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A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL ORIGINS
OF GREEK RELIGION

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*With an Excursus on the
Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy by*
GILBERT MURRAY

*And a Chapter on the
Origin of the Olympic Games by*
F. M. CORNFORD

London

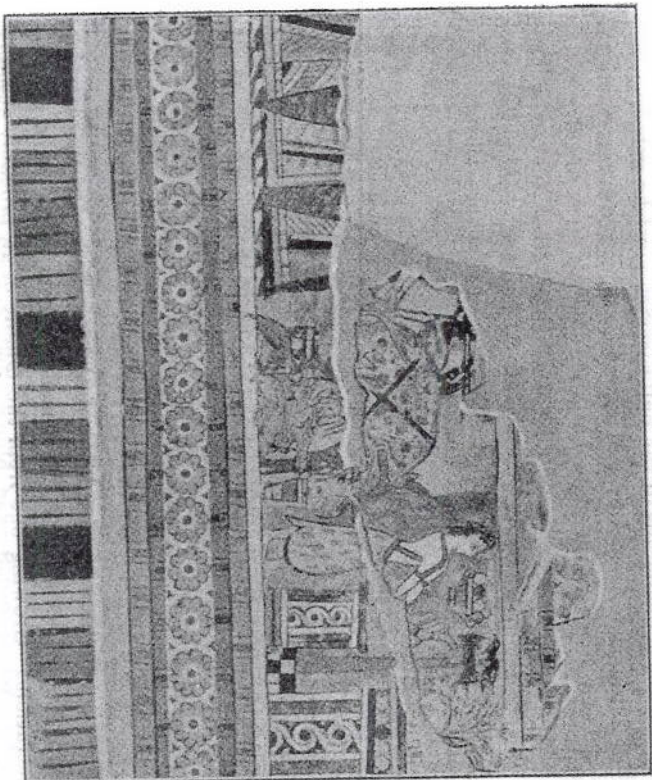
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in Asia Minor. Inside the tomb-enclosure were found two sarcophagi, the large painted stone sarcophagos now before us, and a smaller one in terra-cotta. The discoverer, Dr Halbherr, dates the tomb and its contents at from 1500—1300 B.C.

We begin with the principal scenes depicted on the two long sides of the sarcophagos, and first with the scene in Fig. 30. In the centre we have the sacrifice of a bull, of the kind, with large, curved horns, once common in the Aegean, now extinct.



He is dying, not dead; his tail is still alive and his pathetic eyes wide open, but the flute-player is playing and the blood flows from the bull's neck into the stibula below. Two Cretan goats with twisted horns lie beneath the sacrificial table on which the bull is bound. They will come next. A procession of five women comes up to the table; the foremost places her hands on or towards the bull, as though she would be in touch with him and

CHAPTER VI.

THE DITHYRAMB, THE SPRING-FESTIVAL AND THE HAGIA TRIADA SARCOPHAGOS.

Ἡδὲ ἡθε γελιάων,
καλὰς ὄψας ἄρογα,
καλοῦς ἐνιαυτοῦς.

Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.

THE painted stone sarcophagos¹ which forms in a sense the text of the present chapter is now in the museum of Candia, but it was found, in 1903, not at Knossos but close to the palace of Hagia Triada at Phaistos, on the southern coast of Crete. Immediately on its discovery its great importance was recognized, and, as there was fear of the frescoes fading, it was promptly carried, on the shoulders of men, a three days' journey across the island to the museum at Candia, where it could be safely housed.

The tomb in which the sarcophagos was found is of a type familiar in Lycia but not in Crete². It consisted of a walled, square chamber with a door at the north-west corner, somewhat after the fashion of the Harry-Tomb now in the British Museum. This analogy is not without its importance, as the scenes represented, if we rightly interpret them, embody conceptions familiar

¹ First published with full commentary and illustration by R. Paribeni, *Il Sarcofago dipinto di Hagia Triada* in Monumenti Antichi della R. Accademia dei Lincei, xix, 1908, p. 6, f. 1—III, and reproduced here by kind permission of the Accademia. See also F. von Duhn, *Der Sarkophag aus Hagia Triada* in Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft, xii, 1909, 161, and E. Petersen, *Der Kretische Bildersarg* in Jahrbuch Arch. Inst. xxiv, 1909, p. 162, and René Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Pré-Helléniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée*, 1910, p. 261. I follow in the main Dr Petersen's interpretation, though, in the matter of the bull-sacrifice, my view is independent.

² Paribeni, *op. cit.* p. 9; for the Lycian tombs see Pernot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, v, p. 361 ff.

his *mana*. She will consecrate, I think, not him but herself, put herself in touch with his great life which ebbs with the flowing blood.

Why does he die? In the light of the last chapter we might safely assume that he died because his sacrificers desired his *mana*. But on the sarcophagos we have no communal feast; nor is there present the figure of any Olympian to receive the bull's blood as a gift-offering. How then is it to be made effective? A clue will be found in the scene immediately to the right of the bull, a scene not a little surprising. But before we pass to this scene some details of the bull-sacrifice must be noted.

After what has been said about sacrifice we understand the pathetic figure of the slain bull, huddled up with sad despairing face. Very literally he dies for the people, that they may have new life, new *mana*, new μένος, his life and his life-blood. We are reminded of the scene in the *Odyssey*¹ where the heifer is sacrificed to Athens,

Then, straightway, Nestor's son
 Stood near and struck. The tendons of the neck
 The axe cut through, and loosed the heifer's might.

And, as the life is let loose, the women raise their cry of apotropaic lamentation, their δαδυγή. It is a moment of high tension, for the life with all its might and sanctity is abroad. Then, to make assurance doubly sure and to get the actual vehicle of the life, the blood, they cut the victim's throat:

The black blood gushed, the life had left the bones?

We come now to the object of the sacrifice. On the extreme right of the design is a 'Mycenaean' shrine with 'horns of consecration.' Growing out from the middle of it, probably actually

¹ *Od.* III. 448

αἰτήρα Νέστωρος υἱός, τρέφθυσος Θησυχίδης,
 ἤνασεν ἀγχι ἄρδς· παύσεν δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας
 ἀχέουλος, ἄσεν δὲ βοός μένος· αἰ δ' δαδάγαν
 θυγατρὸς τε πούλ τε καὶ αἰδοίῃ παρδάουτος
 Νέστωρος.

Here undoubtedly ἄσεν δὲ βοός μένος means that the strength of the heifer collapsed, she fell in a heap on the ground. But the idea was originally that something holy and perilous escaped; this is clear from the instant raising of the δαδυγῆς. That the δαδυγῆς was a γυναικῶνος νόσος is plain from Aesch. *Ag.* 572. I believe its primary use to have been apotropaic. For the δαδυγῆς see Stengel, *Hermes*, 1908, pp. 43—44, and *Kultusalterskimmer*, p. 101.
² v. 455 ῥῆς δ' ἐτρέτ' ἐκ μένων αἶμα πόν, ἄνε δ' ὄστρατα θυγῆς.

surrounded by it, is an unmistakable olive-tree. On a step in front of the shrine is a slender obelisk, and on, or rather hafted into, the obelisk, to our delight and amazement, a sacred object now thrice familiar, a double axe, and, perched on the double axe, a great black mottled bird. The conjunction rather takes our breath away. Sacred obelisks we know, of double axes as thunder-symbols we have lately heard perhaps enough¹; birds are the familiar 'attributes' of many an Olympian; but an obelisk and a battle-axe and a bird with a sacrificial bull and a

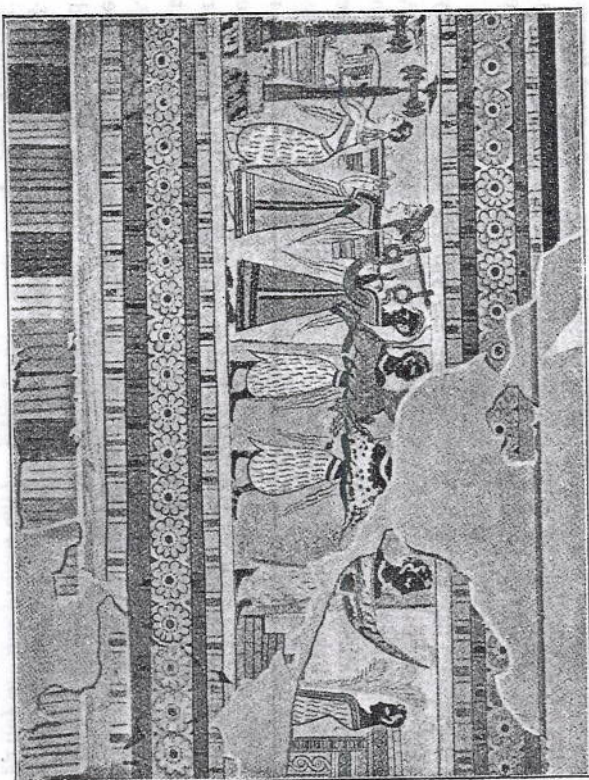


FIG. 31.

'Mycenaean' tree-shrine—who would have dared to forecast it, and what does it all mean?

Before this question can be answered we must turn to the other side of the sarcophagos in Fig. 31 and learn what is the

¹ The most illuminating study on the double-axe, its cult and significance, is a paper by Mr. A. B. Cook, *The Cretan Axe-Cult outside Crete*, published in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, II, p. 184. A further discussion by Mr. Cook may be looked for in his forthcoming book *Zeus*, chapter II, section 3, paragraph (c), division 1, 'The double axe in Minoan cult.' For the bird and the axe see also *A Bird Cult of the Old Kingdom* by P. E. Newbery in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* II, p. 49, and *Two Cuts of the Old Kingdom*, *op. cit.* I, p. 24, and O. Montheils, *The Sun-God's Axe and Thor's Hammer*, in *Folk-Lore*, 1910, p. 60.

sequel of the sacrifice. There is, as before said, no hint of a sacramental banquet; but there are other means of contact, of sacramental communion, besides eating and drinking. The blood of the bull is not drunk by the worshippers; it is brought and poured—the liquid is red—by a woman dressed in sacramental raiment, from a situla into a great two-handled krater which stands between two obelisks again surmounted by double axe and bird. The woman celebrant is followed by another woman bearing two situlae on a pole over her shoulders, and by a man playing on a lyre. At this point the scene clearly ends. The next figure, carrying a calf, turns his back and walks in the contrary direction. The distinction between the two scenes is, in the original, made clearer by the differing colours of the background¹.

As to the double cultus-objects, two points must be carefully noted. The two sets of double axes, or rather double-double axes, are not quite the same. The one to the right is decorated with cross stripes, that to the left is plain. The double axe on the red obelisk on the other side of the sarcophagos has similar cross markings. Further the obelisk to the right is considerably taller than the obelisk to the left. This is I think intentional, not due to either accident or perspective, but to the fact that they stand for male and female potencies. The most surprising and significant difference in the cultus-objects of the two sides yet remains. The obelisk in Fig. 30 is merely an obelisk painted red; the two obelisks in Fig. 31 are burgeoning out into leaves, and they are painted green; they are trees alive and blossoming. They are not indeed actual trees², but mimic trees, obelisks decked for ritual purposes with cypress leaves.

