

The Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic
Year-Cult

By

Hugh W. Nibley

1938

Transcription Notes

1) Text is transcribed from two copies:

1) A PDF copy of a print that is missing parts of the introduction, the last page of Chapter I, all of Chapter II, and most of the Bibliography. In addition a few pages were out of order, these have been corrected in the PDF. This copy has comments from the reviewers and some corrections by Nibley, e.g. capitalizing a Sigma in one of the references.

2) A copy printed from microfilm (white text on black background) in 1978-9 by Steve Whitlock. This copy is complete but some pages miss the bottom lines and parts are difficult to read. No reviewer's comments are on this copy.

2) Since page lengths differ, footnotes are moved to the end and numbered sequentially as end notes, however to ensure correlation with original, they include original page number followed by a "." and a space and then the original page number and footnote number separated by a hyphen: e.g. "1. i-1" refers to Endnote #1 which is found on original Page #i as Footnote #1.

Nibley significantly compressed or abbreviated names and references in his footnotes.

Original page numbers are in []. The introduction covers Pages i-iv, the rest starts at Page 1.

Where Pages are missing or skipped the page numbers in the text have been adjusted to align with Nibley's page numbers in the Table of Contents. A second Page 230, entirely footnotes to Page 230 appears before Page 231. See note after Page 230. Page 243 (Book references from C to H) is also missing from the microfilm.

There may be other pages missing. Page 189 is skipped. See note between pages 188 and 190. Page 209 is also skipped; see note after Page 208.

3) Unreadable text is replaced with "---" or "?" (Some "?" are in the original) and sometimes with notes in []. There are some footnote references where Nibley left the page numbers blank, possibly intending to fill them in later. There are some of these where the page numbers were handwritten after the reference was typed. It's also possible he was typing from note cards he had not recorded the page numbers on.

4) Nibley hand wrote Greek characters. Some of these are faint and some were written hastily, making it difficult to read some of the letters and especially difficult to read the breathing and accent marks. Nibley spelled out Semitic words in Latin characters.

Nibley underlined both Latin quotations and other words for emphasis. These underlines have been replaced with italics.

Nibley typed double quote characters for German umlauts. Other accent and diacritical marks were handwritten. Other non Latin alphabet characters such as the þ (thorn) were also handwritten. They are here reproduced as Nibley wrote them. Some diacritical marks may have been obscured by Nibley's use of underlines.

5) Nibley inserted hand written corrections in places, mostly footnotes. However they are much fainter than the typed text. There are a few places where the references (usually only page numbers) were changed by crossing out the typed reference and hand writing a new reference. Where readable I have used his corrections.

While Nibley made very few obvious typos, these increase about 2/3 of the way through the dissertation. Possibly he was under stress or time constraints. These typos (typically omitted or duplicated letters or incorrect footnote references) have been corrected.

6) There are comments written by hand in the foot notes. These are usually linked to a circle and/or slash in the main body text. Most of the footnote comments consist of the letters "OK" written in a circle after a reference.

For example, Page 18 contains 6 footnotes. In the main body text the numbers for footnotes 1, 5, and 6 are circled and each circle contains a slash. These correspond to circles around the same footnote numbers. Those circles also contain checkmarks. It appears that a reviewer circled a footnote to check in the main body text, circled the corresponding footnote number below in the footnotes, checked the reference, placed a checkmark in the circled footnote number to indicate that it had been checked and then placed a slash in the corresponding circled footnote number in the main body text to also indicate it had been checked.

I believe these markings are from the dissertation reviewers and not from Nibley. Some references appear to have been checked during a review. Most of the "OK"s are appended to the easier to find or the most common sources. There are maybe a half dozen comments of substance, usually challenging Nibley's conclusions from the indicated reference.

There are a very few actual comments. These appear after the referenced end note in []s like this: [Reviewer: Footnote Reference - *text of the comment*].

7) Things to add or fix:

- 1) Recover missing pages (189, 209, 243)
- 2) Recover missing text
- 3) Standardize Nibley's abbreviations and references in his bibliography
- 4) Standardize Nibley's abbreviations and references in his footnotes

Stephen T. Whitlock

Hugh Nibley's account of writing his dissertation

At UCLA I quickly learned the knack of getting grades, a craven surrender to custom, since grades had little to do with learning. Still, that was during the Depression, when people of little faith were clinging to institutions for survival, and so I went along, as timid and insecure as the rest of them. What sort of thinking went on there? The man I worked for as an assistant refused to read Spengler, "because he is not even a full professor!" Staggering, isn't it? I have never thought of an answer to that one. Nobody stood alone; the only way they all stayed on their feet was by leaning on each other for support, like a stand of toothpicks. Berkeley was more of the same, with one difference—they had a library. I decided to put it all together in the stacks beginning at the southwest corner of the ninth level and working down to the northeast corner of the first level, book by book, stopping whenever something significant caught my eye. It took four years, and then one day a cardboard tube came in the mail. It contained another passport, this time even more magical than the one with the rubber stamps. I may have forgotten the very names of the courses and teachers that qualified me as a PhD, but this pretty document assured me that from here on it was all safely stored in steel filing cabinets in the registrar's office.

Typical was the committee's rejection of my first subject for a thesis: I wanted to write about the perennial phenomena of the mob in the ancient world; but the committee found the subject altogether too unreal, too irrelevant to the mood and spirit of the modern world, to appeal even to normal curiosity. How could you expect such men to be aware of the desperately lonely and unhappy young people all around them, seething with resentment and building up to some kind of an explosion (which occurred in the '60s), frustrated at every turn as they asked for the bread of life and got only processed academic factory food served at an automat?

Hugh W. Nibley, *An Intellectual Autobiography: Some High and Low Points, Nibley on the Timely and the Timeless*, Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2nd Edition, 2004.

Also included in *Hugh Nibley Observed*, Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, Shirley S. Ricks, and Stephen T. Whitlock, eds. Orem and Salt Lake City, UT: The Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books, 2021, pp. 42, 44.

Insights on topic selection, dissertation acceptance, and analysis of Nibley's dissertation

Topic Selection

William A. Wilson

If you know anything about Hugh Nibley, you know that he had boxes of three-by-five cards. In fact, there is a story about when *he was working on his dissertation and had those with him; somebody came from one direction and he came from the other in the library. They crashed, and the cards spilled all over the library floor. He looked at them and said, "Oh, well. I didn't like that subject very much, anyway," and started of on another dissertation topic.* William A. Wilson, Nibley and Folklore, *Hugh Nibley Observed*, p. 232.

Jand D. Brady

There are several stories circulating about Nibley and his various dissertations. Apparently the first one he wrote was all mapped out on his famous three-by-five note cards—Nibley, being a practical man, used rejected catalog cards from the library; even in the 1930s Hugh Nibley was recycling. The cards were packed in shoe-boxes that Nibley took with him everywhere. One day when he was in the grocery store, his shopping cart tipped over. All of his note cards spewed out and were sprawled out all over the floor.

He had been wrestling with his dissertation topic, trying to get something going with it. When he saw all of his note cards lying there on the floor, he said, "I didn't like that subject very much any-way," and he left he cards on the floor of the store. Most scholars wouldn't dream of starting from scratch after putting so much work into a dissertation. For Nibley there was no point in continuing if the subject was not interesting to him and if he wasn't getting anywhere in the writing. Jane D. Brady, The BYU Folklore of Hugh W. Nibley, *Hugh Nibley Observed*, p. 643.

Don Norton

There's the story that at Berkeley he wrote a dissertation and the committee rejected it because they said the subject was irrelevant. The subject was student riots in the ancient world. This was in 1934 at Berkeley. He went back and in a month wrote another dissertation. He holed himself up in a part of the apartment. He says he ate moldy carrots and drank condensed milk for a month and wrote it. Quoted in Jane D. Brady, The BYU Folklore of Hugh W. Nibley, *Hugh Nibley Observed*, p. 643.

Acceptance

William A. Wilson

When it came time for his doctorate orals, the professors who were going to test him were discussing him. One of the professors asked the other what kind of questions he was going to ask the Nibley kid during his orals. The professor replied, "I'm not going to ask him anything. I don't want to make a fool of myself."

*Well, they said he had to be tricked into taking his doctorate at Berkeley. The professors knew he was working on it, but none of them wanted to be on his committee for fear of being shown up. One day, a friend invited him to dinner along with the committee, and in a general conversation, he answered all of their questions. So, he got through his PhD exam at that dinner engagement, and they never had to hold it. William A. Wilson, Nibley and Folklore, *Hugh Nibley Observed*, p. 239.*

Analysis

Eric D. Huntsman

His dissertation, written back in 1939, already manifested three features of his writing style and approach that we will see in all of his writing ... First of all, in terms of content, *Nibley's writing consistently manifested the amazing breadth and depth of his erudition, his learning, his scholarship.* ... The second feature of his writing that was already present in his dissertation was *his methodology*. What he did in his later works was present already in 1939—*namely, a very pronounced comparative approach.* ... *The third feature is his style.* ... his style is much like his classes ... He went from one to another, and whatever was on his mind was what he talked about. Eric D. Huntsman, *Hugh Nibley and Classical Scholarship, Hugh Nibley Observed*, pp. 276-8.

Nevertheless, those characteristics that we can discern in his clearly classical dissertation in terms of his content, methodology, and style continued even in his later, more re-ligiously focused works: his breadth and depth of knowledge; a comparative, exploiting parallelism wherever he could find it; and a wide-ranging style, prone to digressions. Yet I am beginning to believe that each of these features was actually driven by his deep-seated religious convictions, convictions that became ever more patent in his later works. Eric D. Huntsman, *Hugh Nibley and Classical Scholarship, Hugh Nibley Observed*, pp. 289.

Huntsman's chapter also contains a detailed analysis of Nibley's expansion of topics from his dissertation in his later writings. Huntsman also includes a list of these publications.

While Nibley expanded on the depth of topics in his dissertation, and referenced it several times in later works, he did write any subsequent materials of this breadth.

A report of the meeting of the CWHN (Comprehensive Works of Hugh Nibley) Publication Committee on 23 Jan 2007 indicates that a decision was made not to include the dissertation in the CWHN series. However it was decided to look for a microfilm version of the dissertation that could be digitized and to put a PDF of it on the internet. This never appeared.

The Roman Games as a Survival of an Archaic Year-Cult

By

Hugh W. Nibley

Dissertation

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

History

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California

Approved:

H. R. W. Smith

Max Radin

J. J. Van Nortland

Committee in Charge

Deposited in the University Library on January 1939 Jeanne – Wah--- (Librarian)

University of California
Graduate Division
Programme of the
Final Examination for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
of
Hugh Nibley

A. B. (University of California at Los Angeles) 1934

Wednesday, December 14, 1938, at 9:00 A. M. in Room 111

University Library

Committee in Charge:

Professor John James Van Nortland, Chairman,
Professor Max Radin,
Professor Henry Roy William Smith,
Associate Professor Arthur Ernest Gordon,
Professor James Westfall Thompson.

Dissertation

The Roman Games as a Survival of an Ancient Year-Cult

The paper deals with aspects of the Roman state cult in which alone are preserved the remnants of the ancient kingship. The reconstruction of the kingship and of other prehistoric institutions at Rome is of necessity based on broad and general considerations and as far as the local evidence is concerned may be regarded as virtually brought to a close with Mommsen. But the evidence is given a new significance, and familiar institutions hitherto passed over as having no fundamental bearing on the case are found to supply valuable clues if the Roman games and triumph are compared with other games and triumphs throughout the world. The recently but well-established existence of a year drama with a definite plot, appearing in many places in the ancient and primitive world, suggests such a rite as the background for the Roman games. But instead of seeking resemblances between the two forms of ritual as a means of identifying them the present study confines itself to disconnected parallels without raising the question of separate or common origin. The parallels give no more than a hint of what to look for at Rome, where all the institutions of the year-festival are interpreted on the basis of strictly local evidence.

No exhaustive treatment of the games is undertaken in treating the first preliminary aspects of the institution. Half a dozen simple and undisputed facts are noted with reference to the games: There was a general assembly, a feast, a contest, a triumph. The same elements are found to occur in the same relationship in a dozen other localities, where they take a peculiar form, which they also reveal at Rome. Certain resemblances of detail invite theorizing on the relationship between the symbolism of the rites at Rome and elsewhere, but the only conclusion justified by the study is that resemblances do exist and that they are probably not accidental. It is not claimed that the year-rite at Rome is the same as in a dozen other places, but there is definite indication that it is in a general way the same sort of thing.

Biographical

1910	Born in Portland, Oregon
1934	A.B., University of California at Los Angeles
1934-1938	Graduate Student, University of California
1936	University Fellow

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[i] Introduction

This paper attempts to contribute to the fuller description of the games as an institution of fundamental importance in Roman History. It deals with primitive survivals in the Roman state cult, a field which because of the lack of direct documentary evidence must be cultivated in a special manner. Two methods have proven fruitful in the reconstruction of prehistoric institutions of the Romans. The first relates historic institutions to each other, assuming a significant connection between those which make logical combinations or present striking parallels. Thus the vanished kingship is conceived as something parallel to sacral institutions of historic times, on the basis of nomenclature;¹ thus Wissowa detected the survival from the earliest times of identical year-rites in October and March,² and Deubner discovered the prehistoric sub-stratum of Roman religion in rites having certain common characteristics.³ Closely allied to this method is that employed with such effect by Mannhardt, who in his study of the earliest Roman cult-practices "succeeded in treating (them) as all such survivals should be treated, i.e. in bringing it into relation with the practices of other peoples..." Thus Fowler⁴ of whom Deubner rightly observes, in view of the exhaustion of local materials at Rome, that there is "kein Zweifel, dass eine religionsgeschichtliche [ii] Untersuchung über die römische Urzeit heute immer an Preller und Fowler wird anknüpfen müssen."⁵ The practice of resorting to foreign materials when local sources fail is neither new nor unproven; Mommsen, Roscher, Usener, Wissowa, etc., did not hesitate to bring distant evidence under contribution in dealing with ancient institutions, not only for illustration but as proof. The only question is how far such a practice may be carried: at what point does a parallel cease to be significant?

