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more of that mysterious power, always yearning for the time when he should no more see through the glass darkly.

Section II.—Varuṇa and Mitra.

The solid Heaven.

As Dyaus is the god of heaven in its dazzling purity and brightness, so is Varuṇa also the heaven as serving, like the Hellenic Ouranos, to veil or cover the earth. It is true that in the Hesiodic theogony Ouranos is united with Gaia, whereas it is not Varuṇa but Dyaus who in the Vedic hymns is mentioned as having Prithivî for the mother of his children. The difference is, perhaps, only in appearance. Gaia is really wedded to Zeus not less than to Ouranos, if Dêmêtêr be but Gaia viewed as the mother of all living things. Varuṇa, then, as the solid heaven, which is spread over the earth, is strictly a creation of mythical speech and is embodied in a visible form. He sits on his throne, clothed in golden armour, and along with Mitra dwells in a palace which, like that of Helios, is supported by a thousand columns, while his messengers stand around to do his bidding. But his mythical characteristics are in the Rig Veda perpetually suggesting the idea of an unseen and almighty Being who has made all things and upholds them by his will. In many of the Vedic hymns we are carried altogether out of the region of mythology, and we see only the man communing directly with his Maker. In these hymns Varuṇa, in the words of Dr. Muir, 'dwells in all worlds as sovereign; indeed, the three worlds are embraced within him. The wind which resounds through the firmament is his breath. He has placed the sun in the heaven, and opened up a boundless path for it to traverse. He has hollowed out the channels of the rivers. It is by his wise contrivance that, though all the rivers pour out their waters into the sea, the sea is never filled. By his ordinance the moon shines in the sky, and the stars which are visible by night disappear on the approach of daylight. Neither the birds flying in the air, nor the rivers in their sleepless flow, can attain a knowledge of his power or his wrath. His spies (or angels) behold both worlds. He himself has a thousand

eyes. He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the sea, the course of the far-sweeping wind, and perceives all the hidden things that have been or shall be done.'[1]

Moral aspects of Varuṇa.

All these are phrases which may be suggested directly by the phenomena of the heaven; but the chariot in which Varuṇa is borne over the earth,[2] is, like the eye of Zeus, lost in the purely spiritual thought of One who has no body and no passions, who, as seeing all things, sees also that which is evil, and who, as having nothing that is evil in himself, must punish and finally destroy it in the sinner. In some hymns, however, the two lines of thought seem to be blended strangely together; in other words, we see in them the process by which men rose from the lower conception to the higher. That sense of sin, which, as distinguished from the transgression of a positive law, can scarcely be said to have been present to the Greek mind, weighs heavy on the spirit of the Hindu, even while his conception of the Deity whom he addresses may be almost coarse in its familiarity. Varuṇa has received in the sacrifice the choice portions which please him most, and the worshipper may fairly demand that the question between them may be discussed reasonably as between friends.[3] But whatever may be said of the theory of the nature of sin, a pure monotheistic conviction is pre-eminently seen in the following prayer.

'Let me not yet, O Varuṇa, enter into the house of clay; have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

'If I go along trembling like a cloud driven by the wind, have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

'Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god,

[1] *Principal Deities of R.V.* 558. In a passage from the Atharva Veda, quoted by Dr. Muir, *ibid.* and Professor Max Müller, *Chips*, i. 42, the same thought is worked out in language which is precisely reproduced in the 139th Psalm, and which also carries us to expressions and sentences in the Sermon on the Mount, and in other parts of the New Testament. The parallelism between the expressions of Aryan and Semitic monotheism is further traced out by M. Maury, *Croyances et Légendes de l'Antiquité*:—'La Religion des Aryas.'

[2] This chariot 'shines with a golden radiance at the break of day, and at sunset assumes the colour of iron.'—Muir, *ib.* 557.

[3] Max Müller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 537. It is scarcely necessary to compare this language with the similar tone of familiar expostulation which runs through many of the Hebrew Psalms.

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have I gone to the wrong shore: have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

'Thirst came upon the worshipper, though he stood in the midst of the waters: have mercy, almighty, have mercy.

'Whenever we men, O Varuṇa, commit an offence before the heavenly host, whenever we break thy law through thoughtlessness, have mercy, almighty, have mercy.'[1]

Aryan monotheism.

If the singular purity and unselfishness of the Hesiodic morality, as compared with that of the poems to which we give the name of Homer, suffice of themselves to prove the essential distinction between mythology and religion, these simple utterances of the Vedic poets show even more forcibly that the genuine belief in one almighty Being who is at once our Father, our Teacher, and our Judge, had its home first in the ancient Aryan land. It was a conviction to which they were guided by all that they saw or could apprehend of outward phenomena as well as by the irrepressible yearnings which stirred their hearts. For such yearnings and for such a consciousness in the Hebrew tribes we look in vain, before the Babylonish captivity. Among them we have at best only the warnings of a few isolated teachers, who saw things hidden from other eyes, and whose words, although they sounded in the ears of their countrymen like parables, would have conveyed a familiar meaning to the Aryans of northern India.[2] It matters little then whether Varuṇa be in these hymns mentioned almost invariably in conjunction with Mitra and sometimes with other gods. Like these, he is Âditya, Kronion, if Aditi be time; but the mythical notion

[1] Max Müller, *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* 540.

[2] These words were written before the appearance of Professor Max Müller's article on Semitic Monotheism in his volumes of collected essays. Few probably will read that paper without feeling that on the main question very little room is left for doubt. Polytheism is to be found in both the Semitic and the Aryan races, but it was more ingrained in the former. The very interchangeableness of the attributes of the Vedic gods was, to a certain extent, a safeguard against any conscious and systematic polytheism. So long as this state of thought continued, Dyaus, Varuṇa, Indra, Vishṇu, would be but many names for one and the same Being; but of course 'every new name threatened,' to use Professor Müller's words, 'to obscure more and more the primitive intuition of God.'—*Chips*, ii. 358. With the Jews the names under which they worshipped a multitude of gods were manifestly mere appellatives which never underwent any phonetic corruption, and thus the tendency to polytheism became the more inveterate. It is, however, scarcely necessary to say more than that 'if there had been in the Semitic race a truly monotheistic instinct, the history of those nations would become perfectly unintelligible.' —*Ib.* 365.

thus introduced sate so loosely on those who held it, that their language ceased to show any sign of its influence in times of real anguish and sorrow.[1] It was enough that they could realise at once the righteousness of God, and His readiness to forgive those who disobeyed his laws so soon as they repented them of their sin.[2]

Aditi and the Ādityas.

The process which converted the physical Varuṇa into a spiritual God is carried to its extreme results in the conception of Aditi, 'the unbound, the unbounded,' or even, as being expressed by the negation of *diti*, a bond, 'the Absolute.' This indefinite term was naturally used to denote the source from which all life, even the life of the gods, springs; and thus Aditi, the Infinite, became the mother of all the gods. The fact is startling; but, in Professor Muller's words, 'the thoughts of primitive humanity were not only different from our thoughts, but different also from what we think their thoughts ought to have been. The poets of the Veda indulged freely in theogonic speculations without being frightened by any contradictions. They knew of Indra as the greatest of gods, they knew of Agni as the god of gods, they knew of Varuṇa as the ruler of all; but they were by no means startled at the idea, that their Indra had a mother, or that their Agni was born like a babe from the friction of two fire-sticks, or that Varuṇa and his brother Mitra were nursed in the lap of Aditi.' Hence Aditi was contrasted

[1] 'Every god is conceived as supreme, or at least as inferior to no other god, at the time that he is praised or invoked by the Vedic poets; and the feeling that the various deities are but different names, different conceptions of that incomprehensible Being which no thought can reach and no language express, is not yet quite extinct in the minds of some of the more thoughtful Rishis.'—Max Müller, *Lectures on Language*, second series, 412. It might be added that the interpretations of later theologians cannot be accounted for except by the fact that this conviction never became totally extinct. Even when the whole Hindu Pantheon has attained its final dimensions, the myths are so treated as to leave little doubt of the real meaning in the writer's mind. The outward respect paid to the popular legends thinly disguises that monotheistic conviction, which accounts for much that would otherwise be perplexing in the writings of Roman Catholic and other theologians.

[2] The distinction between the old Vedic theory of sin and the forms of belief still prevalent on the subject cannot always be very broadly drawn.

'I ask, O Varuṇa, wishing to know this my sin. I go to ask the wise. The Sages all tell me the same. Varuṇa it is who is angry with me.

'Was it an old sin, O Varuṇa, that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, who always praises thee? Tell me, thou unconquerable lord, and I will quickly turn to thee with praise freed from sin.

'Absolve us from the sins of our fathers and from those which we committed with our own bodies.'

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with Diti, the unbounded with the definite, while it became more and more a name for the distant east from which all the bright gods seem to come, and for the boundless space beyond the east, drawing a sharp distinction between 'what is yonder, and what is here.' But the process could not be stopped at this point. The gods had been called dákshapitar, the fathers of strength, the mighty; and the same equivocation which made Odysseus spring from Autolykos converted the epithet Daksha into the father of the gods. It followed that Aditi was sprung from Daksha, or Daksha from Aditi, who also owed his existence to Bhu, being, and the conclusion was reached that 'Not-being and Being are in the higher heaven, in the birth-place of Daksha, in the lap of Aditi.' But more especially Aditi became the mother of the bright gods, of Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, and, in fact, of the seven Âdityas, although their names are not definitely given in the hymns of the Rig Veda.[1] On the one side, then, Diti was growing into 'a definite person, one of the daughters of Daksha, the wife of Kasyapa, the mother of the enemies of the gods, the Daityas' (such, Professor Müller remarks, being 'the growth of legend, mythology, and religion),' while on the other, Aditi herself was fast becoming 'one of those deities, who would best remove the bonds of sin or misery.' Thus the poet prays to Agni,—

'Whatever, O youthful god, we have committed against thee, men as we are, whatever sin through thoughtlessness, make us guiltless of Aditi, loosen the sins on all sides.'

All this, however, simply reproduces the Hesiodic theogony, in which Eros precedes Ouranos, to be represented again in Himeros.

The physical and spiritual Varuṇa.

Some light is thrown on the relations of Varuṇa with Mitra by the Hesiodic description of Ouranos as the lover of the earth over which he broods each night;[2] and thus Va-

[1] Why the Âdityas should be seven or eight in number, is a question of which Professor Max Müller, whom here I have simply to follow, admits the difficulty. The number seven, though a sacred number, is not more sacred than other numbers in the Rig Veda, and he contents himself with suggesting 'the seven days or tithis of the four parvanas of the lunar month as a possible prototype of the Âdityas,' adding that 'this might even explain the destruction of the eighth Âditya, considering that the eighth day of each parvan, owing to its uncertainty, might be represented as exposed to decay and destruction.'—*Rig Veda Sanhita*, i. 241.

[2] *Theog.* 176.

ruṇa, like Ouranos, is specially the veiling heaven whose presence is most felt at nightfall, when the sky seems to descend nearest to the earth, while Mitra, like Dyu and Zeus, represents the firmament glistening with the splendour of noon-day. But although the same root which furnished the names of Varuṇa and Ouranos yielded a name also for the evil power, first of physical, and afterwards of moral darkness, still the idea of Varuṇa has nothing in common with that of Vritra. His destructive nooses are prepared for the wicked only. They ensnare the man who speaks lies and pass by the man who speaks truth.[1] Like the Greek Poseidôn Pylaochos, he holds the unrighteous fast in prison: but it is as the punisher of iniquity which cannot be hidden from his piercing eye,[2] and not as the gloomy and inflexible Hades of the nether world. He is the omniscient Asura or spirit who props up the sky,[3] and this epithet may almost suffice to identify him with the Zendic Ahura who appears commonly in conjunction with Mithras, as Varuṇa is linked with Mitra.[4] From the simple germ thus afforded by mythical phrases which described the various changes of the heaven, sprung the metaphysical refinements of later Hindu philosophers, and the wild and cumbrous developements of later Hindu mythology. The true greatness of Varuṇa belongs to the earliest phase of Hindu thought. He is eclipsed first by Indra, and at length is overthrown by Krishna beneath the waters of the ocean.[5]

[1] *Atharva Veda*, iv. 16, 6. Muir, *Principal Deities of R. V.*, 558.

[2] 'King Varuṇa perceives all that is within and all that is beyond heaven and earth. The winkings of men's eyes are numbered by him.' Cf. 'the very hairs of your head are all numbered:'

πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας· *Hes. Op. et Dies*, 265.

'The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good.'

[3] *R. V.* viii. 42, 1. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. chap. ii. sect. 2. The name Asura belongs to the same root with that of the Teutonic Asen, or Æsir.

[4] The reasons urged in support of this conclusion are given by Dr. Muir, *Principal Deities of R. V.* 556, as follows, (1) the name Asura, etymologically identical with Ahura, is a common epithet of Varuṇa; (2) the class of Indian gods called Adityas, of whom Varuṇa is the highest, bears a certain analogy to the Zendic Amshaspands, of whom Ahura-Mazdâo is the highest; (3) a close connection exists between Varuna and Mitra, just as Ahura and Mithra are frequently associated in the Zendavesta, though the position of the two has otherwise become altered, and Mithra, who is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands, is placed between the two powers of good and evil. 'Zwischen Ormuzd (Licht) und Ariman (Finsterniss) steht Mithras mitten inne, heisst darum Mittler, μεσίτης, Plut. de Is.'—Nork, *Real Wörterbuch*, *s. v.* Mithrascult.

