

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF ARTEMIS.¹

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

THE attempt which we have made to disentangle the strands which make up the complexity of the Cult of Apollo, and to determine the starting-point for the evolution of that cult, leads on naturally and necessarily to the inquiry as to the meaning of the cult of the twin-sister of Apollo, the Maiden-Huntress of Greek woods and mountains. It might have been imagined that the resolution of one cult into its elements would lead quite inevitably to the interpretation of the companion cult, but this is far from being the case. The twins in question are quite unlike the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, whose likeness is so pronounced and whose actions are generally so similar that Lucian in his "Dialogues of the Gods" sets Apollo inquiring of Hermes which of the two is Castor and which is Polydeuces, "for," says he, "I never can make out." And Hermes has to explain that it was Castor yesterday and Polydeuces to-day, and that one ought to recognise Polydeuces by the marks of his fight with the king of the Bebryces.

Artemis, on the other hand, rarely behaves in a twin-like manner to Apollo: he does not go hunting with her, and she does not, apparently, practise divination with him; indeed, as we begin to make inquiry as to Apollo and Artemis in the Pre-Homeric days, we find that allusions to the twin-birth disappear, and a suspicion arises that the twin relation is a mythological afterthought, rendered necessary by the fact that the brother and sister had succeeded, for some reason or other, to a joint inheritance of a sanctuary belonging to some other pair of twin-heroes, heroines, or demi-deities; and if this should turn out to be the case, we must not take the twin-relationship and parentage from Zeus and Leto as the starting-point in the inquiry: it may be that other circumstances have produced the supposed family relation, and that Leto, who is in philological

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 14 March, 1916.

value only a duplicate of Leda, may turn out to be a very palpable fiction. In that case we shall have to explore the underlying parallelism in the cults of the two deities, outside of the twin relation and anterior to it. The relation of the cults to one another must be sought in another direction. Now let us refresh our memory as to the method which we pursued, and the results which we obtained in the case of the Cults of Dionysos and Apollo. It will be remembered that we started from the sanctity of the oak as the animistic repository of the thunder, and in that sense the dwelling-place of Zeus; it was assumed that the oak was taboo and all that belonged to it; that the woodpecker who nested in it or hammered at its bark was none other than Zeus himself, and it may turn out that Athena, who sprang from the head of the thunder-oak, was the owl that lived in one of its hollows: even the bees who lived underneath its bark were almost divine animals, and had duties to perform to Zeus himself. The question having been raised as to the sanctity of the creepers upon the oak, it was easy to show that the ivy (with the smilax and the vine) was a sacred plant, and that it was the original cult-symbol of Dionysos, who thus appeared as a lesser Zeus projected from the ivy, just as Zeus himself, in one point of view, was a projection from the oak. Dionysos, whose thunder-birth could be established by the well-known Greek tradition concerning Semele and Zeus, was the ivy on the oak, and after that became an ivy fire-stick in the ritual for the making of fire. From Dionysos to Apollo was the next step: it was suggested, in the first instance, by the remarkable confraternity of the two gods in question. They were shown to exchange titles, to share sanctuaries, and to have remarkable cult-parallelisms, such as the chewing of the sacred laurel by the Pythian priestess, and the chewing of the sacred ivy by the Mænads: and since it was discovered that the Delphic laurel was a surrogate for a previously existing oak, it was natural to inquire whether in any way Apollo, as well as Dionysos, was linked to the life of Zeus through the life of the oak. The inquiry was very fruitful in results: the undoubted solar elements in the Apolline cult were shown to be capable of explanation by an identification of Apollo with the mistletoe, and it was found that Apollo was actually worshipped at one centre in Rhodes as the Mistletoe Apollo, just as Dionysos was worshipped as the Ivy Dionysos at Acharnai. Further

inquiry led to the conclusion that the sanctity of the oak had been transferred by the mistletoe from the oak to the apple-tree, and that the cult betrayed a close connection between the god and the apple-tree, as, for instance, in the bestowal of sacred apples from the god's own garden upon the winners at the Pythian games. In this way it came to be seen that Apollo was really the mistletoe upon the apple-tree, for the greater part of the development of the cult, just as Dionysos was the Ivy, not detached as some had imagined, but actually upon the oak-tree. It was next discovered that the garden at Delphi was a reproduction of another Apolline garden in the far North, among the Hyperboreans, the garden to which Boreas had carried off Orithyia, and to which (or to another adjacent garden) at a later date the sons of Asklepios were transferred for the purpose of medical training. Some said it was a garden at the back of the North Wind, and some said it was in the far-away Islands of the Blessed; it was, however, clear that the garden in question was not an orchard, but that it had plants as well as trees, and that the plants were medicinal, and so the garden had no relation to the flower gardens of later times. If a flower grew there, say the peony, it grew there as a part of the primitive herbal. Apollo came from the North as a medicine man, a herbalist, and brought his simples with him. His character of a god of healing was due in the first instance to the fact that the mistletoe, which he represented, was the All-heal¹ of antiquity, as it was to the Druids whom Pliny describes, and as it is among the Ainu of Japan at the present day. His apothecary's shop contained mistletoe, peony, laurel, and perhaps a few more universal or almost universal remedies, and upon these he made his reputation. He must have been a Panakes in his first period of medical practice, but the title passed over to a young lady in the family, who was known as Panakeia, who has furnished the dictionary with the medical word Panacea. Apollo continued to be known as the Paian or Pæonian; and connection was made in Homer's day with the Pæonians on the Danube, in the Serbian

¹ The belief in All-healing medicines appears to be innate and persistent in human nature. John Bunyan represents Mr. Skill in the "Pilgrim's Progress" as operating with "an universal Pill, good against all the Diseases that Pilgrims are incident to".

area, who appear to have been the progressive herbalists of the day, and to have kept the first medical school to which the Greeks resorted. Moreover, since primitive medicine was magic, as well as medicine, the garden of Apollo contained ἀλεξιφάρμακα, or herbs which protected from witchcraft and evil spirits, of which the mistletoe appears to have been the chief. An attempt was then made to show that the very name of Apollo was, in its early form, Apellon, a loan-word from the North, disguising in the thinnest way his connection with the apple-tree. The apple had come into Greece from the North, perhaps from Teutonic peoples, just as it appears to have come into Western Italy from either Teutons or Celts, giving its name in the one case to the great god of healing, and in the other to the city of Abella, in Campania, through the Celtic word *Aball*.

The importance of the foregoing investigations will be evident : and they furnish for us the starting-point of our investigations of Artemis. We cannot get further back in the Cult of Apollo than the medical garden, behind which lies the apple-tree, the mistletoe, the oak-tree, and the sky-god. It seems probable that it is on the medical side that we shall find the reason for the brotherly-sisterly relation of Apollo and Artemis, for, as we shall show, she has a medical training and a garden of her own, which analogy suggests to have been a medical garden.

Before proceeding to the inquiry as to the character of the relationship between Apollo and Artemis, and the consequent interpretation of the latter in terms borrowed from the former, we will indulge in some further speculation on the Apollo and the apple that came into Greece from the back of the North Wind.

We have already expressed the belief that the apple reached the West of Italy from a Celtic or Teutonic source, and that the ancient city of Abella was an apple-town, named after the fruit, and not the converse. There is nothing out of the way in naming a town or a settlement from the apple-tree. There are a number of apple-towns, for instance, in England, such as Appleby, Appledore, Appledram, Appledurcombe : and although in some cases there has been a linguistic perversion from some earlier name, in which case the apple disappears from the etymology, there are enough cases left by which to establish our statement : the name Appledore, for example, can only mean apple-tree. Look at the following place-names from

Middendorff's "Alt-Englisches Flurnamenbuch" and see how places are identified by sweet apple-trees and sour apple-trees:—

apuldre, *apelder*, etc., sw. f. Apfelbaum; of *dâ sîran* *apeldran* 158; on *sîran* *apuldran* 610; *swête apuldre* 1030; *wôhgar apeldran* 356; *hâran apeldran* 356; *mâer apelder* 356; *pytt apulder* 610; *apeltrêo* 219; *appeldore* 279A; *apeldorestoc* 458; *appelthorn* 922 (daselbst als *lignum pomiferum* bezeichnet) O.N. (i.e. place-name). *Appeldram*, Sussex, gleich *appuldre ham*; *Appuldur Combe* auf Wight.

The foregoing references to the Anglo-Saxon Cartulary will show how impossible it is to rule the apple and the apple-tree out of the national landmarks: the form, for instance, which we have underlined, is conclusive for the "stump of an apple-tree" as a place-mark, and for *appeldore* as being really an apple-tree, and the equivalent of a number of related forms: when, moreover, we look into the Middle High Dutch, we find to our surprise that, instead of a form related to the German *Apfelbaum*, there occur the following terms, *apfalter*, *affalter*, *affolter*, which show the tree-ending nearly in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian form.

The first result of these observations is the confirmation of the use of the apple-tree as a place-mark; and what is proved for England is possible for Italy. There is really nothing to prevent the derivation of *Abella* from *Abâl*, and it is quite unnecessary to derive "apple" from *Abella* and so leave *Abella* itself unexplained. That is to say, the apple is a northern fruit and has come from the North to the Mediterranean on two routes: we may call them for convenience the *b* route and the *p* route, according as the import comes from the Celtic or Teutonic side: more correctly the import is due to tribes in two different states of the sound-shifting which goes on in the northern languages.

The fact is, that as soon as we have recognised in our own country the existence of towns and villages named after the apple and the apple-tree, we are bound to examine for similar phenomena elsewhere. We cannot, for instance, ignore the meaning of *Avallon* in the Department of the Yonne, when we have found the Celtic form for apple, and interpreted the happy valley of *Avilion*: and if *Avallon* is an apple-town, it did not derive its name from *Abella* in *Campania*.