As soon as an instance is cited lying outside the sphere of a critical reader's research it is labelled "exotic",⁶ not without reason, since there is small likelihood that a writer should be on solid ground in ranging at random beyond his own domain. "Parallels" must be more than superficial resemblances which have caught the eye of the investigator in a hasty survey, but if the only assurance against such superficiality is a thorough acquaintance with the whole culture of every field in which one presumes, to set foot the world must forever abandon as inaccessible the great riches which preliminary explorations have promised. But there is an alternative means of attaining to some degree of certainty. If the student confines himself to consideration only of very conspicuous and well-established objects, things thoroughly treated and universally agreed upon, the evidence for which is easily available to all, and if his whole concern is not with symbols [iii] or interpretations but with the tangible and objective aspects of every case cited, he may be justified in drawing upon widely-scattered sources. Such precautions do not establish the "validity" of a comparison; it is a further provision which gives force to the parallels cited in the present study, and which justifies its existence.

It is noted that a certain kind of festival was held at Rome to mark the year or the life-cycle of the individual or the race. A brief investigation reveals the presence of year-festivals among certain other people. The present study describes some of the things that happened on the occasion of that festival among those people. In each case the celebration is found to be of

primary importance and hence to loom largely among the surviving records. Resemblances are found not in isolated or random instances but integrated for each region mentioned into an intelligible whole: all the elements of the festival as noted in one place are found in all the others. The New Year's festivals one and all present a general gathering, a particular kind of feast, and a combat, and the evidence for these things is cited in illustration of year-practices at Rome. It is quite possible to make an intelligible reconstruction of the prehistoric year-festival at Rome without reference to foreign examples - it is possible in fact - to make a number of intelligible reconstructions, since the dearth of evidence precluding anything like a "microscopic" study permits and requires a measure of speculation. It is because of this wide margin of speculation that the present writer has introduced the picture of the universal year-festival to act as a check upon a reconstruction of the Roman festival based on purely local considerations.

[iv] The regions chosen for comparison are the Scandinavian North and Germany, Celtic Gaul, Britain and Ireland, the Slavic and West Semitic countries (Palestine, Syria and Arabia, Babylonia, India, Persia, Africa and Greece. On all of these peoples information is available both in well-digested and in "primary" form relating to the year-festival. With the exception of India, for which we have the extensive work of Dumont dealing specifically with that festival, a good part of all that is known of the cult practices of all these people is to be found in Greek and Latin sources, and those have been compiled in the most convenient possible form in the *Fontes Historiae Religionum*, edited by Carl Clemen. By using that collection and supplementing it by the generalizations of the most accepted scholars in each field, the writer has ventured to attempt a comparative study. The reader will quickly recognize that there is no risk involved in the perfectly commonplace matters discussed; the elements compared are all familiar, and there is nothing new even in the comparing of them; All this paper does is to point out is that the resemblances are completer than has been suspected.

[1] Chapter I

The Year Festival

The Time of the Festival: The greatest Roman festival was the celebration of the *saeculum*, marking one complete revolution in the life-time of the race.⁷ Time moved in a circle, as Homer's περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν⁸ the *dor* of the Old Testament⁹ and the Latin *annus, anni circulum*¹⁰ attest. The great year-festival in the North is the "Yule", from O.N. *hveol*, "wheel"¹¹, while the [2] etymology of Ger. "Jahr" from **ia-*, "Gehn" gives the word an original sense of motion, specifically of "Gehen im Kreiss", according to Otto Huth, who cites Walde's association of *annus* with various expressions for "going".¹²

Plutarch, asking why the Roman year begins in January, observes that there is no beginning or end to a circle, but decides that on the whole the Winter Solstice is the most reasonable time to mark the year.¹³ The same writer wonders why a certain Roman noble observed in December a festival which the rest of the city keeps in Feb.,¹⁴ and he has described the rite of the October horse as taking place on the Ides of December.¹⁵ There are obvious cases of duplication, and such duplication was especially easy in the Roman calendar, as Alf. Von Domaszewski has shown, due to "eine echt römische Phantasie ... in der Auffassung des Naturlebens als eines grossen organischen Ganzen."¹⁶ That authority finds the ordering of the festivals "als ob in jedem Monate die Feste um ein Hauptfest zu höheren Einheit sich zusammenschlossen," while these central month festivals in turn have definite reference to each other!¹⁷ Thus the October-horse [3] celebration has, as Wissowa has shown, an exact parallel in the festivities of Mars in March,¹⁸ which Eitrem has accepted as determining the identity of the two widely separated events.¹⁹ The latter authority also finds that February 27 and March 14 are, so to speak, the "same day" in the Roman calendar, of which he can only observe: "Die Verdoppelung in solchem Zeitabstande bleibt rätselhaft."²⁰ To cite a further connection with October, the Vestals saved the blood of the October horse to be mixed with the ashes of the *Fordicidia* victims (of April 15) for use at the Palilia, on April 21.²¹ The *Consualia* of August 21 is likewise the *Consualia* of December 15.²² What the many interrelated festivals cited by Domaszewski have in common is the celebration of the "Wiedererstehen des Lebens," of the re-birth of the god and of Nature.²³ The year-cycle was a life-cycle, a concept expressed in the word *saeculum*.

Saeculum, F. Diehls concludes from his thorough study of the word, "war **se-tlo-m* = saeculum das, was das Säen ermöglicht."²⁴ Never, however, is it a *saecula plantarum*, but always of men and animals.²⁵ It is the renewing of the race. "Les jeux seculaires avaient pour objet d'assurer le renouvellement du monde jusqu'à une nouvelle echeance."²⁶ Thus Piganiol, who finds that the pur [4] poses of all the *ludi* may be comprised under eight heads, to wit, "Anniversaires de dieux, dedicaces de statues et de temples, anniversaires des villes a l'occasion d'une peste" and for the "inauguration d'une periode nouvelle."²⁷ As to the second item he observes, "L'anniversaire du dieu se confond tres souvent avec celle de la dedicace de

la statue et du temple.”²⁸ From this it appears that the proper way to mark the revolutions of the life-cycle or *saeculum* is by the celebration of games.

The greatest games were the *ludi saeculares* which marked the life-span of the race, one-hundred years, ten of which periods in the *disciplina Etrusca* went to make up a still larger life cycle.²⁹ The anniversary of the *saeculum* concerned each member of the society individually; every man was especially invited and no man might attend more than the celebration held in his particular lifetime.³⁰ Within this great cycle were smaller ones, equally personal and equally universal. The day of entry upon a public office in Rome had the same significance as a birthday. Originally all offices were formally entered upon at the New Year’s feast of Janus.³¹ The Arval college had its own birthday and its own year in historic times, but, notes Wissowa, “gewiss hat sie in frueherer Zeit die Saturnalia, das Neujahr ihres Collegiums, festlich begangen,”³² that is, its year was originally identical with the universal New Year. Not only [5] did the Arvals celebrate their own “Wandelfest” as their principal activity,³³ but they also undertook to perform their sacrifices on the birthdays of members of the imperial family and on anniversaries of the Emperor’s installments in his various magistracies.³⁴ For Statius the Saturnalia is specifically the Emperor’s birthday party.³⁵

The Romans then, celebrated (with games) the beginning of each new revolution and the conclusion of each old one in the turning of the years. The multiplication of the games was by a process of repetition, made necessary by the provision that if at any point in the procedure there was the slightest interruption or irregularity (*ludi intermissi* or *non rite, non recte, minus diligenter facti*) the *entire* ritual was to be repeated right from the first, and could be thus reenacted up to *seven* times.³⁶ Holidays in Rome were increased in number not by a ransom insertion into the year but by a cautious process which began with the extension of *the* games which, originally confined to one day, ended up in the time of Caesar lasting for sixteen days in a row.³⁷ Other anniversary festivals besides the games were subject to repetition, both on consecutive days³⁸ and at widely separated intervals.³⁹

[6] The gods of the Circus, Neptune,⁴⁰ Consus,⁴¹ and Mars,⁴² reveal traits of identity which mark them as peculiarly representative of a cult of renewal and rebirth with reference to the year.

Consus gets his name from *condere*.⁴³ In the latest interpretation of this name, by Altheim,⁴⁴ it has been found to refer not only to the hiding or storing away of grain, a long-familiar theory,⁴⁵ but to the *ending* of the harvest itself, and also to the “Beisetzung und Beendigung des alten *saeculum*.”⁴⁶ As to the December festival of Consus, that is taken to be the “Bergen und Abschluss des alten Jahres,” and therein the same sort of thing as the Terminalis.⁴⁷

[7] Consus has been identified with both Neptune⁴⁸ and Mars.⁴⁹ His counterpart is Janus, “der Gott alles Anfanges.”⁵⁰ The latter has his festival at the Winter Solstice, which is the “Erneuerung des Weltbeginns.”⁵¹ The beginning and ending dates must be the same, the “point mort” of Carl Hentze, where life and death, day and night, light and darkness meet in a single rite,⁵² a dualism expressed in the two faces of Janus – a young and old one, a black and a white, etc., which are yet the faces of a single god.⁵³ This Janus, the positive team-mate of Consus, opening with his key what the latter shuts,⁵⁴ is also a “Doppelgänger” of Mars, being like him chthonian, war-god, and “Urvater”.⁵⁵

[8] Janus was a year-god whose sacrifices were repeated on the Ides of every month.⁵⁶ As *divom deus* or *principium deorum*, according to Wissowa, he stands “rein abstract an die Spitze der Welt und Götterschöpfung.”⁵⁷ He is *creator bonus* and *deum deus*,⁵⁸ the god of “Zeugung und Schöpfung”, the “Urahn und Stammvater.”⁵⁹ Plutarch’s opinion that it is most reasonable for the year to begin with the month of Janus at the Winter Solstice is echoed by Domaszewski, in whose study of the festival cycle Janus is the “Gott des Anfangs.”⁶⁰ Janus was more specifically the first *king* of Rome,⁶¹ standing with the key and scepter of his authority as a “spezifisch italische Gottheit.”⁶² When Saturn came to Rome, according to a legend which Speyer holds to be “assurance antique et national”, he was received by King Janus, with whom thereafter he shared the throne on the [9] Janiculum where he presided over the golden age.⁶³ Prof. Speyer has maintained that the tradition was genuinely archaic, and that the religion of Janus was older than Rome itself.⁶⁴ It was the priest of Janus who was “the special representative in later times of the king” at Rome.⁶⁵ Janus, sharing the throne with Saturn – Kronos – is preeminently the King of the Age; he is Patulcius and Clusius, the beginning and the end of all time.⁶⁶ He inaugurated the year, and that in a festival which was repeated every month, and his name was always the first to be invoked in the rituals of everyday.⁶⁷

As to the age of the “saecular” idea at Rome, Diehls after a thorough study concludes that the rites and prayers of the *ludi saeculares* show “Anlehnung an eine Jahrhunderte alte Tradition”, itself a very dark and problematical subject.⁶⁸ There were three versions of the saecular festival, the Etruscan, the Roman, and the Greek, and the Roman version was gloomy and chthonian,⁶⁹ quite in the Etruscan mood.⁷⁰ Diehls thinks to find the Etruscan saeculum attested as early as 968 B.C.⁷¹

[10] The rites of the “year-gods” Consus, Janus, Saturn, etc., all belong to the oldest Roman practices. The pre-historic calendar was discoverable to Wissowa particularly on the basis of his observations on the two festivals of Consus, a characteristic of that calendar being the observation of stated intervals between festivals devoted to various deities as parts of a single celebration.⁷² Such a series reveals that the games of Consus in March and in October are the same rite,⁷³ such repetition being characteristic of the oldest Roman festivals.⁷⁴ That being so, it is understandable that festivals spread through the whole year could be regarded as year festivals. The “original” Roman *ludi* were on September 13, which was also the official

new-year of the state.⁷⁵ March 1 was also a New Year, perhaps the oldest,⁷⁶ and the festival of Anna Perenna on March 15 was another.⁷⁷ The 17th and 21st of December also passed for New Years, the former the festival of Saturn.⁷⁸ The Palilia was the New Year of the herdsmen,⁷⁹ and bound up with the October ritual of Consus. The most notable thing about the primitive Roman calendar is, as Domaszewski has shown, the way in which all the festivals are connected with each other, as if they were simply parts of the same event. What binds a series of celebrations together, the “integrierender Bestandteil” is the *ludi*.⁸⁰

[11] **The Extent of the Idea of the *Saeculum*:** The idea of a set, recurring period of time, marking the life-time of the race and of the individual, beginning with the creation of the world and ending with the end of it, is found in many places in the ancient world. A few representative instances will show how exact and concrete was the concept, and how closely resembling the Roman. The purpose of these citations is to establish the claim that a single great festival dominated the calendar throughout a large part of the ancient world.⁸¹

To begin with it should be noted that the conflict between the life-cycle of the individual and that of the society, it being impossible to arrange for the birth of everyone at the New Year or to provide for the same rate of growth to puberty, etc., is settled by primitive societies “meist ohne Rücksicht auf den Einzelnen.”⁸² Which means that everyone celebrates his particular “Wendefest” with a group, considering the day of the group-initiation, for example as his own birthday.⁸³ As is well known, such events were fixed by primitive people mostly with reference to the Moon and to Venus.⁸⁴ Whatever the explanation for that may be, the time for the “heiliger Königsmord” of Frobenius’ Africans is “wenn die Venus und der Mond noch nicht aufgegangen seien, und wenn die Saat var schon geweiht, aber noch nicht ausgesät sei.”⁸⁵ The event called for the killing of the old king and the enthronement of a new, and took place, as seen, at the time of sowing (the *se-tlo-m*, *saeculum*, of Diehls).