[5] Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. ch. ii. section 5.

Section III.—INDRA.

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The primary conception of Indra purely physical.

If Dyaus and Varuṇa were alike doomed to lose their ancient majesty, a brighter lot was in store for Indra; and the picture which the oldest Vedic hymns present to us of this god has a special value as enabling us to determine the measure in which religion and mythology affected each other. That a moral or spiritual element may be discerned in some of the characteristics of this deity, is beyond question: that the whole idea of the god can be traced to the religious instinct of mankind, the boldest champions of the theory which ascribes the growth of all mythology to the direct action of religious impulse or revelation will scarcely venture to affirm. The true religious instinct must point to the absolute rule of one righteous God, and cannot itself originate the idea of many independent centres of action. If this instinct furnished the true germ of all mythology, then the mythology of the Iliad and Odyssey is far older than that of the Veda; in other words, the crystallised granite is older than the ingredients of which it is composed. In our Homeric poems, in the midst of abundant signs indicating the later growth of the notion, we have an acknowledged King of heaven, from whom all the Olympian gods derive their power, or whose will they are at least bound to perform, and who alone retains unimpaired his full characteristics as lord of the bright heaven. Although Phoibos still bears his unerring weapons, yet his arrows lie within the quiver until some wickedness of man compels him to draw them forth. The superhuman action of the Iliad and Odyssey, in short, has reference strictly to the deeds and fortunes of men; the age of conflicts between the gods has almost passed away. The conspiracy of Hêrê, Poseidôn and Athênê to bind Zeus, is amongst the latest of those struggles which had culminated in the wars of the Titans, for when in the last great battle of Achilleus the gods turn against each other in the fray, there is still no thought of assailing the great King who sits in his serene ether far above the turmoil raging beneath him.[1]

[1] 'L'Olympe, dans Homère, ressemble à une monarchie établie de longue date, où chaque personnage a, par droit de naissance, son emploi, ses titres invari-

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Action of the Vedic and Achaian deities.

The true mythical action of the Achaian deities is thus intermittent. In the hymns of the Rig Veda it is continuous, and their action is but remotely concerned with human interests. Like the Hesiodic Zeus, they love the savour of burnt-offerings, and hasten to receive their share of the sacrifice: but as soon as the rites are over, they return to their own proper work as wielding the forces which are manifested in the changing heavens. The Vedic gods are thus, pre-eminently, transparent. Instead of one acknowledged king, each is lord in his own domain; each is addressed as the maker of all visible things, while their features and characteristics are in almost all cases interchangeable.[1] Dyaus and Indra, Varuṇa and Agni are each in his turn spoken of as knowing no superior, and the objects of their chief care are not the children of men, but the winds, the storms, the clouds, and the thunder, which are constantly rising in rebellion against them. No sooner is one conflict ended than another is begun, or rather the same conflict is repeated as the days and seasons come round. Whenever the rain is shut up in the clouds, the dark power is in revolt against Dyaus and Indra. In the rumblings of the thunder, while the drought still sucks out the life of the earth, are heard the mutterings of their hateful enemy. In the lightning flashes which precede the outburst of the pent-up waters are seen the irresistible spears of the god, who is attacking the throttling serpent in his den; and in the serene heaven which shone out when the deluging clouds had passed away, men beheld the face of the mighty deity

ables, et son rang dont il ne songe pas à se départir. Dans cette sorte de cour que les dieux tiennent autour de Jupiter, ils se sont dépouillés de leur caractère propre et de leur originalité native . . . Comme ces dignitaires des anciennes monarchies qui continuent à porter des titres depuis longtemps vides de sens, ils ont des surnoms dont ils semblent ignorer la valeur.'—Bréal, *Hercule et Cacus*, 81. The very fact that the mythical attributes of these gods become less and less defined, while their subordination to Zeus becomes more and more marked, is the strongest evidence of the mythological origin of the whole.

[1] Their names are, in short, mere signs for one and the same conception. He who knows Brahma knows Prajâpati; they who know Brahma know Skambha, the supporter of the world, who, like Atlas, upholds the earth and sky, and who is 'all which has soul, which breathes and winks.' Again, this office of supporting the universe is fulfilled by Varuṇa, Indra, Savitri, and Vishṇu. So, too, Prajâpati is Mahâdeva, the great god, and Bhava (probably Phoibos) the supreme lord. He is also Daksha, and the year, the ender of all things, as the days bring the life of man to a close.—Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. pp. 17, 18, 24, 49, 156, &c.

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who was their friend. So completely does the older mythology of the Veda carry us away from the one idea which must be first awakened by the genuine religious instinct of mankind.

The Greek mythology not borrowed from the Vedic.

No stronger evidence than that which is furnished by this contrast could be adduced to show that in no single feature is the mythology of our Homeric poems borrowed from the people who betook themselves to the banks of the Indus and the Ganges. The Vedic Dyaus may in all essential features be reproduced in the Hellenic Zeus. Like Phoibos Chrysâôr, Indra may bear a lance or an arrow, which can never miss its mark: but in the one case we have a mere sketch, in the other a finished picture; and the differences in the character of the detail preclude all idea that for either Zeus or Hermes, Helen or Paris, Erinys or Achilleus, the Achaian poets were indebted to the Vedic Dyaus or Sarameya, to Paṇi or Saramâ, to Saranyû or Aharyu. To one common source they do indeed point; and the several stages of developement which mark the early mythologies of India and Hellas leave us in no doubt of the nature of the germ from which they spring.

Indra, a god of the bright heaven.

At once, then, we turn away from the cumbrous and complicated mythology of the later Vedic literature,[1] as from the uncouth outgrowths of the Orphic theogony we turn to the earlier phases in which the Greek epic and lyric poets exhibit their ancestral deities. We are not concerned with the later conflicts of Indra, which end in his being bound by Indragit,[2] while we have before us a series of songs which speak of him simply as the invincible god of the bright heaven. Yet, although there still remains a large difference between Indra and Apollôn, too great stress can scarcely be laid on the fact that as we trace the Vedic gods as far back as the Veda itself will carry us, the essential likeness between the Hindu and the Hellenic deities becomes more and more striking. If further we find that, when thus examined, their functions become, if the expression may be

[1] See the remarks quoted by Professor Max Müller from Professor Roth (*Sanskrit Literature* 60).

[2] A summary of the story of Indra and Indragit is given by Dr. Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, iv. p. 422.

used, more and more atmospheric,—if they become the powers which produce the sights of the changing sky,—if their great wars are waged in regions far above the abodes of men, the last blow is given to the theory which by the most arbitrary of assumptions finds the root of all mythology in the religious instincts of mankind.

Meaning of the name.

In the Vedic Indra there is this further peculiarity, that, although his name ceased, like that of Dyaus, to be chiefly a name for the sky, and although the struggle in which he is constantly engaged has indefinitely affected the faith of Christendom, yet the deity himself has but little of a purely moral or spiritual element in his character. It is true that he is sometimes invoked as witnessing all the deeds of men and thus as taking cognisance of their sins; but the warfare which he has to wage is purely a physical conflict, and it is chiefly in the phrases by which his adversary is described, that we find the germs of the dualistic creed which bears the name of Zoroaster. Nowhere then, in the oldest monuments of Hindu thought, is the real character of Indra lost sight of. His home is in the bright heaven; but, as his name denotes,[1] he is specially the bringer of the most precious of all boons to a thirsty and gaping land. He is the giver of the rain which falls on the earth when the tyranny of the scorching wind is overpast.

The might and majesty of Indra.

In vain is Indra assailed in his career by the same enemies which seek to destroy the infant Herakles. The Rakshasa fares no better than the snakes.

'Vyansa, exulting and striking hard blows, smote thee, Maghavan, upon the jaw; whereupon, being so smitten, thou provedst the stronger and didst crush the head of the slave with the thunderbolt.'[2]

Like Herakles and Phoibos again, he has to go in search of lost or stolen cattle. With the conveying Maruts, 'the traversers of places difficult of access,' he discovers the cows hidden in their caves.

'Great is thy prowess, Indra, we are thine. Satisfy,

[1] 'Indra, a name peculiar to India, admits of but one etymology, i.e. it must be derived from the same root, whatever that may be, which in Sanskrit yielded *indu*, drop, sap.'—Max Müller, *Lectures on Language*, second series, 430.

[2] *Rig Veda Sanhita*, H. H. Wilson, vol. iii. p. 156.

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Maghavan, the desires of thy worshipper. The vast heaven has acknowledged thy might; this earth has been bowed down through thy vigour.

'Thou, thunderer, hast shattered with thy bolt the broad and massive cloud into fragments, and hast sent down the waters that were confined in it, to flow at will: verily thou alone possessest all power.'[1]

So, again, addressing Indra as Parjanya the rain-bringer, the poet says,

'The winds blow strong, the lightnings flash, the plants spring up, the firmament dissolves; earth becomes fit for all creatures, when Parjanya fertilises the soil with showers.'[2]

'Master of tawny steeds, the remotest regions are not remote for thee.'[3]

'At the birth of thee who art resplendent, trembled the heaven and trembled the earth through fear of thy wrath: the mighty clouds were confined: they destroyed (the distress of drought), spreading the waters over the dry places.'[4]

Lastly, as the solar god, he is the Wanderer, like the Teutonic Wegtam, like Odysseus, Sigurd, Dionysos, Phoibos, Theseus, Bellerophôn, Oidipous, Herakles and Savitar.

'Wonderful Indra, wanderer at times, thou art verily the granter of our desires.'[5]

Indra the rain-bringer.

Indra then is the lord of the heaven, omnipotent and all-seeing: but so had been, or rather was, his father Dyu; and thus some epithets which in the west are reserved for Zeus are in the east transferred to Indra, and the Jupiter Stator of the Latins reappears as the Indra sthâtar of the Hindu.[6] The rain-bringer must be younger than the sky in which the clouds have their birthplace; but however sharply his personality may be defined, the meaning of the name is never forgotten. As the Maruts, or winds, are said

[1] *R. V. Sanhita*, H. H. Wilson, i. 154.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 373.
[3] *Ib.* iii. 37.
[4] Cf. Judges, v. 4.
[5] *R. V. Sanhita*, H. H. Wilson, vol. iii. p. 187.
[6] The Latins, it would seem, misunderstood the name, Livy, i. 12. 'Le mot sthâtar est ordinairement complété en Sanscrit par un génitif, tel que *rathasya, harînâm*, ce qui détermine le véritable sens de cette épithète, qui signifie, celui qui se tient debout sur son char, sur ses coursiers. Quel est ce char? On ne peut douter qu'il ne soit question du soleil, qui est souvent représenté dans les Vedas comme une roue d'or roulant dans le firmament.'— Bréal, *Hercule et Cacus*, 103.

sometimes to course through Dyaus (the heaven), so the clouds sometimes move in Indra (the sky). In all the phrases which describe this god, the local colouring arising from the climate of northern India may be plainly discerned. Although the Delian Phoibos soon belts his golden sword to his side, yet for sometime after his birth he lies in the white and spotless robe in which the nymphs had wrapped him. The Vedic Indra awakes sooner to the consciousness of his power, and as soon as he is born, the slayer of Vritra asks his mother, 'Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?'[1] Like the Hellenic Apollôn, he has golden locks and a quiver of irresistible arrows; but the arrows have a hundred points and are winged with a thousand feathers. In his hand he holds the golden whip which Phoibos gives to Hermes as the guardian of his cattle; and like Helios, he is borne across the heavens in a flaming chariot drawn by the tawny or glistening steeds called the Harits, whose name and whose brightness alone reappear in the Charites of the Hellenic land, but who still retain the form most familiar to the Hindu in the Xanthos and Balios who are yoked to the car of Achilleus. Like the streaming locks from the head of Phoibos, so the beard of Indra flashes like lightning, as he speeds on his journey through the heaven. As looking down on the wide earth spread beneath, he is possessed, like Apollôn, of an inscrutable wisdom. Like him also, he chases the Dawn, Dahanâ or Daphnê, of whom he is said to be sometimes the father, sometimes the son, and sometimes the husband; and as Phoibos causes the death of Daphnê, so Indra is said to shatter the chariot of Dahanâ.[2]

Physical conflict between light and darkness.

The prayers addressed to this god show that the chief idea associated with him was that of an irresistible material power. The Hindu, as he comes before the deity to whom he looks for his yearly harvest, assumes unconsciously the

[1] Muir, *Principal Deities of R. V.* 560.

[2] In this myth Dahanâ is regarded as hostile to Indra and as meditating mischief, a thought which might easily be suggested by the legends of Arethousa and Daphnê. Her shattered car reposes, however, on the banks of the Vipar (river or water), an incident which recalls the disappearance of Arethousa or Daphnê in the waters from which Aphroditê rises. H. H. Wilson, *R. V. Sanhita*, vol. ii. p. 178.

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attitude of the Baal-worshipper of Syria.[1] But the real prayer of the heart is addressed to Varuṇa, as the Greek in his hour of need prays always to Zeus. The cry for mercy from those who through thoughtlessness have broken the law of God is never sent up to Indra, although, like Herakles, 'he engages in many conflicts for the good of man with overwhelming power.'[2] It was impossible that it should be so, while the great work for which Indra might be said to exist was the battle for life or death with the hateful monster who imprisons the rain-clouds in his dungeons. This battle is brought before us under a thousand forms. His great enemy Vritra, the hiding thief, is also Ahi, the strangling snake, or Paṇi the marauder.

