Roman Vergil*, p. 321) has suggested that Virgil originally intended Apollo to be more important in the *Aeneid*, but possibly because the god failed to satisfy his spiritual needs, or for other reasons, did not carry this out. Nevertheless, Apollo appears in Virgil's poetry not only as a traditional protector of Rome's greatness, and the source of the Sibyl's inspiration, but as the god of the "aurea saecula" and the patron of inventive genius (*Aen.* VI, 19, where Daedalus consecrates his wings to Apollo).

Apollo's connection with literature was most clearly

recognised and extended in the consecration to him of the Palatine library by Augustus. The importance accorded to the library and its very definite connection with the cult of Apollo are recounted in detail by Prof. O.L. Richmond in "The Augustan Palatium" (Journal of Roman Studies, 1914, p. 201). Horace emphasizes this connection when he requests care in choosing the books if it is to be a "munus Apolline dignum" (Epp. II, i, 216). It is interesting to see to what extent this feature of the cult had progressed since it began among the Romans with the Sibylline Books.

That religion, therefore, and particularly the religion associated with Apollo, undoubtedly reached a high level of intellectual and spiritual development in this period, can be inferred from the attitude of Augustus, and of the poets, and also from contemporary art and architecture. For the social and political regime which Augustus tried to inaugurate and to some extent succeeded in establishing was by no means primitive, naïve or inefficient. If then, Augustus chose to support a religion to the extent recorded in his own "Res Gestae" and emphasized by the poets, we may assume that such a religion was worthy of respect. Further, we shall see that the cult of Apollo was capable even later of extension and continued existence in various forms. Nevertheless, it was, of course, a religion soon to fall away, and it will be instructive to discover some of the reasons

for its decay.

Religions, or the religious idea, may take roughly two forms, that of a sanction for existing institutions and that of a spur to new enterprise with hope of a new world actual or potential. There can be no doubt that the religion of the Roman republic mainly represented the former, while the Greek state religions were similar in this respect. Few of the mystery religions in themselves spurred their devotees to progressive action, but in certain cases, as for example in connection with Pythagoreanism, they could produce this effect. The question is not how far the Augustan revival of religion predominantly associated with Apollo proceeded from genuine religious impulse, but to which of these two types of religion it belongs. For it must be realised that these two conceptions of religion exist to-day, and tend to make the very word ambiguous.

If, as would appear from Roman history at any rate, the only guarantee of the permanence of any institution is its relevance to, and validity in, immediate or predictable circumstances, no other sanction is necessary. Religion may be used either to guarantee the past and present or to shape the future, but neither in the spiritual or material world can the permanence of the past or present be guaranteed. Thus it is mainly its influence on the future and its "forward look" that enables a religion to survive.

In this connection we must recall the conservative spirit of paganism, which remains to-day in many guises, and

is a legacy from Rome, through the Christian Church and the grammar school education sprung therefrom. The following quotation (from S. Dill, Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire) could be applied, mutatis mutandis, quite as accurately to the well-born Englishman of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as to the educated Roman of the fifth: "he might pay a cold and perfunctory homage to Christ and visit the neighbouring town for the Easter festival; but the whole tone of his thoughts and life was inspired by the memories of the heathen past. With no belief in the old gods, he was steeped in the literary spirit and culture of paganism. The Roman schools had moulded him far more than the teaching of the Church. The unbroken academic tradition of eight hundred years, coming down from the age of the great sophists, was a tremendous force; and it was a force which repelled all novelty, and all idealism which looked to the future rather than to the past." (p. 6.)

The main difference between the fifth century gentleman and his nineteenth and twentieth century descendant in this respect is caused by the changed position of the official body of Christians. In the earlier period they had not yet inherited and incorporated the forms and spirit of paganism, but at the present day, the Church in all its forms is not in opposition to the ancient traditions of Rome and Greece, but for better or worse has been moulded by them even while adapting them to her own use.