[12] We should not mention that customs of the Spaniards, were it not for the fact that Piganiol has seen in them a distant but authentic and independent edition of the *ludi*.⁸⁶ Strabo tells us that these people celebrated the death of a chieftain with games.⁸⁷ He also records that the regular time for the festival gatherings of the Celtiberi and their neighbors was at the full moon.⁸⁸

Far more specific is our knowledge of other Celtic and related peoples, especially of those in Ireland, who also held funeral games.⁸⁹ The idea of the cycle of time which marked the life of the race was so pronounced among them that M. Jubainville devoted an entire book to the subject. The Irish cycle begins with the festival (including games) of Beltane, on May 1, which is duplicated at the Lughnasad of August 1 and the Samain of November 1.⁹⁰ It was on May 1 that “marriages were broken off and new ties formed.”⁹¹ Well known is St. Patrick’s lighting of a fire at Easter, when the Irish *adorarent exercentique festivitatem gentilem*.⁹² Seeing the fire the pagan priest announced: “Unless yon fire be quenched before this night, he whose fire yon is shall have the *kingdom* of Ireland *forever*.”⁹³ For it was the custom for every

fire in every [13] house in the land to be extinguished on that night and not lit again until the fire had been lit *in aula regis*⁹⁴ – *in domu regia, id est in palatio*, at Tara.⁹⁵ Plainly the Irish king, like the Roman, “was the equivalent in the State of the head of the household,”⁹⁶ in which capacity Janus appears with Vesta as his mate.⁹⁷ One thinks instantly of the fire lit on the old Roman New Year in the temple of Vesta,⁹⁸ and gives a ready ear to Huth’s discourse on Janus as the god of the need-fire.⁹⁹

That the Irish New Year was specifically the creation of the race, of which the king was only a type and pattern, is strikingly proven by the mythological cycles. On May 1 the hero Partholon killed his father, Beltane, who was god of the dead (the great-ancestor), honored in the great New Year’s feast named after him.¹⁰⁰ A seven-day plague ended by wiping out the entire race of Partholon exactly 300 years from that day.¹⁰¹ One man survived, Tuan Mac Cairill, who lived on in various incarnations to see new races come to Ireland and be destroyed at regular hundred-year intervals,¹⁰² always on the day of Beltane.¹⁰³

[14] It was at the great assembly of the Gauls at Lyons that Drusus committed those people to the worship of Augustus, the new King of the Age, in 12 B.C.¹⁰⁴ The nature of the assembly allowed for the acceptance of the Roman strategy without a murmur – which should appear very strange at first sight, for Lug, after whom the place was named, was one of the greatest of all the mythical year-kings of the Celts.¹⁰⁵ That time and place, if any, was proper to the enthronement of a new divine ruler.

There is a tradition that once a year, at New Year’s, all the artisans of Britain were obliged to assemble at the shrine of Biffrons (Janus) where the kings were buried and there make their agreements and plan their work for the coming year.¹⁰⁶

The universal Germanic word for “world” appears in its oldest form as Goth. *vairalþs*, which, following Grimm, is “*vairê alþs*” (viorum aetas, hominum aetas), giving from an original expression of time “den räumlichen Gedanken von Mundus, gerade wie seculum, siècle gleichbedeutig werden mit mundun, monde.”¹⁰⁷ The same hierarchy of cycles is found among the Germans as among the Romans, from the golden age (the metal ages are common to Celtic and Germanic peoples)¹⁰⁸ to the cycle of a single day.¹⁰⁹ The Germanic idea of the revolving course of time (wheel-while) has already been mentioned.¹¹⁰ The Nordic peoples observed a larger [15] cycle of nine years, the rites at that time being true year-rites: *til árbôtar*, the term being applied specially to New Year celebrations and to enthronement of the king.¹¹¹ Adam of Bremen has described the nine-year festival at the great shrine of Upsala,¹¹² where the noble mounds are still known as the Kings’ Mounds.¹¹³ At this great thing the King officiated, to bring a good year.¹¹⁴ Where everything depended on the sun it is surprising to find no specific reference to a Summer Solstice.¹¹⁵ The Midwinter festival was the one great ritual event of the year, the *Jolablot*.¹¹⁶ In a region where large assemblies in Mid-Winter were virtually impossible the shifting of the festival to May 1 is understandable. There is a good deal of shifting about of the festival in the Nordic year,¹¹⁷ and it may be explained by the system of

smaller “years” within the solar year. Thus “bereits in den fruehesten Zeiten” the year was divided into two equal cycles (missera, -e) of six months each.¹¹⁸ Again, there was an Autumn sacrifice *til ârs* (pro annonae ubertate), a Midwinter sacrifice *til grôdhrar* (pro feracitate), and a summer one *til sigrs* (pro victoria).¹¹⁹ But at the great Midwinter festival at Upsala *all* these rites were held at once.¹²⁰ Furthermore, it was the Midwinter event which marked the larger year or life-cycles: it was then that Haldan sacrificed for 300 years of life.¹²¹ The Need-fire is a New Year’s rite in [16] Northern lands, even though its full effect is felt at a time late in the year.¹²²

We have cited Semitic word-roots descriptive of the circular course of the year.¹²³ In the East the New Year has a great variety of dates, being subject to numerous local and seasonal interpretations. Thus the Talmud says there are four New Years, marking variously the beginnings of the King’s year (the festival year), the calendar and jubilee year, the year of plants, and the year of the bringing of first-fruits (i.e. the harvest).¹²⁴ Wensinck at the outset of his study lists eleven New Year’s days in Palestine alone,¹²⁵ explaining them by Nilsson’s theory that “where there are several fruits which ripen at different times there may be several new year festivals,”¹²⁶ and on historical grounds.¹²⁷ But this confusion does not hide the fact that there is but one New Year’s festival.¹²⁸ [17] The Semitic *hajj*, Wellhausen finds, was a “turnus” of three seven-day festivals, two at least of which “sind in der Tat das selbe Fest.”¹²⁹ In Arabia anyone can go through the motions of the *hajj* at any time, alone or with others, in which case it is not the *hajj*, the great and essential religious act of a man’s life, but simply an *omra*.¹³⁰ The one difference between *hajj* and *omra* has nothing to do with their nature or purpose: it is simply a matter of time, for the *hajj* can be performed only once a year, and must be attended by the entire society.¹³¹ The great event in the life of the individual is his participation in the year-rite of the race.¹³²

The inhabitants of a large area of Palestine would “each make some beautiful product of his labor, and after carefully husbanding it through the entire year, offer it according to a promise” made the year before at the shrine of Abraham in the plain of Mamre. Here the year is a sort of professional cycle, as at the shrine of Biffrons in Britain, with a formal act of initiation and conclusion. That the place is the shrine of Abraham, who was the king of the great *saeculum*. For both he and his wife were just ninety-nine years old when the Lord promised a son, “which Sarah shall bear unto thee *at this set time* in the next year.”¹³³ For the occasion Sarai’s name was changed to “Princess”,¹³⁴ and there [18] was accomplished the founding of many nations.¹³⁵ Father Abraham is thus a lesser edition of Adam, Adam who “sits on the throne as the lieutenant of God in the midst of the earth, as God sits on his throne in heaven.”¹³⁶ The idea of the Year-King may be detected in such venerable titles as “Father of Years”, “Ancient of Days”, “King of the Age”, etc.¹³⁷

In Persia the Yima story has been found to be “a myth of the *daily* death of the sun, but it is mixed with a *season*-myth of the death of the sun during Winter. Yima’s *Golden Age* is the kingdom of spring; it begins with the Nauroz-feast, the New Year’s Day of the Persians,

occurring in March at the beginning of spring.” Furthermore, it follows the old year: Yima’s *hundred years* of concealment. Thus Prof. Carnoy.¹³⁸ Long before him many ancients made the same sort of observation, noting that the main business of the Magi was to celebrate a cycle every day.¹³⁹ Golden Age, Century, Year, Season, Day, - all are the same. That the cult and life of the Persian nation centered around the King of Kings needs no demonstration here. The nation shared his table, and on New Year’s his palace.¹⁴⁰ It is the King who sacrifices to Δι βασιλεῖ who is also [19] Ζεὺς πατρῷος.¹⁴¹

Nowhere was the idea of the *saeculum* stronger than in Babylonia. A citation from Friedrich Jeremias will give the briefest summary of the situation: “Beim babylonischen Neujahrsfest bestimmt der Götterkonig alljährlich im Schicksalsgemach des Tempels mit den versammelten Göttern die Geschicke des kommenden Jahres. Es ist das Abbild der Schicksalsbestimmung bei der Weltschöpfung, die als Welterneuerung einen neuen Aeon einleitet.”¹⁴² There is the usual duplication of New Year days, according to localities and methods of computation.¹⁴³ The Year-King is also repeated, “Adapa der Menschensohn, der babylonische Urmensch-Adam mit Heroescharakter,” being none other than Marduk,¹⁴⁴ – man and god identified in the King.

All other rituals of ancient India were overshadowed by the Ásvamedha.¹⁴⁵ The victim was a horse which was allowed to wander for one year “because the wandering of the sun must last for one year”,¹⁴⁶ and yet, though a New Year’s rite, it could take place either yearly *or* biennially,¹⁴⁷ and was repeated in part at the beginning of every season,¹⁴⁸ while its main points were ritually repeated every *day* in the year.¹⁴⁹ And at the celebration of the feast 100 years [20] of life were allotted to the participants – not as a body but individually on tokens.¹⁵⁰ The fact that it was everyone’s birthday does not alter the fact that “l’ásvamedha est un sacrifice offert par le roi et pour le roi” – at this event the King was all-in-all.¹⁵¹ The King “établit la semence”:¹⁵² it was the festival of sowing and procreation, in short, the saecular celebration.

A stele of Ramses II that stands by a wayside calls that ruler “Chosen of Re; the son of Re: ‘Ramses, beloved of Amon’, to whom constantly and forever life is given, as to his father Re, every day.”¹⁵³ Erman cites this inscription as showing that the King of Egypt was the “leibliche Nachkommen des Sonnengottes.”¹⁵⁴ The Egyptians began their history with the Age of Re,¹⁵⁵ who was the common sun god and year-god of every Egyptian nome from the earliest times – and that in spite of all local cults.¹⁵⁶ The existence of the remarkably perfect Egyptian calendar as early as 4236 B.C.¹⁵⁷ (or at least 3400 B.C.)¹⁵⁸ attests the closest observation of times and seasons by these people, while the passage cited from the stele, one example among many, shows how closely the King is bound up with the “saecular” idea as the son of Re, the first king, the king of [21] an age, the sun, performing his yearly and his daily revolutions, who grants the life-span of an eternity every day, etc.¹⁵⁹ But the king-god, even in this land where his predominance completely subordinated everything else, was the type and pattern of *every* man. As Horus mounted the throne of his father Osiris, so every king succeeded *his* deified father,¹⁶⁰ and had the duty “einen jeden auf den Sitz seines Vaters zu setzen.”¹⁶¹ The

interpretation was not a spontaneous inevitable one, for the Egyptians display “keinen eigentlichen Familiensinn”,¹⁶² but must be taken quite literally. The *private* festival of the dead man who could afford it was held on New Year’s Day,¹⁶³ and children who happened to be born on the same day as the king shared his life-cycle, being actually brought up and educated along with the royal child, as if they too were royal.¹⁶⁴

Greek festival cycles display an infinite variety in the ordering of their times and seasons. The case of the most important of them, the Delphian, will suffice to establish the reality of the “saecular” idea of a single great festival among the Greeks. Here once every nine years the king sat in state and gave a great feast.¹⁶⁵ Halliday on the basis of the nature of the Delphic ritual, which included what he accepts on Nilsson’s authority to be a need-fire, supposes that “the Delphic festival was originally celebrated once a year and was [22] subsequently made ennaeteric under priestly influence.”¹⁶⁶ That was not an arbitrary act on the part of the priests, but consistent with a definite tradition, the Olympic festival also having its ennaeteric aspect.¹⁶⁷ The year cycle at Delphi was not only to be found in cycles larger than annual, but it was duplicated also in smaller ones, for Plutarch reports that “the opening of the oracle to inquirers every month is a recent practice; formerly the Pythia gave responses but once a year.” And on what day? On the seventh of *Busios*, which “they consider the birthday of the god.”¹⁶⁸ So it would appear that the original Delphian festival was celebrated with a “Jahresfeuer”¹⁶⁹ marking the birthday of a god and the enthronement of a king.¹⁷⁰

Aristotle has discussed with reference to the weather the Great Year, in which the Great Winter and Great Summer begin and end “at set periods.”¹⁷¹ Such a larger cycle is brought into definite relationship to human life in the story of Er in the “Republic”, in which appears “genau wie in der *disciplina Etrusca*”, according to Diehls, the hundred-year life-span with its “Verzehnfachung” to form still larger “years”.¹⁷² Diehls is puzzled by the arrangement [23] of saecula in groups of four, for which he finds in the Greek-Oriental “Zahl-system” and the Pythagorean lore, “die mit ἀνα κύκλωσις und παλιγγενεσία zusammenhängen,” plain analogies but “keineswegs eine nachweisbare Quelle.”¹⁷³ The Mysteries, the performance of which gave a new birth and divinity to the individual,¹⁷⁴ offer another demonstration of the identity of the individual birthday with the sowing-rite of the year.¹⁷⁵

On the basis of the few but representative instances cited we may conclude that the celebration of a festival marking the beginning of an age or cycle was fundamental to various ancient races, and that duplication of that festival or the variation of its dates did not change its nature as a celebration of re-birth or creation. It was always the same festival, as the widespread concept of the circling year attests.¹⁷⁶

There is nothing new or startling in our conclusion. In each instance we have confined our attention to facts so easily available and so well-known as to be commonplaces, and there has not been the slightest need for presenting a wealth of evidence on any point cited. Why then have we made this apparently superficial compilation? Because the story of the year-festival

does not end with the simple statement that there was one. We have the satisfaction of knowing with considerable fullness what happened at the festival at all [24] the places mentioned above and many more, and further inquiry reveals that the idea of the *saeculum* is not the only common feature of these year-rites but only one in a long list of institutions and events, some of which can by their nature hardly be considered the products of spontaneous local invention, which occur together interrelated as parts of a single year-rite in many widely-scattered places. The universality of some of these customs as year rites is well known – the need-fire, for example – and imply if not a common origin at least a common way of life among the celebrants. It will not be possible in the limited scope of this paper to consider more than a very small part of the many elements appearing in the festival in question. In every case in which any other characteristic of the year-festival is cited it will be shown to have relationship to the idea of the *saeculum*.