'Ahi has been prostrated beneath the feet of the waters which the Vritra by his might had obstructed.'[3]

He appears again as Atri, a name which may perhaps be the same as the Atli of the Volsung tale and the Etzel of the Nibelung song.

'Thou, Indra, hast opened the cloud for the Angirasas: thou hast shown the way to Atri who vexes his adversaries by a hundred doors.'[4]

He is also Namuki (the Greek Amykos), and Sambara.

'Thou, Indra, with thy bolt didst slay afar off the deceiver Namuki.'[5]

'Thou hast slain Sambara by thy resolute self.'[6]

[1] The power of Indra is the one theme of the praise accorded to him in *R. V.* vii. 32. The worshipper calls on him who holds the thunderbolt with his arm, whom no one can check if he wishes to give, who makes mortal men obtain spoil in fighting, who is the benefactor of everyone, whatever battles there be, who is the rich of old and to be called in every battle. Max Müller, *Sanskrit Literature*, 543.

'This contest with the clouds,' says Professor H. H. Wilson (*Introduction to R. V. Sanhita*, xxx.) 'seems to have suggested to the authors of the Súktas the martial character of Indra on other occasions, and he is especially described as the god of battles, the giver of victory to his worshippers, the destroyer of the enemies of religious rites, the subverter of the cities of the Asuras.'

The stanza known as the Hansavatí Rich is noteworthy as exhibiting the germs of more than one myth. Indra 'is Hansa (the sun) dwelling in light: Vasu (the wind) dwelling in the firmament: the invoker of the gods (Agni) dwelling on the altar: the guest (of the worshipper) dwelling in the house (as the culinary fire): the dweller amongst men (as consciousness): the dweller in the most excellent (orb, the sun): the dweller in truth, the dweller in the sky (the air), born in the waters, in the rays of light, in the verity (of manifestation), in the (Eastern) mountain, the truth (itself).'—H. H. Wilson, *R. V. Sanhita*, iii. 199.

[2] H. H. Wilson, *R. V. Sanhita*, i. 151.

[3] *Ib.* i. 87.

[4] *Ib.* i. 136.

[5] *Ib.* i. 147.

[6] *Ib.* i. 148.

'Verily thou hast made me, Indra, thy associate, when grinding the head of the slave Namuki like a sounding and rolling cloud.'[1]

In the same way Indra is the slayer of Bala, of Chumuri, Dhuni, Pipon, Sushna, and many others,[2] and against him the strength of the Rakshasas is concentrated in vain, for Indra scatters them 'with his friend the thunderbolt.' On the issue of this conflict depends, it is true, the welfare of all human creatures. The victory of Indra brings with it wealth of corn and wine and oil, but the struggle and its issue are alike external to the human spirit. In other words, the religious instinct found little scope in the phrases which described the offices of Indra, and most assuredly had nothing to do with suggesting them. It was not on the soil of Hindustan that the momentous physical struggle between Indra and his enemy was to become a spiritual struggle of still more fearful proportions.

The wife of Indra.

The wife of Indra is Indrani, who alone of the goddesses who bear the names of the gods is associated with her husband. Like the rest, she has but a vague and shadowy personality. But although the goddesses who are not thus simply developed from the names of their consorts are far more prominent, yet even these are spoken of in terms little resembling the language addressed to the supreme god under his many names. Ahanâ is a daughter of Dyaus, and her might is great, but Indra is mightier still. Ushas is hard to vanquish; but Indra shatters her chariot, while Saranyû, the Harits, and the Rohits are rather beings who do his will than deities possessed of any independent power. In this respect a vast gulf separates the later from the early mythology of the Hindus; and although Mahâdeva retains a nominal supremacy, yet the popular mind dwells less on the god than on the awful terrors of his wife, whether known as Uma, Durga, or Kali.[3] In an inquiry designed chiefly to bring out the points of resemblance and difference between cognate mythological systems, we are not called upon to enter the unwholesome labyrinth in which a morbid

[1] H. H. Wilson, *R. V. Sanhita*, i. 279.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 418, 419.
[3] Muir, *Principal Deities of R. V.* 577.

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philosophy has bewildered and oppressed a race once more simple and perhaps more truthful in their faith than the forefathers of the Hellenic and even of the Teutonic nations. The more modern Hindu traditions may have an interest for the theologian or the philosopher, while the ingenious symbolical interpretations which make anything mean anything may be as noteworthy in the pages of Brahmanic commentators as in those of Chrysostom, Gregory, or Augustine. But they lead us away into a world of their own, where it becomes scarcely worth while to trace the faint vestiges of earlier thought which may be here and there discerned in the rank crop of cumbrous and repulsive fancies. Nor is there much profit in lists even of earlier deities in whom we have little more than a name or an epithet. If the earth is called Nishtigrî, we have only another word denoting Prithivî the wife of Dyaus. In Sarasvatî, the watery, we have, first, a name given to the river which with the Indus and the waters of the Penjab made up the seven streams of the ancient Hindu home, and then to a goddess who, as inspiring the hymns composed in her honour, became identified with Vach,[1] Voice, and was invoked as the muse of eloquence. As such, she is produced on the mountain-top, as Athênê Akria springs from the forehead of Zeus.[2] Much in the same way, Nirriti,[3] the western land, to which Yama had first crossed the rapid waters, became first the land of death, and afterwards a personification of evil. In Sraddhâ we have nothing more than a name for religious faith.[4]

Section IV.—BRAHMA.

Place of Brahma in the Hindu theogony.

If an examination of the Vedic theology tends to prove that it was wholly one of words and names, the impression is not weakened as we survey the ponderous fancies of later times. The fabric of Brahmanic sacerdotalism may have reached gigantic proportions, and may exhibit a wonderful ingenuity

[1] Gr. ἔπος, εἰπεῖν, ἀκούειν, Latin vox, vocare.

[2] Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. p. 360, note.

[3] Max Müller, *Lectures on Language*, second series, 515. Is the name Nirriti connected with that of the Ithakan Neritos and the Leukadian Nerikos?

[4] 'The Latin word credo, "I believe," is the same as the Sanskrit Sraddhâ.'—Max Müller, *Chips*, i. 42.

in the piecing together of its several parts, but it cannot be regarded as the result of a logical system. The properties of Vishnu are those of Agni, Vayu, and Sûrya; and as Agni is all the deities, so also is Vishnu. The character of Brahma is not less flexible. At first the word is but a name for the self-existent principle, and the various mythical acts recorded of him are not only susceptible of a spiritual or metaphysical interpretation, but are actually so interpreted in all the Hindu comments on the sacred literature of the country. As in the Orphic theogony, the generation of Brahma begins sometimes with the great mundane egg; but it is Brahma who therein produces himself. The self-existent lord, 'desiring to produce various creatures from his own body, first, with a thought, created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. This seed became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahma, the progenitor of all worlds.'[1] He is the first god of a later Indian Trimûrtti; but the threefold deity of Yaska is Agni, Vayu, and Sûrya, and thus Dr. Muir concludes that the conjunction of Brahma, Vishnu, and Rudra (? Siva) was unknown to that ancient commentator.[2] Even in the Mahâbhârata, Brahma is both created and uncreated. In that poem Mahâdeva (*μέγας θεός*, the great god), is the creator of Brahma, Vishṇu, and Indra. 'From his right side he produced Brahma, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishṇu, for the preservation of the universe, and when the end of the age had

[1] Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. p. 27.

[2] The three names given by Yaska are with him mere names for one object. 'These deities,' he says, 'receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as (the appellations of) hotri, adhvaryu, brahman, and udgatri are applied to one and the same person.' The functions connected with these names carry us back to the old mythical phrases. 'Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vritra; and all exertions of force are the work of Indra.' 'The function of Âditya (the sun) is to draw up moisture and to retain it by his rays: and whatever is mysterious is the work of Âditya.'—Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. pp. 134–6. To the objection that the Puranic mythology, of which the Trimûrtti of Brahma, Vishṇu and Siva is a part, might have grown up along with the Vedic, Dr. Muir answers that 'if Yaska had been cognisant of any other than the Vedic mythology (at least, if he had attached any authority to any other), he would not have failed to make some reference to the latter, and would have endeavoured to blend and reconcile it with the former. As we find no attempt of the kind in his work, we must conclude either that the Puranic mythology had no existence in his day, or that he regarded it as undeserving of any attention.'—*Ib.* 137.

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arrived, the mighty god created Rudra.'[1] But Mahâdeva is is identified by the poets of the Mahâbhârata with Rudra, Siva, Agni, Sûrya, Varuṇa, the Asvins, and a host of other deities, and, as the originator of all life, even assumes the forms and functions of the Hellenic Priapos.[2] Mahâdeva, again, is himself also the destroyer Siva, and like Vishṇu he wields a dreadful bow made by Visvakarman. These bows are used by the two gods in a terrible battle, the result being that the bow of Mahâdeva is relaxed and Vishṇu is esteemed the superior.[3] Elsewhere it is said that Brahma and Mahâdeva are both sprung from Krishna, the one from the lotus issuing from his navel, the other from his forehead, like Dahanâ and Athênê from the head of Dyaus or Zeus.[4]

Prajâpati.

As Prajâpati, Brahma offers violence to his own daughter; and from this myth of Indra and Ahalya a story is produced much resembling that of the Hellenic Erichthonios.[5] He is also a worshipper of the Linga, and acts as the charioteer of Mahâdeva or of Rudra, who springs from his forehead (as he does also from that of Krishna), glorious as the noon-day sun.[6]

Visvakarman.

Like Brahma, Visvakarman, the Creator, is one of the many names which may be applied to almost any of the gods at the will of the worshipper. Wise and mighty in act, Visvakarman orders all things, and men desire the attainment of good in the world where 'he, the One Being, dwells beyond the seven Rishis.'[7] He is the maker of the region Sutala, where by his will, as in the Greek Elysion, 'neither mental nor bodily pains, nor fatigue, nor weariness, nor discomfiture, nor diseases afflict the inhabitants.'[8] He is also the son of Bhuvana, the first of all beings who sprang into existence from the earth.[9]

[1] Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, pp. 156, 162.
[2] *Ib.* 160.
[3] *Ib.* 146, 147.
[4] *Ib.* 193.
[5] *Ib.* 39,
[6] *Ib.* 190. Athênê in like manner springs fully armed from the head of Zeus; but in the story of the Vishṇu Purana (Muir, *ib.* 331), Rudra is both sun and moon, as dividing his body into two parts, male and female, like the Greek Hermaphroditos. The portions into which his male form is further divided seem to point to the month of the year which is represented by Rudra himself, as by Aditi.
[7] Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. p. 7.
[8] *Ib.* 129.
[9] The name Bhuvana itself is from the same root with the Greek φύσις and our own words Be and Being. It has been urged with at least some plausibility that the Latin Consus is a name of the same kind, and that it is not to

Section V.—ZEUS.

CHAP. I.

The dwelling of Zeus in Ether.

In the conception of the poets known to us by the name of Homer, the earth on which we tread is covered with a gross and thick air, through which course the clouds, and in which the winds work their will. Above this air rises the serene Aithêr or Ether, the abode of Zeus, never sullied by mists or vexed with storms. Here he dwells, surrounded by the gods of Olympos; but while these can visit the earth and take part in the quarrels of mortal men, Zeus alone may not descend for this purpose from the clear heaven whence he looks down on all that is being done beneath him. It is true that there are on the earth some whom he loves, and others whom he hates; and when his son Sarpêdôn is smitten by the spear of Patroklos, the tears of Zeus fall in large raindrops from the sky. But that which he wills must be done by others, and in their toils he can have no share. So when the hour for the battle between Achilleus and Hektor is come, Zeus tells the gods, the streams, and the nymphs, who sit around his throne, that they may go down and choose each his side, while for himself, though he cares for the mortals whose death-struggle is at hand, the sight of all that is done on the plains of Ilion will none the less gladden his eyes as he looks down from Olympos. When, after the conflict of Achilleus with the burning river, the gods turn their weapons on each other, the mind of Zeus remains unruffled, and he listens in silence to the charge brought against Hêrê by Lêtô, as she lays before his feet the arrows of her child Artemis.[1]

The unchanging light.

Thus for the poets of the Iliad and the Odyssey, Zeus, though he might be called the gatherer of the dark clouds,[2]

be referred to the verb Consulere. It is by no means likely that even the title of the Dii Consentes can be taken as indicating a divine council: and the coincidence is noteworthy between the Latin Consus and the Hindu Ganesa, the lord of life and of the reproductive powers of nature, the name reappearing in the Greek γένος and our *kin*. Hence it is that when Romulus is in need of women for his new city, it is to Consus that he makes his vows and prayers. The Consualia would thus precisely correspond with the Eleusinian festival of Dêmêtêr.

[1] *Il.* xxi. 388.

[2] Ζεὺς Αἰγίοχος. 'Le verbe grec ἀΐσσω, qui signifie s'élancer, a fait d'une part le substantif αἴξ, chèvre (à cause de la nature bondissante de l'animal), et de

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was pre-eminently the lord of the bright heaven, and the thought most closely associated with the name was that of a serene and unchangeable splendour. As the heavy masses of vapour were cloven by the rays of the sun, the blue heaven was seen smiling on the havoc wrought by storms and tempest, itself undimmed by the years which devoured the generations of men. From the face of this heaven the morning sprang to scatter the shades of night. Beneath it the lightning flashed, the rain fell, the winds blew; but above them all shone still the light which can know no change.