The blood, the *méros* of the bull, is brought to the two obelisks. It is abundantly clear that we have no gift-offering to a divinity. Birds and thunder-axes and trees have no normal, natural use for warm blood. The blood, the *mana*, must be brought with magical intent. Contact is to be effected between the unseen mystical *mana* of the bull and the *mana* of the tree. But, on the sarcophagos, we do not see the actual contact, the actual communion effected. The priestess does not apply the blood, does not asperge the obelisks. The evidence of the sarcophagos

can here be supplemented by other sacrifices in which bulls and trees and tree-posts are involved.

In the island of Atlantis Plato¹ describes a strange bull-sacrifice, evidently founded on some actual primitive ritual. The essential feature of this sacrifice was the actual contact of the victim's blood with a pillar or post on which laws were engraved. Here we have direct contact with the object to be sanctified; no altar or even table intervenes. It is sacrifice, i.e. magical contact, in its most primitive form. Kritias in his description of the sunk island says that in the centre of it was a sanctuary to Poseidon within which certain sacred bulls ranged freely. Poseidon it may be noted in passing is one of the gods who grew out of a bull; his wine-bearers at Ephesus² were *Bulls*, and, in answer to the imprecation of Theseus, as a Bull he appears out of his own flood to wreck the chariot of Hippolytus³. It is to the Cretan Poseidon not to Zeus that Minos⁴ promised the sacrifice of his finest bull.

In this sanctuary of Poseidon was a column of orichalcum on which were inscribed the injunctions of Poseidon, which seem to have constituted the laws of the country. On the column, beside the law, was a Curse ("Ὀρκος) invoking great maledictions on the disobedient. Now there were bulls who ranged free (ἐφ' ἑρῶν) in the sanctuary of Poseidon, and the ten kings who were alone in the sanctuary prayed to the god that they might take for victim the bull that was pleasing to him, and they hunted the bull without iron, with staves or snares. The bull, be it noted, is free because divine; he is not smitten with a weapon lest his *méros* should prematurely escape. They then led the bull to the column and slew him *against the top of the column over the writings*⁵. The whole strength and *mana* of the bull is thus actually applied to, tied up with, the ὄρκος. To make assurance

¹ Krit. 119 D and E.

² Hesych. s.v. Ταύρου· ὁ παρὰ Ἐφεσίων ὀνομαζόμενος ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν Πλοεταίων. Athen. x. 25 παρὰ Ἐφεσίων ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος ἵππεος τῆ τοῦ Πλοεταίων δῶρος ἐστὶ τῆ ταύρου ἐκδομένη.

³ Eur. Hipp. 1214 κοῦμ' ἐξέθηκε ταύρου, δῖπλον τέρας. Cf. Hesiod, Scut. 104 ταύρεος ἐπυροῦ γατος.

⁴ Apollod. 2. 5. 7.

⁵ Plat. Krit. 119 E... ὅτι ἐθάρσεν τῶν ταύρων, πρὸς τῆν στήλην πρὸς ἑστῶν γαυρῶν κατὰ κορυφῆν αὐτῆς ἐσφάττων κατὰ τὸν ἵππομυθῶν.

¹ The significance of the scene to the right will be considered later, p. 209.

² This was, I think, first pointed out by Professor von Duhn, *op. cit.* p. 173.

doubly sure they afterwards filled a bowl with wine, dropped into it a clot of blood for each of the kings, and then drank, swearing that they would judge according to the laws on the column. Such a sacrifice is pure magic; it has primarily nothing to do with a god, everything to do with the magical conjunction of the *mana* of victim and sacrificer.



FIG. 32.

It has been happily suggested that the lost island of Atlantis reflects the manners and customs, the civilization generally, of Crete¹, which after its great Minoan supremacy sank, for the rest of Greece, into a long oblivion. It is also very unlikely that Plato would invent ritual details which in his day would have but little significance. But we have definite evidence that the ritual described is actual, not imaginary, though this evidence comes not from Crete but from another region of the 'Mycenaean' world. The coin of Ilium² reproduced in Fig. 32 shows, I think, very clearly, how the bull was sacrificed. The human-shaped goddess Athena Ilios is there with her fillet-twined spear and her owl; but to the right is an older sanctity, a pillar on to which is hung a bull. He will be sacrificed, not on the pillar's top, which would be extremely awkward, but with his head and his throat to be cut against the top, alongside of it, down over it (*κατὰ κορυφήν*).

That the divine or rather the chief sanctity of Ilium was a pillar is clear, I think, from the representation in Fig. 33*a*. The ox, or rather cow³, is still free and stands before the goddess. She has human shape, but she is standing on the pillar she once was. On the obverse of another coin (b) she has left her pillar. Most remarkable and to us instructive of all, is the design on a third coin of Ilium in Fig. 33*c*. The goddess is present, as

¹ See an interesting article *The Lost Continent* in the Times for Feb. 19, 1911.

² The four coins reproduced in Figs. 32 and 33 are published and discussed by Dr H. v. Fritze in the section *Die Münzen von Ilium* of Prof. Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilium*, II, p. 514, Beilage, Pl. 61, No. 19, Pl. 63, Nos. 67, 68 and 69, and are here represented by Prof. Dörpfeld's kind permission. Dr Fritze in his interesting commentary does not note the Atlantis parallel, but he draws attention to the fact that the suspended bull explains the formulae that often occurs in ephetic inscriptions at *πεσθαί τοις βοίσι*. Thus CIA II, 467 *ἡρατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς βοίσι τῶν βοῶν ἐπιδύσθαι* and CIA II, 471, 473 *ἐμολύθησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς βοίσι τῶν βοῶν ἐπιδύσθαι* and CIA II, 471, 473 *ἐμολύθησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς βοίσι τῶν βοῶν ἐπιδύσθαι* and CIA II, 471, 473 *ἐμολύθησαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς βοίσι τῶν βοῶν ἐπιδύσθαι*.
³ That the animal sacrificed before the Palladion is female is certain from the *ἡ βοῶν* of the inscription of Ilium.

before, mounted on her pillar. Before her is the cow suspended head uppermost on a tree. Behind the cow and apparently seated on the tree is the sacrificer, known by his short sleeveless chiton. He has seized the horn of the cow in his left hand and with his right he is about to cut her throat. The goddess may be present as much as she likes, but she was not the original object of the cow-slaying. The intent is clear, the blood of the cow is to fall on the sacred tree and will bring it new *mana*. No other explanation can account for a method of sacrifice at once so difficult and so dangerous.

The gist of bringing the bull's blood to the obelisks on the sarcophagos is then, in the light of the coins of Ilium, clear. It is to bring the *mana* of the bull in contact with the mimic trees. Tree and pillar and obelisk are all substantially one; the living



FIG. 33.

tree once cut down becomes a pillar or an obelisk at will, and, dead though it may be, does not lose its sanctity. All trees tend to be sacred or possessed by an unseen life, but above all fruit-trees are sacred¹, they are foci of eager collective attention. Long before agricultural days and the sanctity of grain came the sanctity of natural fruit-trees. On the sarcophagos it is clear that we have, not as in the Bouphonia an agricultural, but what we might call a vegetation, a tree and fruit ceremony.

The importance of the fruit-tree and the religious reverence paid it come out very clearly in Mycenaean gems². Not only are the shrine and the sacred Tree constantly and closely associated, but we have scenes of fruit-gathering accompanied by ritual

¹ Prof. Myers (*Proceedings of Class. Assoc.* 1910) remarks that Greeks have no word for tree in general. *δένδρον* = fruit tree.

² A. J. Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, J.H.S. XXI, (1901), Fig. 53.

dances and gestures. Such a scene is depicted on the gold signet-ring from Mycenae in Fig. 34. To the right we have a shrine with a pillar and a sacred Tree. A male worshipper pulls the fruit-laden tree downwards, as though to shake off its fruit or possibly to uproot it for ritual purposes. A woman figure, perhaps a goddess, more likely a priestess, makes ritual gestures with her hands, it may be to indicate hunger¹; a second woman leans over an altar table beneath which is a betyl. A similar scene is represented on a gold signet-ring from Vaphreio². Here the tree is planted in a pithos, and the so-called priestess is evidently dancing.

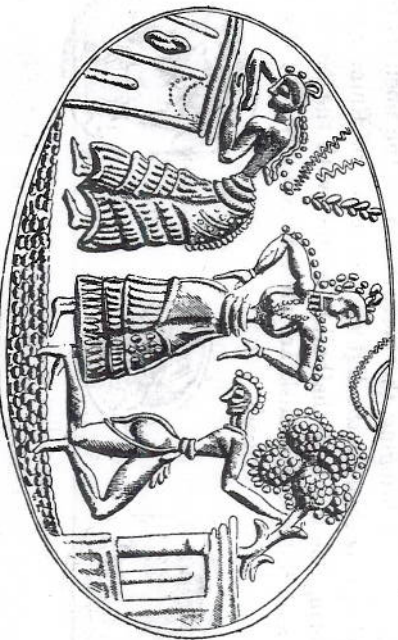


FIG. 34.

Primitive man then in general, and assuredly the ancient Cretan, is intensely concerned with the fruits of the Earth—not at first with the worship of Earth in the abstract, but with the food³ that comes to him out of the Earth. It is mainly because she feeds him that he learns to think of Earth as the Mother. Rightly did the ancient Dove-Priestesses of Dodona sing⁴:

Earth sends up fruits—call ye on Earth the Mother.

¹ Dr Evans in commenting on the ring, *op. cit.* p. 177, says, 'a gesture for hunger common among the American Indians may supply a useful parallel. It is made by passing the hands towards and backward from the sides of the body, denoting a gnawing sensation.' See Garrick Mallery, *Pictographs of the North American Indians*, in Fourth Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, 1886, p. 236, and Fig. 155, p. 285.

² Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 52.

³ The importance of food as a factor in civilization and the successive quest of roots, fruits, cereals, etc., has been well discussed by Mr E. J. Payne in his *History of the New World called America*, vol. I, pp. 276 ff.

⁴ Paus. x. 12. 10

Tā kaprovōs dātes, dōs kāphēre parōda yaiān.

And of these fruits, before cereals came in with settled agriculture, most conspicuous and arresting would be the fruits of wild trees. The fruit-growing tree would be sacred, and its sanctity would quickly pass to other trees. There was the like sanctity, the like *mana* in all edible plants and roots, but the tree would stand foremost.

Earth as the Mother because the fruit-bearer is very clearly shown in Fig. 35, a design from a hydria in the Museum at Constantinople¹. The scene is at Eleusis, marked by the presence of Triptolemos in his winged car. From the earth rises Ge. In



FIG. 35.

her hand she bears a cornucopia, full of the fruits of the earth. From the *cornucopia* rises a child. Art could not speak more plainly. Ge is mother because fruit-bearer. Earth then is fitly embodied by the primaeval fruit-bearer, the tree.

