The Muses, of all the feminine figures in Hesiod, enjoy the most positive and enthusiastic treatment. As embodiments of the highest intellectual and artistic values, they are both a delight to the gods (Th. 37, 40 and 51) and a comfort to men (Th. 98-103). Music and poetic inspiration, however important for their own sake, represent only part of the Muses' power, which extends to the very enactment of justice. It is the Muses who bestow on favored princes the gift of righteous speech and the ability to bring peace through persuasion (Th. 81-86). Such a gift is declared sacred by Hesiod (Th. 93) and links the Muses to Zeus in the poet's conception of divinely sanctioned justice since princes are said to derive from Zeus (Th. 96). So closely are the Muses linked to Zeus that they are the only other deities to whom Hesiod gives the epithet "Olympian" (Ὁλυμπιάδες; Th. 25 and 52).

More immediately, the Muses are responsible for Hesiod's poetic awakening since they inspired him with "divine voice" to celebrate in song the immortal gods and events of the past and future beyond mortal vision (Th. 31-33). A striking instance appears in the Works and Days in the section on sea-faring. Hesiod admits to his limited personal experience with the sea but relies upon the insight gained through poetic inspiration (Op. 660-662). He asserts that the tutelage of the Muses has made it possible for him to relate the will of Zeus: Μουῦσαι γάρ μοι ἐδίδαξαν ἀδέσφατον ὅμων ἄξιών (Op. 662). The word Hesiod uses in this context to describe his song is ἀδέσφατος, which properly means "impossible for gods to tell" or "inexpressible". It is a striking expression of the fundamental mystery and awe which often surround the poetic process.

Despite the essentially spiritual relationship of man and the Muses, the latter appear as young, attractive women, but with undertones of sensuality and wildness. The opening lines of the Theogony (3-7) describe how the Muses dance on Mt. Heli-
con and bathe in the mountain springs:

καὶ τε περὶ κρήνην οἰσιδέα πόσσ' ἀπαλοίςιν

δρεχεύται καὶ βωμὸν ἐρυθενέος Κρονίλωνος;

καὶ τε λοεσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περεμποσσεὶ

η Ἡππου κρήνης ἢ Ὄλμειου ζαθέοιο

άχροτάτῳ ἔλικωνι χοροὺς ἐνεπούσαντο...

The Muses' "soft" feet (πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖςιν; 3) and "tender" skin (τέρενα χρόα; 5) evoke sensual images similar to those evoked by Aphrodite, whose "shapely" (ῥαδινός; TH. 195) feet as she walks stimulate the fertility of the earth, and by the "soft-skinned" maiden (Ἀπαλόχοος; OP. 519), still maturing sexually, who spends the cold winter indoors by the fire (OP. 519-521) and bathes her "tender" body (τέρενα χρόα; 522). Further evidence that the Muses carry sensual undertones for Hesiod is their association on Mt. Olympus with the Graces and Himerus (Desire; TH. 64), close attendants of Aphrodite. Hesiod's description makes clear that different forms of beauty, both physical and poetic, are components of the creative vitality embodied in the Muses. 3)

It is probable that the sensual quality of the Muses derives largely from their similarity to nymphs, female nature-spirits who represent the divine powers of mountains, waters, woods and trees. 4) Just as νύμφη denotes a bride or marriageable maiden, so the nymphs were traditionally envisioned as young and beautiful women, fond of music and dancing and able to inspire mortals with poetry and prophetic power. Although nymphs are usually benevolent, they can be angry and threatening. At first glance, Hesiod's encounter with the Muses on Helicon (TH. 22-34) seems to be the meeting of nymphs and mortal caught alone in their domain. Their first words to him are harsh and somewhat threatening; they insult his lowly shepherd-status and proclaim their ability to speak, at will, both plausible falsehoods and the truth (TH. 26-28). Only after they have declared their prerogatives, do they manifest their benevolence by presenting Hesiod with the laurel shoot as a symbol of his poetic calling and by inspiring him with the prophetic voice of poetry (TH. 29-31). Further, there is an element of compulsion in the Muses' epiphany. The poetic charge, so suddenly thrust upon Hesiod, is not contingent upon his own acceptance or rejection, but he is "ordered" to sing
as the Muses bid (Th. 33).