[25] CHAPTER II

The Πανήγυρις

Largely on the basis of the well-known domestic nature of the of the nomenclature of the Roman state cult, De Marchi rightly observes that the oldest Roman cult was the private or family cult, of which the other was the magnified reflection.¹⁷⁷ So he remarks that “la *familia* e la *gens* furene le primo unita religiose.”¹⁷⁸ Shortly before this, however, he has observed that at Rome, unlike in the Medieval or modern world, state and religion were inseparable concepts.¹⁷⁹ This constrains us to assume that at the time when it was the only religious unit, the family was also the only political one – the thesis of Fustel de Coulanges. Are we to believe that there was no social order aside from that prevailing in each family circle? The most general considerations of biology and language, as Eduard Meyer has pointed out,¹⁸⁰ lead us to reject the supposition that such a state of things *ever* existed. The Romans were not the race of Polyphemus, though they were an agricultural and pastoral people, and we must assume some larger social organization. De Marchi himself leaves the door open to such a lurking possibility when he notes that in times of universal emergency, such as pestilence and drought, the whole society would naturally be driven or drawn together by a common interest “a nuovi riti e a cerimonie superstiziose per placar l’ira degli dei ...”¹⁸¹ And just how many centuries after the establishment of the original family cult did the family have to wait before drought or pestilence appeared? Or how many [26] generations must pass after the occurrence of one such catastrophe before another compel the peasant to employ his wits in the invention of new (sic) and ingenious cults? Our authority seems to think that a bad year comes to the farmer and herdsman as a great surprise. Where do peasants *not* try to avert evil and procure an abundance *every* year?

Granting that the private cult preceded the public cult of the city-state, we still have to answer the question, what was the public cult before the city state? In that remote time the higher social organization was the clan, the glorified family, of which it has been assumed that the political head, the King, was also the religious one, the priest-king,¹⁸² the first of the line being Janus.¹⁸³ Whence it may be concluded that the cult of the first Romans in which separate families made common cause centered in the activities of the Year Festival under the aegis of the common ancestor as one big family.¹⁸⁴ This impression is borne out, though of course not proven, by all the cases of year-kings and Year Festivals cited above. The following section will throw more light on the subject.

[27] **The Great Assembly:** For the celebration of the saecular festival the entire society was gathered together at one place.¹⁸⁵ In an extensive kingdom this means a general migration once a year. Of the existence of such annual pilgrimages an abundance of evidence, direct and indirect exists.

The Migration to the Games: There is a Roman tradition recorded of how in primitive times the games of Neptune would be announced to the most outlying districts, whereupon the people would come with their families to Rome and there stand about and watch the games.¹⁸⁶ The games held by Romulus “were attended by large numbers from the surrounding cities,”¹⁸⁷ and from the earliest times Rome was full of strangers at the time of the games.¹⁸⁸ The picture of common people, peasants for the most part, streaming from all parts of Italy to the capitol is brought into great prominence in the history of the Gracchi.¹⁸⁹ The difficult journey to the Campus where both games and political assemblies were held,¹⁹⁰ was made by the greater part of the people of Italy, women and children included.¹⁹¹ For the Emperor’s games *ab utroque mari iuvenes, ab utroque puellae Venere, atque ingens orbis in [28] Urbe fuit.*¹⁹² The center of the world-empire became the center of the world-pilgrimage.¹⁹³

This aspect of the year-festival is found elsewhere.

At the great shrine of the North solet quoque post novum annos communis omnium Sumniae previntiarum in Ubeola celebrari. Ad quam videlicet sellemnitatem nulli praestatur immunities. Leges et populi, omnes et singuli sum dona transmittunt ad Ubsolam.¹⁹⁴ it is a federal meeting, of provinces and kings, at which every man must appear with his individual contribution. Our authority informs us further that it was a nine-day festival of feasting and sacrificing, and that it took place at the spring Equinox.¹⁹⁵ When King Anund refused to officiate at the sacrifice he was driven from the kingdom.¹⁹⁶ The Heinskringla states that for the festival “all the boendr would come to the temple and take with them the provisions needed while the feast lasted. Every man was to bring ale, and ... all kinds of small cattle.”¹⁹⁷ A like as [29] sembly was held by the Danes in Ringstadt-Hleider on Zeeland: it was eanaeteric and the whole nation attended.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, in the North the extent of a kingdom was identical with the regions which contributed to the year-festival, and it was because of the absence of such a great Thing in Norway, though local Things were regularly held, that Norway did not become a Kingdom until the Middle ages.¹⁹⁹ In far-off Iceland, according to the tradition, the All-Thing was established by the Öxara when the King of Norway gave a silver axe to an Icelfander, with the authority to establish the Thing-stead.²⁰⁰ In that country, where so much of the past has been preserved in cold storage, as it were, the people still assemble from wide regions to hold feasts and games, and the ancient custom was for everyone to bring his own provender to last him the length of the feast.²⁰¹ Throughout the North whole communities make pilgrimages to springs and wells at Midsommer.²⁰²

One example of the practice will suffice for Germany. Tacitus writes of the Semnones: *Stato tempore in silvam augurii petrum et prisca formidine sacrem omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus oceunt oaesoque puplice homine cebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.*²⁰³ This is distinctly a family affair. For important business, he tells us elsewhere, the entire society assembles at the New or Full Moon, which they think the best time to begin [30] an undertaking.²⁰⁴ The year-festival of the Germans called for a nocturnal gathering at a holy place and a sacrificial meal “wosu jeder beisteuerte”.²⁰⁵ At the Yule fest, says St. Olaf, “the ale

was provided by each one himself,”²⁰⁶ and the people all assembled to drink “for long life.”²⁰⁷ Larger political units in Germany called for more imposing versions of the same year-rite.

To the Slavic shrine of Arkona *omni secunda feria populus cum regulo at flamine convenire solebant propter iudicia*.²⁰⁸ At Midwinter or the spring Equinox²⁰⁹ *convenieunt viri et mulieres cum parvulis, mactantque diis suis hostias de bobus et ovibus, plerique etiam de hominibus*,²¹⁰ in a great sacrificial feast.²¹¹ To this affair *de omnibus Sclavorum provinciis statuas sacrificiorum impensas illo transmittent*.²¹² The same thing happened at the Wendish capitol of Julin.²¹³ The Poles assembled at Pentecost; *mares et feminae cum parvulis diis suis victimas et hostias de pecoribus et pecudibus, nennunguam hominibus ... offerebant*.²¹⁴ At the place *ludi certis anni temporibus decreti et instaurati* were attended by the usual throng *utriusque sexus ex vicis et coloniis*.²¹⁵

[31] The place of the year-festival of Beltane was Usnech, “regarded as the central point of Ireland: a natural rock, serving as a bourn, indicated the starting-point of the five great lines which separated the provinces of Ireland.”²¹⁶ The religious center of the land was thus the geographical and political as well, or rather there existed no difference between the three concepts. “L’Ireland disseminee, sans villes, ou St. Patrick a preche, n’avait, de culte vraiment public qu’aux fetes, ou les hommes se trouvaient reunis, panegyries nationales, fetes des royaumes, fetes des clans,” observes Henri Hubert.²¹⁷ When Tara became the main capitol the principle feast was held there.²¹⁸ As late as 1632 church and state resisted the pilgrimages in Ireland, to which the people were devoting themselves with a zeal surpassing all moderation, gathering especially at “St. Patrick’s Purgatory” in “vast numbers at certain seasons.”²¹⁹ It was considered very shameful to buy food at the Irish feasts,²²⁰ whence it is clear that the people all brought their own.

The people who repaired to the shrine which was to be claimed later for St. Hilary (in the present Dept. of Lesore) *vaniebant autem cum plaustis petum ---que deferentes, mactantes animalia et per tridum sepultantes*.²²¹ [32] The people of Aquitania met in a like session.²²² The Gallic version of the festival is more often cited as a seven-day than as a three-day affair. Thus in the present Pays de Comminges *stultorum turba conveniebat sacrorum suorum sollemnia anniversario ordine celebrare, ubi per septem dies epulando et choros ducende atque bacchande sollemnia sua quasi iure debito persolvebant*.²²³ This last passage shows that the event was a year-festival and that it was regarded as a duty to attend.

Among objectionable features of the British year-festival the Council of Cloveshove in 747 A. D. condemned *ludis, & equorum cursibus, & epulis majoribus*, in the three-day celebration which came at Ascension.²²⁴ Cassibelaurus invited all the barons of Britain and their wives to Trinovantum, where after the sacrifice of a vast number of animals, “as was wont on occasion of solemn sacrifice,” there was a great feast, with games of all sorts.²²⁵

The Cisalpine Gauls also had a place ὅπου πανήγυρις οὖν τελείται κατὰ ἔτος. (Strabo, V, 11, 1 (216))

The reader has naturally concluded by now that we are dealing with an Indo-European custom and making somewhat too much of it. It is in the East, however, that the annual migration to a common center is most dramatically attested.

Elkanah the father of Samuel “went up out of his city yearly to worship and to sacrifice unto the Lord of Hosts in Shiloh²²⁶ ... The man Elkanah, and all his house went up to offer unto the Lord the yearly sacrifice and his vow.²²⁷” When Hannah went with Samuel she “took ... with her three bullocks, and one ephah of flour and a bottle of wine.”²²⁸ For it was at Shiloh that a child had [33] been promised her. As is well known, this pilgrimage was the successor to the earlier Canaanite rite in which the King played a leading role.²²⁹ The year-offerings of tithes “were not used by each man to make a private religious feast for himself and his family, but were devoted to the maintenance of the public or royal sacrifices ... used to furnish forth public feasts at the sanctuary.”²³⁰ The tradition was accordingly that one brought one’s food-offerings to the king, at least the first-fruits, the year-offering proper.²³¹

The story of the pilgrimage to Shiloh ends with the phrase, “And Elkanah went to Ramah to his house”.²³² Almost the identical words conclude the rites of the Syrian hero: “Then Danel journeys to his house, and repairs to his mansion.”²³³ This last is from a Ras Shamra fragment of the 14th Century B.C., describing with considerable fullness the Feast of the Ingathering.²³⁴ All who came to this feast brought their firstlings as an offering to the hero.²³⁵ In the year-rites of Ras Shamra the hero is properly the King, the Father of Years, a title not without “saecular” significance.²³⁶

[34] It is the same story all over the Semitic world. At the shrine of Abraham, terebinth, “the inhabitants of the country and of the regions round Palestine, the Phoenicians and the Arabians, assembled annually during the summer season to keep a brilliant feast ... This feast is diligently frequented by all nations. ... Each one ... offered (some article he had made) according to promise *as a provision for the feast*, both for himself and his dependants.”²³⁷ Mention of the dependants makes clear that each brought his family, just as Elkanah did his, to the feast.

The year-festival was the most impressive institution of the Arabs,²³⁸ uniting once a year far-scattered but related tribesmen.²³⁹ Tithes were brought,²⁴⁰ and during the festival great emphasis was laid on eating and drinking, fasting being positively forbidden.²⁴¹ The hajj was the year-rite.²⁴²

The King of Persia “observed two annual festivals, that of the New-year’s-day, and that of the Autumnal Equinox; and it was his custom, on these occasions, to open his palaces ... and the people of his dominions also used to go in to him and salute him, and congratulate him on the festival, offering him presents and servants,”²⁴³ Strabo says that the Persians do not allow

any [35] sacrificial meat to be lost in the interests of religion, but carry every bit of it off for private consumption.²⁴⁴ A classic example of a universal gathering of a kingdom is the great assembly held by Nebuchadnezzar in the plain of Dura, where at one and the same time “all the people, the nations, and the languages fell down and worshipped the golden image” of the King of Kings.²⁴⁵ The Persians thought of themselves as living by the beauty of their King,²⁴⁶ and at their great feasts they were his guests.²⁴⁷ And yet the abundance of the feast was supplied by the guests themselves, as at the year-feast elsewhere, for they were forced to pay a special tribute to the King’s table.²⁴⁸

Much the same arrangement appears in the Indian year-festival of the Āsvamedha, where the King was the giver of all and yet levied taxes to collect it from the ultimate recipients.²⁴⁹ This celebration, “par le roi et pour le roi”, was none the less one in which every single person, regardless of caste, had an equal interest, and so it was “une fete a la fois royale et populaire.”²⁵⁰ Accordingly at regular intervals throughout the year messengers were sent to all the rulers and people in the land and in foreign lands inviting them to attend.²⁵¹ When the great opening day arrived, according to the Ancient records (as rendered by Dumont), the King “reunit la population. Tout ce qui a été com [36] quis par ses fleches ... s’etablit autour du terrain de sacrifice ... L’Inde toute entière ... se voyait reunie au sacrifice ... Continuellement, selen l’Ordre du roi, Ehima ... faisait distribuer des vivres a ceux qui desiraient manger,” etc.²⁵²

At an astronomically fixed date or in time of drought the people in large parts of Africa gather from extensive regions at venerable “Rushangas”, which are regular festival grounds at the sites of the oldest tribal cemeteries, for feasting and ritual.²⁵³ “Alle Familienvater bringen Bier mit.”²⁵⁴ Throughout Africa no one will taste of the new harvest until a general public sacrifice has been held for the dead, after which the taboo is lifted in a great feast.²⁵⁵ This was the year-feast, if we accept Nilsson’s conclusion that it was the lifting of the taboo on the new harvest which marked the original primitive New Year throughout the world.²⁵⁶

In Egypt place was an important concept; the whole life of the land centered in the priest-king and the place where he lived, and every event in the lives of gods had a definite locality where alone it could be properly commemorated.²⁵⁷ In considering the Medinet Habu list of sacrifices to the gods as provided by Ramses II and III, Erman raises the question, what could have been done with all these food-stuffs, and why are they supplied on some days a hundred times more abundantly than on others? Such cannot have been the regu [37] lar daily meals of the god. His inquiry into the matter leads him to the only possible conclusion, that the reason for the peculiar nature of the offering-lists is “ohne Zweifel der, dass die Speisen wirklich zur Beköstigung verschiedener Zahlen von Personen dienten, und gewiss hat man sich unter diesen Personen nicht Gutterbilder, sondern Priester und am Feste teilnehmenden Laien zu danken,” the great abundance of certain days being due to the presence of the latter.²⁵⁸ Since the Egyptian kings in supplying the table of the gods had largely taken over the one-time duty of the general public,²⁵⁹ we have in Egypt as elsewhere the picture of the pilgrims consuming the sacred meals which they themselves had supplied.²⁶⁰

There is an old tradition that when the King of Babylon “voulait reunir les habitants pour un festin, chacun d’eux apportait la boisson qu’il voulait.” and pouring the same into a cistern which was one of the Seven Wonders of Babylon, would draw from the same cistern just that particular drink.²⁶¹ The legend recalls the practice at the Syrian shrine of Hieropolis, where there was a hole into which “all the people of Arabia, Syria and beyond the Euphrates bring sea water and pour it into this hole.”²⁶² Once a year, during a seven-day period every man in the land would bring a gift to this place, which gift he would deposit at the foot of the phallic pillar of Dionysus; then he would shout his *name* to the god and depart, having thus secured prosperity for the coming year.²⁶³ These cases emphasize the individual motive of participation in the universal pilgrimage of the year.

