

## PANDORA'S BOX.

No myth is more familiar than that of Pandora, none perhaps has been so completely misunderstood. Pandora is the first woman, the beautiful mischief: she opens the forbidden box, out comes every evil that flesh is heir to; hope only remains. The box of Pandora is proverbial, and that is the more remarkable as she never had a box at all.

The myth of the *making* of Pandora we may reserve for the present and focus our attention on the famous 'box.' 'Jupiter gave her a beautiful box,' says Lemprière (p. 543). 'In the house of Epimetheus was a *closed jar*,' says the last edition of Smith's *Classical Dictionary*, but a little further down we read: 'later writers relate that the *box* contained all the blessings of the gods.' The reference given for this statement is Hyginus, *Fab.* cxlii., in which there is no mention whatever of any jar, casket or box, only an account of the creation and descendants of Pandora.

The word used by Hesiod (*Erg.* 94) is of course *πίθος*, and it may be worth noting once for all that this is the word uniformly employed by all Greek writers in telling the myth down to the twelfth century A.D. Though the story has attained such wide popularity in modern times, mention of it in ancient writers is rare. We may conjecture that it formed some part of the lost drama of Sophocles, 'Pandora or the Hammerers,' though the main subject of that play was undoubtedly, as I shall presently show, the birth of Pandora, not the opening of the box. The other tragedians leave the tale untouched; so does Pindar. Apollodorus only mentions Pandora as the first woman (*Apollod.* i. 7, 2). Babrius (3rd cent. A.D.) uses the word *πίθος*, and as his version is compact and differs in some important points from that of Hesiod, it may in part be quoted:—

Ζεὺς ἐν πίθῳ τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα συλλέξας  
ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν πωμάσας παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ·  
ὁ δ' ἀκρατὴς ἄνθρωπος εἰδέναι σπεύδων  
τί ποτ' ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ πῶμα κινήσας,  
διήκ' ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὰ πρὸς θεῶν οἴκους·  
μόνη δ' ἔμεινεν ἔλπις, ἣν κατελλήφει  
τεθὲν τὸ πῶμα· κ.τ.λ. (Babrius, *Fab.* lviii.).

Here, it may be observed in passing, there is no mention of Pandora at all; the responsibility of opening the *πίθος* rests on man collectively. Moreover

it is good things, τὰ χρηστά, not evil, that are enclosed by the will of Zeus.

In the fifth century A.D. comes a mention by Nonnus, and *πίθος* is still used:

Οὐράνιον γάρ  
οὐκ ὄφελέν ποτε κείνο πίθου κρήδεμνον ἀνοῖξαι  
ἀνδράσι Πανδώρα, γλυκερὸν κακόν. (Nonn. *Dionys.* vii. 56).

It is the same in the sixth century A.D. The epigrammatist Makedonios writes

Πανδώρης ὀρόων γελώω πίθον, οὐδὲ γυναιῖκα  
μέμφομαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τὰ πτερὰ τῶν Ἀγαθῶν  
(*Anthol. Pal.* x. 71),

where the *πτερὰ*, as we shall see below, is noticeable. The scholiasts Proclus (6th cent. A.D.) and Eustathius and Tzetzes (12th cent. A.D.), in commenting on Hesiod, *Erga*, 96, and Homer, *Iliad*, xxi. 527, naturally use the same word as the authors on which they comment, *i.e.* uniformly *πίθος*.

The word jar is of course a fair translation of *πίθος* so long as it is realized that *πίθος* is a very large jar, that either stands *on* or is partly buried *in* the earth. It is when *πίθος* is rendered box, or still worse casket, that the mischief begins. Box connotes a certain portability, casket adds the idea of smallness and preciousness, both entirely foreign to the meaning of *πίθος*.

The casket (pyxis) error can be traced back to the sixteenth century A.D. Lilius Giraldus of Ferrara published in 1580 a 'Historiarum Deorum Syntagma,' a systematized mythology, from which Lemprière appears to have taken his 'beautiful box.' Lilius Giraldus writes, 'haec (*i.e.* Pandora) a Jove in terram demissa fingitur ut homines falleret et deciperet . . . hanc igitur . . . Jupiter cum *pyxide* pulcherrima illa quidem sed intus omne calamitatum genus abscondente ad Prometheum misit.' The pyxis was a whited sepulchre, a beautiful fraud like its mistress.

From what source Lilius Giraldus was translating or copying I do not know, but it seems clear that at some time or other the word *πίθος* was translated pyxis, and the error took root and blossomed abundantly. *Dolium* would have been a more approximately correct rendering, *dolium* which stands for the *πίθος* of the Danaides:

inane lymphae  
Dolium fundo pereuntis imo.  
(Horat. *Carm.* iii. 11, 16).

Is the mistake merely one of a measure of capacity? If so it matters little, if anything. Who cares whether Pandora had a large *pitthos* or a small *pyxis*? No one, not even an archaeologist. But the case is far otherwise. This is no mere dead blunder, best corrected and quickly buried out of sight. It is one of the vital errors that breed the corruption of a total mythological misconception. So fixed is the idea of the small portable box

in the mind of mythologists that they have never sought for the explanation of the myth in the uses of the *πίθος*, and stranger still have never seen in Pandora's Jar-opening an aetiological myth based on the Athenian festival of the Pithoigia celebrated on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion. Generations of scholars have known that the word used by Hesiod was *πίθος*, generations of archaeologists have excavated and commented on the *πίθοι* of the ancients, but the *idée fixe* of the pyxis prevented the conjunction of Pandora and Pithoigia.

