

The regular indented 'Mycenaean' shape is well seen on an Etruscan gem in the Museum at Florence.¹

The first month of the old Roman year, March, the month of Mars, was given up to the activities of the Salii. We have no evidence that they took any part in initiation ceremonies, but it is worth noting that it was in the month of March (17th) at the Liberalia, that, according to Ovid², the Roman boy assumed the toga. This assumption qualified him for military service and may have been the last survival of a tribal initiation-ceremony. On the first day of the year, the birthday of Mars, it was fabled, the original ancile fell from heaven³, and through the greater part of the month the holy shields were kept 'moving'. Of the various and complex ceremonies conducted by the Salii we need only examine two⁴ which throw light, I think, on the Palakastro hymn:—

(a) the Mamuralia (March 14).

(b) the festival of Anna Perenna (March 15).

Both have substantially the same content.

(a) Ovid⁵ asks

Quis mihi nunc dicat, quare caelestia Martis
Arma ferant Salii, Mamuriumque canant?⁶

The question has been long ago answered by Mannhardt, Usener, and Dr Frazer⁷. Ovid will have it that Mamurius is

¹ See Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 455, Fig. 83. Denys states that the shield carried on the left arm was a Thracian *pelta*. Prof. Ridgeway concludes (op. cit. p. 466) that it was the shield of the true Thracians, the kindred of the Mycenaean people, and that it survived in the rites of the Kouretes. According to the Clement (*Strom.* i. 16 *sub init.*) the *pelta* was invented by the Illyrians, who, if Prof. Ridgeway is right, belong to the primitive Aegean stock. A curious double ancile appears on a denarius of P. Licinius Stolo, figured by Mr W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 350. On the same coin the *apex* is very clearly shown.

² Ovid, *Fasts*, iii. 771.

Restat ut inveniam quare toga libera detur
Iuvenio pueris, candida Bacche, tuo.

We should like of course to have definite evidence that rites of tribal initiation were practised among the Greeks and Romans in the spring, but such evidence is not forthcoming. As regards the Mithraic mysteries we are better informed. P. Cumont, *Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithras*, i. p. 336, writes: 'Les initiations avaient lieu de préférence vers le début du printemps en mars et en avril.'

³ Ovid, *Fasts*, iii. 259—273.

⁴ The sources for both festivals are fully given in Roscher's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Mars*, and in Mr Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, pp. 44—54.

⁵ *Fasts*, iii. 259.

⁶ Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 266, 297; Usener, *Italische Mythen* in Rhein. Mus. 1875, p. 183; Frazer, *Golden Bough*², vol. iii. pp. 122 ff.

commemorated because he was the skilful smith who made the eleven counterfeit ancilia, but Lydus¹ lets out the truth. On March 14, the day before the first full moon of the new year, a man dressed in goat-skins was led in procession through the streets of Rome, beaten with long white rods, and driven out of the city. His name was, Lydus says, Mamurius, and Mamurius we know was also called Veturius². He is the old Year, the Old Mars, the Death, Winter, driven out before the incoming of the New Mars, the spring³.

(b) Not less transparent as a year-god is Anna Perenna, 'year-in-year-out'. The details of her festival have no special significance. Ovid⁴ describes it as a rude drinking bout of the plebs; men and women revelled together, some in the open Campus Martius, others in rough huts made of stakes and branches; they sang and danced and prayed for as many years of life as they could drink cups of wine. It was just an ordinary New Year's festival. Lydus⁵ gives us the gist of it, though he does not mention Anna Perenna. On the Ides of March he says there were public prayers that the coming year might be healthy. The name Anna Perenna speaks for itself. Obviously Anna is the year, presumably the New Year. *Perenna*⁶, *Perenna* is the year just passed through, the Old Year—*perannare* is 'to live the year through'. Anna Perenna was not two divinities, but as it were a Janus with two faces, one looking back, one forward, Prosa, Postverta. This comes out very clearly in a story told by Ovid⁷, a story that may reflect a bit of rustic ritual. Mars is about to marry; the wedding-day is come, he seeks his bride. Instead he finds old Anna (Anna Perenna) who has veiled her face and counterfeits the bride⁸. The young Year-god will wed

¹ *De Mens.* iv. 49 *ἡγερο δὲ καὶ κτηνοτροφίας περιβόητος ὄνομαί, καὶ τοῦτο ἔταστο μάστος Νεττίας ἐπισημῆκεν Μακροβίου ἀπὸρ καλοῦρες.*

² The reduplicated form *Mammar* occurs in the *Carmen Arvale* and from it *Mamurius* is probably formed, see Wald, *Lat. Etym. Wörterbuch*, s.v. For *Veturius* as the old year of Gk. *ἔτος*.

³ Roscher, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Mars*, pp. 23—99.

⁴ *Fasts*, iii. 523 ff.