[38] The great cyclical games of Greece called for the usual periodic migrations. The Πανήγυρις was, as the name implies, the coming together of the *whole* nation.²⁶⁴ And so we have the picture, from Plutarch, of the men of the Peloponnesus coming to Delphi, bringing their wives and children in wagons.²⁶⁵ The meal to which everyone contributed, the ἐράνος, is a familiar Greek institution, and when Tantalus gave a feast which the gods attended it was such an one,²⁶⁶ as was the primitive Hyacinthia, to which everyone contributed what he could best afford and no purchased product could be offered.²⁶⁷ The gift of cattle for the sacrificial feast was made possible for everyone by the device of the Bous Hebdomos.²⁶⁸

[39] In all the foregoing instances of gatherings from large regions for year-festivals other than the Roman it was mentioned that those who came to the celebration brought food with them. Before considering this aspect of the Roman games it will be well to cite some important indirect evidence for the claim that the year-festival was a great and universal assembly such as we have found it described. We shall consider first the element of the booths.

The Booths: To the games given by Caesar *tantum undique confluit hominum, ut plerique advanae aut inter vices aut inter vias tabernaculis positae manerent*.²⁶⁹ People set up booths and stayed in them simply because they were going to be in the city for some time and there was no shelter available. Were the festival reserved for the inhabitants of the city of Rome, there would have been no need for booths. Booths do not appear at strictly local festivals but are an accommodation which visitors, people from a distance, must make for themselves.

Now those who attended the rites in the Roman Campus were *all* migrants, including the inhabitants of Rome. For the games were not held in the city nor in any part of it. When Roman magistrates crossed the Patronia Amnis to officiate at the Circus they had to take the same auspices as when leaving the city on a military campaign.²⁷⁰ The peasants who came to the games, says Vitruvius, were not coming to the city of Rome.²⁷¹ The Campus Martius was not Roman ground alone, but common ground, where “audience was given to foreign ambassadors who could not enter the city, and foreign cults were domiciled in temples erected

there.²⁷² When the city was entirely deserted at the time of the games²⁷³ it was because all the Romans had migrated.

[40] But did the Romans always erect booths for the year-festival? Yes. At the festival of Anna Perenna, to whom no one will deny some of the characteristics at least of a “Jahregottin”,²⁷⁴ the Plebs would migrate from the city to the first milestone on the *Via Flaminia*²⁷⁵ to build themselves booths and lie about on the grass by the side of the Tiber.²⁷⁶ There each one would pray for *as many years of life* as he could imbibe cups.²⁷⁷ It is that fact, quite ignored by Altheim, which more than anything else characterizes Anna’s celebration as what we have been calling *a* or *the* “year-festival”.²⁷⁸ It was a birth-day, the celebration of a life-cycle,²⁷⁹ occurring at the Ides of March, [41] “also um die Zeit des ersten Vollmonds im neuen Frühling.”²⁸⁰

The booths were made in the most convenient fashion of grass boughs or by making a tent out of a framework of sticks with garments thrown over it.²⁸¹ Strictly practical, the whole business of the booths presents to Fowler an unsolved ritual problem.²⁸² But the problem is not why the people built booths; Ovid tells us that (*Fast.*, III, 531): *Sole tamen vinoque calent*. The question is why they went to a place where they *had* to make booths? Or, rather, why did their ancestors do so? Again we are given the answer: *annosque precantur*. “The object of a pilgrimage is to obtain some benefit, material, moral, or spiritual, which the sanctity of the chosen spot is thought to confer.”²⁸³ We are not dealing with motives, however, but with instances, and the question immediately arises, were there any other booth-festivals at Rome? The Ambarvalia, Palilia and Neptunalia were celebrated with booths.²⁸⁴ The rustic nature of the first two would naturally call for booths at any larger gathering. Their nature as year-festivals, as primitive year-festivals,²⁸⁵ in fact, is not [42] disputed. But on the subject of popular assemblies from large regions it is the Neptunalia, of which very little is known, which is the most interesting.

What is known of the Neptunalia is simply that it was a very ancient festival,²⁸⁶ and that it was celebrated with booths.²⁸⁷ Now it was at the Saturnalia that the merchants would set up booths in the portico of Agrippa’s temple of Neptune for the sale of *sigillaria*,²⁸⁸ which leads Weinstock to suggest that, since the Neptunalia was a gay and exceedingly popular celebration, nothing is more natural than to suppose that the original Neptunalia called for a setting up of booths for trading and for feasting in the Campus Martius.²⁸⁹ It resembled the great *ludi* so closely, according to the same writer, that it may easily have been identified with the Saturnalia.²⁹⁰ We have seen that one year-festival is quite like another, all having a common background. Weinstock is further led to ask: “Ist es vorstellbar, das seine Art von Jahrmakrt, wie vor uns der Neptunalia danken, der altrömischen Religion angehoren konnte?” It is inconceivable that the economic benefits of an immediate nature should have been derived from the larger intercourse of the annual assembly. The disadvantages of leaving one’s roof were certainly not without saving features. The commonest meaning of *panegyris* is simply “fair”.

[43] There is evidence for an affirmative answer to Weinstock's question in the fact that only for the two oldest games, the *ludi Plebei* and the *ludi Romani*, and for the *ludi Apollinares*, were markets held.²⁹¹ The Apollinares need not detain us; not only is there evidence that they are a re-vamped version of a popular festival of great antiquity,²⁹² but the fact that equals may be substituted for equals (thus Saturnalia for Neptunalia: Weinstock) deprives the year of the introduction or formalization of *ludi* of any great significance as a key to the nature of the ritual. Each of the two first-named festivals was also characterized by an *opulum Iovis*,²⁹³ as well as by an *equorum probatio*,²⁹⁴ the latter just such a practice as one would expect among a host of rustics bringing their animals to compete in races wherein only a limited number could compete, and hence must be selected by elimination. The earliest games, marked by such rites, clearly suggest a congregation of people from a wide region as the basic fact of the first games. The presence of merchants at the games was held to be an original, as it was an inevitable, part of them.²⁹⁵

[44] Every longer notice on the booths at Rome mentions the Jewish feast of Booths. Why particularly that version? Would not a Scythian Feast of the Tabernacles serve as well if there were such? It is not necessary to go as far as Louisiana to explain the Roman booths, as some have done.²⁹⁶ The scarce and scattered parallels to the Roman custom have been treated with such respect by sound scholars that the present writer is emboldened to cite again, from North to South, some of the main year-festivals, those in fact already mentioned, this time with reference to booths and to markets as indirect evidence to the wide and universal nature of *the* New Year's rite.

At the great year-feast of the Icelanders, where the Gods presided on his throne at the Holy Thing, the people lived in cloth booths, set up over crude stone foundations which can still be seen at the main thing-places; twenty of them disclose the traces of the small rectangular *buðir* wherever the *dómhringur* are to be found.²⁹⁷ The chiefs' booths were the largest, and some of them would hold hundreds of guests or retainers,²⁹⁸ the All-Thing being a federal meeting. And every Thing had its market.²⁹⁹ Throughout the North every artisan was *compelled* to come to the Thing, whether he would or no, and hence there arose at the site of the ancient assemblies regular permanent trading-places (*kaupstad*).³⁰⁰

What for Fowler is "perhaps the most striking parallel" to the Roman booths is that found in the letter of Gregory the Great to the Gallic Abbot Melittus in which he recommends that *cuius boves solect in sacrificie* [45] *daemonum multos occidere, debet iis etiam hac in re aliqua solemnitas immutari: ut die dedicationis, vel natalicii sanctorum martyrum suorum illio reliquie ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa eadem ecclesias cuae ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosiis conviviis sollemnitatem celebrant ... et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occident*, etc.³⁰¹ The mention of dedications and birthdays is helpful, as is a further remark by Gregory that the people should now give their thanks to God as the giver of all abundance,³⁰² the purpose of the booths-feast implied in these three points Fowler overlooks. The English arbours built for the May-King and/or the Queen of the May at the

place of the May-Day festivities recalls another element of the “saecular” festival.³⁰³ As evidence that the British year festival drew people from great distances we have the immense and skillfully planned “grand-stand” at the Cursus of Stonehenge,³⁰⁴ to which place, as air photographs have revealed, an extensive system of roads conducted the visitors,³⁰⁵ and have been reasonably interpreted as evidence for the economic importance of the place in pre-historic times.³⁰⁶

[46] The New-Year’s gathering at the shrine of Biffrens, it will be recalled, was said to be the time when artisans began their year’s work.³⁰⁷ But the best known of all the fairs are the Irish, and they are not at all to be separated from the New Year’s gatherings for religious games and feasts.³⁰⁸ The fair was held in recent times in Telltown (Taltiu), where the Irish “had no doubt gathered together annually on the same date, in honor of Lugus or Lug,” as the Gauls did at Lyons.³⁰⁹ The parallels between the Irish and the Gallic feasts are quite close, and the presence of booths all over Gaul argues the same for Ireland. Athenaeus preserves the tale, already a legend in his time,³¹⁰ of a certain rich Gaul who “publicly promised to entertain all the Celts for a year,” plainly a year-vow. “At various points in their country he set stations along the most convenient highways, where he erected booths of vine-props and poles of reed and osiers, each booth holding 400 men and even more ... for the reception of the crowds which were expected to stream in from towns and villages ... He set up large cauldrons, which he had caused to be forged the year before, sending for metal workers from other cities.”³¹¹ This is an attempt to account for the institution of the year-feast, a part of which in Ireland was the summoning and examinations of the smiths.³¹² Artisans, roads, booths, vows, feasting, all fit into the picture.

[47] Prof. Fowler sees a difference between the Tabernacles of the Jewish feast and the booths of the Neptunalia in that “the explanation given to the Israelites was not that they were thus to shelter themselves from the heat,” but a symbolic one.³¹³ He thus ignores completely Is., IV, 6: “And there shall be a *sukkah* for shade in the daytime from the heat and for a place of refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain.”³¹⁴ It has been demonstrated more than once that the Feast of the Tabernacles was *the* year-festival of the Hebrews, the Hag-JHW,³¹⁵ which may have been responsible for the invention of the calendar, since it called for the observation both of lunar and of solar cycles.³¹⁶ It was the law in Israel that none could celebrate the year-feast at home, but all had to migrate.³¹⁷ And not only the Jews but all the world was threatened “with the punishment of all nations that come not up to keep the feast of the tabernacles,”³¹⁸ by the prophet who speaks of “the wealth of all the heathen round about ... gold, and silver, and apparel, in great abundance, “which should be brought together at Jerusalem on that occasion.”³¹⁹

In the Ras Shamra ritual the goddess “discovered the field of El, and [48] entered the raftered pavilion;” where it seems very probable that the pavilion in question is a booth.³²⁰

Of the feast at Abraham's Oak Sosemen reports that "both buyers and sellers resort thither on account of the fair."³²¹ He speaks also of the extreme morality of the Christians, maintained in spite of the fact that the σκηναί were close together, and that the people slept ἀναμίξ,³²² and further obliges us with the reason for the σκηναί, namely that the place was open country with no buildings but those around the oak, which had been Abraham's.

Meccah, like Terebinth, was for long a market-place in the midst of an uninhabited desert, teeming with life once a year but desolate for the rest of the time.³²³ In order to be called a true *hadj*i the pilgrim to Meccah must have camped with the whole multitude in the Arafat plain.³²⁴ Everywhere a camp is made in the carrying out of the ritual a market is formally established,³²⁵ the "Hadj-jaarmarkten" having been the opening event of the festival in pre-Islamic times.³²⁶ In the carpet-bags of the pilgrim "besides his provision, is commonly some merchandise for the holy fair at Mecca,"³²⁷ in spite of the length and difficulty of the journey.

[49] The principal commerce of Babylonia was the shipping of food to cult-places, the economic significance of which is held to have given rise to the first cities.³²⁸ Reed huts "of a ritual significance" are a constantly recurring theme on the archaic Sumerian seals,³²⁹ and may be regarded as booths, as may the "bent tree" motif in the Sargonid seals.³³⁰ In a large part of the East, where nomadic booths are in every-day use one would expect no special festival or ritual to be reserved for them.