The idea of Zeus suggested by physical phenomena.

Without referring, therefore, to the legends of other nations, we are brought at once by the language even of our Homeric poets to that earliest form of thought in which words now used to denote spiritual conceptions conveyed only the impression left on the human mind by the phenomena of the outward world. As man awoke gradually to a conscious perception of the things around him, the sensation most comforting in the alternations of a day and night alike uncomprehended would be that of the pure and bright heaven which broods over the earth as the sun speeds on his journey across the sky. If, then, in the names which were afterwards used to denote the supreme God we have words which in all Aryan dialects convey this primary idea of brightness, a clear light is at once shed on the first stages in the mental and moral education of mankind. The profound splendour of the unclouded heaven must mark the abode of the Being who made and sustains all things; and thus names denoting at first only the sky became in the West as in the East names of God, the Zeus Patêr (the Father) of the Greeks corresponding to the Dyauspitar of the Hindu. If even in the Vedic hymns the most prominent deity is Indra, still Indra was himself worshipped as the god of the bright sky, and as

l'autre les mots *καταΐξ*, *καταιγίς*, tempête. De là une nouvelle série d'images et de fables où la chèvre joue le rôle principal. L'égide, avant d'être un bouclier fait en peau de chèvre, était le ciel au moment de l'orage; Jupiter *αἰγίοχος* était le dieu qui envoie la tempête (il faut entendre *ἔχω* dans son sens primitif *veho*): plus tard, on traduisit *le dieu qui porte l'égide*. Homère semble se souvenir de la première signification, quand il nous montre, au seul mouvement du bouclier, le tonnerre qui éclate, l'Ida qui se couvre de nuages, et les hommes frappés de terreur.'—Bréal, *Hercule et Cacus*, 116.

the son of the brilliant Dyu. As in the Hellenic land Kronos was displaced by Zeus, so in the country of the seven rivers, Dyu gave way to the lord of the wealth-bringing rain clouds. The process (even if we assign a very late origin to the mythical Kronos) was in both cases the same. The epithet could not become or be long retained as a personal name until its original meaning had been obscured or forgotten. The Greek had his Aêr, his Aithêr, and his Ouranos to express the visible heavens, and Zeus became to him more and more the personal God whose hand is seen in his works. In India the name Dyaus retained, as we have seen, its appellative force, and as a designation for the supreme God, was supplanted by the less significant Indra.

The Latin Jupiter.

But in the West, as in the East, the original character of the god is in close accordance with the etymology of the word. The Athenians called on Zeus to rain on their land; the Latin poet spoke of the glistening heaven which by all is named Jove, while the phrases 'sub dio vivere,' 'sub Jove frigido,' and even 'malus Jupiter' remained common expressions in every day speech.[1]

Zeus Ouranion.

The idea of brightness was, however, not the only one suggested by the sight of the clear heaven. If the sky beams with light, it is also spread as a covering over the earth which lies beneath it, and Zeus was thus Ouranion who spread his veil over his bride; but before he came to be spoken of as son of Kronos, the attribute had suggested the idea of a person, and the Western Ouranos corresponded with the Vedic Varuṇa. In this case the name remained more transparent in the West than in the East. The Vedic Varuṇa becomes the moral ruler of the universe, and the Father and friend of man; but in the Hellenic land the starry Ouranos is the son to whom Gaia gives birth in order that he may cover everything and be a steadfast seat for the blessed gods,[2] and we look in vain for the spiritual attributes which belong to Varuṇa in the hymns of the Rig Veda.

[1] ἴσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῶν Ἀθηναίων.
Aspice hoc sublime candens quod invocant omnes Jovem.
The word ἔνδιος has the same transparent meaning.—Max Müller, *Lectures on Language*, second series, 434.

[2] Hesiod, *Theog.* 122.

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The mythical and spiritual Zeus.

But the developement of a personal Zeus was followed necessarily by two results, which long continued astonishingly distinct the one from the other. The thought of Zeus as the one God and Father gave birth to a religion. The many names employed to denote the varying phases of the sky became each the germ of a myth, and every one of these myths, when translated into the conditions of human life, tended to degrade the idea of the god as much as the idea of his changeless perfection, rising more and more in the mind, tended to raise it. According to the latter, he would be the righteous Judge, seen by none, yet beholding all, looking down from heaven on the children of men to see if they will understand and seek after God, appointing to them a life of labour for their highest good, and finally recompensing to all men after their works. By the other process he would become all that names applied to outward phenomena must denote when used to signify the actions of a personal and conscious being. As in every land the dews of heaven fertilise the earth, Zeus must be the husband of many brides, the father of countless children in every country. As looking down on the havoc caused by drought or pestilence, storm or war, he would be a god of merciless indifference and disinterested cruelty. He must smile alike over the wealth of a teeming harvest or the withered fruits of a sun-scorched land. But the blighting of a spring-tide fair in its promise is his work, and he would thus become capricious as well as treacherous, while the interchangeable characteristics of the earliest gods would heighten still more the repulsive features of the anthropomorphised Zeus. If the old hymn had praised Aditi as 'mother, father, and son,' Zeus must become at once the brother and the husband, and his own daughters through many generations would become the mothers of his children. The transference of these phrases to the relations of human life has its necessary result in the fearful horrors of the tale of Oidipous and Iokastê.

Influence of mythology on religion.

That the two streams of religion and mythology ran on side by side, or rather that the same words are used to express two wholly different lines of thought, is abundantly

proved by Greek not less than by Hindu literature. The result was that the same man might seem to speak two languages, and perhaps delude himself into the notion that under the name of Zeus he spoke of one person, and of one person only. This would be the case especially with the classes, which, although familiar, or because they were familiar, with the complicated mythical lore of their country, might not care to analyse their own thoughts, or fairly to face the difficulties involved in many or most of these ancient stories. But there would be a lower class who, as being perhaps practically ignorant of these narratives, would be saved in great measure from this traditional influence.[1] However imperfect his conceptions may have been, it is certain that the swineherd Eumaios did not derive his religious convictions from mythical phrases, when he told Odysseus that God gives and withholds according to his pleasure and in the plenitude of his power. Nor can too great a stress be laid on the fact that, as the mythology grew more complicated and more repulsive, ideas of morality and religion became more reasonable and more pure. Nowhere is this conclusion so clearly forced upon us as in the Hesiodic Works and Days. In this poem the teacher who bids his friend to deal with all men after the rule of righteousness which comes from Zeus,[2] who tells that justice and truth shall in the end prevail,[3] and that they who do evil to others inflict evil on themselves,[4] who is sure that the eyes of God are in every place, that the way of evil is broad and smooth, and the path of good rough and narrow at the first, tells us also how Zeus bade the gods to make Pandôra fair to look upon but all evil within, and laughed at the thought of the miseries which should overtake mankind when all the evils should be let loose from her box, while, to crush them utterly, hope should remain a prisoner

[1] 'What,' asks Professor Max Müller, 'did the swineherd Eumaios know of the intricate Olympian theogony? Had he ever heard the name of the Charites or the Harpyias? Could he have told who was the father of Aphroditê, who were her husbands and her children? I doubt it; and when Homer introduces him to us, speaking of this life and the higher powers that rule it, Eumaios knows only of just gods, "who hate cruel deeds, but honour justice and the righteous works of men."'—*Lectures on Language*, second series, 453.

[2] 35.

[3] 215.

[4] 263.

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within it. So conscious apparently is the poet that the Zeus who thus cheats mankind is not the Zeus who commands them to do justice and mercy, that he can use the same name without a thought that he is dishonouring the just and holy God whom he reverences. It seems impossible to ignore a distinction without which the Hesiodic poem becomes unintelligible. With our Homeric poets the contrast is not so marked, simply because their thoughts were not so earnest and their hearts were not so wakened by the sterner experiences of human life. With these moral indifference would naturally find expression in confusion of language, and they might lead others to think, as they themselves may have fancied, that the Zeus to whom they prayed in moments of real anguish was the Zeus who laughed at the wretchedness and the ruin of mankind. Still less can it be said that the mythology of India choked the growth of a right faith. The Hindu might in his prayer employ the names of Varuṇa or Dyaus, but he knew well that these were only names for One whose nature, infinite and incomprehensible, yet corresponded with his own, and of whose aid he felt himself to stand in the deepest and most constant need.

The Zeus of the Tragic poets.

But if it be true generally that the Greek, especially in the prehistoric ages, 'was not aware that there were different tributaries which entered from different points into the central idea of Zeus,'[1] it was far otherwise with the few to whom a belief in the righteousness of God was no empty phrase but a profound and practical conviction. The fact that national and political institutions were intertwined inextricably with the old mythology, if they were not actually based upon it, only brought out its repulsive features more prominently before all who could not bring themselves to believe that the righteous God could issue to men immoral commands or himself do the things which he condemned in them. Whether the difficulties thus involved in the traditional creed should lead them to covert opposition or to open antagonism, would depend much on the temper and the circumstances of those who felt them. There are some

[1] Max Müller, *Lectures on Language*, second series, 442.

who, like Sophokles, are well content if they can express their own convictions without assailing popular ideas; there are others who, like Euripides, cannot rest until they bring others to see inconsistencies which to themselves are palpable and glaring. Yet it cannot be denied that the thoughts of Sophokles are as true and high as those of the younger poet. There is nothing in the latter more outspoken than the words in which Sophokles tells us that the laws of righteousness are established in heaven and that in them God is great and cannot grow old. But where there is an earnest yearning for truth, this happy condition of mind will not probably last long. The thought of the mischief which the popular creeds inflict on ordinary minds will lead them openly to condemn a system which they might otherwise treat with indifference or contempt; and to this sense we may ascribe the protests of Xenophanes and Protagoras, of Anaxagoras and Herakleitos, of Pindar and of Plato. The controversy was brought to an issue, when Euripides said plainly that if the gods are righteous, the stories of the poets are wretched falsehoods, and that if they do the things which the poets ascribe to them, then they are not gods at all: and this issue was anticipated by the conviction of Æschylos that Zeus was a mere name, one of many names, for the One true God, which might serve to convey some faint notion and inadequate idea of his goodness and his greatness.

The name Zeus.

Hindu and Greek, then, alike worshipped the same God, of whom they also spoke sometimes under other names. But these names were in no case borrowed the one from the other. The analysis of language has proved that in some instances Greeks, Latins, or Lithuanians have preserved older forms than any which are exhibited in Sanskrit, while the variations in the incidents and local colouring of the myths carry us back to one common source for all in the home of the yet undivided Aryan tribes. The seed, however, could not germinate while as yet there was no failure of memory; and if, when the meaning of words was in part or wholly forgotten, expressions not less graceful once than true became coarse and mischievous, we may learn to curb our indignation when

[1] On this subject see further, Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, part iv. p. 41.

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we find that both the process and the result were alike inevitable.

Its transformations.

But the name Zeus is not confined to Greeks and Hindus. The Zeus Patêr of the former and the Dyaus-pitar of the latter represent the Jupiter of the Latins, and the Tuisco, Zio, Tyr and Tiw of the German nations. The etymological changes of the word are indeed almost numberless. The brightness of the heaven reappears in the Latin dies, the Sanskrit dyu, and our day: and from the same root spring the Greek Theos, the Latin Deus, and the Lithuanian Diewas. These changes have been fully traced by Professor Max Müller;[1] but we must here note that the Greek Zen, Zenos answers to the Latin Janus, Januspater; that Janus again, resolved into Dianus and Diana, carries us to the Greek digammated forms Δι ός, Δίϝα, and appears again in the word *divine*. With these may be taken the forms connected with Zeus by the transition of dy (Dyaus) into j (Jupiter, Janus, Juno), or dj, as in the Djovis of Oscan inscriptions and the old Italian deity Vedjovis (Vejovis). Akin to all these is the Sanskrit deva, a word which like Dyaus denoted only splendour, but was afterwards as a name for the gods; but although it had thus acquired the general notion of deity, it was never applied to any but the bright gods who were the companions of Indra. The evil powers of night or darkness are Adeva, atheists, or enemies of the devas; and thus even on Indian soil we find the germ of that moral and spiritual meaning which was imported into a myth purely physical in its origin. While the adeva grew, like Asmodeus,[2] into malignant demons, Vritra the cloud enemy of Indra was gradually passing into the evil god of Iranian theology. If the Diabolos of the New Testament, a word not found in the Septuagint, is to be referred to forms like Dyavan and Diovis, the name deva had lost in the West the meaning of brightness which it retained in the East,[3] though the evil spirit was still regarded as the prince of the powers of the air. The Teutonic devil is thus traced to that Iranian

[1] *Lectures on Language*, second series, 453. For Mr. Peile's remarks on the connection of Theos and Deus see note p. 327.

[2] Eshem-dev, aêshma-daêva, 'le démon de la concupiscence.'—Bréal, *Hercule et Cacus*, 135.

[3] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 939.

source from which the Jews derived their later complicated demonology. That the term Diabolos, as applied to Satan, should be regarded as identical with the Greek word denoting a slanderer, is a confusion precisely similar to that which turned Lykâôn and his sons into wolves and the seven arkshas or shiners into bears.