The real meaning of this Pandora myth occurred to me suddenly while examining for quite another purpose the lekythos figured in Fig. 1.<sup>1</sup> Here we have a veritable pithos-opening, though conducted by Hermes, not by Pandora. A large pithos is sunk deep into the ground. It has served as a grave, and the frequent use of *πίθοι* for burial purposes is abundantly shown by excavations both at the Dipylon of Athens and at Aphidna. In this usage lies the gist of my argument. From the *πίθος* have escaped fluttering upwards, two winged *εἶδωλα* or *κῆρες*—the *μέγα πῶμα* has been removed—a third soul is fluttering up out of the mouth of the *πίθος*. Most curious of all, one *εἶδωλον* is diving back headlong into the jar. It is this point that makes the connection with the All Souls' Days of Athens so obvious. There is not only an exit of souls, there is a re-entrance. On the last day of the festival of Anthesteria, the day called Chytroi, the mandate was issued for the return of the souls to their own place:—

Θύραζε Κῆρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια

words<sup>2</sup> rightly interpreted by Photius (s.v. *θύραζε*) ὡς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ἀνθεστηρίοις τῶν ψυχῶν περιερχομένων. The custom and even

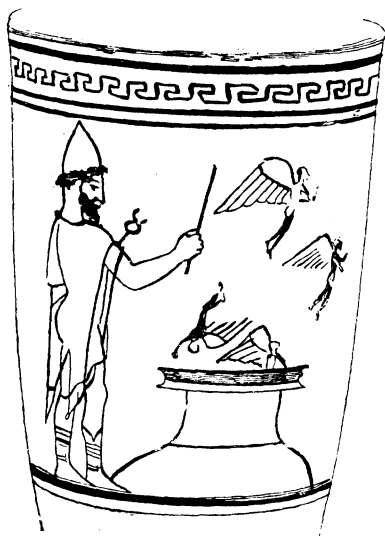


FIG. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from *Eine Attische Grablekythos*: Inaugural-Dissertation von Paul Schadow, Jena, 1897. As Dr. Schadow's Dissertation is not very generally accessible, it seemed worth while to reproduce his illustration for reference in the text. In his monograph Dr. Schadow draws attention to the analogy of the thirteenth Anthesterion, the 'Aller-seelen Fest der Griechen,' but he suggests no connection with Pandora. For technical particulars as to the lekythos, and for the custom of burial in *πίθοι*, readers are referred to his monograph.

<sup>2</sup> I see with regret that in his *Feste der Stadt Athen* (p. 387) August Mommsen adheres to the old misreading *Θύραζε Κᾶρες*. If any injunction was issued to the *Κᾶρες* as household slaves, it would be to return to their work, interrupted by the license of the Anthesteria, not to quit the house. But in the face of the explanation of Photius, and of the analogy of the Roman Lemuria, the old explanation is obviously untenable. Mr. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture* (ii. 40), quoting Hannsch (*Slav. Myth.* p. 408), tells of a Slavonic custom

the formula are closely paralleled in Latin ritual at the close of the Lemuria,

‘Cum dixit novies Manes exite paterni.’

It is curious that though most modern writers from Crusius onwards have recognized that the Chytroi was a *dies nefastus* and in the main a festival of ghosts, this day has been separated off from the rest of the Anthesteria, and the two previous days have been regarded as purely drinking festivals:—the Pithoigia the opening of the wine-cask, the Χόες the drinking of the wine-cups. And yet for the second day, the Χόες, literary testimony is explicit. On that day it was well for a man to anoint his door with pitch and to chew a piece of blackthorn, for the souls of the departed were about and might mean mischief. Photius (*s.v.* *μιὰρὰ ἡμέρα*) tells us: *μιὰρὰ ἡμέρα: ἐν τοῖς Χουσίῳ Ἀνθεστηριῳνός μηνός, ἐν ᾧ δοκοῦσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἀνιέναι, ῥάμνων ἔωθεν ἔμασῶντο καὶ πίττη τὰς θύρας ἔχριον.* And again, explaining *ῥάμνος*, a species of thorn, he says it was chewed all day at the festival of Choes as a charm, and he explains that the pitch was used also, because of its special purity to drive away demons: at the birth of a child—always a perilous time—*ῥάμνος· φυτὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς Χουσίῳ ὡς ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἔμασῶντο ἔωθεν, καὶ πίττη ἔχρionτο τὰ δώματα, ἀμίαντος γὰρ αὕτη· διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς γενέσεσι τῶν παιδίων χρίουσι τὰς οἰκίας εἰς ἀπέλασιν τῶν δαιμόνων.*

The pitch may have served to catch the souls as they tried to come in; the precise virtue of blackthorn I do not know. As regards the *πιθοίγια* (*πιθοίγία*) we know it to have been in later days a broaching of the *πίθοι* that contained the new wine; but that does not explain the statement of Eustathius that the day was a ‘wholly unlucky one,’ *οὐχ ἐορτάσιμος . . . ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀποφράς* (Eustath. *ad. Il.* xxiv. 527). Surely the natural solution of the difficulty is that the first day of the festival of the Anthesteria was, like the other two, a *dies nefastus*, because it was the beginning of a three days’ Festival of All Souls. It was the day when the *πίθοι* of the dead were opened, and the souls let out. For a brief season they are allowed back, not wholly welcome guests, courted yet feared as to this day are the souls on Hallow-Een. Their descendants, on the last day (the Chytroi) cooked them a slender meal, a Panspermia, and offered sacrifices that none might touch for fear he joined the dead; then all was over, down into their *πίθοι* they went again till the next spring time.

Whether at the Pithoigia there was an actual ceremony of the opening of some great representative *πίθος* or of several *πίθοι* (for the plural form *τὰ πιθοίγια* occurs), I am unable to determine. We have no record of any such custom at Athens, but the ‘mundus’ or round pit on the Palatine,

closely paralleling that of the Anthesteria, even to the formula pronounced: ‘when the meal was over the priest rose from the table, swept out the house, and hunted out the souls of the dead like fleas with these words: “Ye have

eaten and drunken, souls, now go, now go.”’ The reading *Kῆρες* was first shown to be the correct one by Dr. Otto Crusius (*Anal. Crit. ad Paroimiogr.* p. 48) and is accepted by Dr. Rohde (*Psyche*, 219).

which was closed by a 'lapis manalis,' was open on three days (August 24, Oct. 5 and Nov. 8), and on these days according to Festus (s.v. *mundus* 128) and Varro (ap. Macrobi. i. 16, 18), there was egress for the divinities of the lower world. Varro says: 'Mundus cum patet deorum tristium atque inferum janua patet.' It is worth noting that, according to Plutarch (*Vit. Rom.* 11), at the founding of Rome the first fruits of all things accounted good and necessary by nature were thrown into this mundus: ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. The significance of this will appear when we note later that Pandora was but a title of Ge. I suspect that the πανσπερμία was the equivalent of these ἀπαρχαί.

