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The Role of the Gods in Diodorus' Universal History: Religious Thought and History in the Historical Library

Cécile Durvyé

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STUDIA HELLENISTICA

58

DIODOROS OF SICILY

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE IN
THE *BIBLIOTHEKE*

edited by

Lisa Irene HAU, Alexander MEEUS, and Brian SHERIDAN



PEETERS
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2018

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THE ROLE OF THE GODS IN DIODOROS'
UNIVERSAL HISTORY
RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND HISTORY IN
THE *HISTORICAL LIBRARY**

Cécile DURVYE

Abstract: In his *Historical Library*, Diodoros adopts the euhemeristic way of representing gods; that allows him to unify myth and history into a coherent historical narrative. In this context, the historian rationalises the myths and builds his narrative so as to present the gods as historical figures, benefactors of ancient times whose contribution to human civilisation is commemorated both by religion and history. In this way of thinking, the difference in nature between gods and men disappears, so that the active intervention of the powers of the gods in historical causality is no longer possible; indeed, the gods of Diodoros are rarely active powers in human history, but play a role of guarantors of collective memory. The historian also guarantees this memory, competing with the gods in their role as judges of human beings: he is the one who, by immortalising the memory of good men, has the task of sustaining the values of the community.

* * *

The gods play an important role in Diodoros' work, both in his earlier books, which present a history of gods included in the chronology of universal history (I-VI), and in his so-called historical books, where they appear not only as objects of human reverence, but also sometimes as acting powers directly involved in human history. This multitude of divine figures appears in ways which at first leave the reader perplexed: the gods, who are here described as men from ancient days whose remembrance survives in mankind's memory because of their fruitful achievements,

* I wish to thank L.I. Hau, A. Meeus and B. Sheridan who invited me to join their conference, which I enjoyed very much. I am deeply grateful to J. de Rapper who kindly accepted to translate the first version of this paper into English (all mistakes being, of course, of my own pen), to L.I. Hau, who made the next version more idiomatic, and to my anonymous readers, whose comments allowed me to avoid some mistakes and clarify certain points in this presentation.

appear elsewhere as superhuman powers capable of mastering the forces of nature and judging human beings. In the one case, Diodoros exposes a rationalistic version that denies the essential difference between gods and human beings; in the other, he asserts the existence in the universe of superhuman powers assessing human behaviour and actions.

At first glance this apparently incoherent presentation may seem to result from the use of various sources with different approaches to the question and to betray a lack of reprocessing of source texts; or it might be thought to be a manifestation of the offhand attitude to gods which marked the eclectic religious philosophy of the first century BC.¹ But by studying more closely the various appearances of gods in the *Historical Library* and comparing the image of the gods that Diodoros gives in his first books with the function that they assume in the ‘historical books’, we shall observe that the hiatus between gods described as men of the past, dead and buried, and gods shown as acting powers is linked to a central issue in the *Historical Library*, that of immortality.

In fact, Diodoros’ desire to integrate the history of gods into his history of men — whether it is the result or the cause of his euhemeristic reading of myths — has led him to historicise divine figures as much as possible; therefore, he cannot logically use them as a motor in historical causality, which he almost always avoids. This, of course, does not mean that gods are absent from his historical account: if the gods are playing a very weak causal role, the areas of action in which they specialise make them the guarantors of a moral order rooted in the memory of the community. What is at stake here is the importance of memory rather than religious beliefs; cults and beliefs tend, in the economy of the narrative, to become only tools for immortalisation, which act in parallel with history.

My first purpose here is therefore to study how Diodoros articulates the history of gods and the history of human beings: I shall try to demonstrate that the keystone of his construction is a euhemeristic reading of the myths, which is reinforced by a systematic historicisation of the mythical narratives. In the framework of this euhemeristic interpretation, gods should not interfere in what we see as historical times; so I shall proceed to present the modalities of their interventions in the ‘historical’ books and propose to interpret them in relation to the central question of Diodoros’ work, that is to memory.

¹ Chamoux 1993, xii; Spoerri 1959, 169.

1. How to integrate myth into history

The integration of mythical narratives about gods and heroes into the framework of human history stands as one of the programmatic elements in the work of Diodoros. Diodoros explicitly criticises the historians who did not want to include mythology in their histories.² This is not an innovation: Diodoros himself writes that Anaximenes of Lampsakos included mythical times in his narrative;³ Timaios related the journeys of Herakles; and it is well known that the Greeks did not think myth any less historical than later time periods (as we see in the *Marmor Parium* which, in 264-263 BC, registers a detailed chronology of both mythic and historical events, setting on the same level the abduction of Core and the rise to power of Alexander the Great).⁴ The choice of Diodoros to include mythical time expresses his will to produce an exhaustive history: he wants his work to cover the totality of universal events, everywhere, in any time. Naturally, this desire for completeness poses an enormous problem for him: how can he give unity to data so varied in nature, origin, likelihood, and credibility, so that he can build a coherent representation of the whole human world? The unity of his narrative was a major preoccupation for Diodoros, as we can see in the first chapters of the *Historical Library*, where he states his intention to 'unify by writing' (συγγράφειν) the historical events in 'one discourse' (ἕνα λόγον, I 1.3) or in 'one and the same composition' (μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν, I 3.3 and I 3.8).