Earth sent up fruits, but not without help from heaven. In the scenes of fruit-gathering this is not forgotten. On the signet-ring in Fig. 34 above the tree and the priestess is a rather rudimentary indication of the sky, a dotted line and what is probably

¹ S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* 1900, p. 87; and see also Dr Svoronos, *Journal d'Archéologie et Numismatique*, 1901, p. 387.

a crescent moon. If there is any doubt what is meant we have only to turn to the gold signet-ring from the Acropolis treasure of Mycenae in Fig. 36! Here we have the Earth-goddess or priestess under her great fruit-bearing tree; she holds poppies in her hand; worshippers approach her bearing flowers and leaf-sprays; behind her a woman gathers fruit, while above her is all the glory of Uranos, Sun and Moon and Milky Way, and down from the sky come the powers of the sky, the thunder in its



Fig. 36.

double manifestation of shield-demon and battle-axe. The Earth is barren till the Thunder and the Rainstorm smite her in the springtime—till in his Epiphany of Thunder and Lightning Keraunos comes to Keraunia, the Sky-god weds Semele the Earth,

Bride of the bladed Thunder?

In the light of the scene on the signet-ring we do not need to ask the significance of the axe halfted into the obelisk? It is the

¹ J.H.S. 1901.

² Eur. *Hippi.* 559 *ἄφρατῆ ἀφρατῆσθε τρεκάδα.* Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 3 *Ζεὺσὶν Ἄφρατῆσθε πλῆθρον, τὴν δαυλοῦρα, τὴν ἰδίων, Δίδοι ἑσθλὴν Ἄφρατῆσθε.*
³ First rightly explained by Mr. A. B. Cook, *Cretan Age-Cult outside Crete*, Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, Oxford, 1908, II. 193.

symbol, or rather I should prefer to say the representation, the emphasis of the union of the *mana* of Earth and Sky, of what a more formal, anthropoid theology would call the Sacred Marriage (*ἱερός γάμος*) of Uranos and Gaia. This union, this marriage is further symbolized by the bird. But before we pass to the bird, it remains to note a curious and instructive parallel to this cult of axe and tree and bull, a parallel which takes us back for a moment to the ritual of the Bouphonia. We shall find this parallel in a place where we little expect it, in the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis.

Pausanias¹, when he is discussing the Court of the Prytaneum where iron and all lifeless things were brought to trial, naturally thinks of the classical instance of the axe at the Bouphonia. He makes incidentally a statement that has not, I think, received the attention it deserves. 'When *Erechtheus* was king of the Athenians, the Ox-Slayer slew an ox for the first time on the altar of Zeus Polieus.' The Bouphonia was then traditionally connected, not only, nor I think primarily, with Zeus, but with Erechtheus.

This connection of Erechtheus with the bull-sacrifice is confirmed by a famous passage in the *Iliad*. In the *Catalogue of the Ships*² the contingent of the Athenians is thus described:

Athens they held, her goodly citadel,
 Realm of Erechtheus, high of heart, whom erst
 Athene reared, daughter of Zeus, what time
 The grain-giver did bear him, and she set
 Erechtheus there in Athens, in her own
 Rich temple. There, as each Year's Feast goes round,
 The young men worship him with bulls and lambs.

Earth is his mother, or rather the ploughed field, the tith, the grain-land (*ἀρουρα*). Athena, the humanized form of this earth-daimon, is but his foster-mother. The young men (*κοῦροι*), like the *kouroi* on the sarcophagos, worship him with bulls and lambs

¹ I. 1. 38. 10.

² *Il.* II. 546

οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐκτελευτῶν πρὸς ἄλλοις,
 οἵμιον Ἰδαρυθῆος μεγαλήτροπος, οὐ ποτ' Ἀθήνη
 ὀφείλει Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τρέφει δὲ γέλοιος ἀρουρα·
 καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι εἶσεν, εἴθ' ἐν πτόνῳ ἦγε.
 ἐπὶ δὲ μὲν τρωπέσσιν καὶ ἀπειπέσσιν Ἰδαρυθῆος
 κόποιον Ἀθηναίων περικρατῶντα τεύχεσσιν.

For the present purpose it is of no consequence whether the passage is interpolated or not, nor does the archaeological question of the various *ἦγοι* concern us.

'as each Year's Feast goes round'. It is a yearly sacrifice, a year-sacrifice. For Athenian κοῦροι, he, Erechtheus, is their μέγιστος κοῦρος.

The whole atmosphere of the passage is agricultural; but, when we ask what natural and social facts lie behind the figure of Erechtheus, we find ourselves surrounded by sanctities more primitive. The cult and character of Erechtheus must be sought, if anywhere, in the Erechtheion, the sanctuary which stands on the site of the old kings' palace of the Acropolis and which still bears his name. The present temple is of course a building of the end of the fifth century B.C. All we know certainly of its date is that

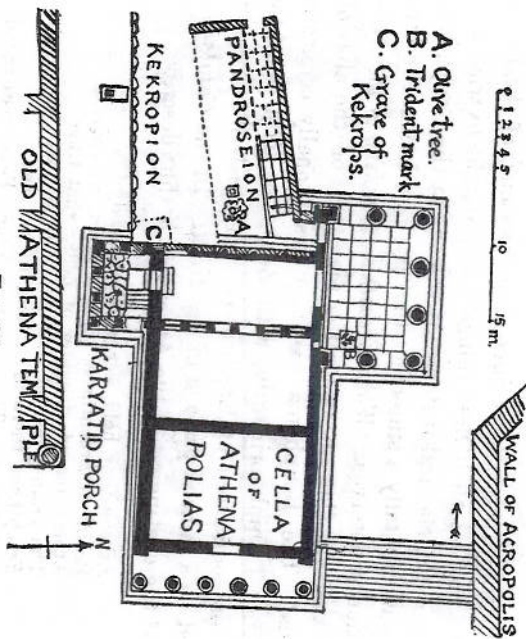


Fig. 37.

it was unfinished in B.C. 408. What concerns us are the ancient sanctities that the comparatively modern structure was built to enshrine and safeguard¹. Of these for our purpose we need only consider three, the famous στυμνα or tokens:

- A sacred olive tree,
- A 'sea' or well called after Erechtheus ('Ἐρεχθίς),
- A 'trident' mark.

The disposition of trident-mark and olive tree is seen in Fig. 37. The well must have been close to the holy tree.

¹ A discussion of the topography of the Erechtheion will be found in my *Ancient Athens*, 1890, p. 481, and my more recent views as to the disposition of the στυμνα

When we hear of the trident-mark, the salt sea-well and the olive tree, we think instinctively of the west pediment of the Parthenon, of the great strife between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica. The salt sea-well and the trident-mark are 'tokens', we are told, of the defeat of Poseidon; the olive is the 'token' of the triumph of Athena. An awkward story for theology and one that required much adjustment and subsequent peace-making, as the rivals Athena and Poseidon had to share a sanctuary. The story is as untrue as it is awkward. If we would understand the 'tokens', we must get back behind these intrusive, grasping Olympians and see what the sanctities themselves signify before they were anyone's 'tokens.'

The olive grew in the Pandroseion¹; it also grew in the older Erechtheion, in its precinct at least, if not in the actual building. Herodotus² says, 'There is on this Acropolis a temple of Erechtheus who is called Earth-born, and in it are an olive tree and a sea which according to current tradition among the Athenians Poseidon and Athena planted as tokens when they contended for the country.' What has the olive to do with Erechtheus? Again the Hagia Triada sarcophagos explains. In the obelisks, the artificial tree-posts, are planted the thunder-axes that bring the rain-storm to fertilize the earth. From that marriage springs the tree. The trident-mark, we have already seen (p. 92), was no symbol of the sea-god, but, as was shown by the hole in the roof, it was the token of Kataibates, the *Descender* from the sky. According to Hyginus³ Erechtheus was smitten not by the trident of Poseidon, but by the lightning of Zeus, at the request of Poseidon. The well too we may conjecture only became brackish when Erechtheus the Earth-shaker, Phytalmios, Nurturer of plants, took on a sea-god's attributes.

¹ *Primitive Athens*, 1906, p. 89, from which Fig. 37 is taken. The view here taken of Erechtheus as Thunder-god was first proposed by O. Gilbert, *Gr. Götterlehre*, 1898, p. 170, and is adopted by Dr E. Petersen in *Die Burgtempel der Athenais*, 1907, p. 73.

² A close analogy to the Pandroseion at Athens is offered by the Pantheon at Olympia, in which grew the sacred olive-tree (Aristotle, *Θαυμάσια ἀπορώμενα*, 51, and Schol. *ad Ar. Plat.* 586). This Pantheon had obviously nothing to do with 'all the gods'. It was simply the 'altogether holy place'. Cf. the *τῶν θεῶν τεμένη* of the Orphic Hymns. For the *Pantheon* see L. Wengier, *Der heilige Olybain in Olympia*, Weimar Programm No. 701, 1895, but unhappily Dr Wengier, spite of the evidence he brings together, clings to the old view that the *Pantheon* was in our modern sense a Pantheon.

³ viii. 59.

⁴ *Tab.* 46 ab Iove, Neptuni rogatu, fulmine est ictus.

In the light of the Hagia Triada sarcophagos it is all quite simple and clear. As there, so here, we have an olive tree:

The holy bloom of the olive, whose hoar leaf
High on the shadowy shrine of Pandrosos
Hath honour of us all.

Apollodorus¹ says that Athena came after Poseidon and having made Kekrops witness of her seizure (*καταλήψεως*), planted the olive which now is shown in the Pandroseion. Athena is manifestly a superfluous interloper. There is a holy tree whose name we may conjecture was the 'All Dewy One.' It was tended by maidens who did the service of the Hesperioria; the Dew-carrying Maidens to this day go out before the dawn to catch the dew of May Day which is magical for bloom and health. The Hesperioria, the Dew Service, took place on the 13th of Skirophorion, the night before the Bouphonia.² It is natural to ask, Was there any possible connection between the two?

Not far from the statue and altar of Zeus Poieus on the Acropolis, where the Bouphonia was enacted, there was, Pausanias tells us, an image of Ge praying to Zeus for rain.³ Cut in the living rock about a dozen yards north of the Parthenon is an inscription near to a basis that once held a voice statue 'Of Ge the Fruit-bearer according to the oracle.'⁴ Possibly the lost statue was the very image seen by Pausanias. Ge prayed to Zeus in his capacity of Hyeios, the Rainy. A contemporary of Lucian, Aloiophon by name, has left us in his imaginary letters⁵ some details of the cult of Zeus Hyeios. A certain Thalliskos writes as follows to Petraios:

A drought is upon us. Not a cloud is to be seen in the sky, and we want a regular downpour. You have only to look at the ploughed land to see how dreadfully parched the soil is. I am afraid all our sacrifices to

¹ III. 14. 2.