⁵ *De Mens.* iv. 49 *καὶ ἐξυλὸν ὄμματα ἕρπ τοῦ ἕνεσθαι γελόβου τῶν θνασθῶν.*

⁶ Varro, *Sat. Menipp.* p. 506 *te Anna ac Perenna, and Macrobi.* i. 12, 6 *publice et privatim ad Annam Perennam sacrificatum iur ut annare et perannare commode liceat.*

⁷ *Fasts*, iii. 695. Ovid recounts the story as aetiological.

⁸ Inde totī veteres obscenaeque dicta canuntur.

⁹ For the whole subject of May Brides and the False Bride see Miss G. M. Godden, *Folk-Lore*, iv. 1893, pp. 142 ff.

the young Year-goddess, Anna; the old Year-goddess he cannot and will not wed. Anna Perenna is the feminine equivalent of Mamurius Veternus.

Ovid¹ piles up conjectures as to who and what Anna was. Out of his rubbish heap we may pick up one priceless jewel.

Sunt quibus haec Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum:
Pars Themis, Inachiam pars putat esse bovem.

Luna, Themis (order), and the Inachian cow are of course all one and the same, the Moon as the Measurer and as the Horned Wanderer through the sky. Man measures time, we have seen,

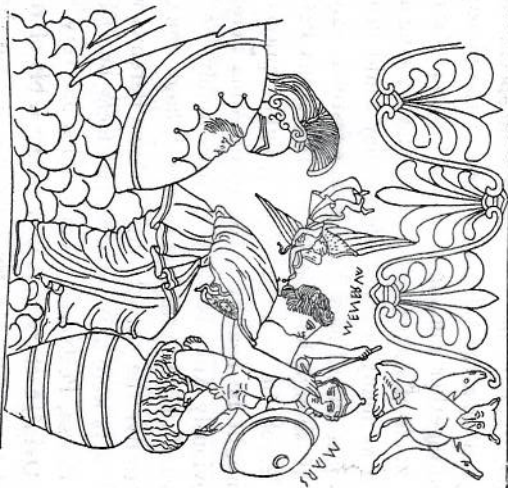


FIG. 50.

first by recurrent days and nights, then by recurrent Moons, then by the circle of the Sun's year and its seasons; finally he tries to adjust his Sun Year to twelve Moon-months². The original *ancile* or moon-shield fell from heaven into the palace of Numa; that was the one sacred month in the spring in which so many ancient festivals were concentrated. When the solar year came in, eleven Moon-shields are made by the smith Mamurius to counterfeit the

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, III. 657.

² The development among primitive peoples from weather gods (e.g. thunder) to moon and sun gods, a sequence which appears to be regular, is well explained by E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, vol. I. pp. 491 ff., and see *infra*, chapter IX.

one actual Moon-month. Broadly speaking, Anna, though she cannot be said to be the Moon, stands for the Moon-Year, Mamurius for the Sun-Year, and Anna is the earlier figure of the two.

This idea of Anna and Mamurius as Moon-Year and Sun-Year throws light on a curious Etruscan monument that has hitherto baffled explanation. In Fig. 50 we have a portion of the design from a Praenestine cista¹ now in the Berlin Museum. *Menerva* holds a young boy over a vessel full of flaming fire; she seems to be anointing his lips. The boy is armed with spear and shield, and his name is inscribed *Mars*: the scene is one of triumph, for over *Menerva* floats a small winged Victory holding a taenia. The scene is one of great solemnity and significance, for on the rest of the design, not figured here, we have an influential assembly of gods, *Juno, Jovos, Mercuris, Hercle, Apolo, Teber*.

Mars is, of course, the new *fighting-season* which opens in spring, as well as the new agricultural season. But if Mars were only the War-God, what sense is there in this baptism of fire? For the young Sun what could be more significant? At the Sun-festivals of the solstice² to-day, to feed the sun and kindle him anew and speed his going, the *Johannfeuer* is lighted year by year and the blazing wheel rolled down the hill.

The band of honeysuckle ornament that runs round the cista is oddly broken: just at the point above the young Sun-god's head is the figure of the triple Cerberus. A strange apparition; but he ceases to be irrelevant when we remember that Hecate the Moon, to whom dogs were offered³ at the crossways, was once a three-headed dog herself.

From the Saliî we have learnt that the function of the armed dancers of Rome was to drive out the Old Year, the Old Mars, and bring in the New. Mars as a Year-God, like the Greek *Ares*, and indeed like almost every other male God, took on aspects of the Sun, Anna Perenna of the Moon. Can we trace in the Kouretes any like function?

¹ *Mon. dell' Inst.* IX. Tav. 58. See Marx, *Ein neuer Ares Mythus*, A. Z. XLIII. 1885, p. 169.

² H. Gaidoz, *Le Dieu Gaulois du Soleil et le Symbolisme de la Roue*, Rev. Arch. 1884, 32 ff.

³ Maurice Blomfield, *Cerberus the Dog of Hades*, 1905. Cerberus, *gabalas*, the heavenly dog of the Yeda, was later translated to Hades. Of the fate of Ixion, For Hekate as dog cf. Porphy. *de Abst.* III. 17 7 8. 'Ἐκείνη τὰ δόγας, κόβας, Ἰξίωνα.