Diodoros chooses to unify his presentation of mythological accounts and human history in a coherent narrative structure by way of a systematic euhemeristic reading of myths, describing gods as men of the past, whose benefits gained them 'divine honours'.⁵ Diodoros knew, by direct or indirect reading, the *Hiera Anagraphe* by Euhemerios; the 6th book of the *Historical Library* contains a detailed summary of this work, while

² See D.S. IV 1. 1-4: Ephoros commenced his history with the events which took place after the return of the sons of Herakles; Kallisthenes and Theopompos avoided the mythical period. See also Calame (2011, 62) and Volkmann (1955, 360).

³ D.S. XV 89.3.

⁴ On the mixture of divine and human chronology in the *Marmor Parium* see Calame 2011, 61. On the perception by the Greeks of a difference between history and myth see e.g. Marincola 1997, 117-27 (119-21 on Diodoros); Cartledge 1993, 29-33.

⁵ On these 'culture heroes' see Sacks 1990, 55-82; Sulimani 2011, 13-7. This interpretation appears in the *Library* as early as I 13.1-3 when Diodoros explains Egyptian theology.

the 5th book gives a very detailed description of the fictive Island of Pankhaia which was probably taken from the same work (V 42-46).⁶ Diodoros regards Euhemeros' journey as a reality and not some symbolic utopia; this reading enables him to adopt a historical interpretation of all the myths he deals with. The characters in mythological narratives are men who deserve to be looked upon as gods because of their discoveries. By working out how the world functions, or by defining the best way to live in it, they have taught mankind how to master its environment. Such discoveries vary in nature and range⁷ from how to feed oneself⁸ to acquiring knowledge in the astronomic sphere.⁹ This is why Osiris, who taught the art of planting vine and sowing wheat and barley, is referred to as one of those who 'are honoured as the most manifest gods' (*ὡς ἐπιφανεστάτους θεούς*, I 17.2). Hyperion was the first to understand the movements of the stars, which is why men, considering that knowledge leads to mastery, attributed to him the power of moving stars and revered him with a cult (V 67.1). Likewise, in the myth of the Atlanteans, Ouranos, having understood and taught the movements of stars, is regarded by the Atlanteans as 'having part in the divine nature' (*θείας μετέχειν φύσεως*) so that they 'transfer his name to the universe' (*μεταγαγείν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον*), on the one hand because he understands the universe and can then rule over it, on the other hand because they want to express their gratitude to him (III 56.5). Astrologers have a peculiar ability to understand how the world functions and to predict the future: therefore they often gain immortal honours¹⁰ for their capacity to wield power over the world and to pass on this knowledge and mastery to their descendants. Knowledge allows mankind to perceive the order of the universe; it gives the power to rule over it; and consequently the discoverer deserves human reverence.

⁶ Sacks 1990, 69; Cohen-Skalli 2011, 349-50.

⁷ Sulimani 2011, 229-306.

⁸ On agriculture see Sulimani (2011, 230-46), who links its representation in Diodoros' work with the concern of Hellenistic rulers to ensure the food supply for their populations.

⁹ Sacks 1990, 61; the notion of 'discovery' (*εὑρεσις*) permeates the first book (e.g. D.S. I 13-17).

¹⁰ Implicit link between astronomy and immortality: I 16.1 (Hermes); I 49.5 (Osymandias); I 62.2-3 (Proteus); II 57.3-4 (longevity on the island of Iamboulos). Explicit link: III 56.3-5 (Ouranos); I 60.2-3 and IV 27.4-5 (Atlas); IV 85.5 (Orion).

There are several instances, though, where Diodoros distinguishes between two kinds of gods: benefactors honoured by cults, and natural powers (i.e. elements). In his account of Cretan mythology (V 71.3), Zeus, who is a king and a benefactor, but has not yet earned the reverence of humanity, sacrifices to Helios, Ouranos and Ge, that is to say, the elements as gods. This distinction comes up repeatedly in the text, credited to various populations. As the Cretans do, the Egyptians draw a line between benefactors and elements. They regard the sun as a god; but they soon combine the two categories, when they give to this element the name of Osiris, because they wish to thank their major human benefactor by giving his name to an elemental deity (I 11-13). As to the Aithiopians, they profess a well-characterised 'theologia dipertita':¹¹

About the gods, the Ethiopians who dwell above Meroë entertain two opinions: they believe that some of them, such as the sun and the moon and the universe as a whole, have a nature which is eternal and imperishable, but others of them, they think, share a mortal nature and have come to receive immortal honours because of their virtue and the benefactions which they have bestowed upon all mankind. (D.S. III 9.1, transl. Oldfather)

The fact that this distinction (which is deeply rooted in late Hellenistic mentality)¹² is repeated three times in Diodoros' work shows the historian's deep interest in it and may suggest that he himself subscribed to this doctrine.