² For the evidence see Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 44. The month Skirophorion is certain, for the Elymologium Magnum says of the *διηγησις*. *εορτή σκίροφωρέου* *ἡ ἄθρη* *ἐν τῷ Σκίροφωρέου μηνί*. The exact day, the 13th, is not certain, but highly probable. Suidas says of the Bouphonia, *εορτή παρακά τῷ φεστί* *ἡμερῶν τῶν μυστηρίων*. The μυστήρια cannot be the Eleusinian mysteries which were celebrated in Boedromion (September); they may well be the Arrephoria, which were certainly mysterious. The Elym. Mag. explains the word as applied *πρὸς τὸ ἀρρητὰ καὶ μυστήρια φέσταιν*.

³ P. I. 24. 3.

⁴ For facsimile of inscription see my *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 415.

⁵ *Alk. Epist.* III. 35. For the *βουφία* of Zeus Hyeios at Didymoi see B. Haussoulier, *Le Culte de Zeus à Didymes in Mélanges Weil*, 1898, p. 147.

Jupiter Pluvius have gone for nothing, and yet all we villagers outdid each other to make a good sacrificial show. Each man brought what he could according to his means and ability. One brought a ram, another a goat, another some fruit, the poor man brought a cake, and the positive pauper some lumps of decidedly mouldy incense. No one could run to a bull, for our Attic soil is thin and cattle are scarce. But we might have saved our expense. Zeus it would seem is 'on a journey' and cannot attend to us.

We begin to suspect that the sacrifice of the bull in the Bouphonia was a rain 'charm', later a 'sacrifice to Zeus Hyeios', and this, it may be, explains a strange detail in the ritual. Among the attendants at the sacrifice were certain maidens called Water-Carriers (*ὕδατοφόροι*). They brought the water; Porphyry¹ says, to sharpen the knife and the axe. But for such a function was it necessary that maidens should be carefully selected? Is it not at least possible that the water poured on the holy axe was to act as a rain 'charm'? The axe was the symbol, the presentation of the Sky-Zeus; what acted prayer could be more potent, more magical, than to sprinkle the axe with water?²

Be this as it may, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the Bouphonia and the Hesperioria, widely different in character though they were, had the same intent, to induce the sky to let fall upon the parched earth its rain or dew, that so the sacred olive, and with it all other plants and crops, might blossom and bear fruit. The Hesperioria was to induce the fall of fertilizing dew.³ According to a wide-spread belief, the dew gathered on Midsummer Night had special potency to beauty and bless.⁴ Dew, according to common credence, falls thickest on the night of the full moon, and the Hesperioria took place on the night of the

¹ *de Abst.* II. 30 *ὕδατος παρθένης κατέχευ'* at δ' *ὕδαρ κομίζουσα, ὄρας τὸν πᾶν* *καὶ τῶν μέγιστων ἀκομίζουσα*.

² This delightful suggestion is entirely due to Mr A. B. Cook, by whose permission I mention it.

³ See my *Prolegomena*, p. 192, note 2. The dew was unquestionably regarded as the fertilizing seed of the Sky-God. Mr A. B. Cook draws my attention to a passage in the *Dionysiacs* of Nonnus (VII. 144 ff.), where Semetele in a dream sees the fate to come upon her (her bridal with Zeus), in the vision of a tree, watered by the eternal dew of the son of Kronos:

Ἐκτερο καλὰ μάρτυρον ἵδεν φυτόν ἐνδοθὲ κήτρον
ἐγγυόου, οὐδ' ἀκέχθ βεβραμμένον ὑδατὸς καρπῶν

καὶ Σέμην φυτόν ἦεν.

A bird carries the fruit of the tree to the lap of Zeus, and from him a full-grown bull-man is born.

⁴ Brand H. Ellis, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, 1849, I. 218; P. Sebillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, 1904, I. 94.

last full moon of the Attic year¹. The maidens gathered their dew in the precinct of Ourania in the Gardens. The Bouphonia was an appeal to the steerner powers of the sky, to thunder, and lightning, and the rain-storm.

It is worth noting that an invocation of dew for the fertilization of man and plants and cattle forms part of an Epiphany δρώμενον that goes on in the island of Imbros² to-day. A sort of 'aetiological myth' is chanted, telling of the 'Baptism of Christ.' Our Lady goes down to Jordan, takes water, washes and then entertains S. John Baptist to baptize the Holy Child. S. John makes answer:

Let him wait till the morn
That I may ascend into heaven,
To send down dew upon earth,
That the master and his lady may be bedewed,
That the mothers and their children be bedewed,
That the plains with the trees be bedewed,
That the springs and the waters be bedewed,
That the cattle may be tame,
And the idols may fall down.

We find ourselves in full magic, S. John the Baptist and the Baptism of life-giving dew—the New Birth. S. John must ascend, must become a 'sky-god,' before he can descend.

If spite of the conjunction of thunder-axe and tree on the sarcophagos, the thunder-god Erechtheus and the olive tree strike us still as dissonant, we may find conviction when it appears that the same strange marriage is found in the lower city. In the Academy Pausanias³ saw an olive plant, said to have been the second to appear. It was doubtless fabled to have been a graft from the sacred olive of the Acropolis. All olive trees throughout Attica which could claim this high descent were called *Morvies* (propagated, *μεμορμημένα*) and were protected by special sanctions under the immediate care of the Areopagos⁴.

¹ Gruppe, *Gr. Mythologie und Religion*, p. 34. The whole question of the dew and rain aspects of the Sky-god will be fully discussed by Mr A. B. Cook in his forthcoming work 'Zeus,' chapter II. § 8. 'Zeus and the Dew,' § 9. 'Zeus and the Rain,' § 10. *Zeus Hygieios* II. *Diopoleia*. Since the above was written it has been shown by Dr E. Maass (*A. Mitt.* xxxv. 3, p. 337, *Aglauros*) that Aglauros is a well-known nymph, goddess of the clear shining water, of *ἀγλαύρων ὕδωρ*. She and her sisters are therefore a trinity of water and dew.

² I owe my knowledge of this interesting song to the kindness of Mr A. Waack. ³ I. 80. 2 *καὶ φέρω ἐστὶν ἐλάτας, δειντέρων τοῖο Λοφύμενον φανήσῃα*. ⁴ See Lysias, *Orat.* 7.

under the special charge of Zeus Morios. His altar was in the Academy and he was worshipped, we learn to our delight, not only as Morios but as Kataibates¹. Later moralists would explain that this was because he avenged sacrilege by lightning; the real truth lies deeper and is benignant; he, the rain and thunder-god, fertilized the earth and brought forth the sacred olives.

The scholiast who gives us this welcome information about Zeus, who is both Morios and Kataibates, is commenting on the famous chorus in praise of Athens in the *Oedipus Coloneus*²:

And this country for her own has what no Asian land has known,
Nor ever yet in the great Dorian Pelops' island has it grown,
The untended, the self-planted, self-defended from the foe,
Sea-gray children-nurturing olive tree that here delights to grow.
None may take nor touch nor harm it, headstrong youth nor age grown bold,
For the round of heaven of Morian Zeus has been its watcher from of old.
He beholds it and, Athene, thy own sea-gray eyes behold.

Athens with her sea-gray eyes we expect: watching her olive tree she is canonical; but, to most readers, the round eye of Morian Zeus comes as something of a surprise. If we remember the *ἄβραρον* on the Acropolis, with the lightning trident-mark and the hole in the roof, we wonder no longer that the old sky-god, with his round eye, should be looking down on his own olive tree. What was a mere poetical image becomes a ritual reality and gathers the fresh bloom of a new if somewhat homely beauty. Nor is it only a poet praising his own city who remembers such local sanctities. Aeschylus in the *Danaides*³ told of the sacred

¹ Apollodorus, *op. cit.* *Soph. Oed. Col.* 705 *καὶ Ἀκαδημίας ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν Καραϊβάτων ἄλις βουλιός καὶ καὶ Μόριος καταΐβας* [ἀπὸ] τοῦ ἐκεῖ μακάρι.

² *Soph. Oed. Col.* 704

ὁ γὰρ αἰὲν ὄψας κίρκας
καίβασαι νῦν Μορίου ἄλις
καὶ ἄκακῶτα ἄβρα.

The translation in the text is by Mr D. S. MacColl.

³ Nausik. *frag.* 44, *ap. Athen.* xiii. 600 *καὶ ὁ εὐμοδῶτατος ὁ Ἀλοχῶτος ἐν ταῖς Δαναίδων ἀστῆσι παρὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἕλγους*

ἐπεὶ μὲν ἀγρὸς οὐρανὸς τριβότα χθόνα,
ἐπὸς δὲ γάλας λαμβάνει γάλαυ τρυχέω
κίρκος δ' ἀπ' ἐπιρρήσας οὐρανοῦ πέδω
ἐφόρε γάλας· ἣ δὲ τριτῆρα βροτοῖς
μῆλας τε βοεκάς καὶ πλοῦ Ἀγλαύρων
βένδων τῆς ἄνα δ' ἐκ ποτῆστων γάλας

τῶν αἰσῶν ἐστὶν τῶνδ' ἐπὶ παραίτησι.
Trans. Murray. The γάλας of the fragment recalls the πρυμπαρῆς γάλας of the Hymn of the Kouretes, see p. 7.

marriage of Earth and Sky. He puts the words into the mouth of Aphrodite, goddess in later days of human passion, but we seem to stand in the ancient Cretan shrine, with about us the symbols of Uranos, the lightning-axe and the bird, and Gaia, the upspringing tree dew-watered, and we hear words august and venerable which tell of things that were before man and may outlast him:

Lo, there is hunger in the holy Sky
To pierce the body of Earth, and in Earth, too
Hunger to meet his arms. So falls the rain
From Heaven that is her lover, making moist
The bosom of Earth; and she brings forth to man
The flocks he feeds, the corn that is his life.
To trees no less there cometh their own hour
Of marriage which the gleam of watery things
Makes fruitful—Of all these the cause am I.

By the time of Aeschylus most men had probably forgotten that the Danaides, the heroines of the play, were the water-bearers, the well-nymphs who watered thirsty Argos¹; but, when Aphrodite made her great speech, there was not an initiated man in the theatre but would remember the final ceremonial of the Eleusinian mysteries—how, looking up to heaven, they cried aloud, *ὦ*, 'rain,' and looking down to earth, *κῆ*, 'be fruitful.'

We return now to the other side of the sarcophagos, on which the sacrifice of the bull is depicted. The remainder of the scene towards the right is given somewhat enlarged in Fig. 38. Here we have what, with the Acropolis of Athens in our minds,² we might call a Pandroseion: an olive tree in a sanctuary, surmounted by bulls' horns, and the thunder-axe on the bare obelisk standing for Erechtheus. Upon the thunder-axe is perched a bird's.

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 620.

² *Prolegomena*, p. 161.