The design in Fig. 51¹ is from a red-figured krater in the Louvre: Helios is rising from the sea. By an odd conjunction he has, to bear him on his way, both boat and quadriga. His horses are guided by Pan holding a quadruple torch. To the right hand stands a dancing Korymbant or Kouros, with shield and uplified sword. In the chariot with Helios, stands the horned Selene: clearly the vase-painter recognised that one function of the Kouros was to clash his shield at the rising of the Sun, and, it would seem, at the marriage of the Sun and Moon.

The Moon was married to the Sun² and in patriarchal fashion sank into wifely subjection. As soon as it was understood that

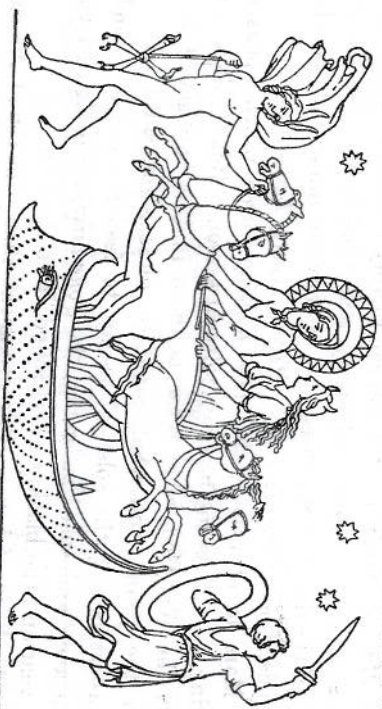


FIG. 51.

the Sun was the source of the Seasons, the Food-bringers, and that increase came from his light and heat, not from the waxing and waning of the Moon, he rose to complete and permanent supremacy. In the vase-painting³ in Fig. 52 we see the Sun figured as greatest Kouros; the laurel spray reminds us that Helios is Apollo in the making. His uprising is greeted by a dance of Satyrs, those *daimones* of fertility who were, as Strabo⁴ reminds us, own brothers to the Kouretes.

¹ *Annali d. Inst.* 1852, Pl. F. 3. Nonnus also makes the Korymbantes dance at Knossos at dawn, *Dionysostika*, 361

ἦθη δ' ἐκάρων ὄπισθε λέοντα τέλειαν, καὶ ὀπίσθε ἐπιτήλυτες ἐπιμαυόμενον Κορυμβάντων Κουροῦσαν ἐπιμαυόμενον σακείων ἄλλα χοροῦσι ἕνεραι, μετρημένον.

² The marriage of Sun and Moon and its religious content in relation to the Enkantos will be discussed in the next chapter, p. 227.

³ E. Gerhard *Ueber die Lichtgötter auf Kunstdenkmälern* 1840. The vase, a krater, is now in the Louvre Museum.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 25.

The custom of greeting the rising sun with dances and the clash of instruments is world-wide. Lucian¹ says that the Indians, when they rise at dawn, worship Helios, and he adds that they do not, like the Greeks, account their devotion complete when they have kissed their hands, but they stand facing the east and greet Helios by dancing, assuming certain attitudes in silence and imitating the dance of the god. The intent is obviously magical; man dances to reinforce his own emotion and activity; so does the sun; and man's dance has power to reinforce the strength of the rising sun. In Germany, Scandinavia, and England the belief is still current that on Easter Morning the sun dances and leaps three times for joy². The Dawn with the Greeks had her dancing places³. In the light of such representations it is not



FIG. 52.

surprising that the Korymbantes should be called the children of Helios⁴, and we understand why Julian⁵ says 'Great Helios who is enthroned with the Mother is Korymbas,' and again, 'the Mother of the gods allowed this minion of hers to leap about, that he might resemble the sunbeams.' Rites often die down into children's

¹ *De Salt.* 17 ... ἄλλ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τῆν ἀνατολὴν ὄρθωντες ὀρχήσονται τὸν Ἡλίον ἀπακλῶνται ὀρχημάτων τεσσάρων ὁμοῦ καὶ μαυόμενοι τῆν χορείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

² See L. v. Schröder, *Minus und Mysticism*, p. 45, and Usener, *Paspertioe* in *Rhein. Mus.* 1894, p. 464.

³ *Od.* xii. 4

ἠδὲ τ' Ἡὸς ἠγρυπνήσας

⁴ Strabo, 202 ... ὡς εἶπε Κορυμβάντες δαίμονες τῶν Ἀθρηναίων καὶ Ἡλίου παῖδες.

⁵ *Or.* v. 167 Κορυμβὰς δὲ μέγας ἦλιος δὲ σὺνθεῖνος τῇ Μητρὶ, and 188.

games, and Pollux¹ tells us that there was a game called 'Shine out, Sun,' in which children made a din when a cloud covered the sun.

With the Salii in our minds leaping in March, the first month of the New Year, with the Kouretes clashing their shields and dancing over the child they had reared to be a Kouros for the Year-Feast (*εἰς εἰνατόν*), we come back to a clearer understanding of the Dithyramb; we may even hazard a conjecture as to the etymology of the word. But first, one point remains to be established. The Dithyramb, like the Hymn of the Kouretes, is not only a song of human rebirth, it is the song of the rebirth of all nature, all living things²; it is a Spring Song 'for the Year-Feasts'.