The adoption by Diodoros of this euhemeristic reading obviously brings into question the nature of the gods. However, this challenge is never explicit: Diodoros observes a prudent reserve concerning the nature of his characters, which he continues to refer to as 'gods' even when he relates their story as human beings, giving them a place of birth, an earthly home and a secular power. So Kybele, one of the benefactors of mankind, is called 'goddess' from the moment of her birth, while her benefits have not yet justified her deification ('This goddess is said to be born in Phrygia', III 58.1); and the foundations of the house of Rhea in Crete are visible 'even today' (ἔτι καὶ νῦν, V 66.1). The rationalisation is systematic: gods act like humans, do nothing supernatural, and nothing reveals a difference of essence or of power between gods and men. The mythical wars are reported in the same way as historical battles: the fight of the Titans

¹¹ Cohen-Skalli 2011, 351.

¹² Cohen-Skalli 2011, 358-9.

against Ammon, king of Libya, is described in terms of military tactics (γεννομένης παρατάξεως, III 71.2) and mentions no outburst of superhuman powers. In this rationalising process, the forcefulness of the gods is always transferred from the domain of transcendent intervention to the domain of political exercise, their power becoming human kingship.

In the first books of the *Historical Library*, most of the gods perform local kingships: Ouranos is the first king of the Atlanteans (III 56.3), Medusa is a queen of the Gorgons — who have lost their legendary status to become a population neighbouring the Amazons (III 55.3), Hera and Zeus (*alias* Isis and Osiris) ‘ruled by their virtue over the entire world’ (I 13.4). The power of these characters is political, their lifestyle is perfectly human and the only feature that distinguishes them from other human beings is the intensity of their human qualities: ability to understand the world, wisdom, philanthropy, from which all mankind takes the benefits. So Hephaistos, because he discovered fire, becomes the first king of Egypt, ‘receiving the hegemony because of this useful gift’ (διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ταύτην τυχόντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας, I 13.3). This link between benefaction, royal power, and deification is obviously heavily influenced by the Hellenistic image of the sovereign as philanthropist and by the contemporary practice of royal cults.

Diodoros’ euhemerism is a complete system of thought which does not limit itself to mythical ages — as it is normal within the Hellenistic world, where the cult of rulers finds its justification in the euhemeristic doctrine. Nonetheless, the process of deification changes when we get to historical time: whereas the mythical benefactors receive honours which often seem to imply a cult (ἰσοθέοις θυσίαις ἐτίμησαν, IV 1.4), that is to say, a plain deification, the benefactors of historical time are rewarded instead with immortal ‘glory’, ‘reputation’, or ‘remembrance’ (τυχεῖν ἀθανάτου εὐφρημίας/δόξης, ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπεῖν).¹³ Among these historical benefactors, those who become the object of a real cult are few — the dead fighters of Marathon,¹⁴ a few kings, a few Greek Sicilian rulers,¹⁵ the Roman hero Q. Mucius Scaevola¹⁶ — while some others stay on the border between god and man: the Samians gather themselves

¹³ D.S. VIII 23.3, X 21.1, 21.5, 34.6, XI 38.6, XIII 20.3, XIV 29.4, XV 1.1, XIX 53.2.

¹⁴ D.S. XI 11.6 : their tomb becomes a *sekos*.

¹⁵ See Sacks 1990, 73 n. 88.

¹⁶ D.S. XXXVII 6.1: παρὰ μὲν τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσι τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἔτυχε.

around Pythagoras 'as if some god had arrived' (X 3.2); Apollo, through an oracle, cannot decide whether Lykourgos is 'a mere mortal or a god' (VII 12.1); the title Caesar received, 'divus' (θεός), is always explicitly given as a *title*¹⁷ and does not involve a cult. The boundary between human being and god remains undecided.

2. How to turn gods into historical characters

The assertion, unobtrusive but permanent throughout Diodoros' work, that men and deified benefactors share the same natural identity, helps erase the difference between gods, heroes and human beings, and justifies the continuity of the narrative from mythical to historical times. This continuity is reinforced by the use of multiple devices aiming to historicise gods. Featuring gods as real historical characters enables Diodoros to unify divine and human history. Since the history of gods and the history of human beings are connected in a consistent presentation of the past, without the essential break between two generations of beings of a different nature, it becomes possible to give an account of the past in a single logical sequence; so that universal history ceases to be a patchwork of mismatched data. The challenge of the early books of the *Historical Library* is twofold: it is both to put on the same level the histories of gods and human beings, and to unify the local versions of myths to present a coherent vision of each god as a historical character. To do so, Diodoros undertakes, with more or less success, to build logical links between local mythologies and to link local myths together through an historical interpretation using a temporal and causal chain.