³ I conjecture that the Bouphonia on the Acropolis and its relation to the Erechtheion and the olive tree date back to the days when Athens was but a tributary of the great Minoan thalassocracy. Separately, we remember (p. 142), was a native of Crete. The religious dependence of Athens on Crete outlasted the political strife, as Solon witnessed when he sent for Epimenides to purify Athens, see p. 52. For the Cretan origin of the Bouphonia see Mr Cook, *J.H.S.* xiv. 131.

Upon the thunder-axe we expect to see the thunder-bird of Zeus, the eagle, but this is assuredly no eagle, however 'conventionally treated.' It is the bird of spring, with heavy flight and mottled plumage, the cuckoo¹.

*When first the cuckoo cuckoo in the oak,
Gladdening men's hearts over the boundless earth,
Then may Zeus rain?*



FIG. 38

¹ Many birds have been suggested. The raven has the high authority of Mr Warde Fowler; Dr Hans Gadow suggested to me the magpie. The woodpecker was tempting, because of the analogy between *πῆλεις* and *πῆλεις*, but as Dr Petersen (*op. cit.* p. 163) points out, the pose of the bird, with wings open, not closed, when perching, is characteristic of the cuckoo, though here it may be depicted to show the bird has just alighted. The particular bird intended is not of great moment. The idea, the coming of a life-spirit from the sky, is the same whatever bird be the vehicle. I have elsewhere (*Bird and Pillar-Worship in connection with Ouranian divinities*, in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, II. p. 164) hazarded the conjecture, suggested by Mr Cook, that the ritual robe of the celebrant and other worshippers on the sarcophagos is a feather dress ending in a bird-tail—but Sig. Parham has brought evidence, *op. cit.* p. 17, to show that the feather-like drawing on the robe is used to indicate a bull's skin.

² Hesiod *Op.* 486; see p. 97.

That is the prayer in the heart of the priestess, and she utters it, emphasizes it, by her offering of water which she has poured out of the high jug into the basin before her, over which she lays her hands, perhaps in token that the water is the rain-bath (Νουρπά) of the earth's bridal. Above are the fruit-shaped cakes (μαίζα), for it is food that the cuckoo of spring is to bring her.

The picture speaks for itself; it is the passing of winter and the coming of spring, the passing of the Old Year, the incoming of the New, it is the Death and Resurrection of Nature, her New Birth. Clearly though this is represented, it confuses us a little at first by its fulness and by its blend of animal and vegetable and atmospheric life, of tree and bull and bird and thunder-axe.¹ All this, so natural, so inevitable to the primitive mind, to us, who have lost the sense of common kinship and common *mana*, seems artificial, metaphorical. We need first to meditate over it, to disentangle its various strands, before, by an effort of imagination, we can do what, if we would understand aright, is supremely necessary, think ourselves back into the primaeval fusion of things, a fusion always unconsciously present in the mind of poet and primitive.

It is the springtime of man and bird and flower:

Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone;
The flowers appear on the earth;
The time of the singing of birds is come,
And the voice of the turtle is heard in our land.
The fig tree putteth forth her green figs,
And the vines with the tender grape give a good smell
Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.²

Again in the thirteenth-century roundel:³

Summer is ioumen in,
Lhunde sing cucu! i
Groweth sed and bloweth med,
And springth the wdé nu,
Sing cucu! i
Awé bleteth after lomp,
Lhouth after calvé cu,
Bulloc sketeth, bucké verethh,
Murte sing cucu! i

¹ Just such a blend of tree, bird, bull, thunder, dew and humanity, is found in Semaele's tree, see p. 173, note 3.

² Song of Solomon, ii. 10.

³ See E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, 1903, i. 168.

It is the bridal of the Earth and Sky, the New Birth of the World:

Cras amet qui nunquam amarit, quique amarit cras amet,
Ver novum, ver jam canorura ver renatus orbis est,
Vere concordant amores, vere nubunt alites,
Et nemus comam resolvit de maritis imbribus.¹

So the poet, but the common man who has no words with which to speak is yet a poet in his own way, and the drama of winter and spring' death and life, he feels, and makes of it a δρώμενον, a ritual. Theopompus, according to Plutarch², relates that

Those who dwell in the west account and call the Winter Kronos and the Summer Aphrodite, the Spring Persephone, and from Kronos and Aphrodite all things take their birth. And the Phrygians think that in the Winter the god is asleep, and that in the Summer he is awake, and they celebrate to him *Bacchic revels, which in winter are Goings to Sleep, and in summer Waking-up*. And the Paphlagonians allege that in winter the god is bound down and imprisoned, and in spring aroused and set free again.

Such rites are not only for the outlet of man's emotion, not only for the emphasis of that emotion by representation, they are, as we have seen all rites tend to be, the utterance of his desire and will, they are pre-presentations of practical magical intent. And this in very definite fashion; for, though man does not live by bread alone, without his daily bread he cannot live.

The cuckoo is summoned to bring new life to the tree, dead in the winter, to bring the rain that will bring the food-fruits. The water and cakes are as it were a visualized prayer, they are εὔχαι. But when the gods are formulated and become men and women, when Zeus and Hera have supplanted Ouranos and Gaia, then the coming of the cuckoo takes on the shape of human wedlock. 'Women,' says Praxinô to Gorgo, in the famous Syracusan Idyll of Theocritus³, 'Women know everything,
Yes, and how Zeus married Hera,'

¹ *Periplusium Veneris*.

² *de Isid.*, et *Ostr.*, xxix. Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀβραὺρα θεῖμαρος καθεύδον θέπουσ δ' ἐγρηγοῦσεναι, τὴν μὲν καρτεραιοῦσιν, τὴν δ' ἀνεγείρουσ βακχεῖουσας ἀντὶ τῆσ δαιμόναι. Πηφλογίους δὲ καταδέχεται καὶ καθέγρησθαι θεῖμαρος, ἤπος δὲ κνέσθαι καὶ ἀνακνεσθαι φάσκουσι. See my *Prolegomena*, p. 128.

³ xv. 64

τῆσρα γυναικῆσ ἰσάστῃ, καὶ οὖσ Ζεὸσ ἀντὶ δῶδ' "Ἡσρα". The expression is clearly proverbial, and no doubt arose not from the secrecy of the marriage, but—from the meaning of the cuckoo myth was forgotten—from its strangeness. It is one of the stories which Fanshaise (ii. 17. 5) says he (fortunately for us) 'records but does not accept.'

and the scholiast on the passage, quoting, he says, from Aristotle's treatise on the sanctuary of Hermione, thus tells the tale:

Zeus planned to marry Hera and wishing to be invisible and not to be seen by her he changed his shape into that of a cuckoo and perched on a mountain, which, to begin with, was called Thronax, but now is called Cuckoo. And on that day Zeus made a mighty storm. Now Hera was walking alone and she came to the mountain and sat down on it, where now there is the sanctuary of Hera Teleia. And the cuckoo was frozen and shivering from the storm, so it flew down and settled on her knees. And Hera, seeing it had pity and covered it with her cloak. And Zeus straightway changed his shape and caught hold of Hera.... The image of Hera in the temple (at Argos) is seated on a throne, and she holds in her hand a sceptre, and on the sceptre is a cuckoo.

Pausanias confirms or perhaps quotes Aristotle. In one detail he corrects him. Aristotle mentions a statue of Full-grown or Married¹ (τελεία) Hera on the Cuckoo-Mountain, but Pausanias in describing the site says, 'there are two mountains, and on the top of each is a sanctuary, on Cuckoo-mountain is a sanctuary of Zeus and on the other mountain called Pron there is a sanctuary of Zeus Hera.' Be that as it may, behind the figure of Father Zeus we have the Bridegroom-Bird and the wedding that is a rain-storm.²



Fig. 39 a.



Fig. 39 b.

The Bird-Lover lives on in a beautiful series of coin-types from Gortyna in Crete.³ In the first of these (Fig. 39 a), we have a

¹ That the surname *Teleia*, 'complete,' practically means 'married' is certain from another passage in Pausanias (VII. 22. 2). Temenos, the son of Pelasgos, he says, who dwelt in old Silyphalos, founded three sanctuaries in honour of the goddess and gave her three surnames: while she was yet a girl he called her *Chitid (παις)*, when she married Zeus he called her *Teleia*, when she quarrelled with Zeus he called her *Widow (χρησα)*.

² Of the wedding of Dido and Aeneas in the thunderstorm (Verg. *Æn.* iv. 160), where the background of the elemental wedding of earth and sky is manifest.

³ Svoronos, *Nomismatique de la Crète*, vol. I. xiii. 2219, xiv. 16 and 18, xv. 7. Mr. Cook, to whom I owe my knowledge of these coins, favours M. Svoronos's explanation, that the nymph is Britomartis. The evidence scarcely seems to me sufficient; see *Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak*, Class. Rev. 1908, p. 405.

maiden seated disconsolate in a barren, leafless tree. In the second (Fig. 39 b), the same maiden is seated, but the pose is less desolate; she lifts her head and the tree is breaking out into leaf. In the third (Fig. 40 a) a bird comes, perching timidly, the tree blossoms and fruits. In the fourth (Fig. 40 b) the maiden is a bride, a



Fig. 40 a.



Fig. 40 b.

nymph; she raises her head with the gesture characteristic of Hera. In the fifth (Fig. 41 a) the maiden cherishes the bird, as Hera, in the myth, cherished the Bridegroom-Cuckoo in the rainstorm. She is a royal bride with a sceptre, and on the sceptre is a bird.



Fig. 41 a.



Fig. 41 b.

In the sixth (Fig. 41 b) the bird is a royal bird, an eagle, and with his great sanctity he overshadows both tree and maid. And, delightful thing, amid all this beauty of bird and spring and maid and tree, the old bull is not forgotten. His irrelevant head is seen peering through the branches.



Fig. 42 a.



Fig. 42 b.

The seventh coin (Fig. 42 a) offers us a riddle as yet unread. We have the nymph seated on the tree as usual, but between the

upper branches of the tree, and continuing down actually on the leftmost branch, is an inscription¹ in early Corinthian letters, ΤΣΜΥΡΟΣ, Τιτυροί. The word is in the nominative plural, not the ordinary genitive of place. Does 'Τιτυροί' stand for 'Τιτυροί'? And does Τιτυροί stand for 'play of the Τιτυροί', as Satyroi stands for 'play of the Satyrs'? Can the inscription refer to a δράμα, a Satyr-play of the return of spring, the blossoming of the tree, and the marriage of the maiden? On the reverse of all these coins the type is a bull (Fig. 42 b). Was the δράμα accompanied, as on the sarcophagos, by a bull-sacrifice?

In Athens, then, we have the uncouth δράμα of the Bouphonia with its mimic resurrection of the ox; in Crete, on the sarcophagos, we have the new life of spring represented and induced by a δράμα of obelisks leaf-covered, with thunder-axes and spring birds. Now the Bouphonia was celebrated, as has been seen, at the last full moon of the Attic year, in midsummer, when the land was parched. Its object was to induce dew; the Cretan δράμα was manifestly, like the sacrifice of the bull at Magnesia, celebrated in spring. This brings us straight to the question of seasonal festivals, and takes us back to the Hymn of the Kouretes.