That Hesiod regards the Muses as akin to divine mountain nymphs is evident from the emphasis given their mountain haunts. The *Theogony* begins in the mountainous setting of Helicon:

Μουσάων Ἐλικωνιάδών ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν, άι θ' Ἐλικώνος ἔχουσιν ὅρος μέγα τε Ζάδεν τε...

Again, it is on "highest" Helicon (7) that the Muses dance and at the foot of "numinous" (Ζάδεος; 23) Helicon that they appeared to Hesiod. It is significant that the Muses are called Heliconian only in the "first" proem to the *Theogony* (1-35). The "second" proem (36-115) maintains their association with mountain tops (42 and 62) but transfers them to Olympus without mention of Helicon. According to the second proem which emphasizes their position as Zeus' children, the Muses are born on Mt. Pieria in Thessaly (53-54) but move to Olympus (68 and 71) and permanently reside there in "Olympian homes" (63 and 114). The transfer to Olympus clearly subordinates them to Zeus and their new role appears to consist, in large part, of entertaining the gods (37, 40 and 51). It is true that the Olympian Muses possess the enormous power of granting righteous speech to favored princes, but they wield this power as Zeus' offspring and in the context of his theological system (71-80).

In the first proem the Muses function more independently. Helicon is properly their haunt and there they freely exercise their powers, as in their appearance to Hesiod. Although they bid Hesiod sing the praises of the immortal gods, they demand that their own praises be sung first and last (34). Hesiod can sing of the Muses of Pieria (e.g. *Op. 1*) and Olympus, but it is for the Heliconian Muses that he feels personal affection. When he won the tripod at the funeral games of Amphidamas, for example, he dedicated it on Mt. Helicon to the Muses who first inspired him with poetic song (*Op. 656-659*). The archaeological remains at Thespiae and in the Valley of the Muses adjacent to Ascra, scanty though they are and later than Hesiod, confirm a strong tradition of devotion to the Muses around Mt. Helicon, a tradition for which we find strong and ample evidence in Hesiod's text. The extent to which the Muses represented a personal, religious experience can be gauged from
the special care Hesiod exercises in describing their soothing effect on men, much like a drug (Th. 98-103). 7) Even if there were no remains, we would have to assume from Hesiod's own words that the Muses were the objects of enthusiastic devotion. The close connection of the Muses with wild nature, which will be discussed fully below, makes it likely that the earliest sites of worship were not confined to temple precincts at all, but were chosen precisely for their wild and uncultivated qualities.

The Muses go back to an early stratum of Greek religion since their genealogy, despite the popularity of the Theogony, was never firmly set and one tradition even named Uranus as their father. Their original number is also unknown although the belief persisted in antiquity that they first composed a triad. 8) Since their number is unspecified in the first proem, it is uncertain how many Muses Hesiod saw. It is not surprising that he refers to them only as a vague plurality since he is recounting a personal, religious experience and not delineating a divine hierarchy. It is in the second proem, where they are exclusively Olympian Muses, that Hesiod proceeds to define them and to fit them neatly into an ordered cosmos by setting their number, assigning them individual names (77-79) and stressing their relationship to Zeus.

It cannot be argued that Hesiod is thinking of two completely different sets of deities because at one point in describing his encounter with the Muses on Helicon he calls them Olympian and daughters of Zeus (25). The Heliconian and Olympian Muses are essentially the same to Hesiod; the difference is that the former represent the older goddesses of local cult with independent traditions which prevent them from fitting easily into the Olympian system, and the latter are largely the product of Hesiod's intellectual ordering of the world, although even these Muses may have originated as mountain nymphs and may have been central figures in Thessalian cult. 9) For Hesiod, though, the Olympian Muses enjoy little existence apart from Zeus and are a fundamental part of his conception of Zeus-fostered justice, since they are instrumental in granting the righteous speech (Th. 81-84) which results in just acts.

The Muses of Helicon, on the other hand, are viewed in a more personal light. In their realm Hesiod had a religious
experience which deeply affected his life and which he later remembered with gratitude when he placed his victory-tripod on Mt. Helicon in the very spot where the Muses claimed him as their own (Op. 658-659). Since Hesiod's village of Ascra lay on the slopes of Mt. Helicon (Op. 639-640) and since he is the earliest poet to call the Muses Heliconian, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was familiar with their worship, perhaps as a devotee, and that even after he aligned himself intellectually with Olympian religion, he still retained a lingering affection for the old cult and the local goddesses.