There is, moreover, another direction of observation which leads to a complete demonstration of the dependence of Abella on the apple. No one seems to have noticed that in the South-west of France, in the region that borders on the Pyrenees, there was an ancient cult of an apple-god, exactly similar, judging from the name of the deity, to the Cult of Apollo. Holder in his "Altkeltischer Wortschatz" describes him as a Pyrenæan local god in the upper valley of the Garonne. For instance, we have at Aulon in the *Vallée de la Noue* an inscription

DEO ABELLIONI

Here Aulon is evidently a worn-down form of Avalon, so that we actually discover the apple-god in the apple-town.¹ In the same way we register the inscriptions

<i>Aulon</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
<i>S. Béat. (Basses Pyrénées)</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
"	"	"	.	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
<i>Vallée de Larboust</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Abelioni deo.
"	"	.	.	.	.	.	Abellionni.
<i>St. Bertrand de Comminges</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	Abellioni deo.
"	"	"	.	.	.	.	Abelion(i) deo.
<i>Fabas, Haute Garonne</i> ²	.	.	.	.	.	.	Abellionni.

This list can be expanded and corrected from Julian Sacaze's *Inscriptions Antiques des Pyrénées*, but for the present the references given above may suffice.

Here, then, are nine cases of a god, named *abelion* and *abellion*. The parallel with the early Greek spellings of Apollo, *Apellon*, *Apeljon* is obvious, and we need have no hesitation in saying that we have found the Celtic Apollo in the Pyrenees. (The identification with Apollo, but not with the apple, had already been made by Gruter, following Scaliger, *Lectiones Ausonianæ*, lib. i. c. 9.) The curious thing is that Holder, while discussing the origin of the name Abella, and landing in a final suspense of judgment as to the question which came first, the apple or the Abella, had on the very same page registered the existence of the Western apple-god. (Holder is, no

¹ "Revue Archéologique," 16, 488.

² "Bull. Soc. Ant. Fr." 1882, 250.

doubt, descended from the blind god Holdur of the Norsemen !)
 There is evidently not the slightest reason for supposing that Abella can be the starting-point for all these names of towns and deities : Abella is an apple-town for certain, and a Celtic apple-town. We may evidently carry our inquiries after apple-centres a little further : if the apple came from the North into the region of the Pyrenees, and into Campania, it will be strange indeed if it does not find its way across the mountains into Spain. We shall actually find a province and a city named *Avila* (it is Teresa's birthplace) and no doubt was a centre of early apple-culture.¹

¹ In the supplement to Holder there is a good deal more about the apple and the apple-town.

Āball-ō(n) is definitely equated with apple-town.

Other towns are recognised ; L'avalois in the diocese of Autun ; Avallon in the Charente Inférieure, and again in the Dept. Isère.

Then we are told that the modern Avalleur in the Dept. of the Aube is = Avalorra, Avalurre, Avaluria of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and goes back to a primitive Aballo-duro-s or apple-fort : and that the modern place-names Valuéjols in Cantal, Valeuil in Dordogne, and again in the Dept. of the Eure, go back to a primitive Āballōiälō-n, which Holder says means apple-garden.

Holder also traces Vaillac, in the Dept. Lot, and Vaillat in the Charente, to an original Avalli-ācus and so to Avallos ; and also the place-names Havelu (Eure-et-Loire), Haveluy (Nord) and Aveluy (Somme) to an original Avallōvicus.

Who can believe that Abella in Campania is responsible for all this wealth of nomenclature ?

It is interesting to notice that not very far from Abella there is another apple-town, this time due to a Greek Colony. It has been pointed out that the name of Beneventum is a change from the evil-omened Maleventum, and that this latter is formed from the Greek *ΜάλοFέντα*. "The Romans generally formed the name of a Greek town from the Greek accusative" (Giles, "Short Manual of Comp. Philol.," § 273, n. 2).



¹ This leads us at once to the inquiry whether Apollo Maloeis is the local deity of Beneventum : the quickest way to decide this is to examine the coins of the city. Coins of Beneventum are rare ; a reference to the British Museum "Catalogue of Greek Coins in Italy" (p. 68, fig. ; see also Rasche, "Lex. univ. rei. numm." Suppl. i. 1355) will show us the *head of Apollo*

Another very interesting direction of inquiry is Northern Syria. The student of the New Testament knows the district of Abilene, over which Lysanias is said to have been the tetrarch. One rides through this district on the way from Baalbek to Damascus. Its capital city was Abila, over whose exact identification there is, I believe, still some dispute. There is no dispute, however, about its power of producing apples, as I know by experience: the village of Zebedany, for instance, is famed all over the Lebanon for its excellent apples, one of which was presented to my companion when we sojourned there for a night, by an old lady who took it as a token of extremest friendship, from her own bosom. The climate of the Lebanon appears to suit the apple, which was in all probability imported from the Levant. There is another Abila town on the east side of the Lake of Galilee. Whether that also is an apple-town I am not prepared to say.

Now for some remarks with regard to the first form of the word: we accentuate *apple* on the first syllable, but it is clear that the Celts accentuated it on the last (*abhál*, for instance, in Irish) and this appears from another consideration to be primitive; the double *n* at the end of the word and in the name of the god requires a forward accent. It is curious that, as with ourselves, the accent in Lithuanian has shifted back to the first syllable.

This shift of the accent is not, however, universal. When we search more closely for apple-towns on English soil, we find traces of the forward accentuation. For if we follow the analogy of places named after the oak, Oakham, Acton, and the like, we find not only such place and personal names as *Appleton* (of which there are nine or ten in "Bartholomew's Gazetteer") but also the forms both in names of persons and names of places, *Pelham*, *Pelton*, which are most naturally explained as derived from *Appelham*, *Appelton*. (Three Pelhams in Herts, a Pelton in Durham, not far from Chester-le-street.) To these we may add what appears to be an English formation from Pembrokeshire; for *Pelcomb* appears to be parallel in structure and meaning to *Appeldurcombe* in the Isle of Wight.¹

on the coins of Beneventum. It is not a little curious that we have found the Greek apple-town and the Celtic apple-town in Central Italy, within a day's march of one another!

¹The alternative derivation will be a personal name of the type of John Peel. See Skeat, "Place-names of Hertfordshire."

The whole question of apple names needs a close and careful investigation.

There is another question connected with this one of the apple origin that needs inquiring into. Every one knows the Norse story of Balder the Beautiful, and of his death at the hand of the blind god Holdur, who, at Loki's malicious suggestion, shot him with an arrow of mistletoe. No one has been able to explain the myth of the death of Balder, but there have been various parallels drawn between the beautiful demi-god of the North and the equally beautiful Apollo among the Olympians: etymology has also been called in to explain Balder in terms of brightness and whiteness, and so to make him more or less a solar personage: but nothing very satisfactory has yet been arrived at. The Balder myth stands among the unsolved riddles of antiquity, complicated by various contradictory story-tellings, and apparently resisting a final explanation. Grimm was of the opinion that there was a Germanic Balder named Paltar, who corresponded to the Norse Balder, thus throwing the myth back into very early times indeed; and he brought forward a number of considerations in support of his theory, of greater or less validity.

It has occurred to me that, perhaps, the *Apel-dur*, *Apel-dre*, and *Appeldore*, which we have been considering, may be the origin of Balder, and of the Paltar of Grimm's hypothesis, in view of the occurrence of the corresponding forms mentioned above in the Middle High Dutch. If, for instance, the original accent in *apple* (*abál*) is, as stated above, on the second syllable, then it would be easy for a primitive *apál-dur* to lose its initial vowel, and in that case we should not be very far from the form Balder, which would mean the apple-tree originally and nothing more. That the personified apple-tree should be killed by an arrow of mistletoe is quite in the manner of ancient myth-making;¹ and the parallels which have sometimes been

¹ Or we may adopt a simpler explanation, viz. that the ancients had observed that the mistletoe does kill the tree on which it grows, a bit of popular mythology which has recrudesced in Mr. Kipling's *Pict Song*:—

Mistletoe killing an oak—
Rats gnawing cables in two—

The damage done by mistletoe to conifers in the N.W. of America is the subject of a paper by James R. Weir, Forest Pathologist to the United States.

suggested between Balder and Apollo would be not parallels but identities. Apollo would be Balder and Balder Apollo.

Leaving these speculations for the present on one side, we now come to the question of the relation between Artemis and Apollo, that which the later myth-makers expressed in the language of twin-cult. Was there any common ground of cult similar to that which we detected in the case of Dionysos and Apollo, where the coincidence in titles, in functions, in cult-usages and in sanctuaries, led us to the interpretation of the second god, like the first, in terms of a vegetable origin? It will be admitted that there is some similarity in titles, that Apollo is Phœbus and Artemis Phœbe, and that he is Hekatos, or implied as such in the titles given to him, and that Artemis is, if not exactly Hekaté, at all events very closely related to her. This does not, however, help us very much; it suggests sun and moon-cult for Artemis and Apollo, and it is admitted that the mistletoe introduced a solar element into the conception of Apollo: but the actual development of the solar and lunar elements, which made Apollo almost the counterpart of Helios, and Artemis of Selene, must be much later in date than the origins of which we are in search. We must, therefore, go in other directions if we are to find a cult-parallelism between the two deities. And the direction which promises real results is the following: it is quite clear that both Apollo and Artemis are witches, witch-doctors of the primitive type, who stand near the very starting-point of what becomes ultimately the medical profession. He is a personified *All-heal*, and to his primitive apparatus of mistletoe berries, bark and leaves, he has added a small number of simples, more or less all-heals, or patent medicines, which taken together constitute the garden of Apollo, the original apothecary's shop. It is quite possible that the very first medicine of the human race was the mistletoe, and it is surprising to note how tenaciously the human race has clung to its first all-heal. In this country, for example, we are told by Lysons that there was a great wood in the neighbourhood of Croyland (Norwood) which belonged to the archbishop, and was said to consist wholly of oak. Among the trees was one which bore mistletoe, which some persons were so hardy as to cut down, for the *gain of selling it to the Apothecaries*, in London, leaving a branch of it to sprout out; but they proved unfortunate after it, for one of

them fell lame, and others lost an eye.¹ It will be seen that the medical and magical value of mistletoe (and especially of oak-mistletoe, as the old herbals are careful to point out) has continued almost to our own time. If Apollo is a herbalist, as all the primitive leeches were, and had a medical garden, it seems quite clear that Artemis was also in the herbal profession, and that she also had a garden of her own, in which certain plants grew, whose power of healing and persistence in human use have continued down to our own times. This we must now proceed to prove, for if we establish this parallelism, we shall know why Apollo and Artemis are brother and sister, and we shall presently be able to track the latter as we did the former, to her vegetable origin.