It is time that we returned to Pandora and examined our earliest literary account of her Pithoigia. Has Hesiod any idea of its significance? Does he know that the evils, liberated by his curious and fatal woman, his Eve, are in fact nothing but εἰδῶλα, ghosts, issuing from a πίθος-grave?

His account of the πιθουγία comes in oddly and abruptly. Zeus has created Pandora and sent her to Epimetheus, who rashly receives her, forgetting the caution of Prometheus; he knew too late the mischief he harboured. Then the story goes on:

Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζῶεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων  
νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνου,  
νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων, αἵ τ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν.  
[αἶψα γὰρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγνῆσκειν.]  
ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χεῖρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελούσα  
ἔσκέδασ' ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἐμήσατο κήδεα λυγρά.

Hes. *Erg.* 90 f.

We are plunged *in medias res*; we have not been told that the evils were ever enclosed in the πίθος, still less who put them there, nor is anything said as to whether Pandora brought the πίθος from Olympus or found it in the house of Epimetheus. Hesiod is clearly repeating a story already current and familiar. The word κῆρας is I think significant: the passage as it stands at present must be rendered: "Before this time (*i.e.* before the coming of Pandora) the tribes of mortal men lived upon earth aloof from evil and from hard toil and from grievous diseases *which give Keres to men*," the bracketed line being of course due to a conjectural reading γῆρας for κῆρας. Now 'giving Keres to men' is not a very natural expression for causing death; κῆρας is usually explained here as dooms, and this is quite a possible meaning. But a very simple alteration gives a quite straightforward and perfectly apposite sense. Suppose we read

νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων, ἄστ' ἀνδράσι Κῆρες ἔδωκαν.

is 'grievous diseases which the Keres give to men.' Whether Hesiod actually wrote this or not, this I am sure is the idea underlying his words. It was one of the regular functions of ghosts or Keres to cause old age and disease and finally death. Dr. Otto Crusius (*Roscher*, *Kῆρες* p. 1144) cites

a number of passages from the elegiac poets in evidence of this popular belief, notably the hymn to Zeus where the prayer occurs :

τηλοῦ δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ Κῆρας ἀμύναι  
γῆρας τ' οὐλόμενον καὶ θανάτοιο τέλος (Theog. 768),

and again :

Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι  
ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα τέλος γήραος ἀργαλέου,  
ἡ δ' ἐτέρη θανάτοιο (Mimnrm. 2, 5).

The Spartans ordered their ephors to exorcise (*ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι*) all the gold and silver in the city, as though they were Keres magically invoked (*ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγίμους*). A belief in the definite material existence of the Keres is vividly shown in one of the Orphic Hymns, which here as so often embody a popular primitive superstition. The Hymn in question is an invocation to Herakles as follows :

ἔλθε μάκαρ νούσων θελκτήρια πάντα κομίζων  
ἐξέλασον δὲ κακὰς ἄτας, κλάδον ἐν χερὶ πάλλων  
πτηνοῖς τ' ἰοβάλοις κῆρας χαλεπὰς ἀπόπεμπε.  
(Orph. Hymn. xii.).

Here clearly the harsh Keres are bringing disease, and they are to be brushed aside like flies, winged pests as they are, by the branch that Herakles waves in his hand. What manner of pest a Ker was, is clearly seen in the design from a vase published in the *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* x. 1895, p. 37, Fig. 11. where Herakles uses a more formidable weapon, his club, against a noisome-looking winged Ker. The design is a lively commentary on the Orphic Hymn.

I am not prepared to say that Hesiod knew the Pithoigia of Pandora was a release of maleficent ghosts from the grave ; in fact I feel sure he was not conscious of any such meaning, but he uses traditional language formulated by those who knew only of this primitive Pithoigia, and the word *Κῆρες* in this connection comes instinctively to his lips. This idea that the diseases that come out of the *πίθος* of Pandora are live things, a sort of personified bacilli, comes clearly out in the lines that follow (102) :

νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἡδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ  
αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι,  
σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς.

They are live things but mutes.

Proclus commenting on the passage (*Schol. ad. v. 102 νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν...*) says : ἐσωματοποίησε δὲ αὐτὰς προσιούσας ἀφώνους ποιήσας, ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτι καὶ τούτων ἔφοροι δαίμονες εἰσιν· οἵτινες δρῶσιν ἀφανῶς ἐπιπέμποντες τὰς νόσους τὰς ὑπὸ τὴν Εἰμαρμένην τεταγμένας καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ *πίθῳ* κῆρας διασπείροντες. Here again it is rather a haunting of the truth than its clear articulation. Proclus knows the *πίθος* was traditionally full of *κῆρες*, but he does not know the *κῆρες* are ghosts ; he does know they are *δαίμονες*, or at least possessed by such.

More curious and instructive still is the language of Archbishop Eustathius in his commentary on *Iliad* xxiv. 527. Achilles tells Priam of the two urns that stand on the threshold of Zeus, one filled with evils, the other with blessings:

δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείται ἐν Διὸς οὔδαι  
δῶρων ὅλα δίδωσι κακῶν ἕτερος δὲ εἰῶν·