An oblique reference to such a cult may be contained in the enigmatic line: ἀλλὰ τίνι μοι ταύτα περί δρυν ἢ περὶ πέτρην; commonly translated as "But why all this about oak or rock?" (Th. 35). The Heliconian Muses, in a setting befitting their elemental nature, impart their inspiration to the common folk who frequent the rugged slopes of Mt. Helicon. The physical token of their appearance is a tree branch, a shoot of the laurel, which symbolizes the power inherent in the poetic calling (Th. 30).10 The Heliconian Muses, moreover, were joined in cult, at least in later times, with Thespian Eros, who continued to be represented as an unwrought stone and whose worship included circular dances by his female devotees.11 Hesiod emphasizes the Muses' dancing (e.g. 7-8) and says specifically that they dance around an altar of Zeus (περὶ... βωμὸν; 3-4). The altar of Zeus on the Heliconian mountaintop would probably have been a conveniently sized and shaped rock and little more, and therefore when Hesiod makes reference to the rock in his proverbial expression (περὶ... πέτρην; 35), it seems possible that his imagination linked the rock and the altar, and for that matter may account for his selection of precisely this transitional line. Since δρυς originally meant tree in general, a more accurate translation of line 35 may be: "But why (do I concern myself with) those things (which happen) round tree or rock?" This interpretation is consistent with the strictly local sense of περὶ.12 By "tree" and "rock", Hesiod may be indicating the traditional sites or activities (i.e. dancing) of the Muses. Despite Hesiod's attempt to assimilate them, the Muses of Helicon remain close to their origins and retain always a wild, independent quality.

Hesiod undoubtedly knew the proverbial meaning of the phrase as it occurs in Homer, where to talk ἀπὸ δρυς... ἀπὸ πέτρης (Il. 22.26) means to talk without consequence or meaning, but note that the Homeric preposition is ἀπὸ and not περὶ.13 Hesiod probably intended that his readers
understand the phrase as expressing his eagerness to shift from local cult associations to a more transcendent, theological plane. He turns then from the Heliconian Muses with their religious and emotional associations to the Olympian Muses who, because of their intimate connection with Zeus in the poet's mind, are more fitting attendants of a poet who is setting out to delineate a Zeus-oriented universe. By using the phrase of "tree and rock" in a local sense, however, Hesiod makes the proverbial expression work for him on another level, as he bids farewell to the local goddesses.

The closeness of the Heliconian Muses to wild nature emerges sharply in the account of their dancing. Hesiod's first glimpse of the Muses sees them dancing, perhaps naked, at night on the top of Mt. Helicon around a spring and altar of Zeus (Th. 5-8):

5 καὶ τε ολεσσάμεναι τέρενα χρόα Περμησσοῦ ὥ "Ἰππου κρήνης ὣ Ὀλμειοῦ θαδείο ἀμορτάτῳ Ἐλλικώνι χοροῦς ἐνεποιήσαντο, καλοὺς ἱμερόντας, ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν.

Local pride may have prompted the mention of Permessus, Olimedius and Hippocrene, but their inclusion in the poem demonstrates Hesiod's familiarity with the topography of Mt. Helicon, and perhaps even with the recognized sacred haunts. The poet's description reveals that the Muses of Helicon are dancing a kind of ring-dance, one of the most ancient dances closely associated with springs, trees and altars. Historically the ring-dance seems to be a refinement of the primitive circle-dance which attempted through sympathetic magic to badger the sun and moon into returning in their proper courses around the earth. Sympathetic magic also lay behind the ring-dance, which was performed around springs to promote a continuous flow of water. Magical power, which the circle formation helped to contain and direct, was believed to be generated by dancing, particularly of an ecstatic kind. The uninhibited nature of the Muses' dancing is suggested by the words ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν, meaning "they moved vigorously (or lustily) with their feet", i.e. they plied their dance (Th. 8). This same, rather unusual verb in an uncompounded form appears in h.Ven. 5.261 in reference to the dancing of mountain nymphs (καλὸν χορὸν ἔρρωσαντο). It is tempting to see this verb as a vox propria which describes
the distinctive qualities of the dancing of mountain nymphs.\textsuperscript{16}