The first thing to be done is to prove that they both belong to the medical profession : the next to examine the pharmacopœia of each one of them. In fact we have done this pretty thoroughly for Apollo : where is the proof that Artemis graduated in medicine, and what were the means of healing that she employed ?

The first direction of inquiry suggested by the Apollo Cult for the Artemis Cult is to ask whether there is any magic herb (magical being understood as a term parallel with medical, and almost coincident with it in meaning) which will rank, either for medicine or for magic, along with the well-known *All-heal* of Apollo, the mistletoe. Suppose we turn to a modern book on "Flowers and Flower-Lore"² we shall find the author discoursing of the virtues of St. John's wort as "a safeguard against witchcraft, tempest, and other demoniacal evils". In fact, the plant is an *All-heal*: in Devonshire, the wild variety of the plant is known as tutsan, or titsan, which is the French *tout-sain*. We used to gather the leaves when we were children and place them in our Bibles. Its medical value can be seen from its occurrence in old-time recipes. For instance, here is one which begins thus :—

"Take . . . french mallows, the tops of tutsans, plantin leaves, etc."³ Or look in Parkinson's "Herbal," and you will find a section devoted to *Tutsan*, and another to St. John's wort, which is

¹ Quoted in Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," i. 305.

² Friend, "Flowers and Flower-Lore," i. 74, 75.

³ Lewer, "A Book of Simples," p. 186.

identified with the *Hypericon* of Dioscorides, and accredited with all kinds of virtues. So we are in the old Greek medical garden with St. John's wort.

The writer referred to above goes on to speak of the magical value of the mistletoe which "might well share with St. John's wort the name of Devilfuge". "*Another plant possessed, according to popular belief, of the power of dispelling demons is the well-known mugwort or wormwood, which on account of its association with the ceremonials of St. John's Eve (Midsummer Eve) was also known on the Continent as St. John's Herb . . . or St. John's Girdle. Garlands were made at that season of the year composed of white lilies, birch, fennel, St. John's wort, and Artemisia or wormwood, different kinds of leaves, and the claws of birds. These garlands, thus comprising seven different kinds of material, were supposed to be possessed of immense power over evil spirits.*"

The writer, unfortunately, does not give the detailed authority for his statements; but as regards the magic powers of the mugwort or *Artemisia*, we shall be able abundantly to verify the statements. Every herbal will say something about it: and we have, therefore, reached the point of discovering that there was a plant of immense magical and medical value, named after Artemis herself, and which must, therefore, be accredited to her garden, in the same way as we credited the mistletoe and the peony to the garden of Apollo. We note in passing that the plant *Hypericon* (St. John's wort) has also to be reckoned with as a part of the ancient pharmacopœia, and that a place ought to be found for it somewhere. As to the magic garlands that are spoken of, it is quite likely that they also will turn out to be ancient; in which case observe that even when composed of flowers, they are not flower-garlands in our sense of the term, but prophylactics. The distinction may be of importance—for instance, in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, we find the hero of the play making a garland for his goddess. Here is the language in which he dedicates it, in Mr. A. S. Way's translation:—

For thee this woven garland from a mead
 Unsullied have I twined, O Queen, and bring.
 There never shepherd dares to feed his flocks,
 Nor steel of sickle came: only the bee
 Roveth the springtide mead undesecrate:

And Reverence watereth it with river-dews.
 They which have heritage of self-control
 In all things, purity inborn, untaught,
 These there may gather flowers, but none impure.

Evidently the mead of which Hippolytus speaks was "a sealed garden" belonging to initiates : the shepherd would not dare to come in : no iron is allowed within its limits : ¹ iron and magic are enemies ; may we not assume that the garden in question is the garden of Artemis herself ? One wishes much that Euripides had told us what were the plants and flowers that went to make up the garland, and whether one of them was the Artemisia.

If we have not a detailed description in this case, we are better placed in the companion garden of Hekaté, if that be really different from the garden of Artemis, at this period of religious evolution ; for we have already pointed out the close connection of Apollo, Artemis, and Hekaté. As regards the medical garden of Hekaté, we are, as I have said, better placed for an exact determination. The Orphic "Argonautica" describe the visit of Medea to the garden in question, and tell us what sort of a place it was : here are some of the lines :—

*ἐν δέ σφιν πυμάτῳ μυχῶ ἔρκεος ἄλσος ἀμείβει,
 δένδρεσιν εὐθαλέεσσι κατάσκιον, ᾧ ἐνὶ πολλαί
 δάφναι τ' ἠδὲ κρανειαὶ ἰδ' εὐμήκεις πλατάνιστοι ·
 ἐν δὲ πόαι ρίζησι κατηρεφέες χθαμαλῆσιν,
 ἀσφόδελος, κλύμενός τε, καὶ εὐώδης ἀδιάντος,
 καὶ θρύον ἠδὲ κύπειρον, ἀριστερεῶν τε ἀνεμώνη,
 ὄρμινόν τε, καὶ εἰρύσιμον, κυκλαμὶς τ' ἰοειδής,
 μανδραγόρης, πόλιόν τ', ἐπὶ δὲ ψαφαρὸν δίκταμνον,
 εὐοδμός τε κρόκος, καὶ κάρδαμον · ἐν δ' ἄρα κῆμος,
 σμίλαξ, ἠδὲ χαμαίμηλον, μήκων τε μέλαινα,
 ἀλκείη, πάνακες, καὶ κάρπασον, ἠδ' ἀκόνιτον,
 ἄλλα τε δηλήεντα κατὰ χθόνα πολλὰ πεφύκει.²*

Here then, the writer of the poem has pictured for us the witch's garden as it should be : there are trees, such as the laurel, the cornel, and the plane : there is asphodel, convolvulus (?), the maiden-hair, the rush, the cyperus, the vervain (?), the anemone, the horminus, the erysimon, the cyclamen, the stoechas, the peony, the polyknemos, the

¹ Cf. the practice of the Druids in cutting the mistletoe or in gathering (sine ferro) the plant *selago*, as described by Pliny, "H.N.," XXIV. 62.

² Orph., "Argonaut.," 915 ff.

mandrake, the polion, the dictamnys, the crocus, the cardamon, the kēmos, the smilax, the camomile, the black poppy, the alcaea, the mistletoe (?), the flax, the aconite, *and other baneful plants.*

No doubt this as a Greek medical garden of a late period, but it shows what a garden of Hekaté was imagined to be by the author ; and it is instructive. It is composed of *roots* and *banes*, and of flowers whose medical value we can verify from other quarters. The mistletoe must surely be the *All-heal* covered by *πάνακες*;¹ it and the peony and the laurel come from Apollo's garden ; the smilax is borrowed from Dionysos, the vervain and mandrake are well-known in witchcraft : the dictamnys is related in some way to Artemis, for one of Artemis' names is taken from Dictynna (Dictamnus) in Crete, and the medicine is used for Artemis' own department, the delivery of women in child-birth, of which more presently.

We can thus form an idea of the herb-garden of antiquity : it was really more a root-garden than an herb-garden. When Sophocles describes the operation of Medea and her companions, apparently in these very gardens of Hekaté, he gives to the play the title of *οἱ ῥιζοτόμοι*, the *Root-cutters*. The root is either for medicine or for magic, and as we have said there was no sharp line drawn between the two. Supposing, then, that on the analogy of the gardens of Apollo and Hekaté, and in harmony with the language of Hippolytus to his goddess, we say that Artemis had a garden, we may be sure that the mugwort² was there. We must certainly look more carefully into the virtues of a plant so closely linked by name with the goddess.

Before doing so, we may mention in passing that both Hekaté and Artemis, who is so nearly related to her, used to grow in their gardens a famous magical plant which had the witch's power of opening locks. This flower is called the *spring-wurzel* (or *spring-wort*), in the literature of Teutonic peoples, and everywhere there are strange and wonderful stories about it. It appears to have been under the protection of the Thunder, in the person of the woodpecker. The plant was wanted by Medea in order to make the way

¹ This is not quite certain ; there are a number of all-heals beside the mistletoe.

² The English name *mugwort* is merely *fly-plant* ; cf. Engl. *midge*, Germ. *Mücke*.

for Jason to find the golden fleece, in one of the poems of the Argonaut legend. The person who had it could say

Open locks
Whoever knocks.

Now it seems certain that Artemis as well as Hekaté had this magic plant: for among her many titles corresponding to many functions and powers, she is called κλειδοῦχος, she that has the key. Thus in the opening Orphic Hymn to Hekaté, she is described as

παντὸς κόσμου κλειδοῦχον ἄνασσαν

and in the very next hymn, Prothyraea, the goddess of the portal, is addressed as κλειδοῦχος and as

"*Ἄρτεμις εἰλείθνια καὶ εὐσέμνη Προθυραία,*

along with many epithets addressed to Artemis as the woman's helper in travail. We point out, therefore, in passing that the spring-wort, which gave the possessor the entrée everywhere, was also a plant in the garden of Artemis.