That Christian religion is still to some extent in conflict with certain aspects of ancient paganism and to similar modern developments has given the same name, can best be understood by considering the age in which it grew up. The classical tradition which moulded the church and through which it came to its mediaeval splendour and power was Roman, not Greek. As we have seen, the Hellenic religion and philosophy from which most of the Roman's religion ultimately derived, passed through many changes in their transmission to Rome and development there. The bright, light, cheerful, forward-looking cult of the Hellenic Apollo had become the stately conservative humanism of the cultured Roman. Thus, the Christian Church, though admirably endowed with the qualities of this later culture, had no considerable contact in its earlier, formative period with the Greek ideals of free and natural development of body, mind and spirit.^{1.}

There has been much discussion of the details of Augustan religion and its literary expression. Often this type of study is hampered by the fact that most of the contemporary evidence is poetic and therefore not susceptible of a very literal or factual interpretation in detail. It may be profitable, therefore, to turn to the wider issues involved by this revival of religion under state control and

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Thus also was much of the knowledge and outlook concerning the inter-relation and inter-action of body and mind lost or misunderstood.

for avowedly political reasons. What difference has the Augustan revival of religion made to Rome's religious legacy to the world? How far did the revival succeed? What were the weaknesses and strength of Augustus' religious policy?

It is interesting to note, as between Antony and Augustus (then Octavian), the old antithesis between Dionysus and Apollo. (For this with regard to Antony, see e.g. Athenaeus, IV, 148, c-d.) But the position is now greatly changed. Antony, in so far as he was genuinely attached to the religious aspect of the cult at all, was really celebrating a Hellenistic version of the god, which included very strong oriental influence. Octavian, on the other hand, did not adopt the original Homeric Apollo, but a stately Roman tradition of the spiritualized, prophetic religion formed long ago at Delphi by the ancient reconciliation of the earlier Dionysus and the earlier Apollo.

That Apolline religion was unique among Roman cults for its prophetic bias, as manifested in the Sibylline Books and Apollo's inspirational function, is generally acknowledged. It could not be said, however, that this feature of the cult was highly developed in Republican times. It is stressed in the Augustan period, especially by Virgil, reaching its highest expression in the "Messianic" Eclogue. Yet if the prophetic quality of the Aeneid be

examined, it becomes clear that the future arouses but little interest or concern in the poet.

There are, of course, prophecies and precepts put in-
:to the mouths of Jupiter, Father Tiber, Anchises and others.
But these are a clever literary *dévice*, reflecting pride in
the present and past and recounting events which have already
been consummated. The same is true of the pictures on the
shield and the scenes in the underworld.

In discussing the Sibylline Books we have already
remarked how the Romans, failing to appreciate either the
universality and breadth of the prophetic function or its
moral influence, employed both Greek oracles and Sibylline
writings for specific practical advice on separate occasions.
The development of this type of religion, which we see in
the popular philosophies of both East and West in Imperial
times, owed nothing to Roman religion, which had never been
able to grasp or use the analogy between the ritual of
purification and the state of mind and character described,
for example, by Philostratus, (Apoll. Ty. III, xlii.) "δοκεῖ
μοι καὶ τὸν προγνωσόμενον ἄνδρα ὑγιῶς ἐαυτοῦ
ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε κηλῖδα προσμενάχθαι τῇ ψυχῇ
μηδεμίαν, μήτε οὐλὰς ἁμαρτημάτων ἐντετυπῶσθαι
τῇ γνώμῃ, καθαρῶς δὲ αὐτὸν προφυτεύειν ἐαυτοῦ
καὶ τοῦ παρὶ τῷ στέρνῳ τρίποδος συνίεντα."

In Virgil, therefore, the lack of vision may also
be discerned, though as in all the great literature of the

Augustan age, obscured by the other excellences of the work. The "forward look" is found mainly in the Georgics, and in fact in connection with agriculture or the land generally. It is also in a rural context that Virgil's prophetic masterpiece (Ecl. IV) is set. This is partly because growth and development in nature readily inspire ideas of progress and continuity, and also because Augustus' attempt to revive Italian agriculture was a practical measure easily understood and with a special appeal for the poet.

Even here, however, there is that sinister note of pessimism and uncertainty, so familiar in our own day,

"extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit."

There is the accompanying tendency to look for satisfaction beyond human life instead of in and through humanity. Even the poet who so richly enhanced the fame of Rome envied those whose life appeared to offer more enduring satisfaction than the "res Romanae perituraque regna."

Apollo, of course, is seldom mentioned in these pastoral poems, as Virgil is mainly concerned with the indigenous deities of the countryside. It is interesting to note that Apollo is specifically invoked only in Georgic IV. This is perhaps considered appropriate when discussing "mores et studia et populos et proelia" and in view of the constant emphasis upon the community life of the bees.