This is definitely stated in the dithyrambic Paean³ to Dionysos

1 ix. 123. Ἡ δὲ ἔξεν' ἃ φῶν' ἦνε παῖδά, κήθρον ἔχει τῶν παθίων σὺν τῷ ἐμψόχῳ.
ἄντι τῶν ἐπέων νεφέος ἐπιπέδῳ τῶν θεῶν ἄβαν καὶ Στρατίων ἐν φαντασίᾳ,
εἶθ' ἦναος μὲν πεθερῶν τοῖς παθίαις,
δραὺν λέγειον, ἔξεν', ἃ φῶν' ἦνε.

² It is curious how this notion, that on the resurrection or Epiphany of a god depends the fertility of the year, lasts on in the mind of the peasant to-day. Mr Lawson in his interesting book on *Modern Greek Folklore* (p. 573) tells us that a stranger, happening to be in a village in Euboea during Holy Week, noticed the general depression of the villagers. On Easter Eve he asked an old woman why she was so gloomy, and she at once answered, 'Of course I am anxious, for if Christ does not rise to-morrow, we shall have no corn this year.' Her words come to us with a shock as of profanity, but a worshipper of the *μέγιστος Κοῦρος* would have felt them to be deeply, integrally religious.

³ It is worth noting that even now to the farmer a good year means a good harvest; Time's content is set for a period of time, with which may be compared the popular use of the German *Jahr*. Either spring or autumn as season of fruits often stands for the whole year; thus in the *Lex Bogwartorum* dates are reckoned by *autumn*. Our word 'year' is etymologically the same as the Greek *ἔτη* the spring. Much interesting material on this question is collected by Schrader *Reallexicon* s.v. 'Jahr und Jahreszeiten.'

⁴ H. Weil, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xix. p. 401. Dr Weil reads

[Δεῖθ' ἃνα Διὸς] ἰσοπέθε, Βάκχ',
εἴ τίτε θυοῦ φίλος, Βασι-
τά, Βαβυλ(ε), ἠραυλῆς ἱκοῖ
ραῖσθ(ε) λέπας ἐν ὄπασ.
Ἐβῶτ ω ἰδ [Βάκχ' ὃ τὲ Ἰταλῶ
[β]υ Ἐθῆνας ποτ' ἐν εἰλιας
Ζητῆν γέλαστο] καλλίφρας Θουάρα.
παύρας δ' [ἀδρῆρας δ' ἄλλο] ἰσοπέ-
σαν παύρας δὲ ποιοῦν χλαφ-
σαν αἰαῖς] Βάκχ'ε γέβρασ.

In my *Prolegomena* pp. 417 and 439 I followed Dr Weil, but Dr Vollgraf (*Minosyne*, 905, p. 379) has shown that in the second line ΒΡΑΙΤΑ has been mistread for ΧΑΙΤΑ; he proposes to restore εἴ τίτε, τῆπε κερσοῦσα, but as the reading is problematical—though I should welcome 'τῆπε—I leave the 3rd line un-translated.

recently discovered at Delphi. Like the Hymn of the Kouretes it is an Invocation Hymn. It opens thus:

Come, O Dithyrambos, Bacchos, come
* * * * *
* * * * *
Bromios come, and coming with thee bring
Holy hours of thine own holy spring.
Εὐοῖ, Bacchos hail, Paean hail,
Whom, in sacred Thebes, the Mother fair
She, Thyone, once to Zeus did bear.
All the stars danced for joy. Mirth
Of mortals hailed thee, Bacchos, at thy birth.

The new-born god is Dithyrambos, born at the resurrection of earth in the springtime.

The Delphic Paean is later in sentiment than the Hymn of the Kouretes. We have the old matriarchal divine pair, the Mother and the Child, but Thyone the mother is married to Zeus. Next and most beautiful of the Spring Dithyrambs left us is Pindar's fragment, written to be sung at Athens, in the agora in or near to the most ancient sanctuary of Dionysos-in-the-Marshes and like the Delphic Paean it celebrates, as though they were one and the same, the coming of spring, the birth of the child Bromios.

Look upon the dance, Olympians, send us the grace of Victory, ye gods, who come to the heart of our city where many feet are treading and incense steams: in sacred Athens come to the Market-place, by every art enriched and of blessed name. Take your portion of garlands palsy-twined, libations poured from the culting of spring, and look upon me as, starting from Zeus, I set forth upon my song with rejoicing.
Come hither to the god with ivy bound; Bromios we mortals name Him and Him of the mighty Voice. I come to dance and sing, the child of a father most high and a woman of Cadmus' race. The clear signs of his Fulfillment are not hidden, whosoever the chamber of the purple-robed Hours is opened and nectarous flowers lead in the fragrant Spring. Then, then, are flung over the immortal Earth lovely petals of pantries, and roses are amid our hair; and voices of song are loud among the pipes, the dancing-floors are loud with the calling of crowned Semele!