Wishing to impose some order unto the inextricable crowd of divine figures,¹⁸ Diodoros first reduces their number, using two distinct techniques. The easier one consists in unifying several local divinities into one historical character, by multiplying the episodes of a god's saga and shaping them up into a coherent account based on several local myths. Aphrodite, for example, is said to have travelled across the Mediterranean and been involved in all kinds of adventures in different places; each

¹⁷ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις προσαγορευθεὶς θεός, I 4.7; ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ὀνομασθεὶς θεός, XXXII 27.1 and 3; τοῦ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πράξεων θεοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, IV 19.2; ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐπινομασθεὶς θεός, V 21.2 and XL 7.3; ὁ κληθεὶς θεός, V 25.4.

¹⁸ D.S. I 25.1-2.

local myth becomes an episode of her legend and different communities 'appropriate' (ἐξιδιόζεσθαι) the goddess in assigning local cult names to her (V 77.5).

Conversely, when the episodes are contradictory, Diodoros does not hesitate to duplicate characters: two homonymous Herakleses would have been mixed up by the historians, one of them being the son of Zeus and an unknown woman, the other one, more recent, born of Alkmene from an unidentified father (I 24.1-4 and V 76.1-2); likewise, Diodoros suggests the existence of two historical Zeuses (III 61.1), and of three historical Dionysoses (III 62.2).¹⁹ It also happens that the multiplicity of local gods is simplified through an assimilation based on the benefits they assured for mankind: Demeter and Isis (V 68.1 and I 14.1), who both developed the cultivation of cereals, must be the same benefactor honoured under two different names (I 25.1; V 69.1). The same interpretation applies to Dionysos and Osiris: as both are inventors of vine-growing, they have to be two memories of the same historical figure. To explain why one historical character is honoured under different names, Diodoros resorts to the diffusionist model formerly proposed by Herodotos:²⁰ the names and cults of a god can be diverse because they were altered by human beings when they transferred them from one region to another. Thus the similarity between Cretan and Greek cults could be explained by the adventurous journeys of Orpheus, who became a follower of Cretan Dactyloi while they were sojourning in Samothrace, and who later taught the Greeks about the celebration of mysteries and the rites of initiation (V 64.4); in another passage he appears as having brought these mysteries from Egypt (I 23.2-7, 96.4), playing the same role of transmitter. Therefore the differences between various cults or local names given to benefactors can be explained through alterations in the course of transmission. This method of interpretation allows Diodoros to make several versions of the story of each god coexist, presenting them as local versions of the same historical reality; there are no longer contradictions but instead a real and valuable ethnography based on historical causality.

¹⁹ The same methods are used by Pausanias, i.e. admitting contradictions without explanation, presupposing the existence of homonymous characters, and imagining travelling heroes; see Jost 1998, 235-7.

²⁰ Harrison 2000, 208-22 and 251-64.

But this diffusionist model is not the only one used by Diodoros. It co-exists in the *Historical Library* with a more abstract interpretation that presents gods, or their names at least, as allegories, very often by resorting to etymology. The memorial function of Mnemosyne would be the origin of her name ('her office gives her the name by which she is known', V 67.3); Dionysos takes his name from τὴν τοῦ οἴνου δόσιν (III 62.2), the gift of wine. What is left then of the personality of a god when so defined by his or her personal gift? Not much, since those who favour this etymological assimilation consider that Dionysos 'has never existed in a human form'.²¹ Thus, some divine figures are seen as allegories invented by human beings. However, this method of interpretation of myth is much less important in the *Historical Library* than the one we traced above; the onomastic identity of the god with his power often gives way to the reverse interpretation, the benefactor giving his name to the benefit he has brought to mankind: we already saw how Ouranos, the astrologer king, would have given his name to the sky, while Hephaistos, in Egypt, would have given his to the fire (I 12.3).

Added to this combination of euhemerism and rationalisation²² that makes possible the integration of myths into human history, we find various literary devices used to present gods as historical personages. First of all, Diodoros sets the history of gods within living history by using realistic descriptions,²³ also by setting godly tales in geographical reality, by referring to contemporary cult practices, or by asserting some continuity between the reigns of gods and human beings. The memory of gods is carved into authentic landscapes, witnessing their passage over the earth: Titans lived near Knossos, where 'even today' one can see the foundations (θεμέλια) of Rhea's house (V 66.1); the grave of a Zeus who was a brother of Kronos can be seen in Crete (III 61.2). The etiological accounts go in the same direction, stressing a tight link between cults in Diodoros' time and the history of gods. The religious ban on pork meat and wine in Hemithea's cult on the continent facing Rhodes is presented as a

²¹ III 62.2: the god is here perceived as an allegory. A very different idea appears in XL 3.3-4, where Moses, founding Jerusalem, asserts that God has no human form.