We are now able to see, from the combination of magic with medicine, and the difficulty of imagining them apart in early times, the reason for that curious feature in the character of Artemis and her brother, which makes them responsible for sending the very diseases which they are able to cure. It is magic that causes diseases, magic as medicine that heals them. If the god or goddess is angry, we may expect the former, if they are propitiated, we look for the latter. The myths will tell us tales of Apollo and Artemis under either head. If women in actual life have troubles, Macrobius¹ will tell us that they are Artemis-struck, ἀρτεμιδοβλήτους, which is not very different from witch-overlooked, as it occurs in the West of England: yet this very same Artemis will be appealed to when the time of feminine trouble is at hand!²

Our next step is to go to the herbals and find out what they say of the properties of the medical plants that we may be discussing, and

¹ "Sat.," l. 17, 11.

² That is always the way with witches; cf. Hueffer, "The Book of Witches," p. 280: "In the capacity of the witch as healer and conversely as disease-inflicter, her various spells must cover all the ills that flesh is heir to. She must be able to cure the disease she inflicts."

determine how far they reproduce the beliefs of primitive times. The task is not without interest ; one of the first things that come to light is the astonishing conservatism of the herbalists, who repeat statements one from another without correction or sensible modification, statements which can be traced back to Pliny or Dioscorides and even earlier, and which, when we have them in the form in which they are presented by Pliny or Dioscorides, are easily seen to be a traditional inheritance from still earlier times. Pliny, in fact, used the herbals of his day, much as Culpeper and Gerarde used Dodonaeus. Even when the herbalists are professing to be progressive, and throwing about their charges of superstition against those who preceded them, there is not much perceptible progress about them. Gerarde is often found using the language of the rationalist, and is doing his best to let the light of accurate science fall on his page, but Gerarde himself relates to us how he himself saw, with "the sensible and true avouch of his own eyes," that brant-geese were produced from the shells of barnacles, and gives us a picture of the actual occurrence of this feat of evolution ; it was a story which, if I remember rightly, Huxley employed in his discussion of the evidence for miracles. Culpeper, too, denounces superstition roundly and cries to God against it ; but he denounces also the Royal College of Surgeons and colours all his medical theories with the doctrine of signatures and the influence of the planets. No medicine for him without astrology, which he treats with the same assurance as a modern doctor would have as to the influence of microbes. In reality, we ought to be thankful for the limitations which we at once detect in the herb-doctors ; their traditionalism is just what we want ; it is the folk-lore of medicine, and like folk-lore generally our surest guide to the beliefs and practices of primitive man.

Let us then see what the herb-doctor Culpeper has to say on the subject of the mugwort : he begins with a description of the plant and then intimates the places where it may be found, as that "it groweth plentifully in many places of this Land, by the water-sides, as also by small water-courses, and in divers other places". The time of its flowering and seeding is then given. Then follows the "government and vertues" of the plant. The government means the planet that rules the plant and the sign of the Zodiac that it is under. Then we have the following vertues : "Mugwort is with good success put among other

herbs that are boiled for women to sit over the hot decoction, to draw down their courses, to help the delivery of their birth, and expel the after-birth. As also for the destructions and inflammations of the mother [*sc.* *matrix*]. It breaketh the stone and causeth one to make water where it is stopped. The Juyce thereof made up with myrrh, and put under as a pessary, worketh the same effects and so doth the root also."

He continues with the effect of the herb to remove tumours and wens, and to counteract over-dosing with opium, but it is evident that, according to Culpeper, it is a woman's medicine meant for women's complaints, even if it should have occasionally a wider reference. We begin to see the woman-doctor Artemis operating with the women's medicine Artemisia. But where did Culpeper get all this from? And how far back does this chapter of medical science go?

Here is another great English herbal, the "Theatrum Botanicum" of Parkinson. He arranges the matter very much as in Culpeper, but with more detail and learning. First he describes the plant *Artemisia vulgaris*, or common mugwort. Then he says where it is to be found, much as in Culpeper. After this he has to discourse on the meaning of the name, which I transcribe:—

"It is called in Greek Ἀρτεμισία, and Artemisia in Latin also, and recorded by Pliny that it took the name of *Artemisia* from Artemisia the wife of *Mausolus*, King of Caria; when as formerly it was called *Parthenis*, quasi *Virginalis* Maidenwort, and as Apuleius saith, was also called *Parthenium*; but others think it took its name from Ἄρτεμις, who is called *Diana*, because it is chiefly applied to women's diseases. The first (kind of Artemisia) is generally called of all writers *Artemisia* and *vulgaris*, because it is the most common in all countries. Some call it *mater herbarum*. . . ." Here we have some really ancient tradition taken from Pliny, from Dioscorides, and others. The plant is traced to Artemis; its virtue consists in its applicability to the diseases of women and, most important of all, it is the mother of all medical herbs.

Parkinson then goes on to the virtues of the plant, beginning with the statement that "Dioscorides saith it heateth and extenuateth," after which we have very nearly the same story of its medical uses as in Culpeper. He continues, "It is said of Pliny that if a traveller binde

some of the hearbe with him, he shall feele no weariness at all in his journey ; as also that no evill medicine or evill beast shall hurt him that hath the hearbe about him". Here we are in the region of pure magic and begin to suspect the reason why Artemis is the patron of the travellers, and why she is said to tame wild beasts. Parkinson remarks upon these opinions as follows :—

"Many such idle superstitions and irreligious relations are set down, both by the ancient and later writers, concerning this and other plants, which to relate were both unseemly for me, and unprofitable for you. I will only declare unto you the idle conceit of some of our later days concerning this plant, and that is even of Bauhinus¹ who glorieth to be an eye-witness of his foppery, that upon St. John's eve there are coales [which turn to gold] to be found at mid-day, under the rootes of mugwort, which after or before that time are very small or none at all, and are used as an amulet to hang about the necke of those that have the falling-sickness, to cure them thereof. But oh ! the weak and fraile nature of man ! which I cannot but lament, that is more prone to beleeve and relye upon such impostures, than upon the ordinance of God in His creatures, and trust in His providence."

We could have done profitably with less of Parkinson's pious rationalism and more of the superstitions that he deplors and occasionally condescends to describe.

Now let us try the herbal of John Gerarde. This is earlier than Parkinson's "Theater" which dates from 1640. The first edition is published in 1597, the second, with enlargements and corrections by Johnson, is dated 1633. The copy in my possession is the latter, from which accordingly I quote.

First he describes the plant which he calls *Artemisia, mater Herbarum*, common mugwort, then says where it is to be found, and when ; then comes the dissertation on the name, nearly as above, which I transcribe :—

"Mugwort is called in Greek 'Αρτεμισία ; and also in Latine *Artemisia*, which name it had of *Artemisia*, Queene of Halicarnassus, and wife of noble *Mausolus*, King of Caria, who adopted it for her own herbe ; before that it was called *Parthenis* as *Pliny*

¹Bauhinus, "De Plantis a divi sanctisve nomen habentibus," 1591, and "Prodromus Theatri Botanici," 1620.

writeth. *Apuleius* affirmeth that it was likewise called *Parthenion*; who hath very many names for it, and many of them are placed in *Dioscorides* among the bastard names; most of these agree with the right *Artemisia*, and divers of them with other herbes, which now and then are numbered among the mugworts: it is also called *Mater Herbarum*; in high Dutch, *Beifuss*, and *Sant' Johannis Gurtell*; in Spanish and Italian, *Artemisia*; in Low Dutch, *Bijvoet*, *Sint Jans Kruyt*; in English Mugwort and common Mugwort." Then comes a note on the temperature of the plant:—

"Mugwort is hot and dry in the second degree, and somewhat astringent."

After this follow the virtues: beginning with "Pliny saith that Mugwort doth properly cure women's diseases" as we had noted above; details are given, nearly as in Parkinson, after which Gerarde concludes by saying that "Many other fantastical devices invented by poets are to be seene in the workes of the ancient writers, tending to witchcraft and sorcerie, and the great dishonour of God: wherefore I do of purpose omit them, as things unworthy of my recording or your reading," which is evidently what Parkinson has been drawing on. Bad luck to them both!

It must not be supposed that all these writers have verified for themselves what Pliny and *Dioscorides* or the rest say: they commonly transfer references from one to another. The value of the repeated statements lies in the evidence which the repetition furnishes of the constancy of the beliefs and practices involved.

Suppose we now try the herbals of a century earlier, those which belong to the period immediately following the invention of printing. I have examined several of these early book rarities in the Rylands Library in order to see whether they say the same as the great English herbals. Here, for instance, is the "*Hortus Sanitatis*,"¹ published in Mainz in 1491; the description of *Artemisia* and its virtues is as follows:—

Arthemisia. Ysido (i.e. Isidore) *Arthemisia* est herba dyane a gentibus consecrata unde et nuncupata. Diana siquidem grece artemis dicitur. Pli. li. xxv. (i.e. Pliny, bk. xxv.) *Arthemisiam* quae autem parthenis vocabatur ab arthemide cognominatam sicut

¹ This is merely a Latin translation of "Garden of Hygieia".

quidam putant. Etiam dicitur Artemisia quoniam sic vocabatur uxor regis masolei qui voluit eam sic vocari quae antea, ut inquit plinius, parthenis vocabatur. et sunt qui ab arthemide arthemisiam cognominatam putant. quoniam privatim medicatur feminarum malis. Dioscorides. Artemisia tria sunt genera. Unum est quod vocatur Artemisia monodos (l. monoclos), i.e. mater herbarum quae est fruticosa et similis absinthio : folia majora et pinguiora habens et hastas longas. nascitur in maritimis locis et lapidosis. florescit autem aestatis tempore floribus albis. arthemisia taygetes (l. taygetes) nominatur. quae tenera est semen habens minutum et ynam hastam foliis plenam. Nascitur in locis mediterraneis et altioribus. florem mellinum atque tenuem et iocundiorem comparatione prioris ferens. Haec a grecis vocatur taygetes (i.e. taygetes) vel tanacetum. Et nos in lingua latina vocamus eam thanasiam. vel secundum quosdam athanasiam. Et est tertia arthemisia que leptafillos dicitur. nascitur circa fossas et agros. flosculum eius si contriveris samsuci odorem habet. et ipsa amara. Has species arthemisie dyanem dicunt invenisse et virtutes eorum et medicamina chironi centauro tradidisse. Haec herba ex nomine dyane quae artemis dicitur accepit nomen arthemisia quae calefacit et siccat. Ga. sim. fac. ca. d. arthemisia. (i.e. Galen in the chapter of *de simp. fac.* on artemisia). Artemisia duplex quidem est herba. ambae tamen calefaciunt mediocriter et siccant. . . .”

