the Arab, Babylonian and Jewish systems ; a thorough study would probably show that in such passages as Exodus vii. 9 ff., Numbers xxi. 6 ff., Deuteronomy viii. 15, xxxii. 24, Isaiah xiv. 29, xxx. 6, lix 5, Jeremiah viii. 17, the idea of demons was originally present.[1] Another and altogether larger subject is that of Old Testament Angelology ; the very clear indications of this in the Old Testament amounts *ipso facto* to a proof that a corresponding demonology also existed there. Finally, and most important of all, there are the Old Testament conceptions concerning the departed, together with the mourning customs, details of which abound in the Old Testament; many of these latter can be shown to be closely connected with belief in demons.[2] We referred above to the connexion between demons and departed spirits ; one has but to recall the mention of the *Rephaim*, and to remember that indications as to ancestor-worship are not wanting in the Old Testament, to realize the extended scope for a demonology which such beliefs offer.

How ineradicable the belief in demons is, and what an all-embracing part they play, in the everyday life of the Arabs, who according to the best authorities have retained their ancient Semitic beliefs and practices from time immemorial, can be seen by the study of such works as Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* and Curtiss' *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE CRETANS.

IN the EXPOSITOR for last October I drew attention to a possible explanation of the severe language which is employed in the Epistle of Titus (Tit. i. 12) with regard to the

[1] See, for example, the interesting article "The subtle Serpent," by Mr. G. St. Clair in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vii. pp. 40 ff. (Oct. 1905).

[2] E.g. rending the clothes, wailing, and the conception of the "uncleanness" of dead bodies ; cf. the writer's art. "The uncleanness of dead bodies" in *Church and Synagogue*, ix. 16 ff.

Cretans. It was well known from the statements of early writers that the famous hexameter verse in Titus came from a lost work of the poet, or prophet, Epimenides (for he was credited with mantic gifts as well as with literary skill), and it was also known, both in history and in literature, that Epimenides was himself a Cretan, a point emphasized in the Epistle to Titus, which became also the ground of a curious piece of logical by-play amongst the witty Greek philosophers (the Cretans being always liars, and Epimenides one of them). The suggestion that the attack on the lying Cretans had a religious motive, and was due, in the first instance, to the repulsion of the pious Greek from the statement that the tomb of great Zeus was to be seen in Crete, was accompanied by further inquiries in two directions. It was suggested that there was more of the lost Epimenides in the New Testament than had been suspected, and that, in particular, the famous sentence in Acts xvii. 28, "in Him we live and move and have our being," was another verse of the same poet, which stood originally in the same connexion as the famous verse about the Cretans, although it has been commonly credited to St. Paul: and the attempt was made to restore the sequence of the ideas of Epimenides. And in the next place, it was pointed out, what had already been suspected by certain anthropologists, that the dead-and-buried Zeus of the Cretans was not Zeus at all, but a deity closely allied to certain Asiatic cults, who would be best described by saying that he belonged to the type Dionysos-Attis-Adonis; that is, his ritual was one of the annual forms of the cult of the spirit of vegetation, where death and resurrection are represented under vegetable, animal and human forms with appropriate rites and sacrifices.

Much support was found for this theory in a statement, which was suspected to have come down through Theodore

of Mopsuestia, that the Cretan Zeus had been killed by a wild boar, exactly as in the story of Adonis, and, as has been suspected, in the story of Attis: and, in confirmation, it was pointed out that the Cretans of Praesos had a ritual in which the pig was a prominent feature, which may well have been due to the animal being the representative or equivalent of the deity, as the modern school explain the wild boar of the Adonis legends.

Such was the theory which I sketched out in elucidation of the legend of the lying Cretans and their buried god, and with some hope of throwing a fresh gleam of interpretation upon the famous address of St. Paul to the Areopagus.

As was to have been expected, the publication of the article brought me not a few interesting letters; and as some of them are of real value, I venture to add a postscript to my former communication. In the first place, Professor Lock writes me from Oxford to say that my reference of the great sentence in Acts xvii. to Epimenides resolves a difficulty which he had often felt with regard to a passage in Athanasius. It will be best to let him state the point in his own words:

"... I think that perhaps you may care for me to point out a thing that I have often noticed with wonder, and to which your note seems to give the explanation.

"Athanasius, *De Incarn.* c. xiii., quotes *ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν* not from St. Paul, but from Greek writers, *καθὼς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς συγγραφεῖς φασίν*. I have always thought it a slip on his part, but probably he knew what he was doing. It is noticeable that he quotes vaguely from *writers*, even as St. Paul quotes *τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν*."