In the refrain, it will be remembered (p. 8), the Kouros is bidden to come to Dikte 'for the Year' (ἐς ἐνιαυτόν), and when the aetiological myth has been recounted, it is said 'the Horse began to be fruitful year by year,' [Ὀρμαὶ δὲ βρῆϊον κατῆρος. Not only was the Kouros bidden to come for the Year, but if we may credit Aratus², the Kouretes of Dikte, when they deceived Kronos, hid Zeus in the cave and reared him for the Year (ἐἰς ἐνιαυτόν).

¹ The inscription was read as Τιτυροί by Dr. von Sallet, who first published the coin in the Zeitschrift f. Numismatik, VI, p. 263. See also W. W. Wroth, *Cretan Coins* in Numismatic Chronicle, IV, 1884, p. 35. The suggestion that Τιτυροί may indicate a δράμα of Τιτυροί is due to Mr. A. B. Cook. For Τιτυροί as goat-dæmon see Paul Baur, *Zietyros* in *American Journal of Archaeology*, IX, 1905, Pl. v. p. 157. The goat-dæmon here published holds a cornucopia.

² *Phaen.* 163, 164

³ μὴ τὴν κορυφίσματα, ἄκραι ἐπιδίδει, φερεσ σχεδὸν Ἴδαίου, ἐπιτροπὴν ἐκκατέθετο καὶ ἔρπεθον ἐἰς ἐνιαυτόν, ἄκραι Κορίνθου ὅτε Κόρου ἐπέθετο. *Diels, Frag. d. Vors.* II, p. 497, attributes this legend to the *Kretika* of Ephraimides.

The expression 'for the Year' is somewhat enigmatic. It should be carefully noted that the 'Year' for which the Kouros is 'summoned' and 'reared' is not an ἔτος but an ἐνιαυτός¹. The two words are in Homer frequently juxtaposed², and the mere fact of the juxtaposition shows that they are distinguished. What then exactly is an ἐνιαυτός³, how does it differ from an ἔτος, and why is the Kouros summoned for an ἐνιαυτός rather than an ἔτος?

The gist of the ἐνιαυτός as distinguished from the ἔτος comes out in the epithet τελεσφόρος 'and bringing,' which is frequently applied to ἐνιαυτός⁴. The ἔτος or year proper is conceived of as a circle or period that turns round⁵. This ἔτος varies, as will presently be seen, from a month to nine years or even longer. The ἐνιαυτός is not a whole circle or period but just the point at which the revolution is completed, the end of the old ἔτος⁶, the beginning of the new. It is easy to see that this significant point might later be confused with the whole revolution⁷.

¹ The distinction is marked in the translation (p. 9) by a capital letter, and throughout, whenever Year is a rendering of ἐνιαυτός.

² E.g. *Od.* XIV, 292

³ ἔθρα παρ' αἰῶνι, μέθρα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτε θη μῆρες τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἕξτενέθρον, ἢ μὴ τελεσφόρον ἔτος καὶ ἐνιαυτόν ἀπαι.

⁴ The view of the ἐνιαυτός given here is entirely due to Dr. Prellwitz, *Eine griechische Etymologie*, in *Festschrift für Friedländer* (1895), p. 382. Dr. Prellwitz is concerned only with the etymology and literary interpretation of ἐνιαυτός and is of course in no way responsible for the conclusions I draw as to ritual.

⁵ See *Od.* XIV, 240.

⁶ The participle naturally associated with ἔτος as well as with ἐνιαυτός is *περιελάμβανος*, of which the aorist, in form as well as in use, has been shown by Dr. Prellwitz (*op. cit.*) to be *περιλάμβανος*. The word *πελός* means axis, point round which you turn, and its root *πελ*, reduplicated and in guttural form, appears in *κέλεος*. The original *g*-sound appears in Greek before *e* as a dental, before a liquid followed by weak *o* as *π*.

⁷ ἔτος is of course a cognate of the Latin *vetus* and means the completed revolution of the old year, cf. also *ai vata* 'year,' and *vethich* 'old,' and Albanian *riet* 'year.' Though ἔτος has many cognates, ἐνιαυτός has none. All attempts to connect it with ἔτος fail because the *α* remains unexplained. This inclines us to accept Dr. Prellwitz's derivation, which at first sight—perhaps because Plato makes an analogous guess—seems grotesque. Dr. Prellwitz makes ἐνιαυτός a nominative formed from a prepositional clause ἐνιαυτός, originally ἐπὶ-αὐ τῷ 'at-again-the point.' This admirably suits the new meaning. ἐνιαυτός on this showing is 'Here we are again' incarnate.

⁸ The scholiast on *Ar. Ran.* 347

⁹ ἀποσπάρτα δὲ λήρας

¹⁰ Xpoulious [ἐπὶ] παλάδος τ' ἐνιαυτοῦς says: ἕτηνται πῶς ἐτην ἐνιαυτοῦς ἔτος, ἐπὶ ἔτος καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦς ταύτων; but the Etymologicon Magnum carefully defines ἐνιαυτός thus: ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ ταύτων ἔτην, ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ κέλυρος καὶ τοῦ ὀψέρος ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ τῶν Μάκρον μῆνα, δὲ θάου κινουμένου τοῦ Xpouou ἐπὶ κέλυρος πάλιν ἕχεται ὡς καὶ ὁ Xpouos ἀπὸ τοῦ παρῶς.

The *ἐναυρός* then was the cardinal turning-point of the year, it was *ἐνῆ καὶ νέα* in one. Such a day to ancient thinking must be marked out by *rites de passage*, for the issues were perilous. Such *rites de passage* are those of Closing and Opening, of Going to sleep and Waking up again, of Death and Resurrection, of killing or carrying out the Old Year and bringing in the New. To such rites it was natural, nay, it was necessary, to summon the Kouros.

We have now briefly to consider the *ἔτος* or period of revolution with its varying lengths and various seasons.

We think of the 'year' as a period of twelve months, beginning in January and ending in December, and we think of the *Horae* or Seasons as four in number—Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter. Clearly the year for which the Kouros is hidden to come begins, not in Hecatombaion, at Midsummer, as at Athens, nor in mid-winter as with us, but in the springtime. Our year with its four seasons is a sun-year, beginning about the winter solstice. It has four seasons because the four cardinal sun-periods are the two solstices, winter and summer, the two equinoxes, spring and autumn.

The important point about a year proper or *ἔτος* is that it is a recurrent period of a length that varies with man's particular methods of counting time. It is, in fact, a recurrence or cycle of times of special tension and interest, a calendar of festivals¹ connected mainly with man's food-supply. Broadly speaking, the distinction between a *cult* and a *rite* is that a rite is occasional, a cult is recurrent. Seasonal recurrence has been one great, if not the principal, factor in religious stability.

It is obvious that primitive man would not base his calendar on solstices and equinoxes which are only observed late; his year would be based not on astronomy, but on the seasons of his food-supply. Among the early inhabitants of Europe² there were two seasons only—winter and summer. The people being mainly pastoral, winter began in November with the driving home of

¹ Hubert et Mauss, *La Représentation du Temps dans la Religion et la Magie* in *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions*, 1909, p. 189; see also the interesting chapter on 'Periodicity in Nature' in Dr Whitehead's *Introduction to Mathematics* in the Home University Library.

² E. K. Chambers, *Medieval Stage*, I, pp. 110 ff.

cattle from the pastures, and summer when they were driven up again to the hills somewhere about March. When and where agriculture is important, the year opens with the season of ploughing and sowing. The Greeks themselves had at first two, not three, *Horae*. In early days it is not realized that the Seasons, and with them the food-supply, depend on the Sun. The Seasons, the *Horae*, are potencies, divinities in themselves, and there are but two Seasons, the fruitful and the fruitless.

The year and the seasons derive then their value, as was natural, from the food they bring. They are not abstractions, divisions of time; they are the substance, the content of time. To make of *ἐναυρός* a god, or even a *daimon*, seems to us, even when he is seen to be not a year but a Year-Feast, a chilly abstraction, and even the *Horae* as goddesses seem a little remote. But to the Greeks, as we see abundantly on vase-paintings, their virtue, their very being, was in the flowers and fruits they always carry in their hands; they are indistinguishable from the Charities, the Gift- and Grace-Givers. The word *Ἥορα*, it is interesting to note, seems at first to have been almost equivalent to Weather. In a drought the Athenians, Philochoros² tells us, sacrificed to the *Horae*, and on this occasion they boiled their meat and did not roast it, thereby inducing the goddesses to give increase to their crops by means of moderate warmth and seasonable rains. As warders of Olympus it is theirs to 'throw open the thick cloud or set it to³'.

Athenaens⁴ has preserved for us a fragment of the fourth book of the *History of Alexandria* by Kallixenos the Rhodian. In it is described a great spectacle and procession exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphos in honour of Dionysos⁵. One group in the procession is of interest to us. The procession was headed by Silenoi clad,

¹ O. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* II, 1063, note 3. Dr Gruppe compares the Latin *tempus*, *tempestas*, which again shows clearly the focus of the primitive mind on the practical side of times and seasons.

² *Ap.* Athen. xiv. 73 *Ἀθηναίων δ', ὡς φησὶ Φιλόχορος, ταῖς Ἥραις θύοιτες οὐκ ὄνταίτιν, ἀλλ' ἐναυροὶ τὰ κρέα.*

³ *Hom.* Il. v. 751

ἤπειρ ἀνακλίνει τρυκύνον πέποις ἧδ' ἐπιβέβηαι.

⁴ v. 27, 198.

⁵ As Macedonians all the Ptolemies were addicted to the worship of Dionysos. The ceremonies to which they were addicted probably enshrined and revived many primitive traits. See the interesting monograph by M. Paul Perdrizet, *Le Fragment de Satyros* in *Rev. des Etudes Anciennes*, 1910.

some in purple, some in scarlet, to keep off the multitude; next followed twenty Satyrs bearing lamps; next figures of Nike with golden wings; then Satyrs again, forty of them, ivy-crowned, their bodies painted, some purple, some vermilion. So far it is clear we have only the ministrants, the heralds of the god to come. After these heralds comes the first real *personage* of the procession, escorted by two attendants. His figure will not now surprise us.

After the Satyrs came two Sileni, the one with petasos and caduceus as herald, the other with trumpet to make proclamation. *And between them walked a man great of stature, four cubits tall, in the dress and mask of a tragic actor and carrying the gold horn of Amaltheia. His name was Eniautos.* A woman followed him, of great beauty and stature, decked out with much and goodly gold; in one of her hands she held a wreath of peach-blossom, in the other a palm-staff, and she was called Penteteis. She was followed by four Horai dressed in character and each carrying her own fruits.

The human Dionysos came later, but surely the procession is for the Year-Feast, eis *Eniautos*.