Furthermore, although Hesiod is not concerned to state the details of the Muses' actions, it seems what we are to envision here is a series of ritualistic acts, involving group-bathing and nocturnal dancing. The sequence in which the acts are performed is explicit, however, and contrary to expectation, in that the vigorous dancing is said by Hesiod to follow the bathing rather than to precede it. The purpose of the bathing, then, would not be to cool the feverish dancers but, more likely, to purify them before dancing. It is noteworthy that the Muses of Helicon also dance around an altar of Zeus (4), whose presence on the mountaintop reflects his original role as weather-god.\textsuperscript{17} Although it is impossible to know the precise nature of the Muses' dancing, it is clear that it is related to their early role as deities of nature.

The dancing of the Olympian Muses in the second proem, as they move from Pieria to Olympus, is more structured and appears to be a procession accompanied by chanting (Th. 68-71):

\begin{quote}
α潴 ότ' ἵσαν πρός Ὅλυμπον, ἀγαλλόμεναι ὀπί καλῆ, 
αὔθροοιν μολὴν. περὶ δ' ἔαχε γαῖα μέλαινα 
70 ὀμνεόσαις, ἔρατος δὲ ποδῶν ὑπὸ δοῦπος ὄρωρε 
νυσσομένων πατέρ' εἰς δὲν· ὁ δ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει.
\end{quote}

Although grammatically ἔρατος ("lovely") describes the sound (δοῦπος; 70) of their dancing, it applies more properly to the beauty or form of their dance.\textsuperscript{18} There is a striking contrast between the vigorous dancing of the Heliconian Muses and the formal, orderly steps of their Olympian counterparts. In addition, their dancing is noticeably separated from the song they sing honoring Zeus and the Olympian gods (ἐνδεν ἀπορνύμεναι... ἐννύχιαι στειχον... ὑμνεύσαι Δία: "Starting from there... they march at night... singing of Zeus"; Th. 9-11), as though these are acts that could not easily be reconciled (even though the Muses are said to dance around an altar of Zeus). The sequence of activities emphasizes the primacy of their dancing. Afterwards, when they sing of Zeus, Hesiod chooses the verb στειχος, denoting orderly and measured movement, which contrasts with the ἐπεροσάντο, chosen to describe their earlier dancing. Hesiod shows no such hesitation to unite the two actions of dancing and singing in the description of the Olympian Muses, whose dancing and singing in the passage above (68-71) are integrated harmoniously with Olympian ideals. In fact, judging from the lack of emphasis,
the dancing of the Olympian Muses (63 and 70-71) is secondary to their singing (e.g. 37, 41-42, 43-44, 48, 51, 60, 65-67 and 68-69). Finally, even the Muses' dancing-places underscore their fundamental difference. The Muses of Helicon dance in the wilds at night (10) in a setting which suggests an alignment with earth-deities and chthonic powers who thrive in darkness. In contrast, the "glistening" (λυπαρός; 63) dancing-places of the Olympian Muses near "beautiful" homes on "snowy" Olympus (62-63) further emphasize their allegiance with Zeus and the positive associations of his order.

In summary, the Heliconian Muses are sensual, feminine figures closely associated with wild nature. There is a concrete, disturbing element about them, which is evidenced by their more immediate, emotional effect on men. The Olympian Muses, on the other hand, are civilized figures, drawn into the masculine sphere, who dwell in houses on Mt. Olympus rather than in the wilds. As a specific part of the hierarchy of Zeus, they are more remote and tamer than their primitive Heliconian counterparts. There is even a social distinction. The Heliconian Muses breathe divine song into the mouths of rustics (26-32), while the Olympian Muses grant the gift of pervasive speech to princes (81-83). There is overlap, though, between the two sets of Muses, as in the passage where the Olympian Muses are conceived concretely as the bringers of forgetfulness of sorrows (Th. 98-103) and where poet and king are seen to exercise their powers from that flow of words which comes from the Muses (80-84 and 94-97). Although the beauty of the Olympian Muses is more abstract than physical, appearing primarily as a talent for song (e.g. ἐρατὴν... δόοιον: "lovely voice"; Th. 65; cf. 67 and 104) and inspired speech (e.g. μαλακοῦστα... ἐνεσσουν: "soft words"; Th. 90; cf. 83-84 and 97), it is conveyed in concrete terms which contain much of the sensuality more insistently associated with the Heliconian Muses (e.g. Th. 3, 5, and 8). Nor should we forget that the Olympian Muses dwell near the Graces and Himerus on Olympus (64) and that one is named Erato (78). The Heliconian Muses, in like manner, though not fully assimilated into the Olympian Hierarchy, are still daughters of Zeus (25 and 29) and supporters of his order (11-21 and 33). Though conceived
in strongly physical terms, they are powerful to impart the supernatural gift of poetic inspiration (31-33).