The Archbishop's main concern is to show how by the *πίθος* is figured the soul (*ὅτι πίθος αἰνιξεταί ποτε παροιμιακῶς καὶ ψυχὴν*), which may be full either of good or evil; but being scholar as well as theologian he is distracted from this main issue. He is haunted by a confused memory of other *πίθοι* and *more suo* he drags them in, though they contribute nothing to his point. 'The pithos of which Hesiod was the potter,' he says in Platonic fashion, was one, and filled with evil only. Here he must refer to Pandora's *πίθος*, and *à propos* of this he makes some instructive though strictly irrelevant remarks. The evils inside Hesiod's one cask were not like those in Homer's cask, lying in it and drawn (passively) out of it, but they were living things like spirits and shut in as Ares once was in the brazen jar; but afterwards, having wings, they deserted the *πίθος*: *ὃς ἀνοίγεις ἐσκέδασε κατὰ γῆν ἅπασαν τὰ κακὰ, οὐ δίκην σώματος ἐξαντλείσθαι πεφυκότος αὐτῷ ἐγκείμενα καὶ ἐξαντλούμενα, ὃ δὴ τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς ἐμφαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐμφυχα ὄντα ὡς οἶον δαιμόνια καὶ ἐγκεκλεισμένα, καθά ποτε Ἄρης ἦν ἐν χαλκίῳ κεράμῳ, ὕστερον δὲ πτερυξάμενα καὶ τὸν πίθον κενώσαντα*. Now here it is just possible that all Eustathius is *consciously* doing is to elaborate the indications of Hesiod, but he seems thoroughly possessed by the notion that the escaping evils are in the form of winged *δαιμόνια*. Our conviction of his meaning grows when he says 'the pithoigia (by which presumably he means the Anthesteria festival) would be the opening of a *πίθος* of this kind,' *i.e.* full of evils, 'not of a festal character, like that in Hesiod (in which it was the custom to drink to satiety at the broaching of a *πίθος*), but altogether unlucky': *τοῦ δὲ τοιούτου τῶν κακῶν πίθου εἴη ἂν καὶ ἡ πιθοιγία, οὐχ ἑορτάσιμος κατὰ τὴν παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχομένου πίθου ἔχρην κορένυσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀποφράς*. His second reference to Hesiod relates of course not to Pandora, but to the Dionysiac festival described in *Erg.* 368:

ἀρχομένου δὲ πίθου καὶ λήγοντος κορέσασθαι—

*i.e.* the Pithoigia of the wine-casks which overlaid the primitive Pithoigia of the grave-jars. But for this chance reference we could never certainly have *known*, though we must certainly have conjectured, that the Pithoigia as well as the Choes and Chytroi counted as *dies nefasti*.

It is time to ask, though the answer is patent, who was Pandora and why was it her function to let loose the *κῆρες* from the grave-pithos—a function she shares with Hermes Psychopompos.

Pandora is, as has long been acknowledged, only a cultus epithet of the great goddess Ge; she is the Earth herself. In the *Birds* of Aristophanes the



oracle of Bakis prescribes that a white-fleeced ram be first sacrificed to Pandora (v. 971):

πρῶτον Πανδώρα θῦσαι λευκότριχα κριόν,

and the scholiast remarks: Πανδώρα· τῇ γῇ, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν δωρεῖται. (ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ξειδωρος καὶ ἀνησιδώρα). (A)nesidora is the title inscribed over the newly fashioned Pandora on the Bale cup in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

The art-type of the making of Pandora<sup>2</sup> is of considerable interest as additional evidence that she is primarily nothing but the earth-goddess. On the Bale cylix (B.M., D4) Hephaistos stands by the side of (A)nesidora, holding in his hand the hammer or mallet with which he has fashioned her. On

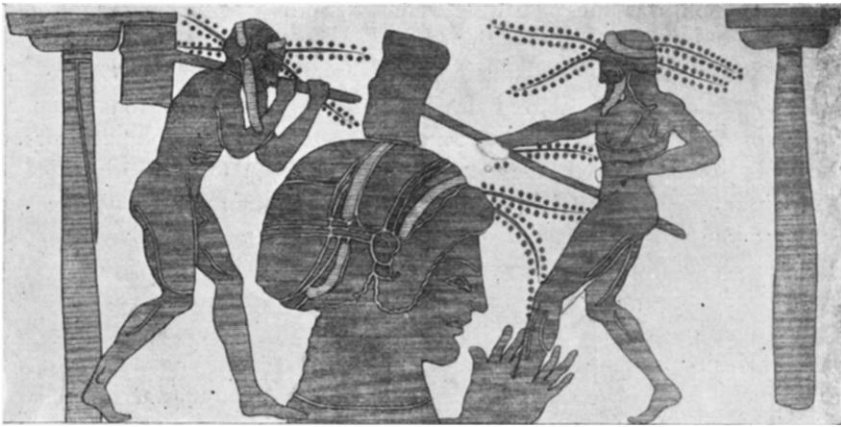


FIG. 2.

a black-figured lekythos in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Miliet et Giraudon, Pl. LII. B.; reproduced in Fig. 2 from Welcker, *Atlas* Pl. XV. 1) we have a more drastic use of the mallet. Within the precinct of a sanctuary, indicated by columns to either side, rises the colossal head of a woman. A bearded man, possibly a Satyr, touches her on the head with a large mallet; another figure to the left approaches similarly armed. The earth-goddess, call her Ge or Pandora, is rising from the earth; *i.e.* the earth takes shape as a woman, she *is* the first woman (cf. *J.H.S.* xix. p. 232, Fig. 11). What precisely are the men doing? Dr. Furtwängler, who has recently discussed this and similar vases, sees in the hammers the symbol

<sup>1</sup> Another variant of the same title or rather idea is given by Hesychius, and has not, I think, been cited: 'Αναξιδώρα· ἡ ἀνάγουσα καὶ ἀνείσα τοὺς καρποὺς ἐκ γῆς Δημήτηρ.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Percy Gardner has kindly allowed me to see a photograph of a vase recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, on which

Pandora (inscribed) is represented as actually rising from the ground. Professor Gardner is about to publish the vase, so I only note here that it affords from the side of art a welcome confirmation of the identity, certain from literature, of Pandora and Ge.



of thunder and lightning: 'Ein uraltes mythisches Symbol für die Blitze sind aber Hammer und Beil' (*Jahrbuch*, vi. p. 117). This explanation seems remote and metaphorical. I incline rather to see a development of the ancient ritual custom of smiting the earth to summon the earth spirits. The priest of Demeter Kidaria at Pheneus in Arcadia was wont at the great festival there to smite the underground folk with rods (ῥάβδοις κατὰ λόγον δὴ τινα τοὺς ὑποχθονίους παίει, Paus. viii. 153). From ῥάβδοι to σφύραι is not a difficult transition, and σφύραι or mallets, it may be noted, were implements of husbandry. Trygaeus in the *Pax* (v. 566) remembers that his σφύρα waits for him on his farm at home, glittering and ready. We understand now, how Sophocles came to call his Satyric drama Πανδώρα ἡ Σφυροκόποι—Pandora or the Hammerers—those that wield the σφύρα. We understand also why the Satyrs in the closely analogous design discussed in a previous number of this *Journal* (*J.H.S.* xix, 1899, Fig. 12), wield the μάκελλα or pick. The μάκελλα or pick opens the earth, the σφύρα breaks the clods and finally moulds the woman.