So much for the description of the plant as given in the “Hortus Sanitatis” : and we can already see that we are getting fresh information. The first kind of Artemisia is called *monoclos* which is apparently a corruption of a Greek word *μονόκλωνος*, meaning that the plant grows on a single stem ; the second is twice over described as *taygetes*, which can only refer to the mountain in Laconia (Mt. Taygetus) which is more than any other district sacred to Artemis. The writer does not, however, know any Greek : he says he is working from Dioscorides, but he appears to confuse the tansy (tanacetum) with the Artemisia, and says that its Latin name is Athanasia ! The reference to Mt. Taygetus is of the first importance, for if the plant is found there, then the presence of Artemis in the mountain is due to the plant, and Artemis is the plant. Last of all, the writer has a third variety which Diana is said to have discovered and confided to the centaur Chiron. We must evidently follow up these links of the plant with the goddess and see where they take us.

The writer then goes on to describe in detail the virtues of the plants, and it will be useful to follow him in detail.

Operationes.

A. Dyas (i.e. Dioscorides) *Arthemisia* virtutem habet acerrimam purgativam attenuantem calidam et leptinticam.

B. Elixatura eius causas mulieris mitigat. menstruis imperat. secundinas excludit. mortuos infantes in utero deponit. constrictiones matricis resolvit. omnes tumores spargit. accepta calculos frangit. urinam provocat. herba ipsa tunsa et in umbilico posito menstruis imperat.

C. Succus eius mirre (i.e. myrrhæ) mixtus et matrici suppositus omnia similiter facere novit.

D. Coma eius sicca bibita. z.iii. stericas (i.e. hystericas) causas componit.

E. Si quis iter faciens eam secum portaverit non sentiet itineris laborem.

F. Fugat etiam demonia in domo posita. Prohibet etiam maledicamenta et avertit oculos malorum.

G. Item ipsa tunsa cum axungia et superposita pedum dolorem ex itinere tollit.

H. *Arthemisia* quae *taygetes* vocatur facit ad vesicae dolorem et stranguriam succo dato ex vino. z.ii.

I. Febricanti ex aqua ea *ciatis* (l. *cyathus*) duas potui datur.

K. Succus tunsæ cum axungia et aceto coxarum dolori medicatur ligata usque in tertium diem.

L. Ut infantem hilarem facias incende et suffumigabis et omnes incursiones malorum avertet. et hilariorum faciet infantem. nervorum dolorem et tumorem trita cum oleo bene subacta mirifice sanat.

M. Dolorem pedum gravitur vexatis radicem eius da cum melle manducare et ita sanabitur ut vix credi posset eam tantam virtutem habere.

N. Succo eius cum oleo rosarum febriciens perunctus curatur ea. Hanc herbam si confricaveris lasaris odorem habet.

O. Galienus. Ambae species *arthemisiae* conveniunt lapidibus in renibus existentibus et ad calefactiones et extractiones secundarum (l. secundinarum).

When we read through this list of virtues and operations, we see

the origin of many things in the later herbals. It is quite clear that to the author of the *Hortus Sanitatis* the herb in question was women's medicine. We might roughly group the operations as follows :—

Women's medicine.	B.C.D.O.
Child's medicine.	L.
Pains in the feet.	E.G.M.
Vesicary troubles.	H.O.
Fevers.	I.N.
Pains in the hips.	K.
Magical values.	E.F.

It is clear that the real value of the herb lies in its influence upon women and children and upon travellers, and in the power as an amulet. The reason for its connection with travellers does not yet appear : the other curative and prophylactic qualities are thoroughly Artemisian. Especially interesting is the appearance of Artemis as the one that takes care of the baby, the *κουροτρόφος*. We are evidently coming nearer to the source of the magic and of the medicine.

Now let us see what Dioscorides says about the plant, since it is clear that the herbals in part derive from him ; the *Artemisia* is described in Dioscorides, "De materia medica," lib. III. cap. 117, 118.

117. Ἀρτεμισία ἡ μὲν πολύκλωνος, ἡ δὲ μονόκλωνος . . . ἡ μὲν πολύκλωνος φύεται ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐν παραθαλασσίοις τόποις, πόα θαμνοειδῆς, παρόμοιος ἀψινθίῳ, μείζων δὲ καὶ λιπαρότερα τὰ φύλλα ἔχουσα· καὶ ἡ μὲν τις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εὐερνῆς, πλατύτερα ἔχουσα τὰ φύλλα καὶ τοὺς ῥάβδους· ἡ δὲ λεπτότερα, ἄνθη μίκρα, λεπτά, λευκά, βαρύσσμα· θέρους δὲ ἀνθεῖ·

*Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὸ ἐν μεσογείοις λεπτόκαρπον, ἀπλοῦν τῷ καυλῷ, σφόδρα μικρόν, ἄνθους περίπλεων κηροειδοῦς τῇ χροίᾳ· λεπτοῦ καλοῦσιν ἀρτεμισίαν μονόκλωνον· ἔστι δὲ εὐωδεστέρα τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς.

Ἀμφότεραι δὲ θερμαίνουσι καὶ λεπτύνουσιν· ἀποζεννύμεναι δὲ ἀρμόζουσιν εἰς γυναικεῖα ἐγκαθίσματα πρὸς ἀγωγὴν ἐμμήνων καὶ δευτέρων καὶ ἐμβρύων, μύσιν τε καὶ φλεγμονὴν τῆς ὑστέρας καὶ θρύψιν λίθων καὶ ἐποχὴν οὖρων. ἡ δὲ πόα κατὰ τοῦ ἥτρου καταπλασθεῖσα πολλή, ἐμμηνα κινεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς χύλος λεανθεῖς σὺν σμύρνη, καὶ προστεθείς, ἄγει ἀπὸ μήτρας, ὅσα καὶ

τὸ ἐγκάθισμα· καὶ ποτίζεται ἡ κόμη πρὸς ἀγωγὴν τῶν αὐτῶν.
πλήθος < γ.

118. Ἀρτεμισία λεπτόφυλλος ἥτις γεννᾶται περὶ ὀχέτους καὶ φραγμοὺς καὶ εἰς χώρας σπορίμους· τὸ ἄνθος οὖν αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ φύλλα τριβόμενα ὀσμὴν ἀποδίδωσι σαμψύχου. εἰ οὖν τις πονεῖ τὸν στόμαχον, καὶ κόψει τὴν βοτάνην ταύτης μετὰ ἀμυγδαλίνου ἐλαίου καλῶς, καὶ ποιήσει ὡς μάλαγμα καὶ θήσει ἐπὶ τὸν στόμαχον, θεραπευθήσεται. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρά τις πονεῖ, τὸν χύλον ταύτης μετὰ ῥοδίνου ἐλαίου μίξας χρίει, θεραπευθήσεται.

A careful comparison of these passages of Dioscorides will show that almost every sentence has been transferred to the herbals. The prominence of the woman's medicine in Dioscorides is most decided. The magical qualities do not appear in this passage, nor is there any reference to Mt. Taygetus. The plant grows, according to Dioscorides, by runnels, and in hedges and ditches and fields. The same prominence of the woman-medicinal factor appears in the description given by Pliny in his "Natural History" (xxv. 36) as follows:—

"Mulieres quoque hanc gloriam affectavere : in quibus Artemisia uxor Mausoli, adopta herba, quae antea parthenis vocabatur. Sunt quae ab Artemide Ilithyia cognominatam putant, quoniam privatim medeatur feminarum malis, etc."

These sentences also can be traced in the herbals. It is quite likely that Pliny is right in giving the plant the alternative name of "maid's medicine," though we need not trouble further about Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus. She is an obvious after-thought.

That the mugwort has continued as a maid's medicine to our own time may be seen by a pretty story which Grimm quotes from R. Chambers,¹ but without seeing the bearing of the tale.

"A girl in Galloway was near dying of consumption, and all had despaired of her recovery, when a mermaid, who often gave people good counsel, sang:—

Wad ye let the bonnie may die i' your hand,
And the mugwort growing in the land!

They immediately plucked the herb, gave her the juice of it, and she was restored to health. Another maid had died of the same disease,

¹Grimm, "Teut. Myth." Eng. tr. III. 1211; R. Chambers, "Pop. Rhymes," p. 331; Swainson, "Weather Folk-Lore," p. 60.

and her body was being carried past the port of Glasgow, when the mermaid raised her voice above the water and in slow accents cried :—

If they wad *nettles* drink in March,
And eat *muggons* in May,
Sae mony braw maidens
Wad na gang to the clay."

So it appears that the plant continued as a maid's medicine in Scotland till recent times.

We have now accumulated enough material, or nearly so, to enable us to decide on the relation between Artemis and Artemisia.

It is clear that it is one of the oldest of medicines : *it is the mother of herbs* ; in that respect it ranks with the peony, of which Pliny says (" H.N." xxv. 11) that it is the oldest of medical plants.¹ It is also clear that it is first and foremost women's medicine, and this must be the principal factor in determining the relation between the woman's goddess and the woman's pharmacopœia.

Amongst the special places where the plant is found we have mention of Mt. Taygetus, after which one of the principal varieties of the plant appears to have been named. Now Mt. Taygetus is known from Homer to be the haunt of Artemis, e.g. "Od." vi. 102, 3 :—

οἷη δ' Ἀρτεμις εἶσιν κατ' οὐρεος ἰοχέαιρα,
ἢ κατὰ Τηϋγετον περιμήκετον ἢ Ἐρύμανθον.