In the Ásvamedha ritual, in which the whole public rite has become concentrated in the person of the King, who both sets and follows the immemorial pattern, the King must pass the night sleeping on the ground in a hastily constructed hut.³³¹

At the Egyptian New Year's festival of Pero "the peasants go out into the fields and take up their residence there in temporary booths ..." To this agricultural population it is the great annual event.³³² Since the Egyptians have never been nomads and never lived far from their fields, the simplest explanation for the practice is to be found in the holiday booths. An excellent classical representation [50] of feasters in their booths beside the Nile has been preserved.³³³ The absence from Egyptian texts of any mention of merchants has been taken to mean that all barter took place at the markets where the people themselves came together, each to trade his products for those of his fellows.³³⁴

To the place of the Goddess of Syria, says Lucian, all the people brought their treasures of gold and silver, and there was held the greatest of fairs.³³⁵ Merchants, artificers and prostitutes held forth at the King's mound in Lydia,³³⁶ and the economic significance of the shrine at Ephesus was no less.³³⁷

At the Pythian games to which, as has been seen, people would bring their families on wagons once a year, the Septerion festival was held, the most important part of the ritual being the attacking and burning of a booth by a boy representing Apollo.³³⁸ This may well be a year-fire,³³⁹ but the hut was more than merely ritual, for at the near-by village of Pithorea where a

hut-burning rite was also celebrated, we are told specifically: Τῷ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ σκηνὰς οἱ καπηλεύοντες ποισῶνται καλάμου τε καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης αὐτο σχεδίου. Τῷ τελευτιά δὲ τῶν τριῶν ... πιπράσκοντες κτλ.³⁴⁰

Here again then booths and markets are found together at the year-festival. When Antony played Year-King at Athens he built himself a booth of [51] green boughs “in plain sight” above the theater of Dionysus, and there he reclined drinking through the festival with his friends, συνηθροισμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θεάν τῶν Πανελλήνων.³⁴¹ The custom was not new to Athens, for at the Thesmophoria, the Athenian would set up booths on the Pnyx, a custom of immense antiquity as was that festival as a whole.³⁴² It will not be necessary to cite other Greek booth-festivals,³⁴³ though it should be noted that the nine-day Karneia was a booth celebration,³⁴⁴ and that it corresponded to the Metageitnion, which as the name implies called for attendance of various communities.³⁴⁵

Turning to Italy we find in the region of the Cisalpine Gauls on the main road of the territory a place called Μακροὶ Κάμποι, ὅπου πανήγυρις συντελεῖται κατὰ ἔτος.³⁴⁶ In Lucania was held a festival, at the time when the Romans celebrated the games of Neptune and Mars, of which a very complete description exists. Thus Cassiodorus (Hodgkin’s transl.)³⁴⁷: “This fair ... is the greatest fair in all the surrounding country. Everything that industrious Campania, or opulent Brutii, or cattle-breeding Calabria, or strong Apulia produces, is there to be found exposed for sale ... It is a charming sight to see the broad plains filled with suddenly-reared houses formed of leafy branches intertwined,” etc. The festival was held “both for religion’s sake and for the profit of the people.”³⁴⁸

[52] Booths and markets, regularly found together at year-festivals, furnish evidence for our claim that the year-rite was a general gathering of all the inhabitants of a kingdom. We have occasionally mentioned roads, and the coming of people in wagons to the feast year after year would naturally require, if not actually create, something in the way of roads. If our conception of the annual assemblies is sound, one would expect the oldest roads to lead to cult places. And one is not disappointed. A lengthy list is not necessary but a few representative cases should be cited.

Direct knowledge of pre-historic roads in the North is not easily available, though almost every ancient reference to wagons is religious.³⁴⁹ The recently investigated pre-historic roads of the Senne in the Teutebergerwald have been found to converge near Paderborn, an ancient cult-place and market.³⁵⁰ The “processional-roads” leading to Stonehenge monuments and Cursus all run directly to the sites of pre-historic settlements or to main arteries.³⁵¹ We can only assume that these and like processional-roads elsewhere³⁵² were the main if not the only roads in their various regions. As to Gaul we are somewhat better informed, for Prof. Grenier has pointed out that the sub-structures of many Roman roads may well have been pre-Roman, some, he suggests, as old as 2000 B.C.³⁵³ The important thing to note is that these roads converged on the central *oppidum* of each region, which was also a cult-place.³⁵⁴ Since the

most important of these, Lyons, was named for the god of the games, it appears likely that the cult itself is not a secondary adjunct to the system; the second most important centrum, Chartres, was before everything [53] a cult center.³⁵⁵ Of an ancient British king we read, “he gave the privilege of refuge to the roads ... and he granted the principal roads to the common people to go to the cities and the temples.”³⁵⁶ And what should be more natural than that the King should be the custodian of the road, both in its political and in its religious and economic purposes? The only road through Wales was a pilgrim road connecting two shrines.³⁵⁷

Cosmas of Prague denounces the sacrifices and games of the Slavs at Pentecost, *que fiebant in silvis et in campis, atque scenas, quas ex gentili ritu faciebant in biviis et in triviis*, etc.³⁵⁸ Carrying on at cross-roads is forbidden in the Indiculus of 743,³⁵⁹ and was one of the commonest offences of the Germans against whom that document was directed.³⁶⁰ That the first roads were “holy” roads can be seen in the fact that all crossroads are considered holy, a fact more easily explained on that ground than on abstract or symbolic considerations; where the roads meet is the place of the (religious) festival and assembly, ergo, when the family or village wants to celebrate they go out to the *compitum*. By this the private cult would seem to be derived from the public one.

[54] The oldest roads in the East were those leading to the great shrine-cities such as Ur.³⁶¹ One came to the seat of the Persian King along the Royal road.³⁶² Since the identical nature of the kingdom and the religious community appears in the Asmavedha practice of sending four messengers in mule-drawn chariots in four directions every four months to summon all the subject princes and people to the New Year’s festival,³⁶³ and since the New Year was celebrated by the Persian King with greater zeal than by anyone else perhaps in the world, the Royal Road may well have had a pilgrim’s road as proto-type. India is a country of pilgrim-roads of great antiquity.³⁶⁴ The processional road leading to the highway of the Nile was an essential part of the Egyptian shrine and has been compared with megalithic stone ways elsewhere.³⁶⁵ Sir Arthur Evans has described the “Via Sacra” and the Royal Road which from the earliest times ran across Crete “to the seat of its Priest-Kings.”³⁶⁶ The first highways of Palestine³⁶⁷ as of Asia Minor³⁶⁸ led to the shrines. The oldest constitution of Sparta provides that “the king alone gives decision about public ways.”³⁶⁹ Even so it was the King in Britain who gave the right of sanctuary to roads leading to temples.³⁷⁰

[55] The people who came in wagons to the year-festival at Delphi also came on roads. It was the sacred road which brought them from Athens.³⁷¹ There is nothing in the nature of a sacred road itself to make it sacred: it is simply a road to a cult/place.³⁷²

It does not require an exhaustive survey to show that markets, roads, and booths bear out the argument of those sources which describe annual gatherings of nations for the saecular festival.

Nowhere is the idea of convergence more vividly expressed than at that place *in capite romani fori, sub sede Saturni* where stood the *Milliarium Aureum*, marking the end of all the roads of the Empire.³⁷³ That milestone was set up by Augustus upon his assuming *cura viarum*.³⁷⁴ That act was of a piece with another of the same Emperor, namely his commandeering of the primitive festivals of the Lares compitales, so arranging “dass jede Strassenecke zu einer Stätte der Kaiserkultes wird.”³⁷⁵ How could he dare to do such a thing? What suggested it? The same thing that suggested his taking over the great year-cult of the Gauls, namely, the ancient pattern of the saecular festival which was given by and for the king of all the land and at which, as heir and incarnation of the first ancestors, some man regularly received recognition as a divinity. For Augustus culminated his act with a great celebration of the re-cast ludi Saeculares, launching a new age.³⁷⁶

[56] Chapter III

The Feast

The bold statement preceding needs much support which it would be presumptuous of the writer to seek on the battle-torn field of the “Larenproblem”. It is rather by a consideration of the *ludi Saeculares* themselves that one may hope for further light.

Rome, Contributions to the Feast: In citing cases of gatherings of nations for a year-festival we had occasion to note in every instance that each comer to the feast brought food with him. The food, nearly always cattle or small animals, was slaughtered as a sacrifice and then eaten at a feast. The same system obtained at Rome.

After the people one and all had been invited to the festival which would only happen once in their lives, and had received together the λύματα which mark the event as chthonian,³⁷⁷ all betook themselves to the sanctuary of Diana on the slope of the Aventine,³⁷⁸ the *commune Latinorum Dianae templum*.³⁷⁹ The place is significant and explains the formal sending about of heralds. These did not merely announce the fact that a celebration would be held, but συνιέναι πάντας ἐκέλευον.³⁸⁰ In the prayer of the *ludi Saeculares* it was prayed *utique semper Latinus optemperassit*, which Prof. Diehl renders, “es moge der Latiner immerder botmassigsein,”³⁸¹ whence it is sufficiently clear that the event was a federal celebration.

[57] Everyone who went thus up to the precinct of Diana took with him ἀπαρχὰς ... σίτου καὶ κριθῆς καὶ κύαμων, and spent the night in a solemn festival Ταῖς Μοίραις.³⁸² After mentioning other events of the celebration which followed on other days, our authority states that the said first-fruits τῷ δήμῳ παντὶ δια νέμονται, as well as to those who officiated at the spectacles.³⁸³ Of which Blumenthal: “Die Leute haben die *primitiae* selbst gebracht. Und jetzt heisst es auf einmal, sie wurden unter sie verteilt ... Das ist unsinnig.”³⁸⁴ It is indeed, unless one considers the larger aspects of the saecular festival. Piganiol would justify Zosimus’ description by Christian parallels,³⁸⁵ allowing himself a liberty of time and space such as the present writer deems indispensable to the interpretation of an rite which bears any signs of being primitive. But the essential features of the cult at Rome must be considered before ranging abroad.

A bronze coin of Domitian shows that Emperor receiving in a bowl grain which a citizen is pouring from another. There is a larger vessel in which the grain is apparently to be stored. The coin bears the inscription, *imp. Caes. Domitianus*, and *cos. XIII lud(is) saec(ularibus) a populo fru(es) acc(epit)*.³⁸⁶ Two other coins show that Emperor and Augustus as *XVviri* at their respective Saecular Games giving suffimenta to the people,³⁸⁷ of whom we are told by the *Acta Severiana* that *populus* meant everyone, men, women, and children.³⁸⁸

[58] Mommsen regards the redistribution of the first-fruits to the people as a corruption of the text, since it furnishes an apparent contradiction.³⁸⁹ But one cannot but ask: who supplied

all the animals that were sacrificed for the occasion?³⁹⁰ The games most closely resembling the old Roman version of the *ludi Saeculares* were the *ludi Tauri, in honorem deorum inferorum facti*, held, says Festus, in the time of Tarquin the Proud to counteract a plague among the women caused by *carne di(u)vendita populo taurorum*.³⁹¹ This may recall a distribution of meat at the games. Certainly the temple of Diana on the Aventine would have been the proper place for such a distribution, not only because of Diana's importance for women, but also because of the primitive significance of that temple as a cattle-shrine. Why, asks Plutarch, do those coming from the Temple of Diana on the Aventine affix ox-horns?³⁹² At the death of P. Licinius Crassus, Pontifex Maximus, *funeris causa visceratio data et ... ludi funebri per triduum facti, post ludos epulum: in quo cum toto foro strata triclinia essent tempestas ... coegit plerostus tabernacula statuere in foro*.³⁹³ Here the defunct chief magistrate is remembered in a festival which closely resembles the *ludi Saeculares* – three days of feasting and games in the open (including even, by chance but not by invention, booths), with a distribution of meat at the expense of the state. When the state was the King one could expect such a distribution to have taken place at the King's house, and it is a [59] singular fact that at the year-festival of the Palilia every Roman received from the hand of Vesta, from the King's house, *suffimenta* for the purification of his own house and especially for his cattle.³⁹⁴ Such a gift was the guarantee of an abundance of meat for the year, just as a gift of meat at the feast of abundance would be. Moreover, the giving of *suffimenta* may be related to a distribution of meat at the *ludi tauri* in view of the tradition that it was the women who were poisoned by the latter while at the *ludi Saeculares* the *suffimenta* were given to all but μάλιστα δὲ θυλυτέρησι.³⁹⁵

The Sibylline commands: πάντες δὲξ ὀικοῖο φερέσθων ὅσσα καμίζειν ἐστὶ θέμις θητοῖσιν ἀπαρχαμένοις βίοτοῖς κτλ.³⁹⁶ The first-fruits are for a feast. They are to be deposited at the altars where the great multitude, the παμπληθὴς ἄγυρις, is to pass days and nights in mixed solemnity and joy.³⁹⁷ The feast is held where the offerings are piled. The cereal-offerings and animal offerings often follow different procedures, but whatever was the original arrangement at Rome it is certain that all who came to the *ludi Saeculares* brought food offerings, and probable that they all received gifts of food (meat).³⁹⁸

Another funeral feast throws light on the nature of the contributions and distributions. At the funeral of the popular Q. Fab. Rullianus, ac [60] cording to Victor, "such a sum of money was collected through the liberality of the people that his son was able to give public feasts and *viscerationem*."³⁹⁹ Here the private cult obviously follows the pattern of the public cult, and that in the manner of the year-feast. The son and heir is the only one authorized to give the feast to the people, and yet it is the people themselves who pay for it. Now it is as son and heir that the King gives his Saecular feast once a lifetime, ὁπόταν μάκιστος ἔκη Χρόνος ἀνθρώποις ζωῆς,⁴⁰⁰ when the new kingdom is founded or re-founded with his enthronement. That is the day on which we find kings giving their gifts. The feast of the Saturnalia is the Emperor's birthday where he is greeted with boundless enthusiasm as being the sole giver of all

the good things the people enjoy.⁴⁰¹ This reminds one of the institution of the Emperor's Christmas dinner, which was repeated at Pentecost, the other great Christian version of the year-feast.

It was the custom, namely, for the Emperor at Constantinople to invite some poor people to share his Christmas (and Pentecost) feast. After the dinner each guest was presented with a token which could be exchanged at the palace for a purse with a gold coin in it, or at a monastery for bread, meat, clothes or a small sum of money.⁴⁰² Here the Emperor gives the year-gift and yet the receiver in turn makes his contribution: he does not receive food or money or clothing outright, or even the gold coin, which could be as easily distributed as a token; instead he receives a token with which *he* makes a contribution which entitles him to the ultimate gift.

[61] The contributions to the year-feast were not exclusively the duty of communities as a whole,⁴⁰³ but were incumbent upon every man as an individual, as the following considerations will make clear.