²² C. Jourdain-Annequin (1989, 244-5) points to other examples of rationalisation of myth. On the integration of myth into history see Jourdain-Annequin 1989, 242-6.

²³ See e.g. the description of the rupestral habitat of the Curetes and their pastoral lifestyle (V 65.2-3).

consequence of the suicide of Anios' aunts following the strange account of wine bowls being knocked over by pigs (V 62.3): here rite is shown to be the reminiscence of an historical event, devoid of magic, whatever might be its (mysterious) signification. The reality of contemporary cult guarantees the myth, adorning it with some realistic dimension, allowing to present it as a historical fact. This intertwining of human realities and divine tales is made even tighter through the juxtaposition of mythical and human historical personages placed on the same level in the framework of a chronological sequence: in the list of the kings of Egypt, eighteen thousand years of reign of the gods and heroes are followed by five thousand years of rule of men (I 44.1); Osiris and Isis are shown here together with Pharaoh Sesosis²⁴ (whose historicity is uncertain), and with the fully historical Amasis and Psammetikhos.²⁵ Diodoros' chronology makes clear that there was a divine era and a human era; but since the early books of the *Historical Library* are structured by region, the two eras alternate in the narrative, the consequence being that divine tales and historical accounts are blended together so that gods and men seem to be contemporaries living the same history.

Paradoxically, this realism does not exclude some distancing effects. Mythical narratives are most often presented by Diodoros as reported to him: the historian makes a wide use of declaration verbs introducing these accounts, either in a passive (λέγεται, παραδέδοται) or impersonal form (φασίν, μυθολογοῦσιν, λέγουσιν, ὁμολογοῦσιν, νομίζουσιν, ἱστοροῦσιν), or with undefined (οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν, τινες λέγουσιν) or collective subjects (οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοί φασιν, I 50.1; οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ἱστοροῦσιν, I 46.8). By these introductory verbs, mythical narratives are presented as reports of local beliefs.²⁶ Diodoros never acknowledges them as his own production, the only statements at the first person consisting of questioning the likelihood of the stories or the reliability of the

²⁴ Chamoux 1993, 1; Sulimani (2011) analyses in detail the history of Osiris and Sesosis/Sesostris.

²⁵ The same succession of godly and human kings can be noticed in Rhodes (V 55-61).

²⁶ See the accurate study of H. Volkmann on the use of indirect speech in the mythological books of Diodoros: a third of these books is written in indirect speech (Volkmann 1955, 359); Marincola (1997, 121) makes the same point and compares Diodoros with Theopompos and Herodotos. Volkmann compares this process with other historians of the 1st century BC and emphasises the originality of its pervasive use in Diodoros' work.

sources: as a writer, he emphasises the implausibility of a version of the myth of Britomartis (V 76.4), writes with scepticism that Minos 'pretends' (προσποιούμενον) to get his laws from Zeus (V 78.3), or notes that 'because of the extraordinary fairness' of Rhadamantos, people 'made a myth' (μεμυθολογήσθαι) presenting him as a judge of the underworld (V 79.2). The blame for the unlikely, contradictory aspects of mythical tales is in this way attributed to their authors or transmitters, which helps Diodoros to account for the multiplicity and incoherence of myths through a criticism of sources.²⁷ In order to resolve the problems caused by the desire to produce a logical, coherent account of the mosaic of myths, criticising the sources is an efficient tool for the historian: each time historical logic fails to sort out the confusion of mythography, the criticism of sources enables the writer to assert that the myth rests on a coherent historical reality and that the responsibility for the confusion in mythical accounts is to be found in the sources themselves which have distorted reality to the point of rendering it contradictory and improbable.

Within the framework of an euhemeristic and diffusionist model and through structural devices in his narrative, Diodoros asserts firmly (even if he does not say so explicitly) an identity of nature between human beings and gods seen as historical characters. This assimilation has a direct effect on the system of causes in history: since 'gods' are images of dead benefactors whose deeds, useful to the community, are commemorated through rites, they should, when they die, cease to play an active part in history.