To resume: the Dithyramb, we have seen, is a Birth-Song, a *Θαύμενον* giving rise to the divine figures of Mother, Full-grown Son and Child; it is a spring-song of magical fertility for the new year; it is a group-song, a *κύκλιος λόγος*, later sung by a *thiasos*, a song of those who leap and dance rhythmically together.

¹ Pindar, *Dithyramb* 75. The 'calling of crowned Semele' will be further discussed in chapter ix.

The word *Dithyramb* now speaks for itself. The first syllable Δι for Διζ is from the root that gives us Ζεύς and Διός. The termination αμβος is probably the same as that in ἴαμβος, σῆμαμβος. We are left with the syllable θυρ, which has always been the crux. But the difficulty disappears if we remember that, as Hoffmann has pointed out, the northern peoples of Greece tend, under certain conditions, to substitute υ for ο, which gives us for Δι-θύρ-αμβος Δι-θορ-αμβος—Zeus-leap-song, the song that makes Zeus leap or beget¹. Our Hymn of the Kouretes is the *Di-thor-amb*².

We seem to have left the Bull far behind, for the Delphic Paean and Pindar's *Dithyramb* and even our *Hymn of the Kouretes* know nothing of the bull-sacrifice; they tell only of the human child, not the theriomorph. Only on the sarcophagos do we get the bull-sacrifice and the Spring *δρωμενον* together. But Pindar knew that the *Dithyramb* was the song of the Bull as well as of the Child and the Spring. In the XIIIth Olympian³ he is chanting the praises of Corinth, home of the *Dithyramb*, Corinth, the home of splendid youths (*ἀνδρακόουρον*), Corinth, where dwelt as in ancient Crete, the Horae, Euanomia and Dike and Eirene, givers of Wealth, golden daughters of Themis. These golden Horae had brought to Corinth from of old subtleties of invention; for 'whence,' asks Pindar, in words that are all but untranslatable,

'Whence did appear the Charites of Dionysos
With the Bull-driving *Dithyramb*?'

¹ I owe this brilliant suggestion to Mr A. B. Cook and publish it by his kind permission. Previous attempted derivations will be found in Parly-Wisnowa, s. v. *Dithyramb*. To these may be added the recent *Studies in Greek Non-Formation* by E. H. Sturtevant in *Classical Philology*, Chicago, 1910, v. p. 329. For the interchange of υ and ο see Hoffmann, *Die Metaktonen*, p. 242.
² Mr Cook also kindly draws my attention to a gloss of Hesychius which presents a very instructive parallel: Δει-τρῖνος· Θεὸς παρὰ [Ζ]ηρυφάτος. This important note preserves the name of 'Zeus the Father' as used in the district of Mt Strympe, not far from Dodona on the frontier of Epirus, Macedonia and Thessaly. It furnishes a precise parallel both for the compound Δι and for the weakening of θ into υ, in short for both the disputable elements in *Διθύραμβος*. Moreover—a still more interesting point—the meaning as well as the form is parallel: Zeus the Father, Zeus the begetter, cf. Jäsch. *Eym.* 683 *τ-λερεθ*, θ' ὁ θηρόσκων. As initiated Kouros the young god has come to maturity of his functions.
³ v. 16

Ἐπει δ' ἐν καρδίαις ἀνθρώπων ἔβανον
πρὸς Διὸς ἐν καρδίαις ἀνθρώπων ἔβανον
Χαῖν· σοφίαιατα· τὰν δ' εὐφρονας ἐργων.
ταὶ Δαίμωνον πῶθεν ἐξέβανεν
ὅν πορῆδρα Χάριτες ἀθύραμβου;

Why is the *Dithyramb* Bull-driving? Why does the Bull-driving *Dithyramb* come with the Charites?

Pindar no doubt was thinking of the new Graces of tragedy; but behind them come the figures of the older Charites, the givers of all Increase, the Horae who bring back the god in the Spring, be he Bull or human Kouros. In our oldest *Dithyramb* they bring him as a Bull.

In his xxxvith Greek Question Plutarch asks, 'Why do the women of Elis summon Dionysos in their hymns to be present with them with his bull-foot?' Happily Plutarch preserves for us the very words of the little early ritual hymn—

In Springtime, O Dionysos,
To thy holy temple come,
To Elis with thy Graces,
Rushing with thy bull-foot, come,
Noble Bull, Noble Bull!



FIG. 53.

Plutarch² tries as usual to answer his own question and at last half succeeds. 'Is it,' he suggests, 'that some entitle the god as born of a bull and as a bull himself,.....or is it that many hold that the god is the beginner of sowing and ploughing?' We have seen how at Magnesia the holy Bull was the beginner (*ἀρχηγός*) of ploughing and sowing.

Ἴσθλαθ ἦν δ' Ἀδελφωρε
'Αἰκείων ἐς νάβη
ἀνθρώπων σὺν χαλκίτροσσιν,
ἐς νάβη τῶν πολεῶν ποθὶ θίωιν.
Ἄκτε τὰς, ἀκτε τὰς,
ἐς νάβη τῶν πολεῶν ποθὶ θίωιν.