The Muses really represent two levels of religious experience and provide a striking example of the tension or ambivalence which appears in Hesiod's poetry when these two levels are interwoven. Hesiod has commingled the two sets of Muses into one Muse who faces in two directions - backward to an older level of religious experience so appealing to the poet and forward to what Hesiod sees must be the order of the new day. Hesiod listens to one Muse, but she speaks with two voices.

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NOTES


2) Traditionally the functions of poet and seer are in many ways co-extensive. For the poetry-prophecy complex in early song, see E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Boston 1957) 80-82.


Hesiod also calls the Muses "gold-filleted" (χρυσόμυλης; Th. 916), thus associating them with other recipients of χρυσ-epithets, notably Pandora (Op. 74; Th. 578) and Aphrodite (e.g. Th. 822). Cf. Th. 17 and 136. On their simplest level responses to physical and poetic beauty are closely related. On the physical basis of poetry's effect, see E. Havelock, Preface to Plato (Oxford 1963) 145-160, esp. 153-155, and E. Kris, Psychoanalysis Explorations in Art (New York 1952) 300-302.

4) There is no scholarly consensus concerning the relationship of Muses and nymphs. On their similarity, see, for example, Mayer in RE s.v. "Musai" 16.1 (1933) cols. 692-693; Kurt Latte, "Hesiods Dichterweihe," Antike und Abendland 2 (1946) 156-158; F. Krafft, Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu Homer und Hestod (Göttingen 1963) 145 (for the permutability of their names); and West (Theogony) 154-155. Denying a similarity are Wilamowitz, Der Glaube de Hellenen (Berlin 1931) I, 184; and Karl Deichgräber, "Die Musen, Nereiden und Okeaniden in Hesiods Theogonie," AbhMainz (1965) 203, n. 1. Whatever the objective reality may have been, Hesiod's poetic vision seems to have commingled the two kinds of creatures. Support for this view is found in Athanasios Kambylis, Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik (Heidelberg 1965) 39 and 46, who speaks of an "encounter"

5) Cf. the description of the "clear-voiced" nymphs dancing at night around a mountain stream in h.Pan. (19) 19-20. Hesiod links the Muses to mountain nymphs in fr. 26 (10-12); R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, Fragmenta Hesiodea (Oxford 1967) 17:


The attractive etymology of "mountain-goddess" for Muse (L. mons) is now largely obsolete: Emile Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (Heidelberg/Paris 1923) 647. For other suggested etymologies of Muse, see Eike Barmeyer, Die Musen (Munich 1968) 53-54.

6) There is a distinct break after line 35 when Hesiod shifts focus from the Heliconian to the Olympic Muses and repeats in a new context the opening invocation. Cf. Th. 1 ("From the Heliconian Muses let us begin to sing") and 36-37 ("Come thou, let us begin with the Muses who gladden the great spirit of their father Zeus in Olympus with their songs"). For the sake of discussion, we may speak of two proems (1-35 and 36-115), although the two passages form a unified whole and represent the same synthesis of old deities and new religious concepts which can also be seen in such figures as the Fates (Th. 217 and 904) and Styx (Th. 777-778 and 385-386). A survey of the most important scholarship on the proem is found in Peter Walcot, "The Problem of the Proemium of Hesiod's Theogony," Symbolo 33 (1957) 37-47. Among the recent scholars who have argued for a unified proem are William W. Minton, "The Proem-Hymn of Hesiod's Theogony," TAPA 101 (1970) 357-377; and W. J. Verdenius, "Notes on the Proem of Hesiod's Theogony," Mnemosyne 25 (1972) 225-260.