Or we may refer to Callimachus' hymn to Artemis, in which the poet asks the goddess her favourite island, harbour, or mountain ; and makes her reply that she loves Taygetus best :—

τίς δέ νύ τοι νήσων, ποῖον δ' ὄρος εὐαδε πλείστον ;
τίς δέ λιμὴν ; ποίη δέ πόλις ; τίνα δ' ἔξοχα νυμφέων
φίλαο, καὶ ποίας ἠρωΐδας ἔσχεσ ἑταίρας ;
εἶπε, θεά, σὺ μὲν ἀμμῖν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτέροισιν αἰέσω.
Νήσων μὲν Δολίχη, πολίων δέ τοι εὐαδε Πέργη·
Τηϋγετον δ' ὀρέων, λιμένες γε μὲν Εὐρίπιοι.

If, then, the plant is found on the mountain, then it is the plant that loves the mountain, and not Artemis in the first instance ; or rather, *the plant is Artemis and Artemis is the plant*. Artemis is a woman's goddess and a maid's goddess, because she was a woman's medicine and a maid's medicine. If the medicine is good at

¹ Vetustissima inventu Paeonia est, nomenque auctoris retinet.

child-birth, then the witch-doctress who uses it becomes the priestess of a goddess, and the plant is projected into a deity, just as in the cases previously studied of Dionysos and Apollo.

If the plant is good for the rearing of beautiful and happy children, then the person who uses it is a *κουροτρόφος*, which is one of the titles of Artemis. So far, then, the problem is solved; we can restore the garden of Artemis, and give the chief place in it to the common mugwort who is the vegetable original of the goddess.

This does not explain everything, it raises some other questions: we have not shown why Artemis became a goddess of the chase; nor have we shown why the plant *Artemisia* is good for travellers and keeps them from having tired feet. Was this a real operation of the plant? It is not easy to say. It is clear that the belief that mugwort had such virtue has been very persistent; it is, to be sure, in Pliny, who tells us ("H.N." xxvi. 89):—

"*Artemisiam et elelisphacum alligatas qui habeat viator, negatur lassitudinem sentire.*"

From Pliny it may have passed into the herbals; it is this faculty of never tiring that seems to be involved in the Teutonic name *beifuss*, and Grimm says the name is early, and quotes from Meigenborg (385, 16) the statement that "he that has *beifuss* on him *wearies not on his way*". This may be from Pliny, but where did Pliny get it, and where did the name *beifuss* come from? ¹ The magical power of the herb is also a persistent folk-tradition and not merely a bit of medical lore. "Whoso hath *beifuss* in the house, him the devil may not harm; hangs the root over the door, the house is safe from all things evil and uncanny."²

There is more investigation to be made in the interpretation of the tradition: but at all events we have found our spring-wort and opened the locked mythological door.

We know now why Apollo and Artemis were brother and sister, and why they became twins. They are the father and the mother respectively of Greek medicine. Their little gardens of simples were next door to one another.

¹ In Baden, the bride puts *beifuss* in her shoe, and a blossom of the plant on the wedding-table. See Wuttke, "Deutsche Volksaberglaube," 133.

² Grimm, l.c.

Now let us indulge for a little the art of speculation, if we may do so without endangering results that have already been arrived at.

To begin with, does the discovery of the plant *Artemis* help us to the understanding of the meaning of the name of the goddess? We recall the fact that the road by which we reached our identification of the plant with the goddess had for its starting-point the personal relation between *Apollo* and *Artemis*. When *Apollo* was tracked to his appropriate vegetable, *Artemis* couldn't be very far off. Analogy may help us in the solution of the nomenclature; we are in the region of medicine; *Apollo* is the mistletoe, and its name is *All-heal*, it is the first and greatest of the line of patent medicines: may not the name of *Artemis* cover also some such meaning? The Homeric *ἀπρεμής*, *safe and sound*, would perhaps meet the requirements of nomenclature for a healing plant. A more doubtful solution has been proposed by some writers on mythology, to take a derivation from the intensive prefix *ἀρι*—attached to the name of *Themis*; thus *Ἄρτεμις* = *ἀριθέμις* = very right, almost as if we had discovered an *all-right* to go with the *all-heal*. The true solution does not seem to have been yet reached.

Now for another point. We have discovered a great god and a great goddess of medicine, witch-doctor, and witch-doctress with appropriate vegetable emblems and origins. We have tried to construct *ab initio* the gardens of herbs from which every existing pharmacy is evolved; and we have acted on the supposition that primitive medicine was herbalism and nothing more. The question arises whether we have not gone too far in excluding altogether the presence of animal and mineral medicines. When Shakespeare's witches make medicine for *Macbeth*, a main part of the ingredients of the charmed pot are animal:—

Toad that under a cold stone
Days and nights hast thirty-one
Swelter'd venom sleeping got,
Boil thou first i' the charmed pot.

And so on. This must be sufficiently true to the witchcraft tradition to have verisimilitude. When did the toad and the tiger and the rest of the witches' larder become available for hag-work? To put it another way, if we take up the treatise of *Dioscorides*, "*De materia medica*," we find that in the second book he treats of animals, oils,

odours, unguents, and when we come near the end of the fifth book that we are introduced to a section *De metallicis omnibus* in which metals and their oxides are described and estimated medically, after the fashion of the four books of more or less botanical medicine which have preceded. Various products of rust, lime, and corals and sponges are introduced. Medicine was not merely herbal to Dioscorides, as we may see further on reference to the remedies proposed in his treatise *περὶ εὐπορίστων*.

It is, however, Pliny that tells us in the most convenient form what really went on. When he comes to his twenty-eighth book he tells us plainly that he has exhausted the herbals and that a larger medicine is to be found in animals and in man. The blood of gladiators, the brains of babies, and every part of the human body have their medical value, down to his spittle which is a protection against serpents, and the hair of his head which can be used to ward off gout. And of course, if human medicine has been carried to such a degree in the extension of the pharmacy, the animals are not excluded, nor their parts and products. An elephant's blood cures rheumatism ; I wish some one would lend me a small elephant ! The elephant having been admitted to the drug-store, we may be sure the ant has not been left out. Pliny is often ashamed of the remedies which he reports, and confesses that they are abhorrent to the mind and only justified by the results. From his manner of treating the subject it seems clear that magic and cruelty and indecency have had a witch's revel in the surgery and the dispensary, and that the introduction of the animal remedies was not something of recent invention when Pliny wrote. So it is quite open to us to make the inquiry as to the extent to which the herb-garden opened into the farm-yard or the zoological garden. Did they really stop a toothache by the use of stag's horn, or find a medicine in a bone which lies hid in the heart of a horse ? Does a wolf's liver really cure a cough ? Who first discovered this admirable use to which a wolf can be put ? and who found out that bears cure themselves by the eating of ants' eggs, and taught us to do the same ?

In order to show the persistence of peculiar animal remedies I am going to take the case of the mouse. I propose to show that the mouse is medicine down to our own times, then that it was widely used as a medicine in Pliny's day ; after which I shall conjecture that it was a very early and primitive medicine.

We will begin with a recipe in a MS. book in my own possession, the still-room book of Mistress Jane Hussey, of Doddington Hall: the MS. is dated in 1692. In this MS. we are advised that "Fry'd mice are very good to eat. And mice flead and dry'd to powder, and the powder mixt with sugar-candy is very good for the chinn cough. You must flea the mice when you fry them. These I know to be good." If I remember rightly one of the herbalists denounces this medicine as a superstition. Anyway, there it is, and it would be ancient enough if we replaced sugar-candy by honey, which is the pharmacist's sweetener of ancient times. We may compare with it the use of mice as medicine in the Lebanon at the present day to cure ear-ache. Now did they use mouse-medicine in early times? Let us see what Pliny says:—

XXIX. 39. The ashes of mice into which honey is dropped will cure earache. This is not very far from the powdered mice with sugar-candy in the Doddington MS. nor from the Lebanon custom. (If an insect has got into the ear use the gall of a mouse with vinegar.)

XXX. 21. There is medicine against calculus made of mouse-dung.

XXX. 23. Ulcers are cured by the ashes of a field-mouse in honey, and apparently, when burnt alive, they are good for ulcers on the feet.

Warts can be cured by the blood of a freshly killed mouse, or by the mouse itself if torn asunder.¹

If you want a sweet breath (XXX. 29) use as a tooth-powder mouse-ashes mixed with honey.

That will be enough to show that our seventeenth-century recipe is of the same kind, at all events, as those which were current in the first century; and if this be so, may it not very well be the case that Apollo Smintheus, or the mouse-Apollo, is best explained by saying that the mouse was an early element in the healing art? I know it is usual to explain the mouse-Apollo on the assumption that Apollo, as the Averter, had rid the country of a plague of field-mice, and that this is the reason why the mouse appears with Apollo on the coins of Alexandria Troas. My solution appears to be the more natural.

¹ Cf. Diosc. "De mat. med." B. 74: *Μύας τοὺς κατοικιδίους ἀνασχισθέντας . . . βρωθέντας δὲ ὀπτοὺς κτέ.*

Moreover, there is another reason for explaining the concurrence of Apollo and the mouse in this way. The mouse is not the only little animal that Apollo is interested in. Archæologists will remember the famous statue of Apollo Sauroktonos, where the god is in the act of catching a lizard. Now we have no reason to suppose that there was a plague of lizards ; on the other hand, we do know that the lizard has a very important place in medicine. For instance, Pliny will tell us that to cure sores (xxx. 12) you must bind a green lizard on you, and change it every thirty days. If you are a woman use the heart of a lizard : (xxx. 23) the blood of a green lizard is a cure for the feet of men and cattle : (xxx. 49) a lizard killed in a particular way is an anti-aphrodisiac : (xxx. 24) its head, or blood, or ashes will remove warts : (xxviii. 38) lizards are employed in many ways as a cure for the troubles of the eyes or (xxviii. 39) of the ears.