An exceptionally broad-minded and hopeful utterance which shows the Augustan revival in the best possible

and is therefore a vague and a religious phrase. The light, is the Carmen Saeculare of Horace. In this we certainly find a trace of the forward look, and the poem is, of course, inspired by and dedicated to Apolline religion. The secular idea and its influence upon religious thought have been discussed above, with reference to the Sibyl, and it is seen also in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue. But it will be worth while to note those lines of the Carmen Saeculare which explicitly refer to the future. Those expressing the desire for the propagation of the species may perhaps be omitted, as relating to a stimulus so fundamental and primitive as not even to be confined to the human race, and as much of physical as of spiritual origin. Apart from this we have, l. 11-12:

"possis nihil urbe Roma
videre maius,"

and l. 27-28:

"bona iam peractis
iungite fata."

There is also the following stanza concerning the produce of the land and agricultural prosperity. This, and the twelfth stanza:

"di, probos mores docili iuventae,
di, senectuti placidae quietem,
Romulae genti date, remque prolemque
et decus omne",

form the most relevant and definite contribution to the vision of a "new order". The former we know reflected the actual policy of Augustus in encouraging Italian agriculture

and is therefore no vague dream or pointless phrase. The "probos mores" also had their place in the emperor's scheme, but they were the least successful part of it, as indeed, except in the decree to which the fifth stanza refers, they were the least substantial.

These lines, when analysed, reveal that pathetic lack of reality which has been so tragically discovered in the ideals and policies of our own day. The word "probus", in so far as it had any meaning at all for the Romans of that time, recalled their ancient national character, the foundation of which, in primitive religion and local citizenship, had long since dissolved. The "placida senectus" for which rest is implored, where it subsisted in spite of all the attacks of disease and ill-health, was largely occupied by a feverish devotion to petty political intrigue or precarious commercial profit. This was not, of course, much less clear to Horace than later to Juvenal, but he, like others, was able with complete sincerity to exclude this from his vision of the future and his progress to the new world. These two items are the only aims of the new regime that are particularized, in contrast to the vague "remque..... et decus omne." The same trait may be observed in the work of Tibullus, where we find some of those sentimental petitions for peace so common to-day:

"pace tua pereant arcus pereantque sagittae,

"Phoebe, modo in terris erret inermis Amor." (II, v, 105-6)

This, as usual, is not part of a sincere, constructive attempt to alter the prevailing human situation, or even to acknowledge

it, nor is it accompanied by any recognition of the moral issues involved.

This attitude of mind, so automatically divorcing not only religion and ethics, but any vision of futurity, from the known conditions of life, led inevitably to the stark and unsatisfied realism of Juvenal and his contemporaries. If this tendency were confined to individuals, or to the Roman nation, it might have little importance, but as apparently an abiding characteristic of humanity and a common reaction to certain spiritual conditions, it may be worthy of notice when so clearly illustrated as in the Augustan age of Rome.

This then was the context in which the religion of the Roman Apollo stood and to which fundamentally it owed its decay. There were also other more immediate causes, such as the dying out of the Roman type which had supported and moulded the original tradition, and its gradual replacement by a more cosmopolitan community. They, though in some cases well-versed in Greek culture, had not that peculiar blend of Greek and Roman traditions which characterized the great personalities of the late Republic and early Empire.

But perhaps in the last analysis, this religion, while at the lowest not greatly superior to many others, was in its highest development too abstract, with insufficient hold on life and no answer to life's most urgent questions. It passed away like many other forms of religion because it offered inadequate response to the problems of sickness,

death, ambition, passion, war and poverty.

The Romans, while not clearly conscious of their spiritual needs, frequently express their discontent with contemporary standards and superficiality. (e.g. Horace, Ep. I, i, and elsewhere.) If in earlier days Mucius Scaevola expressed himself as recorded by St. Augustine, (de Civ. Dei, IV, 27) he was, while attached to a state religion of the formal traditional type, perhaps groping after a religion which would give direction to the Roman's political aspirations and elevate their system of life. Moreover, the religion which was to satisfy the demands of the educated Roman, for example of Quintilian's day, must possess considerable resource, if it was to survive the type of discussion with which Quintilian was familiar. There is, for instance, the question discussed as an example of rhetorical technique in de Institutione Oratoria, V, x, 36-37, "An sacrilegus, qui, ut hostes urbe expelleret, arma templo adfixa detraxit?" This is a problem of the type that has always exposed the weakness of a rigid and formal religion. Long before this, Lucretius realised that men had begun to look elsewhere for the answers to their deepest problems, when he says of the Greek scientists that they

"gave answers

As from their heart's shrine in more holy wise
And with far surer reasoning than those oracles
Delivered by the Pythian prophetess
From the tripod and laurel leaves of Phoebus."