I adopt in the first line Mr A. B. Cook's simple and convincing emendation ἦν δ' for ἦν. The vocative ἦν does not exist. Schneidewin emends ἦν as Bergk (ed. 4) keeps ἦν, observing 'non ausus sum ἦν as substitute.' For elision of the dative see Montu, *Homeric Grammar*, ed. 2, §§ 376.
² *op. cit.* note I πρῶτον δὲ καὶ βουρηνῆν πρῶτα ἰσοπέποιοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν θύων τῶν θεῶν; ... ἦ ὅτι καὶ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ στέβου πρὸς Διὸς ἀρχηγὸν γέγονε καὶ νομίσαντο.

On a cameo in the Hermitage at St Petersburg in Fig. 53¹ we see the 'noble Bull' rushing 'with his bull-foot' and he is coming 'with the Charities': they are perched, a group of three, oddly enough between his horns. Above the holy Bull are the Pleiades²; their rising twenty-seven days after the vernal equinox was the signal in Greece for the early harvest. The women of Elis 'summon' the Bull, sing to him, praise him; but after all if you want a Bull to come to his holy temple, it is no use standing and 'summoning' him, you must drive him, drive him with a 'Bull-driving Dithyramb.'

From the leaders of the Dithyramb Aristotle has told us arose tragedy, the Goat-Song. Yet the Dithyramb is a song of Bull-driving. The difficulty is not so great as it seems. Any young full-grown creature can be the animal form of the Kouros, can be sacrificed, sanctified, divinized, and become the *Agathos Daimon*, the 'vegetation spirit,' the luck of the year. All over Europe we find, as Dr Frazer³ has abundantly shown, goats, pigs, horses, even cats can play the part. Best of all perhaps is a bear, because he is strongest; this the Athenian maidens remembered in their Bear-Service (*ápretea*). But bears, alas! retreat before advancing civilization. Almost equally good is a bull, if you can afford him. But in Attica, as Aleiphron has told us (p. 173), a bull was too expensive. A goat is not a bad life-spirit, as anyone will quickly discover who tries to turn him back against his will. Crete, the coast-land of Asia Minor, and Thrace, as we know from their coins, were bull-lands with abundant pastures. Attica, stony Attica, is a goat-land. If you go to Athens to-day, your morning coffee is ruined because, even in the capital, it is hard to get a drop of cow's milk. Instead you have, as an abundant and delicious food, sour goat's milk, *γυαοίπρω*.

On the archaic *patera* in Fig. 54⁴ in the British Museum⁵ we

¹ Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Fig. 413, p. 377.

² For the Pleiades and their importance in the farmer's year cf. Hesiod 615 and 619. See A. W. Mar's *Hesiod, Poems and Fragments*, 1908, Addenda, p. 136. Prof. Maiv quotes the scholiast on the *Phænomena* of Aratos, 264 ff., who says the Pleiades rise with the sun at dawn when he is in Taurus, which with the Romans is in April. The bull on the gem may have some reference to the constellation Taurus.

³ *The Golden Bough*, II, 261—269. For the Bear-Service see my *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, p. 410.

⁴ *Myth. and Mon. of Ancient Athens*, p. 289, Fig. 30.

⁵ Cat. B, 80, published by C. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* I, Pl. 7, p. 202. See also *Class. Rev.* I, (1887), p. 315.

see depicted two scenes: one to the left the sacrifice of an ox, a *Bouphonia*, the other to the right a festival that centres round a goat, which perhaps we may venture to associate with a *tragœdia*. Some of the figures round the goat hold wreaths, and it may be that the splendid animal in the midst of them is the tragic prize. Behind the goat-scene, and evidently part of it, is a primitive mule-car. This recalls Thespis and his cart, and the canonical jests 'from the cart.' The scene to the left is in honour of Athena. She and her great snake and her holy bird await the

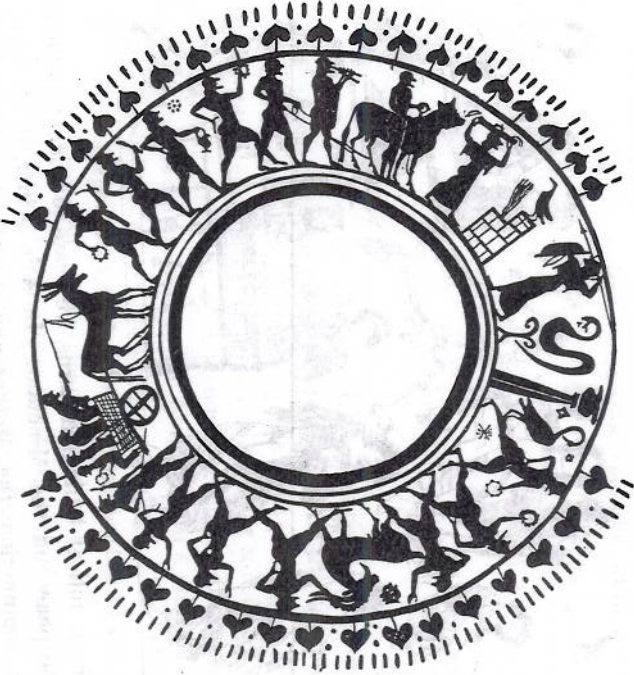


FIG. 54.