The play of Sophocles was a Satyric drama and at nearly all the representations of the birth of Pandora-Ge Satyrs<sup>1</sup> are present. When not engaged in smiting the earth they dance and rejoice over the Anodos of the goddess. They represent the primitive population who worshipped Earth and the spirits of the earth. A later civilization saw in them wild men of the woods, half-beast half-human. This primitive people had skill in the arts, so the figure of the artificer Hephaistos, himself akin to the Dactyls and Telchines, worshippers of the Mother, emerges. The mallet he once used for breaking clods of earth becomes the attribute of the artificer; but down to the latest instance known of the birth of Pandora on vases, the Altemura Krater in the British Museum (E 467), the dance of Satyrs is still represented. It is curious to notice how, as the cult of Apollo-Helios prevails, the sun-god usurps the place of the earth-goddess, and the Satyrs appear on a vase-painting compelled to dance at the rising of the sun instead of at the emergence of the earth-goddess (Roscher *Lex.* p. 1998). More quaintly still, Dionysos, who took from Ge her Anthesteria, obtrudes his figure on her Anodos, and on black-figured vase-paintings we have instances (Gerhard *Ges. Abhandl.* Pl. LXVIII.) in which not Ge, but Ge with Dionysos by her side emerges from the earth.

One more point remains to be noted. In the only *inscribed* vase in which the earth-goddess is represented as actually emerging through an omphalos-mound, she is inscribed as Pherophatta, *i.e.* Persephone (*Jahrbuch* vii. 1892, *Anzeiger*, p. 166). Hermes summons her from the earth, as he summons the souls from the earth-πίθος. But the type of the half-length figure emerging is the traditional type of Ge. Ge and Kore are one and the same, only mother and daughter; in the Thesmophoria were celebrated the

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that, according to Proclus, who doubtless follows some earlier tradition, Prometheus received the πίθος from the

Satyrs: ὅτι τὸν τοῦ κακοῦ πίθον παρὰ τῶν Σατύρων λαβὼν κ.τ.λ.

Anodos and Kathodos of the earth-goddess. More curious still, the type is taken over by another Kore, *i.e.* Aphrodite, as in the beautiful Hydria at Genoa (*Röm. Mitth.* xiv. p. 154, Pl. VII.). Well might Gerhard (*Gr. Mythologie*, pp. 562–5) give to the daughter-goddess the triple title Aphrodite-Kore-Pandora.

It is now sufficiently clear that the *πίθος* is of the essence of the myth of Ge-Pandora; to give her a pyxis only is to detach her from the earth, which is her very substance. Even Hesiod remembers that when Pandora was made Hephaistos was bidden to 'take earth and mould it with water,' *γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν* (Hes. *Erg.* 61). The Pithoigia, the opening of graves, existed no doubt before the earth became anthropomorphised into a goddess. It was merely a ghost and ancestor cult; when the form of the earth-goddess emerged in human shape, she was its natural patron; her spirit, the ghosts, were the source of all good and all evil; she was Pandora, and Pandrosos. Why then does the *πίθος* of Pandora contain evil only? This is an interesting point; it should be carefully noted that tradition on this head fluctuates, in the account quoted above (p. 99). Babrius says all *good* things were shut up in the *πίθος* and this was done by Zeus:

*Ζεὺς ἐν πίθῳ τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα συλλέξας.*

But primitive man is apt to regard ghosts as fearsome rather than friendly; the bogey predominates over the guardian angel. Hesychius in explaining the word *κρείττονας* says that heroes, *i.e.* dead men, are reputed to be evil sort of people, and hence it is prudent to pass their shrines quietly. (s.v. *κρείττονας τοὺς ἥρωας*· οὕτω λέγουσιν—δοκοῦσι κακώτικοί τινες εἶναι· διὰ τοῦτο οἱ παριόντες τὰ ἥρωα σίγην ἔχουσι μή τι βλαβῶσι).

Moreover this natural tendency of ghosts to evil was emphasized by definite theological animus. The worshippers of Zeus were the natural enemies of the All-Mother Pandora. What was to become of monotheism, of the omnipotence of Zeus, if Gaia Pandora was the source of all good things? But monotheism is always tolerant of a duly subordinate devil, and Pandora was welcome to keep a *πίθος* of evils only, provided always it was duly recognized that Zeus had *two* *πίθοι* on his Olympian threshold. It is a quaint conflict of theological systems; and forasmuch as Zeus is omnipotent, he takes over even the creation of the Earth-Mother, who was from the beginning; and patriarchal bourgeois as he is, the making of the first woman becomes a huge Olympian jest:

*ἐκ δ' ἐγέλασσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.*

Henceforth we have the ancient litany with its inverted precedence:

*Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστί, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μέγαλε Ζεῦ.*

*Γὰ καρπὸν ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε πατέρα γαῖαν.*

(Paus. x. 12. 10.)

This unfair division of labour between the old chthonic divinities and the new Olympians is very frankly stated by Isocrates, who tells us (*Or.* v.