The Zeus of local traditions.

If from the Greek conceptions of Zeus we separate all those which, springing from the idea of his relations to men as a Father, grew up into a moral and religious faith, the rest may all be traced to mythical phrases which describe the varying appearances of the heavens and the manifold influence of the atmosphere on the earth and its fruits. Of the countless names thus employed the most transparent would remain as attributes, while the greater number would be localised either as places or as persons. Hence would spring up distinctions between the Zeus of Arkadia, Dodona, Olympos and Crete, distinctions arising wholly from a forgetfulness of the original meaning of words, but fixed irrevocably by the real or apparent identity of the mythical epithets with any mythical names which had become geographical.[1] The sun as Endymiôn plunges into Latmos, the land of sleep; but the presence of the Latmian hill was a conclusive answer to any who might dare to call in question the veracity of the local legend. The old mythical speech had its Phaiakian or cloudland geography. It had its Arkadia and Delos, the birthplace of the light, its Phoinikia and Ortygia, the purple land of the quail and the dawn, its bright Lykian regions with its golden stream of Xanthos, its Idâ or earth on which rest the rays of the newly risen sun, its Graian or Hesperian lands where the light dies out in the evening. Carrying with them the treasures of their common inheritance, the Aryan tribes could not fail to give to the hills and streams of their new homes the names which had once described only the morning, the heaven, or the sun. The lord of day sinks to sleep in the glowing west: and the tomb of Endymiôn could therefore be only in Elis. The god of the blue ether is throned in light: so also must the seat of the anthropomorphised Zeus be on some hill whose name, like

[1] See Book i. ch. x.

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the Delos of Apollôn and the Athens of his virgin sister, expresses the one idea of splendour; and thus he was made to dwell on the summit of the Arkadian Lykaios and the Olympian heights of Mysia and Thessaly. As the veil of night is slowly withdrawn, the clear heaven is first seen in the east, and thus Zeus must be born in Lyktos or in Diktê; but the Cretan who could point to a Diktaian cave in his own land clung tenaciously to the notion that the child who was there nourished by Amaltheia was not the Zeus of Arkadia and Olympos.

The birth of Zeus.

The story of his birth and exploits is to be gathered not so much from the Iliad and Odyssey as from the Hesiodic and Orphic theogonies; but unless we find manifest contradictions between the accounts which they set before us, it is unsafe to infer that the poets whom we style Homeric were unacquainted with details or incidents about which they are silent, even if it be assumed that their poems in their present shape are more ancient than those which bear the names of Hesiod or Orpheus. That the theogony of the former was far less complicated and retrospective than that of the latter, there can scarcely be a doubt. The prison to which they assign Kronos is proof that they looked on Zeus as one who had not always been supreme in power; but the names with which their theogony begins are not those of Chaos and Gaia, but those of Têthys and Okeanos.[1] The struggle between Zeus and the Titans may be inferred from the fact that Hêrê and Hephaistos speak of them as thrust away under Tartaros;[2] but the Polyphêmos of the Odyssey who feeds his flocks in broad pastures has nothing but his size and his one eye in common with the Hesiodic Kyklôpes who forge the thunderbolts of Zeus.[3]

[1] *Il.* xiv. 201.

[2] *Ibid.* 279.

[3] In the Gaelic story of Osgar, the son of Oisein, the monster appears with two eyes; but he is blinded, as in all other forms of the myth, and for the same reason.—Campbell, *Tales of the West Highlands*, iii. 297. Still, it is significant that 'not a bit of him was to be seen but his eyes with blue-green scales of hardening upon him,' the livid garment of storm-cloud. But in another legend we have the genuine Kyklops.

'There was seen nearing us
A big man upon one foot,
With his black, dusky black-skin mantle,
With his hammering tools and his steel lathe.

'One shaggy eye in his forehead; . . . .
He set off like the wind of the spring-time
Out to the dark mountains of the high grounds.
He would take but a single leap
O'er each single cold glen of the desert.'

Campbell, *ib.* 392.

CHAP. I.

The iniquities of Kronos.

The lateness of many at least among the Hesiodic ideas seems to be manifested not so much in the allegorical elements introduced,[1] as in the transparent meaning of the names. Zeus and Hades, Phoibos and Lêtô already denoted the conflicting powers of light and darkness, of day and night; but these words had in great part lost their original force, and the poet who wished to frame a systematic theogony felt constrained to speak of Aithêr (ether) and Hêmera as children of Nyx and Erebos. In some important points the story of Ouranos is told over again in the myths of Kronos and Zeus. From Ouranos and Gaia, according to the Hesiodic theogony, spring Koios and Krios, Hyperîôn and Iapetos, the Kyklôpes and other monstrous beings, together with Rhea the mother of Zeus. All these Ouranos hid away in the secret places of Gaia who called on Kronos to avenge her wrongs and his own. From the blood of the mutilated Ouranos which fell on the broad sea was born the laughter-loving Aphroditê.[2] Thus the goddess of love and beauty is, like the Kyklôpes, older than the Father of gods and men; nor can anything show more clearly how thoroughly the mythology of the Aryan world was in conflict with its religion. Kronos and Rhea, then, became the parents of Hestia, Dêmêtêr, Hêrê and Hades; but these are all swallowed by Kronos, who knows that some day he will be dethroned by some child of his own. In grief of heart, Rhea, shortly before the birth of Zeus, betakes herself to Ouranos and Gaia, who send her to the Cretan Lyktos, and there Zeus, like Mithras and Krishna, was born in a cave which Apollodoros calls the cave of Diktê. A stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes was presented to Kronos, who, taking

All this explains itself. The hammering tools and steel lathe are the thunder and lightning; and the thundercloud strides across whole valleys at each step, and clings to the high grounds and the mountain sides.

[1] It is, in Professor Max Müller's belief, manifest allegory when the 'long hills,' 'the pleasant dwellings of the gods,' are reckoned among the children of Gaia.—*Chips*, ii. 66.

[2] This is probably the only meaning which the word φιλομμειδὴς conveyed to the poets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But the whole mythology of Aphroditê renders it far more likely that we have here a confusion similar to that which turned Lykâôn into a wolf, and that the epithet was originally φιλομηδὴς, not perhaps, as in the line (200) marked as spurious in the Hesiodic *Theogony*, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαάνθη, but from the attributes which made her the vehement lover of Adonis. With this epithet we may compare that of Pallas (the Phallic) Athênê.

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it for the new-born babe, swallowed it as he had swallowed the others. Deceived at length by Gaia, Kronos disgorged them all, the stone first and the living children afterwards.[1] The stone was set up by Zeus for a memorial in Pytho. But Zeus, when he became the husband of Mêtis, felt the same strange desire which had led Ouranos and Kronos to consume their children; and thus, by the advice again of Ouranos and Gaia, he swallowed Mêtis before she became the mother of Athênê. In these exaggerations of a late age we trace the same thought which made the Vedic poet speak of the Dawn as making men old, yet as ever young herself. The light of the heaven calls all things into life; but the heaven retains its unchangeable beauty while generations spring up on the earth and pass away. The children swallowed are thus produced again; and so the Heaven or the Dawn, regarded as Time, might be spoken of as relentless and cruel, and as rightly punished by their injured children.[2]

The war of the Titans.

A hard fight now awaited Zeus, who, by delivering the children of Ouranos, had been armed for the struggle with thunder and lightning.[3] On his side against the Titans and the offspring of Kronos were ranged Kottos, Gyas, and Briareôs, who cast the Titans into Tartaros and there left them chained. The struggle itself is described in language which shows how little the poet cared about the subject. Thunders, lightning, and earthquake attest the majesty of

[1] With this myth Grimm's story of the Wolf and the Seven Little Goats presents a striking parallel. The wolf is here the night or the darkness which tries to swallow up the seven days of the week, and actually swallows six. The seventh, the youngest, escapes by hiding herself in the *clockcase*; in other words, the week is not quite run out, and before it comes to an end the mother of the goats unrips the wolf's stomach and places stones in it in place of the little goats who come trooping out, as the days of the week begin again to run their course.

[2] Kronos himself is indeed simply produced from the epithet Kronidês as applied to Zeus in a sense corresponding to the Hebrew phrase 'Ancient of Days.' When this fact was forgotten, the word was regarded as meaning 'son of Kronos:' and then it became necessary to assign Kronos a place in the Theogony and provide him with a wife and children. See further, Max Müller, *Chips*, ii. 152. The name Mêtis is closely connected with Medeia, and denotes the wisdom which stands out with special clearness in the Latin Minerva. Thus the phrase would run that the Dawn was the daughter of Wisdom: but as the older myth spoke of the dawn as springing from the forehead of the sky, there was no help for the later mythopœists but to make Zeus swallow Mêtis.

[3] Hesiod, *Theog.* 504.

Zeus, by whose thunderbolts land and ocean are wrapped in seething fire; the din of the conflict is as though the earth and the solid heavens were crashing together; and nine days would pass before a brazen anvil (Akmôn) let down from the earth could fathom the depths of Tartaros.[1] Above this gloomy prison-house are the roots of the earth and the barren sea, and there within walls and gates built by Poseidôn dwell the three sons of Ouranos who befriended Zeus in his hour of need.

Other forms of this struggle.

Yet this struggle which, like that between Zeus and Typhôeus the latest-born child of Gaia and Tartaros, is related with so much pomp of high sounding but empty words, is the conflict which runs through all mythology and which, in its more human forms, has a singular and unfailing interest. It is the battle of Phoibos with the Pythian monster, of Indra with the throttling snake Vritra, of Sigurd with the dragon of the Glistening Heath, of Oidipous with the Sphinx, and in the earlier phase of the legend, of Achilleus and Agamemnôn with Paris.

The loves of Zeus.

Having related the story of Typhôeus, the Hesiodic Theogony recounts the loves of Zeus with Mêtis, Themis, Eurynomê, Dêmêtêr, Mnêmosynê, Lêtô, and with Hêrê, who in this scheme is the latest of his brides and has fallen far below the majesty with which she is invested in the Iliad and the Odyssey. Of these names some are the growth of a comparatively late age. The dawn-goddess of the far east is described as waking all men and receiving praise from every thinker; and the character here faintly attributed to her is brought out more clearly in the Hellenic Athênê, and finds its utmost developement in the Latin Minerva. Athênê, then, as the goddess of the morning, must have a mother with qualities corresponding to her own, and this

[1] This is indubitably the hammer of Thor, which is sunk eight rasks beneath the surface of the earth and which takes nine months to rise again to Asgard. In fact the Greek word translated by 'anvil' is etymologically identical with the Teutonic 'hammer.' 'Professor Curtius,' says Mr. Peile, 'seems to be right in combining the O. H. G. *hamar*, our *hammer*, with the Lithuanian akman and the Sk. açman, each of which means "a stone," and the latter also "a thunderbolt;" and with the Greek ἄκμων which commonly means an anvil, but which in Hesiod, *Theog.* 722, where he speaks of the χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανόθεν κατίων, can mean nothing but the thunderbolt.'—*Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology*, 37.

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parent was found in the Wisdom which is wedded to Zeus. To this class of invented names belong those of the Hôrai, or Hours, and their mother Themis; but the name of Eurynomê, the mother of the Charites, is more true to the original character of these beautiful maidens. The broad spreading light is the parent of the glistening beings who in the form of horses draw the chariot of Indra, and in the west are the maidens who attend on Aphroditê. But as the dawn may be regarded as springing from the face of the sky, so in another and an earlier myth Athênê springs armed from the forehead of Zeus, and the dark powers of night at once retreat before her. The same idea rendered it necessary to assign to Hêrê some offspring of her own unaided power whether in the person of Typhôeus,[1] or, as the Hesiodic theogony relates, of Hêphaistos also.

The twelve Olympian deities.

Thus the number of the kinsfolk and the children of Zeus is already large; but of the class of deities specially known at Athens in the days of Thucydides as the twelve Olympian gods neither our Homeric poems nor the Hesiodic theogony know anything. In the latter, Zeus and Poseidôn are the shakers of the earth and sea, while Hades dwells in the regions under the earth; but of a threefold partition of the Kosmos between the three Kronid brothers we have no formal mention. Of Poseidôn the Theogony tells us only that he built the walls within which Briareôs guards the Titans: nor is there any difference of rank between Arês and his sisters Hêbê and Eileithyia, or again between Dêmêtêr and Eurynomê. From the number of the so-called twelve, Hades is excluded; but in the Iliad and Odyssey he appears at will in the Olympian home of Zeus, and moves as an equal among the gods who are there assembled.

The infancy of Zeus.

The myth as related by Apollodoros has received some amplifications. The child Zeus in the Diktaian cave is nourished by the nymphs Adrasteia and Ida with the milk of Amaltheia, and the armed Kourêtes clash their shields and spears lest the cry of the babe should reach the ear of his

[1] 'Typhôeus, the whirlwind or Typhoon, has a hundred dragon or serpent heads, the long writhing striæ of vapour which run before the hurricane-cloud. He belches fire, that is, lightnings issue from the clouds, and his roaring is like the howling of wild dogs.'—S. B. Gould, *The Were Wolf*, p. 17*.

father Kronos. In the war with the Titans the Kyklôpes give to Zeus their thunder and lightning, to Hades the helmet which in the Iliad renders the wearer invisible, and to Poseidôn a trident. The struggle is followed by the casting of lots between the three Kronid brothers for the partition of the heaven above, of the earth beneath, and of the hidden regions under the earth. There was no need of any such method. The old mythical phrase rendered it impossible that any but Zeus could be the lord of the bright heaven. In other points also the account of the mythographer is at variance with that of the Hesiodic poet. According to the latter Aphroditê is the offspring of Ouranos; the former represents her as the child of Zeus and Diônê, and makes the scheme of things begin with Ouranos himself instead of Chaos.