(I, 734ff. Trans. R.C. Trevelyan. Cf. V, 111.)

But it is in the realm of personal experience that religious belief and its efficacy are most surely tested. One of the most pathetic protests in ancient literature is that of Pliny (Ep. I, 12) on the tragic death of his friend, Corellius Rufus. "Then, bring me consolation," he cries, "but something new - and big, such as I've never heard and never read. For what I've heard and what I've read comes to me automatically, but it is not equal to such great sorrow."

In face of this poignant indictment, we may wonder that Roman religion, particularly the cult of Apollo, retained its vitality for another three hundred years or more. Yet the cultured noble of the fifth century, bidding farewell to paganism, still associates poetry with Apollo, and indeed would consider it necessary to give up the study of secular literature for no other reason than its strong connection with pagan religion. (e.g. Paulinus, Carm. X, quoted by S. Dill, Roman Society, p. 398-9.) During the intervening period the cult of Apollo, interwoven with Pythagorean philosophy, Eastern magic, and the mysteries and metaphysics of all the middlelands, reappears in neo-Pythagoreanism, in Cynicism, and kindred popular philosophies, and in Julian's powerful efforts to revive the past. Through the pseudo-Sibylline and other early Christian literature, it coloured the Christian's vision of the future. But in all these contexts, the cult and the beliefs associated therewith were only extended in application, not deepened in significance.

The emperor Julian, in the fourth century A.D. said of Cynicism, "it seems to be in some ways a universal philosophy, and the most natural, and to demand no special study whatsoever..... Nay, it is enough surely to hearken to the Pythian god when he enjoins these two precepts, 'Know Thyself', and 'Falsify the common currency'. Hence it becomes evident to us that the founder of this philosophy is he who, I believe, is the cause of all the blessings that the Greeks enjoy, the universal leader, law-giver and king of Hellas, I mean the god of Delphi." (To the Uneducated Cynics, 187D-188, Loeb.) In fact, he was suggesting that the maxims of the Greek Apollo were still the ultimate sanction in religious affairs, as well for a Roman Emperor as for the citizens of his empire. That Apollo's oracles had commanded attention in the eastern Mediterranean world in Imperial times can be seen in the careers of several of the Cynic philosophers, as well as in the essays written about oracular prophecy^{1.} (e.g. by Plutarch).

Such in fact was the authority of Apollo, even in decline, that early Christian writers prefer to enlist his

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It is interesting to note that the Cynics returned to the conception of Apollo as a god of healing, especially in the form of the Greek "Paeon", and in this connection employ the word *ιατρος* of mental or spiritual healing, thus anticipating its modern use in "psychiatry". D. Dudley, in his "History of Cynicism", p. 80-81, in discussing a fragment of Cercidas, an earlier Cynic, writes as follows: "The Cynics had a particular reverence for doctors, they themselves were *ιατροι* of men's souls, so the reference to Paeon is readily intelligible, it implies healing both physically and spiritually."

support or that of the Sibyl, rather than to attempt to discredit him or the ideas associated with him. Even in the moment of triumph, the Christian emperor, Constantine, while condemning other forms of heathen religion and exposing the weaknesses of even the most famous philosophers, counts the Sibyl among the true prophets. The lines prepared by Virgil in hope of a much-needed Messiah for the Apolline religion are eagerly adapted to hail the Messiah who really came. And, looking beyond all naïve inaccuracy and all rhetorical adornment, perhaps we may say that Constantine or his biographer had grasped the essential truth of the situation.

CHAPTER X .

Conclusion.

At this point it may be well to review the Roman cult of Apollo as we have found it, and its development throughout the Roman period, comparing it briefly with the cult as it came to them from the Greeks. As a background to this study we shall bear in mind the fact that the Greeks being closer to their Eastern origins than the Romans, their religion often shows a tendency to mysticism and to a child-like reverence which rather avoids than seeks complete explanation or application.