Eniautos held in his hands the horn of Amaltheia, the cornucopia of the Year's fruits. He is his own content. Athenaeus¹ in his discussion of the various shapes and uses of cups, makes a statement that, but for this processional figure, would be somewhat startling: 'There is a cup,' he says, 'called *The Horn of Amaltheia* and *Eniautos*.' The Horae too carry each her own fruits. This notion that the year is its own content, or rather perhaps we should say that the figure of the divine Year arises out of the food-content, haunted the Greek imagination. Plato², following the Herakleiteans, derives *εναυτός* from *ἐν εαυτῷ*, *he who has all things in himself*, and the doctrine was popular among Orphics. Kronos was identified with Chronos, Time, and hence with Eniautos; for Time, with the recurrent circling Seasons, has all things in *Himself*.

The Seasons, the Horae, in late Roman art are four in number. As such they are shown in the two medallions of Commodus³ in Fig. 43. In the first (a) Earth herself reclines beneath her tree.

¹ xi. 26, p. 783.

² *Kratyl.* ΑΙΟΝ Τὸ τὸ φάσμα καὶ τὰ γυρολόγια πρὸς καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν εαυτῷ ἐστὶν... οὐ μὲν εναυτός, ὅτι ἐν εαυτῷ κ.τ.λ. See Mr F. M. Cornford, *Hermes, Pan, Logos* in *Classical Quarterly*, iii. 1909, p. 282. For the connection of Kronos and Eniautos see W. Schmitz, *Aurès* in *Mémorial* iv. 1910. The identity of Kronos with Chronos is as old as *Pherkydes*.

³ *Cat. of Roman Medallions in British Museum*, Pl. xxx. 1 (a), 2 (b).

Under her hand is the globe of heaven studded with stars. Over it in procession pass the four seasons. On the second medallion (b) the four seasons are issuing from an arch. The figure of a boy bearing a cornucopia comes to meet them. He is the Young Year bearing the year's fruits. In late art four seasons are the rule, but the notion of fourness had crept in as early as Alkman¹. He, it would seem, had not quite made up his mind whether they were three or four.

Three Seasons set he; summer is the first,
And winter next, and then comes autumn third,
And fourth is spring, when the trees blossom, but
Man may not eat his fill.

Possibly in Alkman we have a mixture of two systems (1) two parts of the year: *Χεῖμα* and *θῆρος*; (2) two or three *Horae* (Spring



FIG. 43 a.



FIG. 43 b.

and Summer (and Autumn)). The two-part system may have belonged to the North, where winter is emphatic and important, the two or three Horae may have been the fruitful seasons of the indigenous southerners, where winter is but negative. Auxo, Thallo and Karpo obviously do not cover the whole year. Winter is no true *Horra*. Theognis² knew that

'Love comes at his *Horra*, comes with the flowers in spring.'

¹ *Fr.*g. Bergk 76

Ἄρως δ' ἐρχετ' ἄρως, θῆρος
καὶ Χεῖμα καὶ πρῶτον τῆρα,
καὶ τέρτατον τὸ φῶρ, δὲκα
οὐδ' ἄλλαι μὲν, ἐσθλιὲν δ' ἄκαρ
οὐκ ἔσται.

² 1275 Ὄρατος καὶ τ' Ἐπος ἐτρέλλεται. See my *Prolegomena*, p. 634. The blend of the two systems in Alkman was suggested to me by Mr. Cornford.

But when we come to early works of art where tradition rules, we find the Horæ are steadfastly three. On the archaic relief in Fig. 44¹, found on the Acropolis at Athens, they dance hand in hand to the sound of the pipe played by Hermes, and with them comes joyfully a smaller, human dancer. This human figure has been usually explained as a worshipper, perhaps the dedicator of

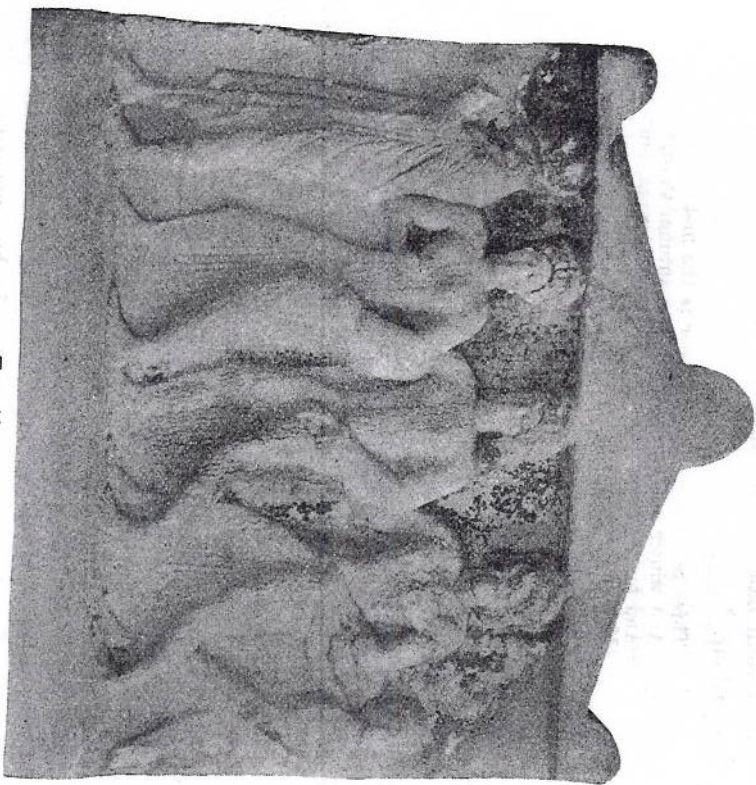


FIG. 44.

the relief; but surely in the light of the medallion of Commodus a simpler and more significant explanation lies to hand. He is the young *Erivatos*, the happy New Year.

The four Horæ are sufficiently explained by the two solstices and the two equinoxes. We have now to consider why in earlier days the Horæ were three.

¹ From a photograph. For other interpretations see Leohat, *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1889, xiii. pl. xiv. pp. 467—476; see also Leohat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 448, and G. C. Richards, *J. H. S.* xi. 1890, p. 286.

In Athens, in the days of Porphyry, and it may be long before, the Horæ and Helios had a procession together in which was carried the *Eresione*, the branch decked with wool and hung with cakes and fruits. By that time men knew that the Sun had power over the Seasons; but at first the Horæ were linked with an earlier potency, and it is to this earlier potency that they owe their three-ness. The three Horæ are the three phases of the Moon, the Moon waxing, full and waning. After the simple seasonal year with its two divisions came the Moon-Year with three, and last the Sun-Year with four Horæ¹.

In the third *Æneid*, when Æneas and his men are weather-bound at Actium, they have as usual athletic contests to pass the time. Vergil² says

Inhærea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum.

Scholars translate the passage 'meantime the sun rounds the great circle of the year'; but if we take the words literally it is the year that is qualified as great, and we are justified in supposing that if there is a *great* year there is also a small one, a *parvus annus*. Such in fact there is, and so Servius in commenting understands the passage. 'He (i.e. Vergil) says *magnum* in addition lest we should think he means a lunar year. For the ancients computed their times by the heavenly bodies, and at first they called a *period* of 30 days a *lunar year*.' 'Year, *annus*, is of course only a ring, a revolution. 'Later,' Servius goes on, 'the year of the solstices was discovered, which contains twelve months.'

The great calendar crux of antiquity was the fitting together of this old Moon-Year with the new Sun-Year. Into this problem and the various solutions of trieteric and pentæteric 'years' we need not enter³. It is enough for our purpose to realize that the Moon is the true mother of the triple Horæ, who are themselves Moiræ, and the Moiræ, as Orpheus⁴ tells us, are but the three

¹ See *Abst.* ii. 7 *ὁς μακρύτερον ἔκεν καὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἐπι καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν ποταμῶν Ἰαλίῳ τε καὶ Ἰσῶν.*

² *o.* 284 Servius, *ad loc.* *Magnum*, ne putemus lunarem esse, propterea dixit: antiqui enim tempora sideribus computabant, et dixerunt primo lunarem annum trīginta dierum... Postea solstitialis annus repetitus est qui xii. continet menses.

³ For further discussion of this interesting point see Mr. F. M. Corriord in chapter vii.

⁴ Clement of Alexandria in the *Stromata* quotes a book in which Epigenes noted a number of peculiarities (τὰ ἰδιότυπα) of Orpheus, φησὶ... Μοίρας τὴν ἀπὸ μέρους τῆς ἀειότητος ἡρακάδα καὶ πεντακαδέκην καὶ ποσειδάων (Abel, *Jrg.* 255).

moirae or divisions (*μέρη*) of the Moon herself, the three divisions of the old Year. And these three *Moirae* or *Horae* are also *Charites*¹.

The cult of the Moon in Crete, in Minoan days, is a fact clearly established. On the lentoid gem² in Fig. 45 a worshipper approaches a sanctuary of the usual Mycenaean type, a walled enclosure within which grows an olive tree. Actually *within* the sanctuary is a large crescent moon. The conjunction of moon and olive tree takes us back to the *Pandroseion* (p. 170), itself in all



Fig. 45.

probability a moon-shrine, with its Dew-Service, its *Hersephoria*. Minoan mythology knows of the Moon-Queen, *Pasiphaë*, *She who shines for all*, mother of the holy, horned Bull-Child.

With respect to the *Pandroseion* it may be felt that, though we have the Dew-Service at the full moon in the shrine of the

¹ *Hymn. Magic.* v. Πῶς Ζεῦσιν, 6

² and cf. the triple *Charites* who dance round *Hekate* the Moon, and *Mon. Ancient Athens*, p. 378, Figs. 15 and 16.

³ A. Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, 1901, p. 185, Fig. 59. This lentoid gem does not stand alone. The same scene, a Mycenaean shrine with tree and crescent moon, before it a female worshipper, appears on a steatite gem found at Ligouryno in Crete. See René Dussaud, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques*, p. 273, Fig. 196.

All-dewy-One, we have no direct evidence of a moon-cult¹ in the Erechtheion, no Athenian gem with a crescent moon, shining in a sanctuary. This is true, but the coinage of Athens reminds us that the olive is clearly associated with the moon. On the reverse of an Athenian tetradrachm in Fig. 46 is the owl of Athena, the owl she once was, and in the field is not only an olive spray, but a crescent moon. Athena and the moon shared a name in common—*Glaukōpis*². The ancient statues of Athena's 'maidens' carry moon-haloes (*μηνιακοί*)³. She herself on her shield carries for blazon the full moon⁴.



Fig. 46.

Yet another shrine not far from Crete, of early sanctity, with holy olive tree and moon-goddess, cannot in this connection be forgotten.

Give me the little hill above the sea,
The palm of Delos fringed delicately,
The young sweet laurel and the olive tree,
Grey-leaved and glimmering⁵.

Here we have a succession of holy trees brought one by one by successive advances in civilization, but over them watched always one goddess, though she had many names, *Artemis*, *Oupis*, *Hekaterge*, *Loxo*. Behind her humanized figure shines the old moon-goddess,

Oupis the Queen, fair-faced, the Light-Bearer⁶.