sacrificial procession. A flute-player leads the Bull-driving Dithyramb. The Bull is led or rather driven by a cord attached to one of his hind legs; the other men hold wreaths, a staff, and an oinochoë. On another and much later red-figured vase, in the Naples Museum¹, reproduced in Fig. 55², we have another scene of goat-sacrifice. This time the god Dionysos himself is present. His stiff xoanon stands close to the altar and table at which

¹ Heydemann, Cat. 2411.

² *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI, 37. See also Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v, p. 256.

the offerings are to be made. A priestess is about to slay a very lively looking goat. About are dancing Maenads with their timbrels. But though a goat is sacrificed, the old bull-service is not forgotten. The altar is decorated with a *boucranium*, the holy filleted head of a bull.

To resume. In Crete we have the worship of the Mother and the Child, the Kouros; without the Child the worship of the Mother is not; we have also the theriomorph, the holy Bull, the 'horns of consecration'; we cease to wonder that the Cretan

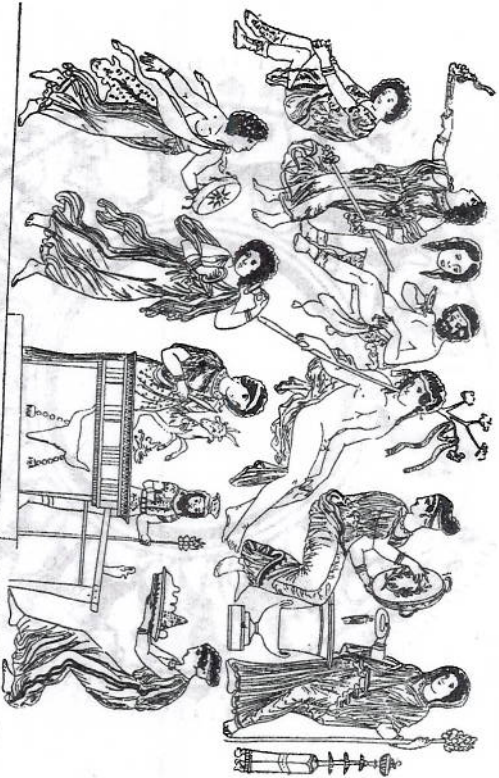


FIG. 55.

palace is full of bulls and horns, we cease to wonder at the story of Pasiphae and the Minotaur. In Asia Minor, in Phrygia, the same conjunction, the Mother and the Child and the Bull; in Thrace, in Macedonia, in Delphi, in Thracianized Thebes again the same. It was this religion of the Mother and the holy Bull-Child and the spring *δωόμενον* that came down afresh, resurging from Macedonia to startle and enthral civilized, Olympianized, patriarchalized, intellectualized Athens, that Athens which, centuries before, under the sea-supremacy of Minos, had had her legend of the Cretan Bull, her Cretan ritual of the Bouphonia.

Matrarchy died out; Athena was 'all for the father'; hence the scandal caused by the Bacchants. But the Bull and the spring *δωόμενον* went on, to be the seed of the drama.

The most ancient Dionysia at Athens were, Thucydides¹ tells us, in the month Anthesterion, the month of the rising of the dead and the blossoming of flowers. At the Anthesteria were dramatic contests known as Pot Contests,² but we know of no Dithyramb, and no Bull-sacrifice. On the eve of the great Dionysiac festival, the Epheboi of Athens, the Kouroi, brought the image of Dionysos by torch-light into the theatre. They brought him by night—for was he not *πυρρέλαιος, πυρρτολός*? They brought their Greatest Kouros in human shape, an image such as we have seen on the vase, but, in the same procession, they brought their god, their Kouros, in animal shape—a splendid bull. Surely as they went they sang their Bull-driving Dithyramb.

It was expressly ordained, an inscription³ testifies to it, that this bull should be 'worthy of the god.' Worthy of the god forsooth! Why, he *was* the god.

ἀξίε ταιῖος, ἀξίε ταιῖος.

It will not have escaped the reader's attention that one, and perhaps the most important, portion of the scene on the sarcophagos has been left undescribed. To the extreme right (Fig. 31, p. 161) is a small building variously interpreted as tomb or sanctuary; it is richly decorated. In front of it stands the closely draped figure of a youth, by his side a tree, and in front of him a stepped altar. To him approach three youths bearing offerings. The foremost brings a moon-shaped boat, the two last bring, not the blood of the dead bull, but young bull-calves, leaping and prancing; the somewhat irrelevant pose of the calves reminds us of the bull on the fresco of Thyros. All three youths wear strange beast-skin robes⁴

¹ II. 15 καὶ τὸ ἐν Αἰγυπτῶσι Διονύσιον (ὃ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔργα Διονύσιον τῆ δαδὲστίῳ ποιεῖται ἐν Ἰαπύ, Ἀνθεστηριῶν). For the whole question of the various Dionysia see my *Primitive Athens*, p. 85. The significance of the Anthesteria in relation to the Dithyramb and the drama will be further discussed in chapter VIII.