3. How gods interfere in human history

It is a fact that gods play a minor role as actors in the historical books of the *Historical Library*. There is, it is true, in Diodoros' work a super-human power capable of altering the situation of human beings, but this power does not belong to those gods whose history Diodoros has related in his earlier books; it has the blurred face of the Stoic *τύχη* or of an ill-defined divine entity (τὸ δαιμόνιον, τὸ θεῖον, ὁ θεός). The part played by this power in Hellenistic historiography, and more precisely in Diodoros'

²⁷ E.g. D.S. V 80.4: 'Since most of those who wrote about the events of Crete disagree among themselves, one cannot be surprised if what we say does not agree with all sources.' See also IV 1.1 about disagreement among the sources.

works, has often been investigated.²⁸ This faceless divinity punishes excesses by overturning an individual's good fortune, or impious behaviour by appropriate chastisement;²⁹ more than a divine figure acting on its own will, it is an allegory of the world order, which sets the average course of events back to normal by correcting excesses. However, personified gods do interfere in Diodoros' narrative in two special circumstances: when issuing oracles and when defending their shrines and possessions against sacrileges.

If signs and oracles are sometimes attributed to a personified god, it is in most cases because Diodoros mentions his or her sanctuary where people come expecting an answer to their questions; thus references to Apollo in the historical books are almost always related to the oracular shrine of Delphi. V. Fromentin clearly established that these signs and oracles, whether issued from a personified god or an indefinite θεῶν, have no effect on the chain of events, either because they are misinterpreted, ignored or because people simply cannot escape their prediction.³⁰ For this reason they play no part in the chain of causes.³¹ Delivering oracles does not imply that the god involved has the power to alter events, but presents him as a holder of knowledge: in the same way as Hyperion could foresee the course of stars, gods are able to understand the course of events and announce the consequences. The figure of the god is, here again, located at the centre of the sphere of knowledge, just like it was in the story of the deified inventors in the early books.

As to those instances when gods are shown defending their property and worship, they are often ambiguous. When Xerxes sends his troops to plunder the sanctuary in Delphi (XI 14.2-4), sudden showers of rain followed by flashes of lightning, thunder, and floods push the Persians back.³² Both Persians and Greeks see it as a divine intervention: the

²⁸ See Fromentin 2006, Hau 2009 (with an extensive bibliography) and 2011.

²⁹ E.g. D.S. VIII 11.

³⁰ Fromentin 2006, 230.

³¹ The question of the foundation of cities, in which the oracle plays a decisive role, is specific and would need a separate study. About predictability and astrology see Santangelo 2007.

³² The gods often make themselves manifest by meteorological phenomena such as storms, eclipses, earthquakes or tidal waves. The harshness of the elements is one of Diodoros' favourite ways of expressing divine power, whether personified or indefinite. We find there an echo of the link we mentioned above between deified benefactors and elementary

Persians consider this storm as sent by the gods as a manifestation of their decisive power, τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐνέργειαν; the people of Delphi erect a monument glorifying Zeus and Apollo in order to express their gratitude for 'the appearance of the gods among them', τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείας. But Diodoros leaves it to the Delphians to believe that individualised gods were involved in this harshness of elements: he himself does not say he shares their views, his only personal contribution being to write that the oracle escaped pillage 'by some divine Providence', δαιμονία τινὲ προνοία. Similarly, when violent earthquakes hit the Peloponnese (XV 48-49), Diodoros proposes to attribute them either to a natural cause or to a divine manifestation which he thinks to be plausible (πιθανάς αἰτίας, XV 48.4): these earthquakes could be the result of divine anger following the impious attitude of the people of Helike who refused the Ionians the right to copy their altars dedicated to Poseidon. But the idea that Poseidon was the origin of the earthquakes is never explicitly supported by Diodoros, who offers this interpretation in the framework of reported speech multiplying signs of distance: φασι, λέγουσιν, δοκεῖν, νομιζέσθαι.³³

In historical books then, personified gods only play a marginal role as actors, and this role is always mentioned with some distancing. The active powers in Diodoros' history are not the Greeks' traditional gods, but Fortune and a vague un-personified divine power (the θεῖον or δαιμόνιον) that intervenes to punish individuals and turns around situations that seemed hopeless. The Greek gods play no part in the chain of historical events as Diodoros presents it; they appear in the narrative as figures linked to the fields of knowledge and memory.

4. How to understand the relationships between memory, religion and history

The gods mentioned in the historical books are mainly playing a passive role as objects of worship. The festivities, sacrifices and offerings

gods: the divine power residing in the elements, the fury of the elements is seen as a manifestation of divine wrath. But Diodoros himself does not accept this interpretation without distancing devices: see the destruction of the Persian ships by a storm at Artemision, ὥστε δοκεῖν (to whom?) τὸ θεῖον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων (XI 13.1).

³³ The same remark applies to the punishment of Agathokles for having stolen offerings in the sanctuaries of Poseidon and Hephaistos (XX 101.2-3).

dedicated to them, as well as the various rites commemorating the story of their ancient benefits, are the constantly renewed evidence of the human ability to keep memory. Human piety, in Diodoros' historical books, expresses itself as a memory at work rather than the expression of hope in the efficacy of praying: the great men who erect temples and shrines, filling them up with offerings, do not seem to receive in return any reward from the gods, but mainly the gratitude of the community.³⁴ The primacy of the memorial dimension of religious practices is the logical consequence of Diodoros' euhemeristic interpretation of the mythical accounts, according to which gods are reminiscences in the collective memory of the community. It is necessary for human beings to be pious because it is important to preserve the memory of past benefits. This intellectualised form of piety makes sense within a system based on memory, not within the traditional, religious Greek system based on gift and reward.