The Feast of Abundance: At the main festivals of the North and of the Germans the boiled meat of the sacrifice was eaten on the spot, while at ordinary sacrifices “*durfte sich wol jeder sein theil mit nach haus nehmen. Dass Priester und Volk die Speise genossen geht aus vielen stellen hervor.*”⁴⁰⁴ But what a man contributed to the feast was not what he took. He took his food from the hand of the priests, the *Hofgedi*, who ruled the feast and distributions with a firm hand.⁴⁰⁵ For a human gift a divine gift was given in return. From the cereal-offering of the last sheaf was made a year-cake which every human and even all the draught-animals in some places *had* to eat.⁴⁰⁶ All did not give the same, but all received the same, namely an abundance. A penalty went with failure to eat [the] meal of broth and fish at Midwinter.⁴⁰⁷ In Germany the *more* one ate the more certain he was of divine gifts of strength and prosperity, and the *more* cups one could empty the stronger and handsomer one would become.⁴⁰⁸ Everyone was forced to eat all he could, and strangers in the land were not exempted from participation in the feast with the rest,⁴⁰⁹ in the Midwinter rites. Moreover the Midwinter beer “for a good year and peace” had to be *all* consumed to the last drop.⁴¹⁰ Significantly enough, St. Boniface protested to Pope Zacharius against singling the Germans out for censure [62] for their Midwinter excesses, reminding the Pope that at the calends of January one could see the very same thing in the shadow of St. Peter's, where day and night were passed in wild carousing while the tables in the open streets groaned under their weight of food.⁴¹¹

The provision of the feast by the people themselves led to interesting arrangements among them. For the Midwinter feast it was a common arrangement for a person to be a host one year and a guest the next.⁴¹² The booths were the scene of such reciprocal hospitality.⁴¹³ St. Olaf describes “a great Yule-feast, the ale being provided by each one himself. There were many besides who all drank together during the Yule ... Thorar and his brother-in-law ... were to drink during the half of the Yule at each other's farm.”⁴¹⁴ Though there was no limit to what

a man might give to the feast, it was always a communal undertaking, to judge by the one exception, the case of one Sigurd who “did a very famous deed, as he held a great sacrificing feast at Hladir, and himself alone paid all the costs.”⁴¹⁵ But in nothing is the common interest in the feast so clearly seen as in the word “Geld”, which means “die Spende,” “Entgelt”, signifying at once a payment and a sacrifice. For the common sacrificial meals contributions in kind were collected by the familiar procession from the shrine, which received as it passed from house to house (this is in local festivals though it may be recalled on a larger scale by the royal progresses [sic progressions], since the May-King or Winterman often marched at the head of the parade) a contribution upon the giving of which the prosperity of each house for the year depended. The assembly to [63] partake of the meal thus provided was a “Gild”.⁴¹⁶

This reciprocity and equality was not observed simply for its own sake. The gode presided at the sacrificial feast on his throne.⁴¹⁷ For the gode, as Herrmann concludes his treatment of him, was simply “eine Abzweigung der Königsgewalt,”⁴¹⁸ for “die Häuptlings und Könige verbanden mit ihrer weltlichen Macht auch die religiösen Funktionen, wie dieselbe Einhalt der Gewalten auch in die Hand des einfachen Hausvaters gegeben war.”⁴¹⁹ The King was the principal “Hausvater,” the paterfamilias, who in officiating at the year-sacrifice was thus made directly responsible “für die Fruchtbarkeit der Jahrgänge.”⁴²⁰ The King was the one to sacrifice the offerings of the year because he was the heir of the ancestor-kings to whom all the people prayed for a *good year*.⁴²¹ Father, priest and king are offices united in one person – a true priest-king. The “good king” was the one who gave many gifts.⁴²² You had to come to the King’s table to assure yourself of a good year, for though every chieftan and indeed every father was preist and king, there was one world-king to grant the common wish of the entire race. At the year-festival public cult *is* private cult, families, clans, kingdoms and the gods differing not in kind but only in degree.⁴²³

Gregory described the feast of the Britons as a feat of abundance.⁴²⁴ [64] The necessity of eating was as conspicuous in the Celtic as in the German cult. It was the year-feast of Goibniu which assured all participants of immortality.⁴²⁵ Strabo⁴²⁶ and Diodorus⁴²⁷ both mention the cult of hospitality at the feasts among the celts, both with reference to tribesmen and to strangers. According to the latter writer they would contend among themselves who should have the privilege of entertaining strangers and thus acquire the reputation of θεοφιλεῖς.⁴²⁸ The Celts would feast sitting in a circle with the chieftan in the middle, “like the leader of a chorus”,⁴²⁹ an arrangement which easily recalls the Table Round of Celtic lore: a yearly gathering for the taking of vows and for initiations.⁴³⁰ The great chief Lovernius, he who gave the year feast of the booths,⁴³¹ “made an enclosure twelve stades square, in which he set up vats filled with expensive wine, and prepared a quantity of food so great that for several days all who wished might enter and enjoy what was set before them, being served continuously.⁴³² A bard hailed him as a benefactor of the human race,⁴³³ and indeed he was following the kingly model. Bran, the personification of Celtic kingship,⁴³⁴ “did what the men of Byrgwin held best, giving food and drink to everyone who came, and *no* door was shut

against them,”⁴³⁵ from which appears that with the King all men held open house. When Arthur became king he “abided by [65] his ancient wont and was so prodigal of his bounties that he began to run short of things to distribute among the huge multitude of kinghts that came to him.”⁴³⁶ At the feast of Goibniu, the smith-king, at the turn of the year, ale was the principal fare, and it was served out to everyone by Goibniu himself, who was “a sort of kitchen-god”,⁴³⁷ As is well enough known, the Irish feasts took place at the tumuli where the ancestors, especially the kings, dwelt: “les dieux sont des ancetres.”⁴³⁸ The King, killed by his son, lived on as the god of Death, the year-god⁴³⁹ at whose monument the people would assemble to make their bloody sacrifices and to ask for corn and milk for the year.⁴⁴⁰ The same hierarchy of family groups exists as among the Germanic peoples: kingdoms, tribes, clans, families, all are types of the same thing and not distinguishable from the *finēs* and corresponding family-groups among the people of the *sidhe*, when all these groups are brought together at the places of the tombs.⁴⁴¹ It was for a good year and peace that they drank and feasted and sacrificed their first-born.⁴⁴² The King was priest,⁴⁴³ god on earth,⁴⁴⁴ the intermediary through whom, and also by whom, prosperity and fertility were to be obtained.⁴⁴⁵

[66] Helmold laments that the Rugians have preserved their year-cult intact by transferring it to St. Vitus, at whose great assembly and market *flaminem suum (s. Viti) non minus quam regem venerantur*.⁴⁴⁶ An Arabic traveler gives a like report of priestly superiority, at the same time making it plain whence it was derived. The priests, he says, are actually superior to the king, “indem sie ihm befehlen, dass man das Opfer für ihren Schöpfer darbringt, was sie (die Medizinemänner) wollen an Frauen, Männern und Vieh,” plainly an abuse of the office of collecting for the sacrifice.⁴⁴⁷ When the priest puts a line about the neck of man or beast no one dares to resist him in leading the victim off to the sacrificing place.⁴⁴⁸ Another writer of the time says that the Slavs *ad immolandum demoniis nefanda properarent sacrificia, cibisque ex ipsis potibusque simul inquinarentur*.⁴⁴⁹ It was customary for them to gorge on first-fruits at harvest time,⁴⁵⁰ and they were devoted to guests and strangers.⁴⁵¹ A year-feast was observed for the dead by all his descendants,⁴⁵¹ and everyone was under the religious obligation to serve the king.⁴⁵² Equality and reciprocity prevailed to such a degree that Procopius thought the Slavs were communists.⁴⁵³ Among all the varying names of Slavic gods Prof. Brückner detects simply variations on the theme of the old “Hauptgott”, Dazbog, whose name consists of *dáz* “gib” und *bog* “Habe”, the name being “ein imperativisches Kompositum” which Brückner renders “Spende habe”.⁴⁵⁴ It is to him that “Zins und Opfer [67] (zumal das Erntedankopfer) geweiht sind,” in return for which year-offerings he gives fertility to the land.⁴⁵⁵

From the abundant sources of information on the Semitic year-feast it will be necessary to cite only a few of the more important and better known. Israel is commanded: “Thou shalt observe the feast of the tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in thy corn and thy wine: And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant and thy maidservant ... and the stranger.”⁴⁵⁶ It was a family feast but open to all the world,⁴⁵⁷ and everyone had to partake of it, individually (every person must consume a piece of

meat as large as an olive says the Talmud),⁴⁵⁸ and collectively.⁴⁵⁹ All contributed to the feast of the Lord, and in fact every meal was such a feast.⁴⁶⁰ It was from the table of the giver of abundance that all were fed.⁴⁶¹ This [68] table was furnished by the feasters themselves, but the food that was placed on it was no longer their's: it was to be received from the hand of God and eaten in thanksgiving.⁴⁶² The hand of the priest, originally simply the server-out of the portions, turned a merry feasting "with tables groaning with good things" into the ritually formal sacrifice of the "Priesterkodex".⁴⁶³ The partaking of common meals is an act of brotherhood and of covenant, but that does not make it a private cult: "The law of the feast," writes Robertson Smith, "was open-handed hospitality: *no* sacrifice was complete without guests ... Universal hilarity prevailed, men ate, drank and were merry together, rejoicing before their God."⁴⁶⁴ The Levite, the stranger, the fatherless and the widow must share in the feast, and none must lack.⁴⁶⁵ Which means that there must be a redistribution of the meat in the Lord's storehouse.⁴⁶⁶ In which office it is not surprising to find the King officiating. When David danced before the Lord "he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as men, to every one a cake of bread, and a good piece of flesh, and a flagon of wine."⁴⁶⁷ In Israel the tithes were brought in to the royal court, not to the temple, and were devoted "to the maintenance of the public or royal sacrifice." And "not used be each man to make a private religious feast for himself and his family."⁴⁶⁸ Since the writer of those words himself declares that the *original* private feast was open to the public, it would seem that the strictly private feast is a copy of the [69] public one. Certainly the devoting of tithes to the royal sacrifice which was also the public sacrifice and "Opfermahlzeit"⁴⁶⁹ would have been an unspeakable outrage against established religion had it been perpetrated at a late date, and one can only agree with Wellhausen, that it was the priests who were the interlopers, mediating between God and man as the King had done at the feast where they had been once merely servers.⁴⁷⁰

In Israel as elsewhere the redistribution from a common fund to provide that all should get their fill of a feast of abundance begot a cult of hospitality. When Nehemiah revived the ancient feast of the Lord "all the people went their way to eat and to drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth."⁴⁷¹ The word for "portions" (*manah*) refers specifically to shares in a sacrificial meal. The divine command was on this occasion: "Go your way, eat the fat and drink the sweet and send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared."⁴⁷² This sharing alike appears as direct charity, by a natural enough logic, in Esther IX, 22, which describes "a sending of portions to one another and of gifts to the poor," wherein plainly the gifts do not differ from the portions in nature⁴⁷³ [70] but are given an interpretation which shows that men had forgotten the meaning of the portions. With regard to the role of the King at the Jewish year-festival we can do no better than to refer the reader to the recent study of the subject by A. R. Johnson of the Davidic King as the very model of the Year-King, the giver of fertility, etc.⁴⁷⁴ The reward from bringing "all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house"⁴⁷⁵ is the guarantee: "I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground", and the assurance that the windows of heaven would be

opened.⁴⁷⁶ As the Davidic King at the feast was the heir⁴⁷⁷ so every heir had to give a feast, of which Josephus writes: “The usual funeral banquet for the populace [is] a Jewish custom which reduces many to poverty, such entertainment of the people being considered obligatory and its omission an act of impiety.”⁴⁷⁸

At the death of Aqhat the year-god, Danel, the hero of a Ras Shamra poem, summons “the countryfold and the townspeople to bring their firstlings to Aqhat as tribute,” and all slay the wild oxen in his honor.”⁴⁷⁹ All the gods and the ancestors attend the feast where, “by a gamut of economico-religious rites the corporate life ... is though to be replenished.”⁴⁸⁰ Here again public and private cult are the same in the year-festival of the rebirth of the race.⁴⁸¹

Everyone brought food to Mecca and no one was permitted to fast there. Since many could bring but little their right to share the feast where they were “guests of the god”⁴⁸² called for a general distribution. It may [71] be going too far to suggest that this is the origin of the celebrated hospitality of the Arabs, but there are some Arabic practices which the desert environment alone will not explain. Thus when one “sacrifices the year’s mind for his grandsire” he may distribute the portions of meat at his tent, with no eating of the company together, i.e. a *visceratio*.⁴⁸³ At a funeral there is sacrificing at the grave, but thereafter the dead is always feted at the *public* festivals, when his friends “assemble to his next kinsman, who has sacrificed according to his ability.”⁴⁸⁴ Again it is the fusion of public and private cult, marking individual life-cycles as identical with that of the whole race. Though the managing of a feast required the breaking up of large masses into small circles⁴⁸⁵ such circles were not identical with families, always containing guests, for there was no private or family slaughter.⁴⁸⁶ Originally the Arabs could only sacrifice at special places, and only the blood went to the god, the rest made a feast. For the “Darbringer, seiner Familie und etwa eingeladenen Gästen ... der Rest wird an arme Leute verteilt.”⁴⁸⁷ Moreover at no time does anyone slaughter “bloss fuer sich; kein Gedanke an Fleischverkauf.”⁴⁸⁸

The Gilgamesh Epic tells that when Utnapishtim was building his ark he slaughtered great quantities of cattle and sheep for the people, and provided them likewise with an abundance of wine and oil, “celebrating a feast that was like the New Year’s time.”⁴⁸⁹ A constantly recurring theme in Babylonian and Sumerian representations is the feast with the bringing in of jars and bread and pieces of meat, of the earliest versions of which [72] Wooley observes significantly: “The side-board, the cane altar laden with food and drink, disappears, or rather is invested with more precise ritual meaning by a ledge altar of clay or bricks ... On it are piled similar pieces of meat, cakes and cups ... The *servants become priests*, menials of the god.”⁴⁹⁰ There is evidence of a strong belief in personal survival in these documents, but “of deistic religion connected with the dead there is surprisingly little.”⁴⁹¹ It is then not a rigidly organized cult, but simply a gathering of the community for a great and informal feast, but none the less one to be taken seriously with all its joy: σπουδὴ δὲ γελῶτι μεμίχθω, as Sibyl puts it. Whether this prehistoric event is a New Year’s feast, certain it is that “some of the most important beliefs which underlie the New Year festival in New Babylonian times ... existed

already under the Dynasty of Sargon of Akkad” at least,⁴⁹² and that the central idea of the Babylonian New Year was that of the King as the giver of all life, especially vegetation, and as the heir to the creator of the world.⁴⁹³ The feast that the Gilgamesh epic speaks of was his feast, and the contributions to it may well be recalled (since at Erech, for example, it persisted to Christian times) in the wonderful cistern of the King at Babylon into which each man who came to the King’s feast would pour the drink he had brought with him and from which he would then draw only that kind of drink for the revels.⁴⁹⁴