7) The concreteness of the Muses' gifts suggests the effects of wine and drugs. Cf. Op. 614 and Od. 4.221. When Hesiod calls the Muses a λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἀμπαμά τε μεριμμάων (Th. 55), he uses abstractions which are absent from the rest of the Hesiodic corpus and from Homer. For the untraditional elements in Hesiod's account of the Muses, see G. S. Kirk, "The Structure and Aim of the Theogony," Histoire et son influence (Entretiens Fondation Hardt 7; Geneva 1962) 77-78. James G. Frazer (ed.), Pausanias' Description of Greece (Cambridge 1897; Reprint New York 1965) V, 141, 147-148 and 150-152, describes in detail the archaeological remains, excavated by the French School from 1888-1891, of the Muses' temples at Thebes and in the grove of the Muses on Helicon. Little but the foundations of these temples remain. See also Peter Levi (ed.), Pausanias: Guide to Greece (Penguin; Middlesex, England 1971), I, 364 n. 143 and 369 n. 160, who has been unable to add anything significant to what Frazer said. For the antiquity of the cult of the Muses on Helicon, see Martin Nilsson, Griechische Festen von religiöser Bedeutung (Leipzig 1906) 440; Mayer in RE 8 s. V. "Musai" 16.1 (1933) cols. 696-698; Peter Walcot, Hesiod and the Near East (Cardiff 1966) 166; and West (Theogony) 152. The antiquity of the cult of the Heliconian Muses may be reflected in the mythological tradition, related by Paus. 9.29.1-2, which credits Otus and Ephialtes and Oeoclus, the son of Poseidon and the nymph Ascra, with both the founding of Ascra and the establishment of the cult of the Muses on Helicon.

8) Paus. 9.29.2, for example, gives the names of the original three Muses of Helicon as Melete (Meditation), Mneme (Memory) and Aoede (song), and it is noteworthy that the Chapel of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Triada)
was built over the Muses' temple on Helicon. For the Muses as a triad representing the "triple-goddess of heaven, earth and underworld in her orgiastic aspect", see Robert Graves, The Greek Myths (Baltimore 1955) I, 55 and The White Goddess (New York 1948) 385-386. Female trinities as a Boeotian cult-type are examined by A. Schachter, "Some Underlying Cult Patterns in Boeotia," First International Conference on Boeotian Antiquities (McGill Univ.; Montreal 1972) 17-26.

9) See West (Theogony) 152 and 174. When Hesiod calls the Heliconian Muses "Olympian" (25), this is a device, a kind of bridge, which connects the local Muses with the Muses of the new (Olympian) order. Hesiod knew what he was doing when he drew no sharp distinctions between the Olympian and Heliconian Muses. The awkwardness in the transition, however, is proof of the difference between the Muses of the wilds and the Muses who should fit into the hierarchy of the Hesiodic scheme.

10) Helicon may be derived from the word for "willow"; see Boisacq (above, note 5) s.v. "ἐλάίκη" 243. Hesiod's description of the Heliconian Muses is echoed in h.Ven. 5.257-261 in the description of the nymphs who inhabit a "great and holy" (μέγα τε θεοκός) mountain and dance their fair (καλός) dances among the immortals. The life-span of these nymphs is mirrored in the growth and decay of their individual trees (264-272). On the connection of trees and nymphs, see Richard Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford 1896) II, 427-429. For ancient tree and stone cults in general, see Edward M. Bradley, "Theogony 35," Symbololo 44 (1969) 12-14 and Martin Nilsson, Greek Folk Religion (New York 1940) 8-18, who discusses the relics of these cults in modern Greece. One primitive idol at Thespiae was a branch worshipped as an image of Hera (Arn. Adv.Nat. 6.11).

11) Plutarch (Amat. 1) relates that a joint festival in honor of the Muses and Eros, called the Erotidia, was celebrated every four years at Thespiae. Cf. Paus. 9.31.3. Eros, as an unwrought stone (Paus. 9.27.1), seems to have been a divinity of procreation much like Priapus. For the connection of the Muses with prostitution, see J. S. Morrison, "Pythagoras of Samos," CQ 50 (1956) 145. The nymphs were also associated with herms in general. A fourth century Arcadian herm dedicated to a trinity of unspecified nymphs is described by Constantine Rhomaios, "Arcadian Herms," Archaiologique Ephemeris (1911) 154.