Piety, being a form of memory, is given a most valuable role throughout the *Historical Library*, which is itself widely devoted to commemoration. Pious behaviour is always highlighted, and piety, together with *φιλανθρωπία* and *ἐπιείκεια*,³⁵ is a recurring component of portraits of great men because it ensures that the leaders revere the collective memory of the community and do their utmost to be worthy of it. This is where the treatment of gods in the *Historical Library* reflects Diodoros' moral objectives: insofar as the process of deification continues during historical times, with the figure of Caesar as its last avatar,³⁶ benefactors — present and future — may logically hope, owing to their euergetism, to have access to the same memorial recognition³⁷ and to be honoured — more

³⁴ Gelon, for example, embellishes the temples of Syracuse and Himera with his war spoils (XI 25.1); he also demands that the Carthaginians build two temples, but it is for political reasons: they should place in them copies of the treaty they just signed (XI 26.2), and Gelon does not get any reward from the gods, whose names are not even given. The construction of the temples of Akragas (XI 25.3) is presented in exactly the same way as the construction of the underground water-conduits of the city: it is an act of euergetism and not of piety. Numerous examples are collected in Sulimani 2011, 280-98.

³⁵ Sacks 1990, 78-9; Wirth (1993, 16-27) shows these qualities to be representatives of Stoic thought.

³⁶ Sacks 1990, 75, 179-180.

³⁷ D.S. I 5: τοὺς δ' ἡγεμόνας τῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης ἀθανατισμῶν προτρέπεται τοῖς καλλίστοις τῶν ἔργων ἐπιχειρεῖν. This is a recurrent idea through I.2 and in the proemium of book XV (XV 1.1).

or less — as gods. Thus, Diodoros' euhemerism turns the *Historical Library* into an incentive to euergetism.

Immortality, as it appears in the earlier books, is not inscribed in the nature of gods, but is an honour conferred by human beings. Diodoros rarely speaks about deification;³⁸ conversely, as K. Sacks noticed,³⁹ he repeatedly uses, in his mythological as well as historical narratives, the original phrase 'to obtain immortal honours', τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν.⁴⁰ The difference between immortality and divinity is explained as early as in the programmatic introduction to the *Historical Library* when Diodoros writes that 'among the good men, some obtained god-like honours, others heroic honours' (οἱ μὲν ἡρωικῶν, οἱ δὲ ἰσοθέων τιμῶν ἔτυχον), 'but all have been judged worthy of the highest praise, history immortalising their merits' (τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπαθανατιζούσης).⁴¹ What matters more is not the type of honours they received, but an immortality explicitly granted by history.⁴² The very vocabulary used by Diodoros is revealing: the honours are not given as recognition of a divine power, but are conferred by human memory, and it is the function of history to ensure that the memory of the great men survives them.

As far as historical times are concerned, immortality is bestowed by history. Human beings cannot give a benefactor supernatural powers, but they can grant him immortality, and there lies the memorial task allotted both to cult and history. The parallel that Diodoros establishes between cult and history as memorial tools is demonstrated in the episode of the soldiers at Thermopylai. Diodoros writes that 'these men alone of the Greeks down to their time passed into immortality because of their exceptional valour. Consequently not only the writers of history but also

³⁸ The word ἀποθέσις appears only three times in the *Historical Library*, once relating to the deification of crocodiles by the Egyptians (I 89.1) and twice to that of Herakles (IV 39.2 and IV 57.1).

³⁹ Sacks 1990, 71.

⁴⁰ On ἰσότητες, θεοί, and ἡρωικοί honours see Sacks 1990, 73, n. 88.

⁴¹ D.S. I 2.4; IV 1.4.

⁴² This idea that history gives immortal praise to great actions is a *topos*, as says Dionysios of Halikarnassos: ὅτι γὰρ ὁ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἔπαινος ἀθανάτους τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς μνήμας δύνανται ποιεῖν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, μυρίαὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται (*Demosthenes*, 25); but the link between history and immortality is theoretically asserted in a very explicit, persistent and repetitive way in Diodoros' work: I 2.4-5, I 6.1, 42. 1, IV 8.2, VI 1.2, XI 11.6, 38.6, XV 1.1.

many of our poets have celebrated their brave exploits' (XI II.6);⁴³ further on he quotes Simonides according to whom 'their grave is an altar, memorial of ancestors' (βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, προγόνων δὲ μνηστῆς). Textual commemoration, whether it be historical or poetical, matches the religious celebration of the memory of the deceased.