117), in extolling the mildness (*πραότητα*) and humanity (*φιλανθρωπίαν*) of the Greeks, that some of the gods are like this while others are harsh and unpleasant. Those of the gods who are the cause of good things are called Olympians, but those who have evil for their department have inauspicious titles. The good Olympians are worshipped with temples altars and prayers, but the others with exorcisms, *ἀποπομπάς*. (*ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμῖν ὄντας Ὀλυμπίους προσαγορευομένους, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις τεταγμένους δυσχερεστέρας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν καὶ τοὺς ιδιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ νεῶς καὶ βωμοὺς ἰδρυμένους, τοὺς δ' οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς οὐτ' ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τιμωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀποπομπὰς αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους.*—Isocr. v. *Phil.* 117.) This class of spirits, divinities of the old religion, demons of the new, went by the name of *ἀποπομπᾶι*—those to be exorcised. Apollodorus discussed them in the sixth book of his treatise concerning the gods (*Harp. sub. voc. ἀποπομπάς*). Hardest of all, the ghosts of dead men were made to preach the doctrine of their own depravity. Babrius tells us (*Fab.* 63, v. 7) that in the courtyard of a pious man there was a precinct to a hero, and the pious man was wont to sacrifice and pour libation to the hero, and pray to him for an abundant return for his hospitality. But the hero knew better; only the regular Olympians are the givers of good, within his power lay evil only. So he appeared to the pious man in the middle of the night to expound this truly Olympian theology:

Ἄγαθὸν μὲν, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἄν τις ἡρώων  
ὦ τὰν παράσχοι· ταῦτα τοὺς θεοὺς αἶτει.  
κακῶν δὲ πάντων, ἃ ξύνεστιν ἀνθρώποις,  
δοτήρης ἡμεῖς· . . .

On this showing Pandora could have only evil in her *πίθος*.

As the Pithoigia has proved to be a Ge and ghost cult it may not be unprofitable to examine briefly the two other days of the Anthesteria, the Choes and the Chytroi. It was on the day of the Chytroi, it will be remembered, that the formula *θύραζε κῆρες* was uttered, and it may perhaps be worth noting as a possible ritual reminiscence that in the Hesiodic passage (*Erg.* v. 97), when all the evils have escaped, Hope

ἐν ἀρρήκτοισι δόμοισιν  
ἔνδον ἔμμνε πίθου ὑπὸ χείλεσιν, οὐδὲ θύραζε  
ἐξέπτῃ.

Hope alone does not obey the mandate *θύραζε*. This I do not press, but it is acknowledged on all hands that the Chytroi had Chthonic associations. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Ran.* 218 is explicit: on that day sacrifice was offered to Hermes Chthonios and to none of the Olympians, and as we have seen of the sacrifice none of the sacrificers partook—a sure sign of Chthonic ritual (*ἔπειτα θύειν αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἔχουσι, τῶν μὲν Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν οὐδενὶ τὸ*

παράπαν, Ἑρμῇ δὲ χθονίῳ, καὶ τῆς χύτρας ἦν ἔψουσι πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς γεύεται τῶν ἱερέων).

The name Chytroi is of some importance. August Mommsen has emphasized in his *Feste der Stadt Athen* (p. 385) the fact that the name of the festival is οἱ χύτροι, not αἱ χύτραι—a point too much neglected. Αἱ χύτραι means cooking-pots, and the festival is supposed to have derived its name from the πανσπερμία. This does not seem likely, as the πανσπερμία was incidental and unimportant; it also formed a part of many other rites. The masculine form χύτροι means, in ordinary parlance, holes in the ground, chasms, clefts—in fact, as Mommsen observes, χύτροι are natural water-reservoirs or vessels, χύτραι artificial ones. One form would easily slide over into the other. Pausanias speaks (iv. 35–9) of a certain natural bath at Thermopylae which the country people called the Chytroi of the women (κολυμβήθρα ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι χύτροις γυναικείους); and Herodotus describes it in the same terms (viii. 176). Theophrastus in his *History of Plants* (4, 11, 8) speaks of a certain plant as growing in a place between the Kephisos and the Melas, the place being called Pelekania, and it is sometimes called Chytroi, i.e. the deep places of a marsh (μεταξὺ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ καὶ τοῦ Μέλανος· οὗτος δὲ ὁ τόπος προσαγορεύεται μὲν Πελεκανία τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἅττα χύτροι καλούμενοι, βαθύσματα τῆς λίμνης). Hesychius, interpreting οἱ χυτρίνοι, says they are the hollow places of the earth through which springs come up (τὰ κοῖλα τῆς γῆς δι' ὧν αἱ πῆγαι ἀνίενται). The word κολυμβήθρα itself, in classical Greek a natural pool, became in mediaeval Greek a font. The transition from χύτροι to χύτραι is something analogous to the shift from πίθος to pyxis. If the festival took its name from holes in the earth we are probably back at an earlier stage of things than even that represented by the Pithoigia. Burial in natural chasms would precede burial in artificial jars. The χύτρινοι ἀγῶνες would be the funeral games at the grave-holes; the χύτροι would be the constant haunt of ghosts going up and down, the prototypes of the χάσματα γῆς seen in the vision of Er (Plato, *Rep.* 417 F), near akin to the megara or chasms of Demeter at Potniae (Paus. ix. 8, 1), chasms such as abounded on or about the Pnyx where the women carried on the rites of the Thesmophoria. Such were the natural primitive sanctuaries of a Ge and ghost-cultus.

The second day of the festival, the Choes or cups, present at first sight more difficulty. It is true we have the definite statement quoted above (p. 102) that at the Choes the dead came up. But what can be made of the name? Nothing as it stands; but as in the case of Chytroi there may have been a confusion between approximate forms. May not χόες have superimposed itself upon χοαί—wine-cups upon funeral libations? Photius seems to indicate such a *contaminatio* when he says: Χοάς. ἐγχύσεις, ἐναγίσματα ἐπὶ νεκροῖς ἢ σπονδάς. Ἐκπίπτει χρησμὸς δεῖν χοὰς τοῖς τεθνεώσι τῶν Αἰτώλων ἐπάγειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ἑορτὴν Χοὰς ἄγειν. Λέγονται καὶ θυσαίαι νεκρῶν ὡς Σοφοκλῆς. Here the name of the feast is oxytone.