We have seen that, when at the height of its popularity and influence in Rome, the cult of Apollo was an important part of the state religion. It was in fact at no time, except perhaps for less than fifty years before our records begin, entirely outside the national religion, and it was never to any extent a matter of personal belief or private emotion. This in itself, however, does not mean that it lacked either sincerity or influence. If we would find a parallel, the feelings of the Romans about their official religious ceremonies and institutions, and therefore about almost all their religion, must have been similar to ours as we stand with the crowd to sing a solemn traditional hymn at a time of national emergency, or listen to the speech of an archbishop or king which ends with a sort of patriarchal blessing. In both cases the religious

act represents the lowest common multiple of the spiritual experience of a people. But there is an instructive difference. In the case of the Romans, there were not many people of very high spiritual development and in fact the loftier souls did not rise very far above the general level. Likewise, the general level being low, few would fall far below it. This would be true, at any rate, until Christianity arrived to upset the balance. Under such conditions it was comparatively easy to find and use the common factor, and only too easy for religion to be stabilized at the most convenient level. Polytheism has also great advantages as the type of a national religion, because deities and cults can be retained to meet the needs of those who fall short of or surpass the general level of spiritual development.

We have here some of the reasons why the religions of ancient Greece and Rome seldom received the impetus and challenge of religious leaders, reformers or "prophets". This has been remarked by A.B. Drachmann (Atheism in Pagan Antiquity) who, incidentally, in his study of atheism has revealed rather more about religion than irreligion. He writes (p. 15): "But what is characteristic of the whole process is the fact that it went on without breaks or sudden bounds. Nowhere in ancient religion, as far as we can trace it, did a powerful religious personality strike in with a radical transformation, with a direct rejection of old ideas and dogmatic accentuation of new ones."

As we have found, however, in tracing the history of the Roman cult of Apollo, there was, especially in that

cult, a continual demand for such a religious leader. We have called him an "Apolline prophet" and have tried to indicate some of those who from time to time, for a smaller or larger section of Apollo's worshippers, fulfilled this function. It is probably in the context of this hope that we should place such literature as Virgil's Fourth Eclogue. This poem has recently been discussed by Professor H.J. Rose, in "The Eclogues of Vergil" where he rejects the suggestion of Norden and others that the "child" is merely allegorical. The grounds of this rejection are that the concluding lines of the poem seem to refer vividly to a human mother, and that the personification of a period of time does not occur elsewhere in classical literature. The latter objection is certainly very strong in relation to the argument of Norden which is quoted (H.J. Rose, op. cit. p. 208-9). The former, however, is applicable to Prof. Rose's own theory almost as much as to that of Norden. For Prof. Rose suggests that the father of the "wonder-child" is Octavian, who, though not actually a father when the poem was written, is regarded by the poet as inaugurating a Golden Age for the continuance of which he would certainly require an heir. The mother of the child, however, would as yet be unknown, though she would not be the abstract figure required by the other theory.

The connection of the Fourth Eclogue and the "child" therein with Octavian is very acceptable. It gives more

point to the association with Apollo which is so prominent at the opening of the poem, and it accords well with the contemporary political situation and with Virgil's probable attitude toward it. This does not invalidate, however, the suggestion that the poem was inspired or its form determined, not necessarily by an actual Sibylline prophecy, but by the motif, so frequently recurring in Apolline religion, of the prophet or human representatives of Apollo. To some extent, through its Eastern connections, a similar "Messianic" idea is a feature also of Dionysiac religion, which had already influenced Apolline conceptions long before the time of Virgil. Professor Rose (op. cit. Chap. VIII, note 142) quotes Jeanmaire as considering the infant in the Fourth Eclogue to be associated with the cult of Dionysus and supporting this theory by reference to the Dionysiac character of plants and other products which were to be so plentiful in the Golden Age. If the child is to be associated with either of these cults, however, it is probably that of Apollo, though the two forms of religion may not be rigidly differentiated, or Virgil may have hoped for their more complete identification.

We realise, however, that objective accuracy is not to be expected or even desired in a poem, and that it is therefore undesirable to force a single exact interpretation upon the Fourth Eclogue. That Virgil wrote under the influence of the Apolline religion and its

recurrent idea of an earthly prophet accords well with the suggestion that Virgil saw in Octavian, if not the Apolline representative himself, at least a possible human begetter of such a prodigy, as well as of the conditions of an Apolline Golden Age. It is interesting here to note the remarks of Warde Fowler (Roman Essays and Interpretations, p. 224) upon the meaning of the word "praesens" in Roman religion. He refers to Horace, Odes, Book III, V, saying that Augustus is here contrasted with Jupiter, or rather Apollo is so contrasted. While Jupiter is in the sky, Augustus as Apollo's representative is at hand to help. Here we approach the question of Emperor-worship, which was probably more readily accepted by the Romans because of the foundation already laid for it in the cult of Apollo. The special association of Augustus with Apollo was indeed fortunate from this point of view, and his deification later, as also that of his successors, would be acceptable to the intelligentsia in this context, and may thus have been purged a little of the cruder elements associated with the deification of Oriental rulers. Poetry and tradition no doubt demanded or suggested that Dionysiac features should appear in the description of the Golden Age, but they are inextricably confused with the other forms which such visions had taken through the ages. The reference to maritime trade, for example, recalls the attitude of Hesiod and an

to support the idea that the human parentage of the child is not mentioned in the poem at all: it is certainly possible to maintain that it is not emphasized.