The method adopted by Diodoros is overall coherent; those men from ancient times who have provided the community with knowledge, allowing people to understand the world and build up a society, are rewarded by having immortality conferred on them by way of commemoration, which is supported both by religion and history. These immortalised benefactors should, if the system were perfectly logical, survive only through a memorial process. It is generally so in the *Historical Library*; and yet the text contains some recurrent ambiguity as to the status acquired by those who obtain immortal honours after death. It can be detected through the use of the word *μετάστασις*. This term, referring in the historical books to geographical displacement,⁴⁴ refers in the mythical books to a displacement from the human to the godly sphere, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεούς.⁴⁵ The use of a topographic word to describe the passage from human beings to gods reveals the difficulty Diodoros faces in accepting the notion of an Olympos inhabited by deified dead beings. The Titans, for example, having received in return for their deeds 'immortal honours', 'are said to be the first to live in Olympos after their *μετάστασιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*' (V 67.5); deification is here no longer solely memorial since the benefactor enters physically into another part of the universe, namely Olympos. This vague notion of a topographical beyond for the benefactors poses Diodoros a serious problem; he uses the word *μετάστασις* to avoid referring to a change in nature, hardly possible within the rationalistic frame of his history. By keeping the image of Olympos slightly removed, by rejecting the Greek tradition about Hades, which he considers to be fictional tales (*μύθοις πεπλάσμενοις*) both harmful and

⁴³ Translation by Oldfather.

⁴⁴ There are only five occurrences: D.S. XII 10.3, XIV 84.4, XV 94.1, XVIII 56.4, XXIX 23.1.

⁴⁵ Twelve occurrences in the first six books, generally with details: ἐξ ἀνθρώπων (seven instances: I 22.2, 25.7, II 39.4, III 56.5, 61.6, 63.4, V 67.5), εἰς θεούς (IV 21.3), ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεούς (III 57.3, V 70.1), ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως εἰς τὴν ἀθανασίαν (III 73.8) or ἐκ γῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (V 72.1). Four other times in the same books the word has a geographical meaning (III 5.2, XIV 84.4, XV 94.1, XXIX 23.1).

despicable,⁴⁶ Diodoros builds up a world devoid of a hereafter in which the only way to survival lies through historical immortalisation.

This function of immortalising, which characterises historiography, modifies its field of action. The history writer becomes more than a dispenser of knowledge: he is also a supreme authority who delivers judgement on human deeds, granting immortality to the worthy, eternal reprobation to the wicked, and oblivion to the mediocre.⁴⁷ This interplay between knowledge and power which underlies the *Historical Library* leads Diodoros to operate a shift in the positions of the god and the historian: no longer an active power, the god is placed in the sphere of knowledge since he is the one who has studied and understood the world; conversely, once a dispenser of knowledge, the historian becomes an active power and it is his function to judge and immortalise human beings. The historian has replaced the god to such a degree that he has become the moral assessor of human actions. This ambiguous relationship between gods and history is not made explicit but can be detected through Diodoros' vocabulary: those former benefactors who have become gods know about the world and can teach the natural laws (*καταδειξαι*, I 29.2), while historians discover and explain the logic in the course of events (*ἀπέδειξαν*, I 1.3). In the end the parallel finds its resolution through an assimilation when Diodoros talks of 'the all divine voice of history', *τῷ θειοτάτῳ τῆς ἱστορίας στόματι* (I 2.3).

Conclusion

With Diodoros and his adopted perspective, history not only tells of the gods and explains their nature and role, but usurps their moral function — which is to keep human beings from doing evil, to encourage them to show the better part of themselves in order to attain an immortal glory conferring on them a godly status. History even regards

⁴⁶ I 93.3. This condemnation of the myth of Hades is, however, progressive: in I 2.2 Diodoros says that the myths about Hades 'in spite of the fact that their subject-matter is fictitious, contribute greatly to fostering piety and justice among men', but that is just to introduce the idea that men, who fear the judgement of Hades despite knowing that it is a myth, shall fear much more the judgment of history, presented as 'the propheticness of truth'.

⁴⁷ D.S. XIV 1.3, 2.1, X 12.

itself as a maker of gods, since it publicises the glory of human beings, celebrates their memory and confers immortality on them. Diodoros, acting as a good transmitter of a kind of cultural *koinè* inspired from various schools of thinking, reports on various views about gods; but the coherence of his project rests on a simple, potent, as well as ambitious idea: it is the function of history to perpetuate the gods and the great human beings — the difference between them being one of degree, not of nature — and to assume the moral function of a universal judge.

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Abbreviations follow the list of *The American Journal of Archaeology* in the first instance; abbreviations not included there are those of *L'Année philologique*. DNP = *Der Neue Pauly*; RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*.

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