If the suggestion that the quotation was from Epimenides had not been made on independent grounds, and if any one, on reading the 17th chapter of Acts, had been confronted

with the passage of Athanasius, and its apparent inclusion of the famous sentence within quotation marks, he would probably have explained the difficulty in the way that Professor Lock did, as a blunder of Athanasius. It was quite easy for a reader to make the sequence—

> In Him we live and move and have our being,
> As certain also of your own poets have said,

especially if he did not notice the quotation of Aratus which was to follow: for the language of Athanasius is very close to that of the Acts, when we compare

καθὼς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς συγγραφεῖς φασίν

with

ὡς καί τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν.

But, as Dr. Lock points out, the difficulty disappears when we credit Athanasius with a little more knowledge: if the verse or sentence was really a bit of Epimenides, he was quite likely to have made the mental connexion; even without the encyclopædic knowledge of Clement of Alexandria (who is here content with recognizing Aratus) he might have found a source for the words and betrayed his discovery in the passage which perplexed Dr. Lock. What is really wanted in order to clear up the interpretation of Acts xvii. 28 is an added καὶ or a καὶ πάλιν in the manner of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as follows:

καὶ πάλιν· τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.

The next point to which my correspondents have drawn inquiry is the restoration of the supposed Epimenidean verse to its original form; there I am much indebted to my friends, Dr. J. H. Moulton and Mr. A. B. Cook. I may say, in passing, that the reason why I did not try my hand at restoring the verse was not merely a lack of trained skill in such matters, but a suspicion that perhaps we had not even yet got the substance of the verse in its pristine form. May it not have been that the original strain was "In Him

we live and *breathe* and are." My reason for this further query was due to the frequent recurrence of the connexion of "life and breath," especially in a triad. For instance, a few verses earlier, and in the same speech, St. Paul says that God gives to all men *life and breath and all things*, where the "breath" takes the place of the motion and seems to be the "motion" of the verse that comes later. A curious combination of the same ideas met my eye in the preface to the commentary of the Syrian father Ishodad on the Gospels, in the following sentence: "Evangel is a Greek word. It is interpreted in Syriac, Good Hope, our *life and motion and breath*," a conjunction which I am disposed to trace to a Greek source. I have been, therefore, expecting to turn up the Epimenidean verse in a somewhat different form from the sentence in the Acts. However, thus far my search has not been fruitful. And now for the restoration of the metrical form, which may be something like this:

Τύμβον ἐτεκτήναντο σέθεν, κύδιστε μέγιστε,
Κρῆτες, ἀεὶ ψευδεῖς, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.
Ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' οὐ θνῇσκεις, ἔστηκας γὰρ ζοὸς αἰεί,
Ἐν γὰρ σοὶ ζῶμεν καὶ κινύμεθ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσμέν.

Perhaps that will do for a first attempt to restore the lost passage of Epimenides.

I come now to a further point in the explanation of the verse in the Epistle to Titus.

If we are right in our supposition that the attack on the Cretan liars was due, in the first instance, to the famous Cretan lie, it will follow that it is reasonable to refer the rest of the strong language of Epimenides to the same source. For why should we introduce the theory of general Cretan villainy into the argument, when the first clause of the indictment has become a particular offence. We are, then, bound to try for an explanation of the "evil

beasts and lazy gluttons" which shall be consistent with the assumed cult of a Cretan deity of the type of Dionysos, Attis, and Adonis. What was there especially beastly or ravenous about the Cretan cult? Obviously we have here some allusion to the sacrifices offered and partaken of. Now bearing in mind that the cult-animal is the substitute for the god and the means of communion with him, and that in cases like that of Adonis, where the god is said to have been destroyed by the animal, the result to which anthropologists come is that the god was primitively the animal, or at least the animal was his representative, and that the god was actually eaten in the form of the animal, the suggestion naturally arises that something similar has occurred in the supposed Zeus-cult of Crete. Here also we have the death of the deity by means of a wild-boar and the occurrence of a pig in the sacrifices. My suggestion, then, is that the early Cretans ate their deity sacramentally under the form of a pig: and I further conjecture that, as in so many similar cults, they ate the animal raw. This would at once explain why Epimenides called them not only liars, but also beasts and gluttons.

It would take too much space to adduce the parallels which justify these conjectures. They are not confined to the rituals of Dionysus, or Attis, or Adonis. They belong to a much wider area, and to a more widely diffused practice. But those who are following the investigations into primitive life and practice, which are becoming such a powerful factor in the story of religion, will be able to add from their own reading a variety of parallels to my attempted restoration of the primitive Cretan religion. And as this is only meant to be a supplementary note, I do not propose to go further with the matter at present.

J. Rendel Harris.