12) Some simple altars of Zeus on mountain tops, as a characteristic of the aniconic stage of Greek religion, are discussed by Arthur Bernard Cook, Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion (Cambridge 1914) I, 117-121 and II.2 (1925) 898. The many interpretations of Th. 35, surveyed by West (167-169), include: to talk of ancient things (because man was born in the wild or from trees); to recite oracles (since Dodona is indicated by the oak and Delphi by the rock); to chatter like lovers among trees or rocks; to talk about simple, country matters; to talk about one's private affairs; to be distant from mankind among rocks and trees; and to relate what no one will believe. West (169) emphatically states "Anyone who attempts to explain how Hesiod's expression came to have one of these senses or some other sense, should in future take note of the fact that περί with the accusative in early epic always has a local sense; so that the phrase is not simply 'about', i.e. concerning, tree and rock, but 'round'. The original meaning of δέκτης was simply 'tree', so that the species 'oak' may have no significance." Further support for the interpretation offered in this paper is given by Edward Bradley (above, note 10) 7-22, who suggests that the phrase originated in an allusion to the forms and concepts of an animistic religion (e.g. the "tree" and "rock" are Dodona and Delphi), viewed later with scepticism, and that it came to mean superstitious be-
lief in improbable divine forces; and Heinz Hofmann, "Hesiod Theogonie 35," Gymnasion 78 (1971) 90-97, who interprets the line literally as the physical characteristics of the wilderness which Hesiod must leave to practice his new calling as poet. We need not look so far afield as Delphi and Dodona to substantiate this phrase's connection with trees and rocks, however. Nor is the line only to be interpreted as a change of life-style; rather it marks a shift in religious focus from the "tree" and "rock" of Helicon's primitive cults to the enlightened theology of Olympus.

13) Hesiod's use of περί with "tree" and "rock" is significant because it appears to be unique. The Homeric preposition is ἀπό (e.g. Od. 19.163), which is also used in a number of later instances of this phrase: e.g. Pl. Apol. 34D, Resp. 8.544D, and Plut. Mor. 608C. Other appearances of this phrase, surveyed by West (167-169), are written in a variety of constructions and hold various meanings: Pl. Phdr. 275BC, Plut. Mor. 1083D, Lucr. 5.130, Cic. Acad. 2.101 and Juv. 6.12 et al.


15) Energy or power is the basis of all magic. T. C. Lethbridge, Witches (Secaucus, N.J., 1962) 145-147 points out the antiquity of the belief that power can be obtained by increasing the current in human bodies through wild dancing or other ecstatic activity. Oesterley (above, note 14) 89-90 suggests that dances around springs and wells may have originated in the belief that the water itself was a living organism possessing will and prophetic power. In addition to the emphasis on water in the account of the Muses' dancing and bathing, Hesiod also depicts the inspiration they impart as a flow of liquid. Cf. Th. 83-84 and 97. For the Muses as earth-goddesses: "denn das fließende Wasser hat chthonische Bedeutung", see Otto Kern, Die Religion der Griechen [1926] I, 208.

16) The verb ὅσωμαι and its compound ἔπιρροόμαι (see LSJ s.v.) are words of various meanings indicating rapid movement of some sort. The verb is used of dancing with quick steps and when it is used to signify such action in the early texts, in each case it is the nymphs who perform the action. In addition to Th. 8 and h. Yen. 5.261 supra, cf. IL 24.616 (Νυμφῶν, αἷτ ἀμῷ Ἀχελώον ἔρρωσαντο). In a late text (Anth. Pal. 9.403.3), the verb is used of Dionysus in a context that implies music and unfettered motion of the feet (λεύκωσαν πόδα γαύρων, ἕπιρροόματι δὲ χορεύειν). This may support the contention that the verb is used properly in contexts in which the dancing is of an unrestrained or orgiastic nature. Cf. the dancing of Pan in h. Pan. (19) 22-23.

17) The large number of weather-epithets for Zeus in Hesiod (e.g. Th. 41, 558 and 730) attests to his origins as a sky-god. For mention of the major weather-cults of Zeus, see Parnell (above, note 10) I, 42-52, esp. 50-52, and Nilsson (above, note 10) 6-8. The cults of Zeus Lycaeus in Arcadia, Laphystius in Boeotia, Acraeus in Thessaly and Panhellenius on Aegina were associated with mountain tops and are thought to have involved rain-making magic.