¹ In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (610) the Moon complains bitterly of the neglect into which she has fallen, *δέμα γὰρ περὸν ἔχει*.

² Eur. *Fig.* (Nauck 997)

³ In the old days the Acropolis of Athens was called the *Glaukōpis*. E. Maass, *Der alte Name der Akropolis* in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1907, p. 143.

⁴ Ar. *Av.* 1114, and schol. *ad loc.*, but see H. Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1903, p. 215, Le 'Menissoles'.

⁵ On a vase, see *Mon. d. Inst.*, xxii, 62.

⁶ Eur. *Iph. in T.* 1098, trans. Prof. Murray.

⁷ *Callim. Hymn. ad Dianam*, 204
Ὀυρι, δέμασ' εὐσφρα, φαερὸφρε.

When the Delians, fearing the Persian onset, fled to Tenos, Datis, the Persian general, would not so much as anchor off the holy island, but sent a herald to bid the Delians return and fear nothing, for 'in the island where were born the two gods no harm should be done'.¹ The Persians saw in Artemis and Apollo, though the Greeks had in part forgotten it, the ancient divinities they themselves worshipped, the Moon and the Sun.²

That the moon was worshipped in Crete in her triple phases is at least probable. Minos, Apollodorus³ tells us, sacrificed in Paros to the Charites, and the Charites are in function indistinguishable from the Horæ. Like the Horæ they are at first

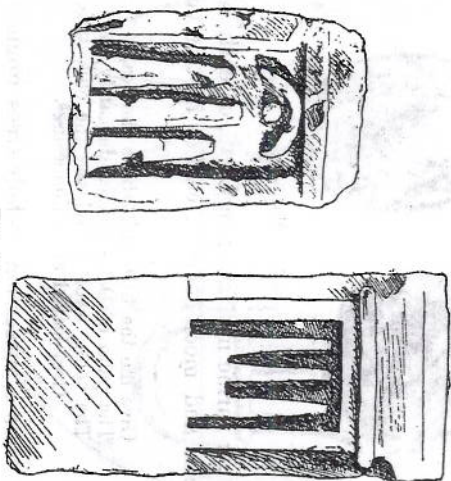


Fig. 47.

two, then three.⁴ In Athens two Charites were worshipped under the names Auxo (Increaser) and Hegemone (Leader), and these were invoked, Pausanias says, together with the Horæ of Athens, Thallo (Sprouting) and Karpo (Fruit), and the Dew-Goddess, Pandrosos. Among many primitive peoples the waxing and waning of the moon is supposed to bring increase and decrease to all living things. Only the lawless onion sprouts in the wane and withers in the waxing of the moon.⁵

¹ Herod. vii. 97.² Herod. i. 131.³ 8. 15. 7.⁴ For the whole question of the double and triple Charites at Athens and elsewhere, and for their connection with the Horæ, see my *Nymphs and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, 1890, p. 382, and my *Prolegomena*, p. 286, The Maiden Trinities. I did not then see that the triple form had any relation to the Moon.⁵ Aulus Gellius, xx. 8. See Frazer, *Adonis Attis Osiris*, 1907, p. 362.

The Charites at Orchomenos¹ were unhewn stones which had fallen from heaven. Small wonder, if they were phases of the moon. On the Phoenician stelæ in Fig. 48² we see the moon figured as three pillars, a taller between two shorter ones, indicating no doubt the waxing, full and waning moon. The cult of the triple pillars is familiar in Crete. In Fig. 48³ we have the well-known triple columns surmounted by the life-spirit, the dove. It is probable, though by no means certain, that we have in them primitive pillar-forms of the Charites.

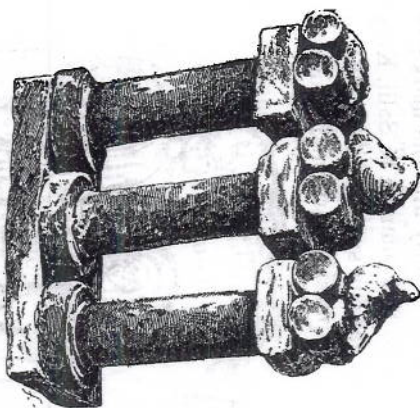


Fig. 48.

The Kouretes, we have noted (p. 182), according to Cretan tradition nourished the infant Zeus 'for the year'. The Kouretes bid the Kouros leap 'for the year'. Did they ever leap and dance for the old Moon-Year? When we remember the Moon-cult of Crete, it seems probable; we have, however, no definite evidence. But, when we come to the Roman brothers of the Kouretes, the *Leapers* or *Salii*, we can speak with certainty. It often happens that Roman ritual and Roman mythology, from its more conservative and less imaginative character, makes clear what the poetry of the Greeks obscures. The *Salii* will help us to understand more intimately the nature of the Kouretes, and may even throw light on the nature and name of the Dithyramb. They must therefore be considered at this point in some detail.

¹ Paus. ix. 35. 1.² *Monumenti Ant. dei Lincei*, xiv. 1905: Taf. xxi. 2^a and xxv. 2.³ A. Evans, *B.S.A.* viii. 1901-2, p. 29, Fig. 14. I owe the suggestion that in these triple pillars we may have the Cretan Charites worshipped by Minos to Mr Cook's kindness.

THE SALII

Denys of Halicarnassos¹ in his full and interesting account of the Salii saw that Kouretes and Salii were substantially the same: 'In my opinion,' he says, 'the Salii are what in the Greek language are called Kouretes. We (i.e. the Greeks) give them their name from their age, from the word *κοῦρος*, the Romans from their strenuous movements, for jumping and leaping is called by the Romans *scilire*.' Denys exactly hits the mark: the term *Kouretes* expresses the essential fact common to Salii, Korymbantes, etc., that all are youths; the various special names, the meanings of some of which are lost, emphasize particular functions.

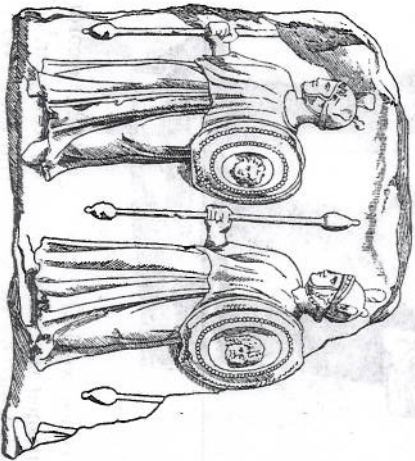


FIG. 49.

Denys² describes in detail the accoutrement of the Salii, which reminds us rather of priest than warrior. He notes the purple chitons and bronze girdles, the short cloaks and the conical caps³ (apices) called, he says, by the Greeks *κρυβάτια*, a name with which very possibly the word *Kurbas*, a by-form of *Korybas*, was connected. One point in his description is of special interest:

¹ *Ant. Rom.* II. 70, 71 *καὶ εἰς τὸ Σάλοι κατὰ γούρ τῆν εἰρη γυμνασίου Ἐλλήνων καὶ μεθ' ἐπισημειώσεως δὲ Κουρέων, ὅψι ἡλικίᾳ μὲν ἐστὶ τῆν ἡλικίας ὄντων ἀνομιμασμένωι παρὰ τοῦσ κόρυμβοι, ὅμο δὲ Παιδαίων ἐστὶ τῆν στυγίωυ κρηπέσεω. τὸ γὰρ εἰδᾶν ἀσφαλ τε καὶ πρὸσθευ σακίωυ ἰσθμῶυ ἀγύετα.*

² *Loc. cit.* καὶ τὰς καθ' αὐτοῦσ ἀρκασ ἐπιπέφαστοι ταῖσ κεφαλᾶσ, πῆλοσ ὑψηλοῦσ εἰσ ὀχθῆσ στυγίωυσ κρηπέσ, ὡσ Ἐλλήνεσ προσηγορεύουσι κρυβάτιασ.

³ Among savages a conical cap of striking appearance is a frequent element in the disguise of the initiator or medicine-man. See Schurza, *Altenskassen und Mannerbände*, 1902, pp. 356, 370, 384, and L. v. Schroeder, *Minna und Mysterium*, p. 476, and Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 78.

each man, he says, is girt with a sword, and in his right hand wields 'a spear or a staff or something of that sort'; in his left is a Thracian shield. We think of the Salii as clashing their swords on their shields, but the Salii seen by Denys seem to have had some implement as to the exact nature of which Denys is uncertain.

The design in Fig. 49 from a relief found at Anagni² may throw some light on this uncertainty. The Salii are shown in long priestly robes with shields in their left hands. In their right is not, as we should expect, a spear or a sword, but an unmistakable drumstick. Some such implements Denys must have seen. It looks back to the old days when the shield was not of metal but of skin. Euripides³, speaking of Crete, says that there the triple-crested Korymbantes found for Dionysos and his Bacchantes their 'skin-stretched orb'. In a word timbrel and shield were one and the same, a skin stretched on a circular or oval frame and played on with a drumstick; the gear of Salii and Korymbantes alike was, to begin with, musical as well as military.

The helmets worn by the Salii on the relief may also be noted. They are not of the form we should expect as representing the canonical *ageas*. They have three projections, and in this respect recall the 'triple-crested' Korymbantes of Euripides. Possibly the central knob may have been originally of greater length and prominence and may have given its name to the apex. The shields carried on the Anagni relief are slightly oblong but not indented.

¹ *Loc. cit.* παρ' ἑαυτοῦσ δ' ἑκατόσ ἀτόνω εἶλοσ καὶ τῆ μὲν δεξιῆ χειρὶ ἀόρυχον ἢ πᾶσσοσ ἢ τῶ τοιοῦτοῦ ἔργουσ κρηπέ, τῆ δ' ἐπισημειώσεωσ κρηπέσ πέντεσ ἐπιπέφαστο.

² *Anagni d. Inst.* 1869, Tav. di agg. E. Banndorf, who publishes the relief, does not say where it now is. That the relief should have been found at Anagni (the ancient Anagnina) is a fact of singular interest. Marcus Aurelius, in going through Anagnina on his way to his Signian villa writes thus to Fronto (*Frontonis et Alarici Epistulae*, Naber 1867, pp. 66, 67):
Prisquam ad villam venimus Anagninam devertimus mille fere passus a via. Deinde id oppidum anticum vidimus, minutulum quidem sed inultas res in se antiquas habet, aedes sanctaeque caerimonias supra modum. Nullus angulus fuit, ubi delubrum aut fanum aut templum non sit. Praeterea multi libri litterae, quod ad sacra attinet. Deinde in porta cum eximus ibi scriptum erat bifariam sicut flamen sume sacramentum. Rogavi aliquem ex popularibus quid illam verbum esset? Ait lingua heretica pellentiam de hostia quam in apicem sumum flamen cum in urbem introest impunit.

³ I owe this interesting reference to the kindness of Mr Spenser Farquharson.

*ἔθλα τρυκίπιδεσ ἀύτοποσ
βυροδύτονω κίχλονω τὸδε
πολ. Κρυβάτεσ ἡγοσ.*