From all of which we conclude that the lizard is very ancient medicine, and may very well have been in the Apolline pharmacopœia.

Now let us try a similar inquiry for Artemis. We will begin again with the Doddington Book, and extract some swallow-medicines. For instance, there is a recipe for making "oyle of swallows" by pounding them alive with various herbs. Then there is

My Aunt Markam's swallow-water.

"Take forty or fifty swallows when they are ready to fly, bruise them to pieces in a mortar, feathers and all together : you should put them alive into the mortar. Add to them one ounce of castorum in powder, put all these into a still with three pints of white wine vinegar ; distill it as any other water, there will be a pint of very good water, the other will be weaker : you may give two or three spoonfuls at a time with sugar. This is very good for the passion of the mother, for the passion of the Heart, for the falling-sickness, for sudden sounding fitts, for the dead Palsie, for Apoplexies, Lethargies, and any other distemper of the head, it comforteth the Braine, it is good for those that are distracted, and in great extremity of weakness, one of the best things that can be administered ; it's very good for convulsions." There is another similar remedy to Aunt Markham's in the book, which operates with "two doosen of Live swallows".

Evidently we have here the survival of a very ancient medicine ; its preparation is not a modern invention, except as regards the distil-

lation of the mixture : and its comprehensiveness (for it is well on the road to being an all-heal) is also a mark of the early stages of the medical art. That Artemis is the patron of the swallow has been maintained : for instance, there is the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells (c. 11) from Boios, how she turned the maiden Chelidonia into a swallow, because she had called upon her in her virgin distress. This story, however, hardly proves of itself the point that we are after. The transformation comes in the midst of a number of other bird-changes, and need not carry any special meaning. If we could infer from it or from elsewhere that Artemis is patron of the swallow, we could easily go on to show from Pliny the prevalence of swallow-medicines in the same way that we found mouse-medicine and lizard-medicine ; and these swallow-medicines might be in the medical apparatus of Artemis. I have not, however, been able to make a consistent or a conclusive argument to this effect.

Amongst the plants that were in the garden of Artemis it seems clear that there was one marsh plant, whether it be the mugwort or not : for the title *Artemis Limnæa* or *Limnatis* is a well-known cult-expression. It must be old, too : for, by some confusion between *Limné* and *Limen* she came to be credited with the oversight of harbours, which, almost certainly, is not the function of the maid and woman's doctor. The expression *Artemis of the Harbour* seems to have had some diffusion, for, as we showed above, Callimachus asks the goddess which mountain she prefers, and which harbour she likes best. The most natural explanation of the Harbour goddess seems to be what we have suggested above.

The herbalists tell us to look for the plant by *runnels* and ditches, and some add (perhaps with Mt. Taygetus in mind) in stony places. We must try and find what the earliest of them say as to the habitat of the plant. If they mention marshes or lakes, then *Artemis Limnæa* is only another name for the *Artemisia*, or for some other plant in her herb-garden.

It is agreed on all hands that Artemis, in her earliest forms, is a goddess of streams and marshes : sometimes she is called the River-Artemis, or Artemis Potamia (see Pindar, "Pyth." II. 12), and sometimes she is named after swamps generally as *Limnæa*, the Lady of the Lake (Miss Lake), or Heleia (Ἑλεία) the marsh-maiden (Miss Marsh), or from some particular marsh, as *Stymphalos* (Στυμφηλία),

or special river as the Alpheios (Ἀλφειαία). It seems to me probable that this is to be explained by the existence of some river or marsh plant which has passed into the medical use of the early Greek physicians. Artemis has been called the "Lady of the Lake," or "She of the Marsh"; that is a very good nomenclature for a magical marsh plant, as well as for the patroness of marshes and streams.

It is possible that there is a variety of the *Artemisia* which is peculiar to marsh-land. Pallas, in his "Voyages en différentes Provinces de Russie" (IV. 719), speaks of a variety "which is quite different from *Artemisia palustris*": but I do not see the latter name in Linnæus. [I notice, however, that in the British Museum copy of Gmelin, *Flora Siberiaca*, II. 119, against *Artemisia herbacea* is a note in the handwriting of Sir Joseph Banks, *Artemisia palustris* Linn.]

Now that we have established the existence of the garden of herbs (medical and magic) belonging to Hekaté and Artemis, it is proper to ask a question whether the name of Artemis came to be applied to any other of the plants in the herbarium beside the mother-plant, the mugwort. There are certain things which suggest that the name Artemis could be used like an adjective with a number of nouns. It will be noticed that this is almost implied in the title *πολύωνυμος* which is given to Artemis in the Orphic hymns and elsewhere. The objection to this would be that other gods and goddesses are sometimes called *πολύωνυμος* without suggesting that they are adjectival in character to other objects. In the case of Artemis the suggested adjective appears to be applied not only to the plants in the herbarium which she governs, but to the diseases to which the plants serve as healers. Gruppe points out the traces of an Artemis Podagra, the herb that cures gout, and Artemis Chelytis, which seems to be a cough mixture!¹ There is one case of extraordinary interest in which

¹He is quoting from Clem. Alex. *protr.*, pp. 32, 33, and Clement is quoting from Sosibius: it is not quite clear whether the goddess is the disease to be propitiated in the Roman manner, or whether she is thought of as governing it. The Artemis Cults in question are Spartan, and therefore can be thought of in medical terms, for Artemis was certainly the Healer in Laconia.

Mugwort is still in use in China in the treatment of gout, as may be seen in the following extract from a letter of Prof. Giles:—

"There is quite a 'literature' about *Artemisia vulgaris*. L., which

we can register the transfer of the name of the goddess to a particular plant. We have already drawn attention to the *spring-wort*, which opens all doors and has the entrée to all treasure chambers; and we have shown that Artemis and Hekaté are called by the epithet κλειδοῦχος, the one that holds the key, and that Artemis shares this title with another shadowy goddess, a kind of double of her own, whose name is Προθύραϊα. My suggestion is that the epithet belongs to the spring-wort. Artemis holds the key because she is the spring-wort before which everything opens. If this can be made out for the origin, or rather for one of the first developments of the Artemis Cult (for we have given the first place to the mugwort), then we must, in view of the antiquity of this primitive medicine and these primitive and still widely spread superstitions, look for the same elements in the early Roman Cult. The Romans also must have believed in and honoured the spring-wort: it was not indeed their Diana who was κλειδοῦχος, it was the male counterpart and conjugate of Diana, viz. *Dianus or Janus*. One has only to recall the extraordinary antiquity of the Cult of Janus, and the position assigned to him as the opener and closer of all doors, and the genius of the opening year, and his actual representation as a key-bearer,¹ to justify us making a parallel between Janus with the keys, and Artemis (or Hekaté) κλειδοῦχος. The connection which the Latins make between Janus and *Janua* turns upon the same rights of ingress and egress. If Artemis is equated with Προθύραϊα, what are we to say to Macrobius² when he tells us that

apud nos Janum omnibus præesse januis nomen ostendit, quod est simile Θυραίῳ . . . omnium et portarum custos et rector viarum. He is almost called Προθύραϊος in Diosc. (73, 13) where he is spoken of as

Τῷ Ἰάνῳ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

has been used in China from time immemorial for cauterizing as a counter-irritant, especially in cases of gout. Other species of Artemisia are also found in China."

¹For the representation of Janus with the key (whether interpreted sexually or otherwise) see Ovid, "Fasti," l. 9. :—

Ille tenens baculum dextra, clavemque sinistra :

or Macrobius, "Sat." l. 9, 7: cum clavi et virga figuratur.

²Macr., "Sat.," l. 9, 7.

The connection of Artemis and Prothyræa is not unnaturally interpreted in the light of the phenomena of conception and child-birth over which they both preside : but the very same functions, or almost the same, are assigned to Janus by the Latins. The following references are given by Roscher (s.v. "Janus," col. 36). Aug. "de civit. Dei," 7, 2 :—

Ipse primum Janus cum puerperium concipitur. . . . aditum aperit recipiendo semini.

Ibid. 6, 9. Varro . . . enumerare deos cœpit a conceptione hominis, quorum numerum exorsus est a Jano.

Ibid. 7, 3. Illi autem quod aperitur conceptui non immerito adtribui : and for the key of Janus take

Paul. ("Epit. ex Festo," 56, 6) : *clavim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare ob significandam partus facilitatem.*

Following the analogy between the two cults in question, that of the Roman Janus and the Greek Artemis, we are led to conclude that each of them is in one point of view a personification of the powers and qualities of the spring-wort. Nor shall we be surprised when we find that Janus turns up with Picus in the oldest stratum of Roman religion, for the tradition of folk-lore connects the woodpecker and the spring-wurzel, and has much to say as to the guardianship of the former over the latter ; the early stratum of folk-lore answering to an early stratum of religion, when the vegetable and bird-forms have become human.

The spring-wort is obtained in the following manner, as described by Grimm¹ :—

"The nest of a green or black woodpecker, while she has chicks, is closed tight with a wooden bung ; the bird, on becoming aware of this, flies away, knowing where to find a wonderful root which men would seek in vain. She comes carrying it in her bill, and holds it before the bung, which immediately flies out, as if driven by a powerful blow. Now if you are in hiding and raise a great clamour on the woodpecker's arrival, she is frightened, and lets the root fall. Some spread a white or red cloth under the nest, and then she will drop the root on that after using it."