² Schol. ad Ar. Ran. 218 ἤγωνα ἀγῶνες ἀντιθέοι οἱ χερσὺν καὶ ποδῶν. See *Primitive Athens*, p. 87, note 6.

³ Ἐπιθ. 4098, I. 11 ἐστὶν ἄριστος ὅτι καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας ἐἶς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φάρος καὶ κρημνῶν τοῖς Διονυσίοις ταῖσιν ἀξίε ταιῖος τοῖς θεοῖ, ὅτι καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῷ τειχῆ τῆ πομπῆ.

⁴ Signor Paribeni has shown (*op. cit.*) that these celebrants, male and female, wearing beast robes, are 'girded with sackcloth.' Our word 'sackcloth' is the Hebrew *šē*, Assyrian *sakku*, Coptic *soh*, which gave the Greeks their *εσκρος*. It means simply rough, hairy beast-skin. In the familiar Bible passages, it will be noted that when sackcloth is worn it is not a complete dress, it is an extended

like that of the woman celebrant, but their procession seems to have nothing to do with hers, for they are turned back to back.

Two interpretations of the scene have been offered. Dr Petersen¹, whose theory as to the meaning I have, in the main, followed, holds that the building to the right is a sanctuary, the figure in front of it a god, Dionysos, closely draped because phallic. Dionysos is here as god of fertility, worshipped in spring; the tree beside him marks one of his aspects, as *Dendrites*. A more widely current interpretation, offered by the first publisher of the sarcophagos, Sig. Paribeni², is that the building is a tomb, the figure in front a dead man, a hero. The boat and calves are offerings to the dead man, the boat in Egyptian fashion provided for his journey, the young bulls to revive his life and strength.

We are now brought face to face with an all-important question. Is the spring *δρῶμενον* on the sarcophagos conceived as celebrated in honour of, in relation to, a god or a mortal, Dionysos or a dead hero? Further, since, as we have seen, drama and *δρῶμενον* are closely connected, this question leads straight on to another problem, 'Does Greek drama arise from the worship of Dionysos, or, as has been recently maintained, from the worship of the dead?' This question is not a mere curiosity of literary history, still less is its importance to be measured by the heat of a passing controversy. The answer lies, I believe, deep down in the very nature of religion, and in that peculiar quality of the Greek mind on which the differentiation of their religion from that of other peoples depended. The solution can only be attempted after a very careful analysis of the meaning of the terms employed and especially the term *hero*.

Join-cloth, gift on as in the case of the celebrants on the sarcophagos, e.g. Isaiah iii. 24, describing the mourning of Zion, says, 'Instead of well set hair there shall be baldness, and instead of a stomacher a girding of sackcloth,' and again in Psalm xxx. 12:

'Thou hast turned my heaviness into joy:

Thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness.'

The wearing of sackcloth was in all likelihood originally not merely a sign of mourning, but a means of magical identification with the holy, sacrificed beast.

¹ *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* 1909, p. 162.

² *Supra*, p. 158, note 1.

But, before that analysis is attempted, we have to consider another series of *δρῶμενα*, which present interesting analogies to the *δρῶμενα* of the Dithyramb. Like these they are magical and recurrent, having for their object to influence and induce a good year. Like them, they became closely intertwined with the worship of heroes. We mean the contests (*ἀγῶνες*) celebrated widely and periodically in Greece, and first and foremost those contests which set the clock for Hellas—the great Olympic Games.

Note to p. 158. For the Hagia Triada Sarcophagos see Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 438 ff.

Note to p. 169. For my present views on Poseidon's connection with the Minos-bull of Crete see my 'Mythology' in *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, p. 26.

Note to p. 204. For an entirely new derivation of the Dithyramb see W. M. Calder, 'The Dithyramb an Anatolian Dirge,' in *Classical Review*, Feb.-March, 1922, p. 11.

Note to p. 205. On the question of the Bull-driving Dithyramb and the Bouphonia I should like to draw attention to the close analogy observable between the Cretan Taurokathapsia and the modern bull-fights of Spain. At Seville the bull was clearly regarded as in a sense sacred. It had, as always, necessarily to be slain, it was a sacrifice. Its flesh was sold in the Seville market on the Monday following the Sunday bull-fight. The tail especially brought huck to the eater. I tried to obtain a portion, but all was too quickly sold. In the market-place were also exposed small figures of bulls in rude pottery, one of which I secured. For the Taurokathapsia of which I believe the bull-fight to be a survival, and the connection between *Bovγία* and *Tauροκαθάψια* see Sir Arthur Evans, 'The Ring of Nestor' in *J.H.S.* 1925, p. 8.