We would therefore suggest that the child in the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil is, primarily, the Apolline prophet whom we have traced through about seven centuries. In so far as Virgil envisaged the earthly parentage of this child it may be readily admitted that he thought of Octavian, to whom might be attributed the very possibility of this Golden Age. The address to Pollio may, as has often been suggested, refer to the hope of a rapprochement between Octavian and Antony during his time of office, and so to a further union of Apolline and Dionysiac religion. Most of the other features of the poem, and its general structure, require no further explanation than that given by Professor Rose (op.cit. p. 167ff.) who would connect it with rhetorical or poetical forms of birthday or marriage tributes.

The only feature of the poem which is a little unfamiliar in the context of Apolline religion is the infancy of the promised ruler. But there are legends surrounding the infancy and parentage of other "Apolline prophets". The connection with deity, suggested in the last line of the poem, may be found, for example, in the legends of Orpheus: the precocity of the child, comparable to that of Hercules, is a feature, for example, of Suetonius' "Life of Augustus." In the Roman cult of Apollo, therefore, we have

traced the continuation of the search for an Apolline prophet, and also, the development among the Romans of the idea of prophecy and of the providential government of the world. Through the Sibylline Books and the ideas therewith associated, the Romans grew to recognise not merely the idea of spontaneous and casual prophecy, but of a controlled and controlling "fatum" in relation to which their own efforts had their place.

In the cult of Apollo Medicus and Aesculapius we have discerned some of the Romans' own progress in the understanding of health and healing. It has also become clear that they did not receive in this respect all that the Greek civilisation could offer, and that we have been the poorer for what they could not transmit. The influence, however, of the traditions of religious healing which the Romans were able to accept has been traced as far as the Christian era, and some estimate of its contribution to Christian thought and action has been attempted.

The effect of the cult of Apollo in assisting to raise the intellectual level of the religion of Rome has been remarked. Magic and superstition could not, of course, be eradicated by the introduction of any new deity, and in fact remain with us to this day. But Apolline religion seems to have assisted at least the more highly educated to free themselves from trends of religious thought which they had personally outgrown, and offered them a reasonable

alternative. That ultimately this did not suffice was due in some measure, as we have seen, to this form of religion becoming too abstract and losing thereby all ground of emotional and spiritual appeal.

It would appear that, in general, the history of Apolline religion was that of a constant striving to express in practice a spiritual ideal, or to find someone capable of such expression. Most, however, of Roman, if not of Greek, religion was in essentials the reverse of this, namely an attempt to spiritualize practical expedients. If Christianity finally proved to have a greater appeal in the ancient world than the religion of Apollo, it was mainly because it seemed able to provide this long-sought expression of spiritual values. Apolline religion prepared the way, however feebly, for this development in the Hellenistic and Roman world, but, as we have tried to show, there were two conflicting lines of influence operative upon the development of the Roman cult of Apollo. These we have called the Etruscan and the Greek spirit in religion, realising, however, that they cannot be completely distinguished at any period. The influence and effects which we are concerned to trace here, and those which have proved their validity in relation to subsequent religious progress, belong mainly to the heritage derived by the Romans from the Greek world.

It seems that the spiritual quest which we have detected in Apolline religion is, in some form, an essential

preparation for the acceptance of Christianity. In so far as later generations have missed such necessary preparation, their understanding of Christian doctrine has been the weaker. From the time of the early Christian Fathers, the Church has also borrowed freely from the other side of Roman religious tradition which we have traced ultimately to Etruria. Where this has taken place, it has often resulted in obscuring, perhaps only temporarily, the broader, freer enlightenment associated with Apollo. To that extent have we, like many former generations, been deprived of one of the fundamental conditions of a higher spiritual development, a condition which, with our present meagre spiritual equipment, it is difficult otherwise to attain.

BOOK LIST.

The following is a list of some of the books read and consulted in the compilation of this thesis. Other sources of information include texts, annotated editions and translations of the works of (a) Greek authors from Homer to Iamblichus, and (b) Latin authors from Ennius to St. Augustine.

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