This aspect of the feast of the Χόες as Χοαί, taken with the Pithoigia, throws a sudden light on another obscure myth. The Danaïdes have been

explained variously as well-nymphs, as uninitiated, as ἀτελεῖς γάμον, as maidens undergoing the virginity-ordeal of the sieve. Each and all of these associations may, and probably do, cluster round them at various stages of mythical development; but the root idea is none of these. The Danaïdes, representatives of the old Pelasgian order who inaugurated the Thesmophoria, are simply Choëphoroi, but Choëphoroi *who carry libations in vain*. They are polluted by the great ἄγος of husband-murder, and blood can only be washed away by blood. In vain for them the πίθος<sup>1</sup> is opened, the dead are implacable, in vain the libations are poured; pour them to the winds, bury them in the thirsty dust.

So says Electra to Chrysothemis when she brings libations from Clytemnestra to Agamemnon (Soph. *El.* 432):

οὐ γάρ σοι θέμις  
οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρᾶς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἰστάναι  
κτερίσματ' οὐδὲ λουτρά προσφέρειν πατρί'  
ἀλλ' ἢ πνοαῖσιν ἢ βαθυσκαφεῖ κόνει  
κρύψον νιν.

Such a libation is a χάρις ἄχαρις, utterly fruitless, labour for ever in vain.

Viewing the Choes as *Xoai*, the anomalous and, as it stands, artificial connection of Orestes with the festival becomes at once clear. He was polluted, he could not be a libation-pourer; in that sense he could not be admitted as ὁμόσπονδος. The strained punctilio of Pandion (Eur. *Iph. in T.* 950, and Suidas s.v. Χόες) becomes a stringent ritual obligation. Orestes comes to the Areopagos polluted by the ἄγος of a mother's blood; he finds the people celebrating the *Xoai in the precinct of the Limnae close at hand*, and is excluded till he is purified from the ἐμφύλιον αἷμα; all is simple and clear.

The three separate acts or days of the Anthesteria are each devoted to a ritual of the dead; but how about the collective term Anthesteria? It must remain uncertain whether the term with its associations of budding and blossoming and wine-fermentation was primitive or not.<sup>2</sup> The Keres undoubtedly, like the Semnae, had power over the crops for good or for evil. On the other hand the name may have come in with Dionysos, who was worshipped as Anthios. The other name of the festival, Lenaia, is of great interest because of its double connotation, like that of the Pithoigia, one of the dead, the other of Dionysos. The Lenaia is usually explained as a wine-press festival of the vintage; ληνός is the wine-press. But a natural objection arises. How can a vintage festival be celebrated in February or even

<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary here (as my discussion of the Danaïdes is incidental) to reproduce the vase-paintings on which the myth is figured; but it may be noted that on black-figured vases, on which alone, so far as I am aware, the myth is figured, the Danaïdes pour their vessels into a huge πίθος half buried in the earth. The

fact that they are winged εἴδωλα in one instance (Roscher, *Lex.* 950) may point to some confusion with the Κῆρες of the Pithoigia.

<sup>2</sup> Since the above was written Dr. Verrall has kindly shown me his note on 'The name Anthesteria' (p. 115). It seems to me conclusive.

in January? In modern Greek the actual wine-press is called τὸ πατατήριον, the stucco reservoir into which the juice flows is called τὸ ληνόν. Such terms are tenacious. Bekker in his *Anecdota Graeca* (p. 277) quotes ληνός. γεωργικὸν σκεῦος· ἔστι δὲ ἀγγεῖον δεκτικὸν οἴνου ξύλινον, ὃ ἀποδέχεται τὸ ῥέον ἐκ τῶν ὀργάνων τῶν πιεζομένων. These passages have been collected by August Mommsen (*Feste Athen.* p. 377), and his conclusion is unquestionably correct, that the Lenaia was a festival, of not the wine-press and vintage, but of the ληνοί, the vessels in which the wine was stored and from which the first fermented wine was drunk in spring. He quotes Jullien, *Topographie der Weinbau* (ii. 139), as stating that these ληνοί are to this day terracotta vessels, and are frequently buried half their height in the earth. They are in fact indistinguishable from πίθοι except that, if we trust a writer in the *Anthology*, they are larger :

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ κρητὴρ μὲν ἔοι δέπας, ἄγχι δὲ ληνός  
 ἀντὶ πίθου.—*Anthol. Palat.* 11. 63.

These ληνοί, like the πίθοι, may well have been used for more serious purposes than the storing of wine; that such was the case we know from Hesychius who says ληνοί· σοροί, πύελοι. More explicitly we have in Bekker (*Anecd.* p. 51) ληνοῦς· οὐ μόνον ἐν αἷς τοὺς βότρυς πατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν σορούς, ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῆς κατασκευῆς. Diogenes lived in a πίθος, so did many a poor peasant who took refuge in Athens during the Peloponnesian war; a ληνός would have been accommodation somewhat more luxurious. A man's house in his life is his tomb after death. In the Dipylon grave-yard, at Aphidna and many other sites, the grave πίθοι have come to light, and in ancient times, might easily be called ληνοί. In the precinct of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις Dr. Dörpfeld has laid bare a wine-press with a veritable ληνός, i.e. a δεκτικὸν σκεῦος; but probably long before the coming of Dionysos and his wine-press there was a Lenaion, a burial precinct, and possibly an ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών, a contest in honour not of Dionysos but of dead heroes, such contests as the Nemea and a host of others scattered over Hellas. The transit was easy from the opening of the πίθοι of the dead to the broaching of the ληνοί of Dionysos, from the χοαί of the dead to the χόες of the living, from the χύτροι to the χύτραι.<sup>1</sup> But until this lower stratum of Ge and ghost-cult is realized, the full significance of the Chorus of the Initiated in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes remains unfelt; the underworld lay in very deed and truth below the Limnae where the *Frogs* are chanting.