Grimm goes on to quote from Conrad von Megenberg, who says

¹ "Teut. Myth." (Eng. tr.) III. 973.

that the bird is called in Latin *Merops*, and in German *bömheckel*, and that it brings a herb called *bömheckel-krut*, which it is not good for people generally to know of, as locks fly open before it. What is this mysterious herb which they call wonder-flower, key-flower, or spring-wurzel? The tradition is in Pliny (lib. 10, 18), “*adactos cavernis eorum a pastore cuneos, admota quadem ab his herba, elabi creditur vulgo. Trebius¹ auctor est, clavum cuneumve adactum quanta libeat vi arbori, in qua nidum habeat, statim exilire cum crepitu arboris, cum insederit clavo aut cuneo.*”

We can only say of this magic herb, this key-plant or key-flower, that it was Janus and related to Picus; its mythological name was Janus, its botanical name is unknown.

It will have been remarked in the course of the argument that, although we have a very strong case for relating the mugwort to the patronage of Artemis and for identifying the patroness with the plant, yet the descriptions given of the plant's habitat are, perhaps, not sufficiently precise to make us safe in identifying the mugwort with the Artemis Limnæa.

There is, however, another famous magical and medical plant of antiquity that may meet the case more exactly. In Friend's “*Flowers and Flower-Lore*”² we find the following description of the *Osmunda Regalis*, or *King Fern*: “No one who has seen this stateliest of ferns in its most favoured haunts—some sheltered Cornish valley, the banks of a rushing Dartmoor stream, or the wooded margin of Grasmere or Killarney:—

Plant lovelier in its own retired abode
On Grasmere's beach, than Naiad by the side
Of Grecian brook, or Lady of the Mere,
Sole sitting on the shores of old romance,

will doubt that its size and remarkable appearance . . . must always have claimed attention.”

Here we have the very title “*Lady of the Lake*” given by Wordsworth to the *Osmunda Fern*.³ This is very like to Artemis Limnæa. Let us see what the herbals say of the places where it is to be found. Parkinson says of it,⁴ “It groweth on moores, boggs, and watery

¹ c. 150 B.C. See Plin., “H.N.” IX. 89.

² l.c. I. 159.

³ “*Poems on the Naming of Places*,” IV.

⁴ “*Theatrum Botanicum*,” p. 1039.

places, in many places of this land. I took a roote thereof for my garden, from the bogge on Hampstead Heathe, not far from a small cottage there."¹

It is not easy, however, to decide whether the Greek herbalists used the King Fern as distinct from other varieties. The ordinary fern is gathered religiously on Midsummer Eve, as Parkinson says, "with I know not what conjuring words," and fern-seed thus acquired is a very ancient medicine for producing invisibility, and for the discovery of treasure: but whether the same thing applies to the *Osmunda* is not clear. All that we have made out with certainty is that its habitat would suit an *Artemis Limnæa*, or *Heleia*, or *Stymphalia*. We need further light on the meaning of the gathering of the Midsummer fern, as well as the parallel rite of the finding of the St. John's wort, and we also want to know much more about the spring-wort. What was it? It is not easy to decide. Several of the magical plants of antiquity can open doors and locate treasure. As we have already stated it was employed by *Artemis-Hekaté*.

Here is another passage in the Orphic "*Argonautica*," which shows how closely *Artemis* and *Hekaté* were identified in the quest for the Fleece. *Hekaté* is described as follows:—

ἦν τέ νυ Κόλχοι
Ἄρτεμιν ἐμπυλίην κελαδόδδρομον ἰλάσκονται.

Here we note the title of "Our Lady of the Gate," which may be a description of her functions as birth-helper, but applies equally well to the more general power of opening gates and bars, such as is involved in the possession of the spring-wort: and certainly it must be this plant which is answerable for the following ll. 986 ff. :—

ἐν δ' ἄφαρ Ἀρτέμιδος φροῦρον δέμας ἦκε χάμαζε
πεύκας ἐκ χειρῶν, ἐς δ' οὐρανὸν ἤραρεν ὄσσε.
σαῖνον δὲ σκύλακες πρόπολοι, λύοντο δ' ὄχητες
κλείθρων ἀργαλέων, ἄνα δ' ἔπτατο καλὰ θύρετρα
τείχεος εὐρυμενοῦς, ὑπεφαίνετο δ' ἄλσος ἐραννόν.

¹ The belief that the *Osmunda* was to be found on Hampstead Heath has come down to our own time. Mrs. Cook of Hampstead, mother of Mr. A. B. Cook, an old lady of eighty-six, knows the tradition well. She writes that she has herself seen it there: "I well remember seeing the *Osmunda Regalis* growing beside the 'Leg of Mutton' pond on Hampstead Heath, though I can't say whether it is there now, for I cannot go out to look".

Here the action is precisely that of the magical spring-wort. This may then be taken as having been in the possession of Artemis.

Artemis, then, may be regarded as a witch with a herb garden, the patroness of women's medicine and of women's magic. Her most powerful charms are the Artemisia (mugwort) and the spring-wort (not yet identified with certainty). She is content with the normal processes of nature over which she presides, and does not operate with philtres or artificial stimulants. Her magic is mainly protective. Its chief form consists in the plucking of the mugwort on St. John's Eve and wearing it in the girdle. For this reason the mugwort is called St. John's girdle; it was really Diana's girdle, or Our Lady's girdle. The Venetians call it "Herba della Madonna".¹

In Rutebeuf's "Dit de l'Herberie,"² we are told as follows:—

"Les fames en ceignent le soir de la S. Jehan et en font chapiaux seur lor chiez, et diete que goute ne avertins (i.e. neither gout nor epilepsy) ne les puet panre (i.e. atteindre) n'en chiez, n'en braz, n'en pie, n'en main."

The passage is interesting in that it shows that the Artemisian magic is protective in character, and also incidentally that one thing against which protection is obtained is the gout, which throws light on the meaning of Artemis Podagra to which we were referring previously. It must be taken to mean that she wards off the gout and other troubles. This protective magic obtained by herbs gathered on St. John's Eve can be illustrated from other plants besides the mugwort. The inhabitants of the island of Zante, for example, gather the vervain at the same time of the year, and "carry this plant in their cincture, as an amulet to drive away evil spirits, and to preserve them from various mischief".³

I think it can be shown that in certain cases the plants were not merely placed in the girdle, but actually made into a cincture. For instance, J. B. Thiers in his "Traité des Superstitions" gives a summary of practices condemned by the Church, including:—

Se ceindre de certaines herbes la vielle de Saint Jean, précisément lorsque midi sonne, pour être préservé de toutes sortes de maléfices.

¹ Lenz, "Botanik u. mineralogie der alten Griechen u. Römer," p. 185.

² Rutebeuf, l. 257.

³ Walpole, "Memoirs of Travels in Turkey," p. 248.

Bertrand in "La Religion des Gaulois" (p. 408) quotes a correspondent's description of the Midsummer fires as practised in Creuse et Corrèzes: The fathers and mothers warm themselves at the bonfire, taking care *to put round their middles* a girdle of rye stalks. Aromatic plants are gathered by the young people, and kept throughout the year as specifics against sickness and thunder.

It will be remembered that in discussing the origin of the healing powers of Apollo, and locating them in the first instance in the mistletoe, we were able to show that this elementary medicine, without an external anthropomorph to preside over it, was still current among the Ainu of Japan, who regard the mistletoe as an Allheal, after the manner of the Celtic Druids. From the same quarter, or nearly the same, comes the interesting verification of the correctness of our belief in the primitive sanctity of the vegetables that became respectively Dionysos and Artemis.

We learn from Georgi, the editor of eighteenth-century travels in Siberia, and author of a book entitled "Description de toutes les nations de l'Empire de Russie," that "*the pine-tree, a kind of mugwort and the ivy* of Kamschatka are the plants consecrated to the gods, and their scent is agreeable to them; that is why they decorate their idols and their victims with these plants".

Here are Dionysos and Artemis on their way to personification: we must not take too seriously what the writer says about the gods and the idols. No doubt he is right that they had sacrifices of some kind to spirits, but it is not necessary to assume that Kamschatka, any more than Northern Japan, was at the Greek level in religion.

Georgi adds a note to his description of the mugwort in Siberia, to the effect that the plant is called Irwen by the Katchins in Burma and some other peoples. Apparently this means that mugwort has come into Northern Burma as a medicinal plant. If this can be established, the antiquity and diffusion of the Artemis medicine is sufficiently established. The evidence which Georgi brings forward of the cult use of ivy amongst the Kamschatkans will require an important correction to one of our speculations in the Essay on the "Cult of Dionysos." It will be remembered that we explained the title of Perikionios applied to Dionysos as being a Greek variation on a title Perkunios, implying that Dionysos was affiliated to the Thunder-god Perkun. Let us see what Georgi has further to say about the Ivy-Cult.

“ Les Kamschatdales érigent dans leur déserts de petites colonnes qu'ils entourent de lierre, et les regardent comme des Dieux, en leur adressant un culte religieux ” (l.c. p. 149).

It seems that this is the same cult as that of Dionysos Perikionios among the Greeks, and in a very early form. We may therefore discard, as Mr. A. B. Cook suggested, the derivation of Perikionios from Perkun.

Enough has been said to illustrate the magic of Artemis, and we only need to be reminded once more that the medicine of the past lies close to the magic, and cannot be dissociated from it. Artemis is at once a plant, a witch, and a doctor. Her personification may be illustrated from “The Times” obituary for 24 February, 1916, which contains the name Beifus! The name is more common than one would at first imagine. My friend, Conrad Gill, writes me that “there was a lieutenant named Beyfus in the battalion of which my brother was medical officer”. I noted recently a by-form of the same name in a book-catalogue:—

Beibitz (J. H.): *Jesus Salvator Mundi*: Lenten Thoughts:

This is the same name as the German *Beiboz*.

When Aristides, the Christian philosopher of the second century, denounced the irregularities of the Olympians, he said of Artemis that it was “disgraceful that a maid should go about by herself on mountains and follow the chase of beasts: and therefore it is not possible that Artemis should be a goddess”; the form taken by the apologetic is hardly one that commends itself to the present generation; even in Wordsworth's time it would have been subject to the retort,

Dear child of nature, let them rail!

Our investigation, then, is a missing link in the propagandist literature of Christianity!