The Arkadian and Cretan Zeus

That Zeus should be nursed by Ida is an incident for which we are at once prepared when in the Eastern myth we find that Idâ is a name of the earth, and that she is assigned as a wife to Dyaus. That he should have a sanctuary specially sacred on the Lykaian heights in Arkadia was, as we have seen, as indispensable as the birth of Phoibos in Delos. But the Arkadian legend is noteworthy as showing the fantastic forms which spring up in rank luxuriance from mythical phrases when either wholly or partially misunderstood. The blue heaven is seen first in the morning against the highest mountain tops, and on these the rays of the sun rest before they light up the regions beneath; and as it had been said that Zeus dwelt on high Olympos and that his palace was the first building which the sun ever saw, so in strict fidelity to the old phrases the Arkadians insisted that their own Lykosoura was the most ancient of all cities, and the first which Helios had ever beheld, and that Zeus had been nourished by the nymphs Theisoa, Neda, and Hagno on the Lykaian hill hard by the temple of our Lady (Despoina). Nay, as Pausanias tells us,[1] the hill was also called Olympos, and in it there was a spot named Kretea, and hence, as some would have it, here Zeus was born, and not in Crete, the island of the

[1] viii. 38, 1.

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Egean sea. Cretans and Arkadians were doubtless alike sincere in their convictions; but, had they remembered the meaning of the words which they used, they would have known that Zeus had his Olympian and Lykaian hills, his Crete, his Diktê, his Arkadia, his Phoinikian home wherever the sun sent forth his long train of light[1] across the sky. But in the minds of Achaians and Hellenes the old phrase had associated with the abode of Zeus the idea of an ineffable splendour; and the tenacity with which they clung to this idea is singularly exhibited in the strange superstition which made the Lykeian sanctuary an object of wondering dread. As the Hebrew of old said that none might look on the face of God and live, so the Aryan held that the doom of death was on the man who dared to look on the unveiled splendour of Zeus. The Arkadian localised this faith in his Lykaian Temenos, and averred not only that all living things which might enter it would die within the year, but that not a single object within it ever cast a shadow. The idea, being once suggested, ran out into the wildest fancies, and the hunstman, who drew back at the inclosure when a hunted beast entered it, failed not to see that its body no longer cast a shadow after it had entered the charmed circle. The science of the geographer does but heighten his faith in the local tradition. When the sun is in the sign of the Crab, he knows that at the Ethiopian Syênê there are no shadows at midday; but the marvel was that in this Arkadian sanctuary there was never any shadow the whole year round. Pausanias admitted the fact as readily as the Royal Society set to work, it is said, to explain why a vessel of water with a fish in it was no heavier than it would have been without the fish: but he could not know that in the real Lykosoura there could be no shade, although this Lykosoura was not to be sought in Peloponnesos or in any land of human habitation. In the bright heaven, through which travels the unclouded sun, there can be no darkness at all.[2]

[1] Λυκόσουρα.

[2] When Pausanias, v. 7, 4, says that the Olympian temple was built by men of the golden race, he was simply saying that it was built, as it must necessarily be, by Lykians or men of light.

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Lykosoura and Lykâôn.

But the word which supplied the name of the shadowless Lykaian sanctuary was confused in their mind with the name of the wolf, so called for the same reason which led the German to speak of the bear as Goldfuss: and at once it became necessary to show how the idea of wolves was linked with the fortunes of Lykâôn. This son of Pelasgos was the builder of Lykosoura, and he called Zeus Lykaios,[1] after his own name, instituting in his honour the Lykaian festival which answered to the Dawn festival in the city of the Athenians. But his wisdom, as Pausanias testifies, was not equal to that of his contemporary Kekrops, who felt that no living thing should be offered up to the Zeus whom he reverenced as the most high. The zeal of Lykâôn was more vehement, and the blood of an infant, or, as some said, of his own child, flowed on the altar of sacrifice. At once the human form of Lykâôn was changed into that of a wolf. It was the just recompense of his iniquity in a time when men were linked in a close intercourse with the gods; but to the grief of Pausanias the increasing wickedness of mankind had put an end to the age of miracles, and the true story of Lykâôn had been overlaid by miserable falsehoods, which affirmed that men turned into wolves at the Lykaian sacrifice were restored to their old shape after ten years, if they abstained from human flesh, but that, if they tasted it, then they remained wolves for ever.

Lykanthropy.

We have here more than the germ of mediæval Lykanthropy, and little more is needed to bring before us the Were-wolf or Vampire superstition in its full deformity. That superstition has been amongst the most fearful scourges of mankind; but here, as elsewhere, it is something to learn that a confusion between two words identical in sound, and springing from the same root, laid the foundations of this frightful delusion. The myth of Lykâôn is in this incident nothing more than a repetition of the story of Tantalos. His name is but one of a thousand epithets for the sun, who in times of drought offers up on the altar of Zeus (the heaven) the scorched and withered fruits which owed their life to his own vivifying heat; and for him, as for the

[1] Paus. viii. 2, 1.

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Phrygian king, the sin and its punishment inevitably followed the translation of mythical phrases into the conditions of human life.

The Dodonaian and Olympian Zeus.

Like the god of Arkadia, the Zeus of Dodona is nourished by nymphs, who in this instance are called Hyades, the bringers of moisture from the blue heights of heaven. That the Cretan story is but another version of the Arkadian, the identity of names alone sufficiently proves. The Lykaian hill had its Crete, and the Eleutherai, to which unintentional trespassers into the Temenos of Zeus were conveyed, reappears in the mythical geography of the Egean island.[1] But although Zeus must be wherever there is an Olympian city, yet the greatness of the Eleian Zeus overshadowed the majesty of the Zeus who abode in Crete, Lykosoura, or Dodona, when his temple at Olympia became the sanctuary of the great Panhellenic festival. But here, too, the local legend gives names with which the Cretan and Arkadian myths have already made us familiar. Here, too, it was said that Rhea entrusted the infant Zeus to the care of the Idaian Daktyloi.[2] If the name given to these mysterious beings be akin to the Diktê and Lyktos of the Cretan tale, to Artemis Diktynna and Diktys of Seriphos, we have in it only a general designation which applies to each of the Daktyloi, Heraklês, Paionios, Iasios and Idas. This Idas is but the counterpart of the nymph Ida, the companion of Adrasteia; and Ida, as we have seen, is but the earth, which may be regarded as either the nurse, or, as in the Vedic hymns, the bride of Zeus. The name of Herakles, like that of Hêrê, indicates simply the splendour of the risen sun, and in Iasios, as in Iasiôn, Iamos, Iolê and others, we have the violet tint with which the heaven is flushed in early morning. The olive branch, which Herakles made the prize of victory, itself came from the Hyperboreans, whence Achaia, the mother of the Zeus-born Achaians, journeyed to Dêlos.

Limits to the power of Zeus.

That the relations of Zeus to other mythical beings were very variously described, a comparison of our Hesiodic and Homeric narratives has already shown us. In the latter, he is the father not only of Aphroditê, who in the former is his

[1] Hesiod, *Theog.* 54. [2] Paus. v. 7, 4.

sister, but of Arês and Hephaistos, who, according to another legend, were like Typhôeus the children of Hêrê only. In one story he is the father also of Phoibos, who in another is the son of Athênê. The power with which he is invested varies in like manner according to the point of view from which he is regarded. The Zeus who is the father of all living things, knows neither weakness, change, nor passion; the Zeus who is the growth of mythical phrases, is beneficent or treacherous, just or capricious, pure or lustful, according to the character of the phenomena to be described. By himself he is styled all-powerful: but Hêrê too, as the sovereign queen of heaven, can know no higher authority, and thus they are represented as acting sometimes with and sometimes against each other. Nay, even Athênê, the maiden who stands by his side to do his will, is sometimes an accomplice with Hêrê and Poseidôn in plots to circumscribe his power. But although he can do much, he cannot arrest the course of the sun, he cannot lighten his toils for beings meaner than himself, he cannot avert the early doom which awaits him when his short career across the heaven is ended. Hence he can but bring up to Olympos from the dead the beautiful Memnôn for whom the tears of Eôs fall in dewdrops from the sky; he can but rescue the body of the brave Sarpêdôn, and give it to Phoibos to bathe in Simoeis, and to the powers of sleep and death to bear it to the glistening home which they cannot reach until the morning.[1] Heraklês may toil for Eurystheus and have no profit at all of his labour; but Zeus can only look down on his brave son until the flames ascend to heaven from his funeral pile on Oita. There is, in short, no one phrase which might be said to describe the varying aspects of the sky, which is not petrified into some myth characteristic of the Kronid Zeus; and the smile of the blue heaven, when all

[1] In some other respects the Homeric Zeus is greater than the Zeus of historical Hellas. The awful Atê whom the latter cannot turn aside, and who broods over a house until the penalty for the shedding of innocent blood has been fully paid is in the *Iliad* only the spirit of mischievous folly. So too, the Moirai, who, like Atê, had been only his ministers, become possessed, like the Norns, of an irresponsible authority, while finally the force of destiny attains its most overpowering proportions in the Anankê whom, according to the theology of Euripides, not even the father of gods and men is able to withstand or control.

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the brightness of day bursts upon it, becomes the rapture of Zeus when Hêrê comes to him armed with the kestos (cestus) of Aphroditê, and the lulling spells of Hypnos.[1] Thus also the serene height in which Zeus dwells, and from which he cannot descend, explains his indifference and seeming immorality in the great conflict at Ilion. At the prayer of Thetis he may be induced to help the Trojans until Agamemnon has repaired the wrong done to Achilleus, or his inaction may be secured by the devices of Hêrê; but with Hêrê herself there can be no such uncertainty or vacillation. Her name is but one of many names for the sun, and she must take part steadily with the Argives and Danaans, the children of the Dawn. To her Paris, the seducer of the fair Helen, is strictly the evil Paṇi who tempts Saramâ to betray the trust reposed in her by Indra; and hence she may employ without scruple the power of her beauty, aided by the magic girdle of Aphroditê, to turn the scale in favour of Agamemnon and his Achaian warriors.

The messengers of Zeus.

But if Zeus cannot himself descend to the regions of the murky air, he has messengers who do his bidding. Foremost among these is Hermes, the god who flies on the breezes and the storm; but Iris of the flashing feet is more truly the minister who joins the ether to the lower atmosphere of the earth. Whatever be the origin of the name Iris, the word was used by the poets of the Iliad to denote not only the divine messenger, but the rainbow itself. Thus the dragons on the breastplate of Agamemnon are likened to the Irises which Zeus has set in the heavens as a marvel to mortal men;[2] and more plainly Iris is the purple arch or bow which Zeus stretches from one end of heaven to the other, to give warning of war or deadly drought.[3] She is a daughter of Thaumas and Elektra, the wonderful amber tints, and a sister of the Harpyiai, the rent and ragged clouds against which those tints are seen; and she would be the golden-winged messenger, not only because the rainbow can come and vanish with the speed of lightning, but because its arch seems to join the heaven and the earth, as a ladder by which the angels may descend and rise up again into their

[1] *Il.* xiv. 210, &c. [2] *Ib.* xi. 27. [3] *Ib.* xviii. 549.

home above. Hence the phrase was that the rainbow spread its glorious path across the sky, whenever the gods wished to send their messenger to do their bidding. In this office Iris carries out the behests sometimes of Zeus, sometimes of Hêrê or of Phoibos, while sometimes she comes of her own free act. She is, in short, the counterpart of Hermes, whose staff she bears in her hand.[1] If, again, in some myths she may be spoken of as always a maiden, it may not less truly be said that the winds love her exquisite tints, while the earth lies enraptured at her feet; and this accordingly is the tale which makes her the bride of Zephyros and the mother of Eros, the darling of the gods. But the name of this lovely being soon became a mere general title of messengers or errand-carriers, and reappears in Iros the beggar of the Odyssey, who resembles her in no other way.

Zeus the Judge.

Lastly, as seeing from his throne in heaven all that is done on earth, Zeus must be the punisher of all iniquity. But the judgments of a god, whose characteristics depend on half-forgotten mythical phrases, or on words wholly misunderstood, will not be always equitable. The sentences passed will have reference often to his mythical rights, while they may be designed generally to redress wrongs between man and man. The punishments of Tantalos and Ixîôn, of Lykâôn and Sisyphos are involved in the very idea of these beings. The sun, who woos the dawn, yet drives her from him as he rises in the sky. He loves the dew which his rays burn up; and if he shine on the earth too fiercely, its harvests must be withered. If his face approaches the stream too closely, the water-courses will soon be beds of gaping slime. The penalty paid by Tantalos is bound up with the phrases which described the action of the sun, while that of Lykâôn sprung, as we have seen, from a confusion between two words derived from the same source. If, again, the sun, as rising into the dizzy heights of heaven, might be said to gaze too boldly on the bride of Zeus, his downward course is not less certain than his ascent, and at midday he must revolve like Ixîôn on his blazing wheel; while the stone which Sisyphos has with huge toil rolled to the mountain summit (the zenith) must

[1] 'Der weibliche Hermes.'—Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 390.