This mythological survey is not perhaps wholly without topographical interest. Fierce controversy has long raged round Thucydides, ii. 15; and the position of the sanctuary of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις in which the Anthesteria

<sup>1</sup> The obviously funereal connotation of the term Lenaia has given birth in Germany to the 'Sarg-Dionysos.' What precisely that may mean I do not know. The simple fact seems to be that Dionysos here and elsewhere took

over a grave-yard, with its ghost and hero-cultus. His annexation of the old order is marked by his marriage with the wife of the the Archon Basileus in the Boukolion close to the Limnae precinct.



was celebrated is an important element in the controversy. So long as the Anthesteria seemed to me merely a festival of Dionysos the new comer, it mattered to me little, so far as mythology is concerned, where the sanctuary lay, whether near the theatre, *i.e.* south of the Acropolis, or west, or where I placed it in my conjectural map of Athens (*Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, p. 4), *i.e.* north, near the Dipylon. I chose this situation because of the low-lying ground, and because Pausanias on entering the Kerameikos mentions a temenos of Dionysos which I thought might be identified with that of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις. That identification and that situation I am now satisfied are completely erroneous. Dr. Dörpfeld has, I am convinced, found the precinct of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις where he prophesied he should find it, *i.e.* to the west of the Areopagos near to the Enneakrounos.<sup>1</sup> In support of his demonstration I can bring no new argument, either topographical or philological; but on mythological grounds I offer for what it is worth a small contribution.

Now that the Anthesteria is seen to be a ghost and Ge cult, it cannot, without immense loss of significance, be severed from the Areopagos. The Semnae, I have tried to show in a previous paper (*J.H.S.* 1899, p. 205: The Erinyes), are primarily ghosts, or to speak more strictly, divinities anthropomorphized out of ghosts. To the evidence there brought forward I would add one significant argument which then escaped me. Commenting on the word δευτερόποτμος ('second-fated one') Hesychius says the term is applied to those who, when they have been accounted dead, appear again alive, and according to Polemon, a good authority, such as these are forbidden to enter the sanctuary of the Semnae: ὁ ὑπὸ τινῶν ὑστερόποτμος· οὕτω δὲ ἔλεγον ὁπότεν τινὶ ὡς τεθνεῶτι νομιζόμενα ἐγένετο καὶ ὕστερον ἀνεφάνη ζῶν. ὁ δὲ Πολέμων καὶ ἀπειρήσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Σεμνῶν φησὶ θεῶν). The import of this regulation is clear; the Semnae, powers of the lower world, have rejected the ill-fated second-fated man below; it were profane and dangerous for him to attempt to effect an entrance into their sanctuary above. He may not mingle with the dead below or with the ghost-goddesses above. Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* v.) gives us a number of curious particulars of the ceremonies to be undergone by the ὑστερόποτμοι. A mimetic new birth was the only release from the taboo.

The Semnae then are ghosts, ghosts who avenge the guilt of shedding ἐμφύλιον αἷμα; they preside over the whole proceedings of the Areopagos. The Areopagos fortunately cannot be moved to the south of the Acropolis, and about that fixed point centred a whole series of ghost and hero and Ge cults. Each one of the sanctuaries mentioned by Thucydides as τὰ ἔξω is of this order; in all but one case the primitive Pelasgian ghost-cult is overlaid by a more recent stratum of Olympian theology. In the case of the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld's views on the position of τὰ ἔξω (Thucyd. ii. 15), which I follow, are fully stated in *Ath. Mitth.* xx. p. 161: 'Das Lenaion oder Dionysion in den Limnai.' In this article (p. 169) appears the plan of the newly dis-

covered ληνός. Supplementary to this is an article in the same volume, p. 369: 'Lenaion,' which slightly modifies the relations between Lenaion and Dionysion ἐν Λίμναις.

Anthesteria, as I have shown, the old cult is that of Ge-Pandora and her ghosts; the cases of the Olympieion and the Pythion I must reserve for the future. I will only now say in passing that the Zeus worshipped in the Olympieion is, as Dr. Dörpfeld rightly conjectured (*Mitth.* xx. p. 200), the Zeus of the Diasia,<sup>1</sup> and that Zeus was Meilichios. Meilichios is demonstrably nothing but a snake, the emblem of a hero cult (*J.H.S.* xix. p. 215). This old Meilichios-cult was taken over and absorbed by the Olympian system. The Pythion, rightly placed by Dr. Dörpfeld on the Makrai, is the ancient haunt of the *snake*-hero Cecrops and his three daughters, the Agrauides, who are but another form of the Semnae. The sanctuary of Ge needs no comment. Originally, as we have seen, Ge and her ghosts ruled over all things:

πάντα γὰρ αὐται τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους  
ἐλαχον διέπειν.—AESCH. *Eum.* 930.

But as the Olympians increased they decreased, and gradually they were excluded from all but malevolent functions, or at least functions of gloomy and austere association. The Areopagos is left like a mountain-top, where all around is submerged.

Finally, the Street of Tombs of Thucydidean Athens, of the later πόλις, lay outside the city gate, the Dipylon. The cemetery of the earlier city, in like fashion, lay outside the primitive gate or gates. There, according to one legend, was the grave of Oedipus, there the precinct of the hero Hesychos and of Amynos, there, no doubt, countless nameless graves. Some of the seventh century B.C. have come to light. That the number three and its multiples are sacred to the dead is abundantly shown by Diehls in his *Sibyllinische Blätter* (p. 40). Is it quite without significance that here in this region of the dead we have the *Enneapylai* and the *Enneakrounos*?

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<sup>1</sup> It is suggested by Mr. R. A. Neil that the root which appears in Greek as *θες* (p. 115) may appear as *fes*, *fer* in the Latin *inferiae*, *inferius* (*inferium vinum* Cato *res rust.* 134), *arferius* (*arferia aqua quae inferis libabatur, sive vas vini quod sacris adhibebatur*, Fest. s.v.), *Feralia*.

He suggests also that several Greek words

showing the stem *διο-* may be for *δισο-*, and identical with the Latin *diro-* (*dirus* was originally a purely religious word): such words would be *ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι* (v. p. 104) (though the quantity of the *ι* is not determinable), *Διδῶσια* (whatever the termination may be), the *Δῖα* of Teos and perhaps the *Πάνδια* of Athens.