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slip from his grasp and dash down again into the valley below. Still more must Zeus punish the insults done to him as lord of the fire-laden thunder-clouds; and Promêtheus, as teaching men how to kindle a flame and cheat the gods with offerings of fat and bone, is an offender less easily pardoned than chiefs who sacrifice their children on his altars. In this Promethean legend alone we seem to have a glimpse of that future twilight of the gods which is so prominent a characteristic of Northern mythology. But it is only in the tragedy of Æschylos that the liberation of Promêtheus involves the humiliation of Zeus. In the summary of Apollodoros, it is mentioned only as one among the countless exploits of Herakles; and we may owe to the mind of Æschylos alone a notion which we are perhaps not justified in connecting with the idea developed by the Northmen into a common doom awaiting Odin and all the Æsir.

Section VI.—ODIN, WODEN, WUOTAN.

Characteristics of Teutonic mythology.

The Teutonic belief in the twilight or final extinction of the gods is of itself evidence that the mythology of the German and Scandinavian nations belongs to an earlier form of thought than that of the Hindu or the Greek.[1] The gods of the latter are essentially free from decay and death. They live for ever in Olympos, eating ambrosial food and drinking the nectar of immortality, while in their veins flows not mortal blood, but the imperishable ichor. Nor can it be said that even the myth of Promêtheus points to any complete suppression of the present order of things. It does but say that Zeus should be put down, and a more righteous ruler set up in his place. But in the Teutonic legends Odin himself falls and Thor dies, and the body of the

[1] Bunsen asserts this fact when he says 'that the old Teutonic mythology of Germany and Scandinavia does not possess the grace of the Hellenic fictions. The Muses and Graces have not smiled on her birth as on that of her Greek sister. Nor has she been reared under the sunny skies of Ionia, but amid constant strife with an austere clime and rugged nature. Consequently this mythology has not, like the former, received such an organic elaboration as to impart to it an undying influence upon the course of human history. Christianity did not blight it in its bloom, but put an end to the progressive decay that had begun before its buds had come to their full flowers.'—*God in History*, ii. 405.

beautiful Baldur is consumed in the flames. In other words, these deities answer not to the Olympian gods, but to the mortal Herakles or Perseus or Asklêpios. But the links which connect the belief of the one race with that of the others may be traced readily enough. The Vedic gods, like the Hellenic, live for ever. The Soma inspires them with fresh vigour, as the soul of Zeus is refreshed and strengthened by heavenly banquets; but the draughts, which only add to their inherent force, give to the Teutonic deities a new lease of life.[1] Thus the Soma draught becomes in northern Europe the cup of honey mingled with the blood of Qvasir, the wisest of all beings, who during his life had gone about the world doing the work of Promêtheus for the wretched children of men. His wisdom, however, could not save him from the dwarfs Fialar and Galar, who, mingling his blood with honey, made a costly mead, the taste of which imparted the eloquence of the bard and the wisdom of the sage.[2] In other respects the Teutonic deities exhibit the closest likeness to the Greek. The rapidly acquired strength and might of Zeus, Phoibos, and Hermes simply express the brief period needed to fill the heaven with light, to give to the sun its scorching heat, to the wind its irresistible force; and the same idea is expressed by the myth of Vali, the son of Wuotan and Rind, who, when only a night old, comes with his hair untouched by a comb, like Phoibos Akersekomês, to take vengeance on Hödr for the death of Baldur, and again in the story of Magni, the son of Iarnsaxa, who, when three days old, rescued his father Thor as he lay crushed beneath the foot of the gigantic Hrungnir.[3] There is the same agreement in the size of their bodies and in the power of their voices. The roaring of the waves and the crash of the thunder are louder than any din of mortal warfare or the cries of any earthly monsters; and thus at once we have the gigantic size of Arês, and the roar of Poseidôn louder than the noise of a myriad warriors in close conflict. Thus, also, as Hêrê lays one hand on the earth and the other on the sea, so Thor drinks up no small part of the ocean with his horn which reaches from heaven to its surface—a ponderous

[1] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 295. [2] *Ibid.* 855. [3] *Ibid.* 298.

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image for the clouds or the rays of the sun as they drink from the sea. But neither the Greek nor the Teutonic deities have the monstrous forms of the four-armed Vishnu or the four-headed Brahma—these fearful combinations being confined to beings like Briareôs and Geryôn and the giants of northern mythology, unless an exception is to be made of the three-handed Hekatê, who, however, can scarcely be reckoned among the Olympian gods, and the four-armed Lakedaimonian Apollôn.[1] The two-headed Janus is a Latin deity. But if the Teutonic gods are never monstrous, they are sometimes maimed; and in the one-eyed Odin we have the idea which called the Hellenic Kyklops into existence; while in the one-handed Tyr we see Indra Savitar; and in the limping Loki, the lame Hephaistos. But whatever may be their office, these are all bright and radiant deities; Hel alone, like the rugged king of Hellenic mythology, has a dark and repulsive aspect.[2] The very expressions used in speaking of them are transparent. The flowing locks of the Wish-god and of Baldur are those of Zeus and Phoibos; the fair-haired Dêmêtêr of the Greek becomes the fair-haired Lif of the Teuton.[3] The power of Zeus is seen again in that of Thor, and the golden glory which surrounded the head of Phoibos or Asklêpios, and became the aureole of Christian saints, is not less a mark of the German deities, and appears on the head of Thor as a circlet of stars.[4]

Teutonic theogonies.

But when we turn to the theogony set forth in the Völuspa Saga, we can as little doubt that it marks a comparatively late stage of thought, as we can suppose that the Hesiodic theogony is older than the simple and transparent myths which tell us of Prokris or Tithônos or Endymiôn. The myth of Baldur, at least in its cruder forms, must be far more ancient than any classification resembling that of the Hesiodic ages. Such a classification we find in the relations of the Jötun or giants, who are conquered by Odin as the

[1] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 298.

[2] Hel, the daughter of Loki, and sister of the wolf Fenris and the horrible worm or serpent, is half black and half human in appearance. Her dwelling is in Niflheim, far down in the depths of the earth, beneath the roots of Yggdrasil: Grimm, *D. M.* 289. She is the hungry and insatiable goddess, the greedy Polydektês and Polydegmôn of Greek myths (Grimm, *ib.* 291), the black Kalî of modern Hindu theology.

[3] Grimm, *ib.* 534.

[4] *Ib.* 300.

Titans are overthrown by Zeus; and this sequence forms part of a theogony which, like that of Hesiod, begins with chaos. From this chaos the earth emerged, made by the gods out of the blood and bones of the giant Ymir, whose name denotes the dead and barren sea. This being is sprung from the contact of the frozen with the heated waters, the former coming from Niflheim, the region of deadly cold at the northern end of the chaotic world, the latter from Muspelheim, the domain of the devouring fire. The Kosmos so called into existence is called the 'Bearer of God'—a phrase which finds its explanation in the world-tree Yggdrasil, on which Odin himself hangs, like the Helenê Dendritis of the Cretan legend:—

I know that I hung
Nine whole nights,
And to Odin offered,
On that tree,
From what root it springs.[1]
On a wind-rocked tree
With a spear wounded,
Myself to myself,
Of which no one knows

This mighty tree, which in Odin's Rune Song becomes a veritable tree of knowledge, and whose roots are undermined by Hel or death and by the Hrimthursen or frost-giants, rises into Asgard, the highest heavens where the gods dwell, while men have their abode in Midgard, the middle garden or earth, embraced by its branches.

Genealogy of Odin.

The giant Ymir was nourished by the four streams which flowed from the treasure of moisture, the cow Audhumla,[2] which belongs to Zoroastrian not less than to Teutonic mythology, and is there found with the meaning both of cow and earth.[3] This earth afforded salt, without which no life can be vigorous, and from Audhumla, as she fed on the salt of the blocks of ice, there came forth a perfect man, Buri, the fashioner of the world, whose son, Bor,[4] had as his wife Besla, or Bettla,[5] the daughter of the giant Bölthorn,

[1] 'Odin's Rune Song,' Thorpe's *Translation of Sæmund's Edda*, p. 340. We may compare with the 'Bearer of God,' the names Atlas and Christophoros.

[2] This is the cow beneath whose udder the Dawn maiden hides herself in the Norse story of the Two Step-Sisters.—Dasent.

[3] Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 483.

[4] The two names would answer to the active and passive meanings of the Greek *φορος* in compound words.

[5] Bunsen thinks that the original form of this name was Beidsla, a word perhaps denoting desire or longing, and thus answering to the Kama of Vedic and the Eros of the Hesiodic theogony, while it is reflected also in the Teutonic Wunsch or Wish.

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the root or kernel of the earth. From Buri proceeded apparently Odin himself, and also the race of the gods or Asas, the self-existent beings,[1] who dwell in Asgard or Aithêr, while the middle air, between the upper and under worlds, the ἀὴρ of the Greeks on which Zeus looks down, is Vanaheim, the home of the Vanen, or spirits of the breathing wind.[2] To this race belong Freyr and Freya, the deities of beauty and love, 'the children of Mördur, the sea-god who dwells in the sea-city (Noatun), and whose spouse, Skadi (Elster?) is the daughter of the giant Thiassi, for he is indeed himself the shore.'[3]

Odin as the Creator of Man.

The idea of the composite nature of man must have preceded the rise of the myth which assigns the creation of the soul to Odin, of the mind to Hahnir, of the blood and outward complexion to Lodur. This Hahnir is probably the same word as *hahn*, the cock, 'in its wider import the bird, the animal belonging to the air;'[4] and thus possibly the framers of this theogony may have intended to set forth their belief that a Trinity, consisting of Ether, Air, and Fire, was concerned in the creation of man, Lodur being certainly fire, and in fact only another form of Loki, the shining god. But we approach the regions of pure mythology when we read that when Odur sets forth on his wanderings, his bride, the beautiful Freya,[5] sheds gold-gleaming tears—'an image of the bright gleams shooting across the rugged morning sky.'[6] From these parents springs Hnossa, the jewel, the world under the aspect of beauty, while Frigga, as the wife of Odin, doubtless only another form of Odur, is the mother of Jörd, the earth, in the character of the nourishing Dêmêtêr.

The end of the Asas or Æsir.

But all this visible Kosmos is doomed to undergo a catastrophe, the results of which will be not its destruction but its renovation. The whole world will be consumed by fire, kindled by Lodur, (*der Lodernde*, the glowing god), the Loki

[1] From the root *as*, to be; the word is thus simply another form of Wesen.

[2] The original form of the word Asen connects it immediately with Atman as a name of Brahman, and the Latin animus, &c.—Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 486.

[3] Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 487.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] For the several changes through which the names Freyr and Freya have passed, see Grimm, *D. M.* 276, &c.

[6] Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 491.

who brought about the death of Baldur. The life or the reign of the Asas themselves will come to an end, but a new earth rising from this second chaos will resemble that of the golden age in the Hesiodic tradition. Of this Teutonic theogony we may say without the least misgiving that it exhibits not the slightest sign of any Christian influence. It would be almost as reasonable to trace such an influence in the Hesiodic poems, where, if we could get over the insurmountable difficulties of chronology, such an attempt might be made with far greater plausibility. Nor can we charge Bunsen with speaking too strongly, when he says that we must be brought to this negative conclusion, unless 'we are to set above facts a preconceived opinion, taken up at random on the slightest grounds, or indolently to decline scrutiny of those facts, or profound reflections on what they indicate.'[1]

The name Wuotan.

The idea which the Aryans of India sought to express under the names Brahman and Atman, the Aryans of Europe strove to signify by the name Wuotan. That idea centred in the conception of Will as a power which brought all things into being and preserves them in it, of a will which followed man wherever he could go and from which there was no escape, which was present alike in the heavens above and in the depths beneath, an energy incessantly operating and making itself felt in the multiplication as well as in the sustaining of life. Obviously there was no one thing in the physical world which more vividly answered to such a conception than the wind, as the breath of the great Ether, the moving power which purifies the air. Thus the Hindu Brahman denoted originally the active and propulsive force in creation, and this conception was still more strictly set forth under the name Atman, the breath or spirit which becomes the atmosphere of the Greeks and the athem of the Germans. Atman is thus the breathing, in other words, the self-existent being,—the actual self of the universe; and the meaning thus assigned to the word was so impressed upon the minds of the Aryans of India that no mythology ever grew up round it. In Professor Müller's words 'the

[1] *God in History*, ii. 409.

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idea of the Atman or self, like a pure crystal, was too transparent for poetry, and therefore was handed down to philosophy, which afterwards polished, and turned, and watched it as the medium through which all is seen and in which all is reflected and known.'[1] The conception of the Teutonic Wuotan was at first not less exalted. Like Brahman and Atman, it is the moving strength and power of creation, and the word in Grimm's belief carries us to the Latin vad-ere, to go or move, the Bavarian wueteln, to stir or grow. Thus Grimm remarks that of Wuotan it may be said as Lucan says of Jupiter—

Est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris,

the pure spiritual deity. The word itself is therefore a participle of the old verb *watan*, whose cognate forms vata, ôd, account for the dialectical variations which converted it into the Saxon Wuodan, Wodan, Woden, Odin, the Frisian Wêda, the Norse Oðinn; and its meaning is in perfect analogy with that of the Latin Minerva as connected with *mens* and the Greek *μένος*, spirit or strength.[2] But the ideas thus expressed by the name were necessarily lost when the Christian missionaries taught the people to look on Wuotan or Odin as the archfiend ruling over troops of malignant demons; nor is it improbable that the process may have begun at an earlier period. The name is connected closely with the German *wuth*, in which the notion of energy has been exaggerated into that of impulse uncontrolled by will. Such a limitation of meaning was quite in harmony with the tendency of all the German tribes to identify energy with vehement strife, and thus Wuotan became essentially the armed deity, the god of war and of battles, the father of victory.[3] As such, he looks down on the earth from his heavenly home through a window, sitting on his throne with Freya by his side, as Hêrê sits by Zeus in Olympos. In the strange story which is to account for the change which converted the Winili into the Lombards, this attribute of Wuotan is

[1] *Chips, &c.* i. 71.

[2] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 120.

[3] Sigfadr, Siegfater, Grimm, *ib.* 122. Hence the phrases, Zu Oðinn fahren, Oðinnsheim suchen, denoted simply death. With the conversion to Christianity these expressions which spoke of men as going home to Odin became maledictions, consigning them to perdition.

connected with the rising of the sun, the great eye of day. As the giver of victory, the greatest of all blessings in Teutonic eyes, he was necessarily the giver of all other good things, like the Hermes of the Greeks with whose name his own is identical in meaning.[1] As such, he is Osci, Oski, the power of Wish or Will, so often exhibited in the mythology of northern Europe, the Wunsch to whom the poets of the thirteenth century[2] assign hands, eyes, knowledge, blood, with all the appetites and passions of humanity. This power of Wuotan is seen in the oska-stein, or wishing stone,[3] which the Irish localise in Blarney and which Grimm connects with the wishing-rod or staff of Hermes,[4] in the Oskmeyjar or Wishmaidens or Valkyries who guide to Valhalla all heroes slain in battle, and who are the wish or choice children of Wuotan, and more especially in the Oska-byrr, or Wish-wind, in which we recognise both in name and in the thing the ἵκμενος οὖρος of our Iliad.[5] It is this power doubtless which is denoted by the Sanskrit Kama, as the force which first brought the visible Kosmos into being,[6] and by the Eros of the Hesiodic theogony.

[1] This attribute of Wuotan, which Grimm discovers in the titles Gibicho, Kipicho, makes him δώτωρ ἐάων, i.e. Hermes, whose name denotes simply the motion of the air.

[2] For a long series of passages in which Wunsch is clearly both a power and a person, see Grimm, *D.M.* 126–8.

[3] The instruments of Wish generally run in triplets, as in the story of King Putraka (pp. 144, 159). In that of Cinderella, they are three nuts, containing each a splendid robe. In the story of The Pink, Wish assumes the Protean power of transformation; in that of Brother Lustig, it is a bag in which the possessor may see anything that he wishes to shut up in it, and by means of which he contrives, like the Master Smith, to find his way into heaven. In the tale of the Poor Man and the Rich Man, the three wishes which bring happiness here and hereafter to the former, bring only 'vexation, troubling, scolding, and the loss of a horse' upon the latter. In the story of the Faithful Beasts, it is a wonderful stone (the orb of the sun) which a fat old frog (the Frog Prince or Fish Sun) brings up from the waters. In the tale of the Donkey Cabbages it is a wishing-cloak, and thus we are brought back to Solomon's carpet, which in the story of the Knapsack, the Hat, and the Horn, 'appears as a cloth, capable, like the Sangreal, of providing unlimited supplies of food and drink, and as a beautiful carpet in the story of the Three Feathers. In that of the Drummer, it is a ring in the hand of the Dawn Maiden, who becomes his bride. The three possessions of King Putraka are the three wishes which assume many forms in folk-lore.' Compare the story of the Best Wish with the wishes of the Master Smith in the *Norse Tales*. Dasent.

[4] Grimm, *D. M.* 131.

[5] There is really nothing to support the explanation which refers ἵκμενος to ἱκνέομαι. The word stands to Oski, or wish, precisely in the relation of ἔχω to ἴσχω, or ἐχυρὸς to ἰσχυρός.

[6] A translation of the very remarkable hymn in which this word occurs is given in Professor Max Müller's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 561.

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The one-eyed Wuotan or Odin.

The single eye of Odin points beyond all doubt to the sun, the one eye which all day long looks down from heaven upon the earth. But when he was figured as an old man with a broad hood and a wide-flowing robe, the myth necessarily sprung up that he had lost an eye, a story which answers precisely to the myth of Indra Savitar, while it also throws further light, if any such were needed, on that of the Kyklôpes.[1] But as the sun is his eye, so his mantle is the vapour which like the cloud-gathering Zeus Odin wraps around himself, and thus becomes Hakolberend, the wearer of the veil, or Harbard, the bearded god. In his hand he bears the marvellous spear Gungnir, in which we see the lance of Phoibos or Artemis. By his side are the two wolves Gari and Freki, with whom he hunts down his victims, wolves like the Myrmidons whom Achilleus lets loose upon the Trojans, wolves like those from which Phoibos was supposed to derive his name Lykeios. On his shoulders sit the two ravens, Huginn and Muninn, who whisper into his ears all that they see or hear, as the serpents by their mysterious whisperings impart more than human wisdom to the infant Iamos.[2] They are the ravens who bring to Apollôn the tidings of the faithlessness of Korônis, as in the shape of a raven Aristeas tells the Metapontines that he followed Phoibos when he came to their country.[3]

Odin the raingiver.

As the bearded god, Odin becomes the giver of the rain, the Zeus Ombrios of the Greeks, the Jupiter Pluvius or flowing Jupiter of the Latins, as well as their Neptunus or

The first sentence shows the train of thought in the mind of the poet:

'Darkness there was: and all at first was veiled
In gloom profound, an ocean without light:
The germ that still lay covered in the husk
Burst forth, one nature from the fervent heart;
Then first came love upon it.'

On this passage Professor H. H. Wilson remarks 'The term "love" here appears to us to convey a notion too transcendental to have had a place in the conception of the original author. The word is *Kama*, which scarcely indicates love in the sense in which it may here be understood, although not absolutely indefensible: but *Kama* means desire, wish, and it expresses here the wish, synonymous with the will, of the sole-existing Being to create.'—*Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1860, p. 384.

[1] Thus in Saxo he is 'grandævus altero orbus oculo,' and again 'Armipotens uno semper contentus ocello.' The reason assigned by the myth is that he was obliged to leave one eye in pledge when he wished to drink at the well of Mimir.

[2] Grimm, *D. M.* 134, traces the names to *hugr*, thought, and *munr*, mind, as in Minerva, &c.

[3] Herod. iv. 15.

cloud-deity. As such, he is Hnikar, the Anglo-Saxon Nicor or water-god, whose offspring are the Nixies or water-sprites, as the Hellenic Naiads are the children of Zeus.[1] In this character he is the Biblindi, or drinker (the Latin bib-ere) of the Eddas. Like Phoibos again, or Asklêpios, he is the healer, who alone can restore strength and vigour to the maimed horses of Baldur; and as the Muses are the daughters of Zeus, so is Saga the daughter of Wuotan, the source of all poetry, the inspirer of all bards. In his hunts he rides the eight-footed horse Sleipnir, the white steed which bears him also through the thick of battle, like the rudderless and oarless ships which carry the Phaiakians across the blue seas of heaven.

Odin the Allfather.

Wuotan, the Allfather[2] and the Psychompompos, who takes all souls to himself when their earthly journey is done, has become for the nations of northern Europe a mere name; but the mark of his name he has impressed on many places. If our Wednesdays remind us of him, he has also left his relics in Onslew,[3] in the island Odinse, in Odinfors, Odenskälla and Wednesbury.

Tyr and Odin.

The close connection of the name Tyr with the several forms developed from the root dyu, to shine, would of itself lead us to expect that the word would remain practically a mere appellative for gods whose names might again betray a relation to the same root. Accordingly we meet with Sigtyr, the victorious god, as a name for Wuotan, and Reidartyr or Reidityr, the riding or driving Tyr, as a name for Thor. Nor can it be said that any real mythology has gathered round this word, for the Stauros which is specially connected with his name belongs rather to the region of symbolism than of mythology, although the conjunction of this emblem with the circle (the kestos of Aphroditê and the necklace of Harmonia and Eriphylê) is in itself a subject of some interest. Hence we should further be led to expect that the

[1] All these names come from the same root with the Sanskrit sna, the Greek νήχω, the Latin nare, to float or swim. With them we must link the common term 'Old Nick,' as a name for the devil.

[2] Professor Max Müller seems inclined to trace Christian influence in the description of Odin Allfadir as given, for instance, in the dialogue called Gylfi's Mocking.

[3] Othanslef, Othini reliquiæ. Grimm, *D. M.* 144, adds many other instances.

special emblem under which Tyr would be worshipped would be the sword: and to this fact Grimm traces the names, not only of the Saxons, but of the Cherusci as pointing to the old Cheru, Heru—a sword.

Section VII.—THUNDER, DONAR, THOR.

The name Donar.

Englishmen may not unnaturally be tempted to think that our word Thunder is the older and more genuine form of the name given to the god who wields the lightnings, and that this name was chosen to express the loud crash which echoes across the heaven. Yet the word in its first meaning has no reference to noise and din. The root denotes simply extension as applied whether to sound or to any other objects, and from it we have the Greek and Latin words τείνω and *tendo*, to stretch, τόνος, tone, i.e. the stretching and vibration of chords, *tonitru*, thunder, as well as *tener* and *tenuis*, the Sanskrit *tanu*, answering to our *tender* and *thin*. Hence the dental letter which has led to the popular misconception of the word is found to be no essential part of it; and the same process which presents the English *tender* and the French *tendre* as an equivalent for the Latin *tener*, has with us substituted *thunder* for the Latin *tonitru*.[1] Thus the several forms Donar, Thunor, and perhaps Thor are really earlier than the shape which the word has assumed in our English dialect.

Thor the Allfather.

As the lord of the lightning, the thunder, and the rain, Donar is as closely allied, and, indeed, as easily identified with Wuotan, as Vishṇu with Indra, or Indra with Agni. But although most of their characteristics are as interchangeable as those of the Vedic gods generally, each has some features peculiar to himself. Thus, although Thor is sometimes said to move in a chariot like other deities, yet he is never represented as riding like Odin. He is essentially, like Vishṇu, the walking or striding god, who moves amidst the lightnings like Hephaistos in his workshop of

[1] Professor Müller, having traced the connection between these words, adds 'The relations betwixt *tender*, *thin*, and *thunder* would be hard to be established, if the original conception of thunder had been its rumbling noise.'—*Lectures on Language*, first series, 350.

subterraneous fires. But in his power of penetrating and piercing the heavens or the earth, and in his ceaseless and irresistible energy, he is simply Wuotan in another form, and the conception of the deity has varied but little among the Aryan nations. The name itself is found in the name of the Gallic thunder-god Taranis, preserved to us by Lucan, and more nearly in its other form Tanarus, while the idea is expressed in the Jupiter Tonans of the Latins, and the Zeus Kerauneios of the Greeks. He is, in short, the great lord of heaven in his most awful manifestation, but he is, nevertheless, the maker and the father of mankind. Hence, like Odin, he is the Allfather, a title which Procopius tells us that the Slavonic nations gave only to the creator of the lightnings.[1] The deity thus worshipped was named Perkunas or Pehrkons by the Lithuanian tribes, and by the Slaves Perun, Piorun, and Peraun, a form which Grimm is inclined to connect with the Greek *κέραυνος*,[2] and more confidently with the Sanskrit Parjanya, a name of Indra as the bringer of the fertilising rain.[3] If, again, Sophokles speaks of Gê or Gaia as the mother of Zeus,[4] so is the earth the parent of Donar; and as Zeus and Wuotan are severally enthroned on Olympos and Wuotansberg, so has Thor or Donar his Donersperch, Thunresberg or Donnersberg, and Donnerskaute, while the oak, the special tree of the Thundering Jupiter of the Latins, is not less sacred to the Teutonic deity. Like Dyaus or Jupiter, Thor is bearded, but his beard is fiery red, like the lightnings which flash across the heaven.[5]

His triple functions.

But his appearance varied with his functions, which were concerned with three things—the lightning flash, the thunderclap, and the thunderbolt. As using the first, he always

[1] Grimm, *D. M.* 156.

[2] By a change analogous to that which makes the Latin sequor and equus answer to the Greek *ἕπομαι* and *ἵππος*.

[3] The connection of the name Perkunas with the Greek *φόρκυν*, *φόρκυνος*, seems scarcely less obvious, and the Hellenic deity has as much to do with water as the Vedic Parjanya. The name of the god Pikollos, who is associated with Perkunas, has assumed a strange form in English folk-lore. In the Platt-Deutsch of Prussia it appears as Pâkkels =Puckle and Pickle: and thus he appears as a demon in the phrase 'pretty Pickle.'

[4] *Philokt.* 389.

[5] 'Rothbärtig, was auf die feurige Lufterscheinung des Blitzes bezogen werden muss.'—Grimm, *D. M.* 161.