At New Year and the Equinox when the King of Persia would hold open house “the people of his dominions used to go in to him and salute him, [73] and congratulate him on the festival, offering him presents and servants,” while he in turn “would give *his* gifts, and make proclamation of safety and security,” etc.⁴⁹⁵ We have cited Athenaeus’ excerpt from Theopompus, that the dinner of the King of Persia “has from ancient times been imposed upon all cities in proportion to their population.”⁴⁹⁶ The reverse of the process is that the same King invites a host of people to share that dinner with him. Of the thousand animals slaughtered each day for the meal, the guests could carry some of the meat home with them, while the rest, making a virtue of a ritual necessity, was distributed to the soldiers.⁴⁹⁷ We say “ritual” advisedly, for the background of the custom is seen in the arrangement by which “of those who are invited to eat with the king, some dine outdoors, in full sight of anyone who wishes to look on,” clearly revealing the general and public nature of the feast; as to those who ate indoors, they were separated from the king by a curtain, except “on the occasion of a public holiday,” when “all dine in a single room with the king, in the great hall.”⁴⁹⁸ The greatest of those holidays was, the king’s birthday, when the *tukta*, or “perfect” banquet was given; “on that day alone,” says Herodotus, “the king gives presents to the Persians.”⁴⁹⁹ That day, our first Persian citation being sound, was identical with the new year. Moreover, the feature of sharing alike which so often gives rise to a “cult” of hospitality is seen in Persia in the “excellent custom of long standing, that the rich should honour the king with presents, [74] but to those who were not rich the king should give presents.”⁵⁰⁰ Thus the Great King was a sort of clearing-house by which the rich contributed to the poor in effect. But not in theory: the meat from the king’s hand was the gift of God, for the king was a god⁵⁰¹ as well as a father, the representative of Gaya Maretan, the first man, father of the race and king of the Golden Age.⁵⁰² Herodotus and Strabo tell us that the Persians would carry off every bit of the sacrificial meat for home consumption,⁵⁰³ but *not*, the former authority specifies, until the magi had performed the proper rites over it. May we not look in this direction for the explanation of the political power of the Magi and their rivalry of the king himself?⁵⁰⁴ The young Cyrus came to power when he killed all his father’s cattle and provided bread and wine for all the Persians at a great feast.⁵⁰⁵ The king is the dispenser of all good things; like his ancestor Gaya he shelters the whole race; he is the tree, “the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, etc.”⁵⁰⁶ [75] In Persia as elsewhere the nearest thing to the public cult is the funeral practice of giving a feast at which clothes and gifts were distributed among the poor of the

community, with a solemn proclamation stating just how much the defunct has willed to their support.⁵⁰⁷

The King in India had “the duty to supply a means of life for all the people. He is the *sarvārthsadhaka*, ‘accomplisher of everything,’ upon whom the people live, *upajīvanti*, the tree of life, the farmer’s raincloud, a god among men, ‘a great divinity’; his form is human but himself divine.”⁵⁰⁸ All his virtue culminates in the activities of the Ásvamedha, “the king of sacrifices”, to ensure sovereignty to the king and fecundity to the land.⁵⁰⁹ He has five forms, Fire, Sun, Death, the god of Wealth, and the god of Judgment.⁵¹⁰ From him comes all wealth. Not only does he occupy Indra’s place, but “the king is the age, because ‘as is the king so are his people,’ and dependant on him are the people’s virtue and prosperity.”⁵¹¹ One would expect the Ásvamedha to be a time of much giving from the king’s bounty with less emphasis on the public contribution to him or on mutual hospitality, than elsewhere. Such seems to be the case. The king levied special taxes to pay for the sacrifice,⁵¹² but the preparations lasted for months, so that when the time came all was in readiness for an apparently spontaneous burst of boundless generosity. Food was provided for all the people: all they could eat.⁵¹³ But the highly ritualized giving accrued to the benefit of the priests (who seem to have interposed themselves between [76] the monarch and the people) if we are to believe the text. The four highest priests were the chief recipients. To each of them the King gave a thousand cows, because “mille signifient tout.”⁵¹⁴ On each of the three days of the festival he gave away one-third of his property to the priests as a salary!⁵¹⁵ On the third day each of the four high-priests received one of his four wives as their attendants,⁵¹⁶ and after sharing a meal with the King also accepted from him one-hundred years of life.⁵¹⁷ Thus in giving the King completely spent himself, for he was God and ancestor: “C’est, mystère ineffable, Prajāpati lui-même qui s’immole à lui-même.”⁵¹⁸

From the earliest times the heads of the Egyptian nomes had two sources of income, public and private. The latter was “from the house of his father”, while the former was paid to him and his family as a salary for officiating in the temple. He received a share of all bread, beer and meat that was brought to the temple and as high-priest had a claim to a portion of roast meat and a jug of beer on procession days.⁵¹⁹ This temple-income was his princely income, and it was in return for this that he had to provide that there should be no poor or hungry in the land.⁵²⁰ Through him furthermore, the due contributions went to the King of all the land, who was directly responsible for the prosperity of it.

[77] In Africa no one would touch the first-fruits of yams, piled at the tomb of the dead king, until the reigning king had officiated in certain rites of “an ancestral cult in which fertility rites were prominent.”⁵²¹ At this feast of abundance everyone ate to repletion.⁵²² At the beginning of the last century Mohammed-Ali sent out an African expedition which discovered what Victor Berard takes to have been nothing less than “les géants noirs d’Homère, et leur table des dieux.”⁵²³ They were tribes of tall blacks who owned great herds of cattle and sheep. Their chief “sultan” was wont to give a public banquet at which all were seated according to

rank and official inspectors forced everyone to eat.⁵²⁴ In Africa the king is responsible for the food supply.

Since all the characteristics of a true “saecular” festival so far mentioned have been found together at Delphi it is not surprising to find that there every nine years “the king sits in state and gives barley-meal and loaves to everyone ~~both strangers and citizens~~ --- and --- alike.”⁵²⁵ On the income side we are told that “the Cretans ... sent a consecration offering of men to Delphi,”⁵²⁶ an indication, certainly, of great antiquity. We are indebted to Athenaeus for considerable knowledge of customs regarding contribution and distribution at Greek feasts.

Speaking of the funeral feast of Patroclus, where everyone ate and was filled (II., XXIII, 55-56), Athenaeus observes, “man alone progresses from primitive violence to fair dealing. Hence only man’s food can be dais [78] and his moira is what is given to everybody.”⁵²⁷ In Homer, he further notes, “what is left over after a feast the housekeeper would take and keep, so that if a stranger arrived she might have something to give him.”⁵²⁸ This feasting of strangers is found in the most archaic Greek year-festivals. The feast of the Cleaver, which had to be celebrated in booths, offered hospitable reception to all comers from whatever parts, giving to each a portion of meat, a cake, cheese, sausage and dessert.⁵²⁹ “Everywhere throughout Crete there are two houses for the public messes; one of these is the *andreion*, ... the other, in which they entertain strangers, is called *koimeterion*.” Like wise there were two tables, the “guest tables, at which sit in honor any strangers who are in town,” and the others.⁵³⁰ “An equal portion of the food on hand is served to each person.”⁵³¹ At Lampsacus, where the gods themselves used to hold the midnight banquet of the Great Goddess,⁵³² “the local fisher-folk”, according to Polyaeus, “would call upon passers-by to stop awhile and eat and drink with them” at their rites beside the water.⁵³³ For eating was a necessity to the Greek feast of abundance. Jane Harrison has treated at length the subject of food, ancestors and fertility with relationship to the year-feast of the *agathos daimon*.⁵³⁴ It is not necessary to accept her interpretations to recognize that eating had its merits.

At the banquet of the Arcadians, “the more a young man could eat the more barley-cakes and broth he was given, and his hearty appetite was [79] admired.”⁵³⁵ It was in Arcadia also that the sons of Aphareus had their famous eating contest, at which the one who ate the most ox-meat was allotted the most land.⁵³⁶ Which reminds one of the Sosipolis ox and the Euphonia, year-rites performed at harvest-time, when all had to partake of the meat of the sacrificed beast.⁵³⁷ Likewise, all had to eat the *panspermia*,⁵³⁸ and it was custom all over the ancient world for everyone to carry home small bits of the sacrifice after the ceremony, to insure or impart health to the individual for the year.⁵³⁹ From the Arcadian banquets everyone carried away crumbs – for Hekate, it was explained.⁵⁴⁰

To the Greek feast of which all partook all had to contribute. The oxen of the Bouphonia and other rites were kept through the year at public expense.⁵⁴¹ The feasts of the gods were *eranoi*.⁵⁴² At Naucratis anyone who choose could eat at the town hall provided he

brought with him food to be shared with the rest in return for half-a-pint of wine.⁵⁴³ At the year-feast however, everyone had to be present and a rigid equality was observed in the distribution of the banquet.⁵⁴⁴ The mechanism of collection and distribution is clearly described in the case of the Lyttians of Crete: “The Lyttians pool their goods for the common mess ... every man contributes a tithe of his crops to his club, as well as the income from the state which the magistrates of the city divide among the households of all the citizens.”⁵⁴⁵ Individuals and the state are both givers and receivers, [80] and the source of the substance was the earth. Of the Spartan common meal is recounted that “sometimes the common people bring whatever is caught in the chase; but the rich contribute wheat bread and anything from the fields which the season permits ... No one is in the habit of contributing anything which he has brought by purchase in the market.”⁵⁴⁶ Here all contribute, but not the same. The meal thus contributed to was an *epaiklon*, and Persaeus says of it that who officiates “assesses the well-to-do in a sum sufficient to pay for the *epaikla* ... but from the poor he requires a contribution of a reed or rush or laurel leaves, so that thye may be able to gulp down their *epaikla* after dinner.”⁵⁴⁷ The giving of a laurel leaf is equivalent to a gift of food, as is seen from the custom of fining the loser of a trial at Sparta meal cakes (*kammata*) or laurel leaves (*kammatides*), which were gulped down with the cakes.⁵⁴⁸ We have seen that the poor could contribute a *Bous Hebdomos* made out of meal to the year-feast elsewhere.⁵⁴⁹

It was stated that the rich were assessed to pay for the *epaiklon*. Traces of such assessment may be seen in the property confiscations of Hellenistic times. At Tarsus it was on the basis of his authority as priest of Heracles that Lysias divided the wealth of the rich among the poor, “killing many of those who refused to contribute.”⁵⁵⁰ [Here is penned above the typed text an alternate translation: “murdering many who do not offer them of their own allocation”] Life was made intolerable for Dio Chrysostom in his native Prusa on the suspicion that he, a rich man, was not giving all he could, and especially because he [81] was not συμποτικό or κοινος, taking no pleasure in public feasts.⁵⁵¹ A portion which it was the right and duty of everyone to receive was not charity. If the poor did no less than their duty in giving what they could, the rich did no more. The *epaiklon*, which seems to be the semi-ritual survival of the original feast, and certainly preserved the element of equality more strictly than the other meal which preceded it,⁵⁵² may be identified with the “second tables” which, as Prof. Cornford has pointed out, everywhere characterize *the* Year-Feast of the earliest times.⁵⁵³ The Arcadians took crumbs from their common meals “for Hekate”.⁵⁵⁴ According to a Scholiast to Aristophanes “it was the custom for the rich to set aside a monthly contribution of bread and the like for Hekate, and for the poor to take from this store of holy substance ... and the needy lived from it.”⁵⁵⁵ This, it will be noted, is not direct charity. The poor take from Hekate; the rich give to her. Just so it was the custom in the Early Church for the poor children of the community to be called together to eat [82] of the remnants of the Lord’s supper.⁵⁵⁶ Priests and the poor had a lawful share in the distribution of the δῶρα which the faithful brought to the holy table, whence it was distributed to the entire congregation.⁵⁵⁷ This was not charity but the hospitality of the feast.

The Spartan Hyacinthia⁵⁵⁸ like the Athenian Metageitnia⁵⁵⁹ was a time of great hilarity when a universal hospitality prevailed. At the former festival the people would “sacrifice very many victims” and then entertain at dinner all their friends and servants.⁵⁶⁰ The sacrificial nature of the food shows that it was not a giving of profane gifts, and other features of the festival mark it unmistakably as a year-feast.⁵⁶¹

The fact that the King was the distributor, to friends and strangers alike, at Delphi, points to the same sort of interpretation as year-feasts elsewhere seem to justify. When Lysias of Tarsus as priest of Heracles [83] with the significant title of στεφανηφόρος, confiscated and distributed the wealth, he first dressed himself in kingly robes.⁵⁶² In the backward Thrace it was the king himself who served the guests with his own hand at the great feast in the market-place to celebrate his daughter’s wedding.⁵⁶³

It is in the institution of the bread called πολιτικοί that one sees most clearly the meaning of the distributions. Malalas records that “the most blessed Constantine on the occasion of his completion of the consular duties distributed as favors to the Byzantine people in Constantinople tokens of reed, which were for perpetual daily bread, each portion of bread accompanied by wine, meat and ‘vestia’; the outlay was at his own expense, and the portions were called “πολιτικούς”.⁵⁶⁴ The same passage is used by the same writer and borrowed, with slight alterations the Chronicon Paschale, to describe an earlier instance of ἄρτοι πολιτικοί in the time of Commodus, when one Artabanes, a rich citizen and magistrate of Antioch at the celebration of the famous Olympic coronation in the grove of Daphne, to show his munificence distributed to the populace at the shrine of Daphne a great number of reed tokens for perpetual bread, to be distributed annually thereafter. These loaves were called πολιτικοί because they were meant as a donative to the citizens of his own city, the text explains. In return the Antiocheans raised for him in a grove a marble statue with the inscription Ἄρταβάνης αἰωνία μνήμη.⁵⁶⁵ Time and place show this happened at the great year-festival of the place [84] while the provision for yearly repetition at the same time and place, the dedication of eternal remembrance and above all the image make it plain that the φιλότιμος Artabanes had established a personal cult, a typical birthday and year-cult.

This fact is supported by the newly-found will of Orcistus, a citizen of Asia Minor, who in 237 provided that there should be “distributed annually to each of our fellow-citizens one pound of bread ... also there shall be held in our town gymnasium on Happiness-day a feast of all the people.”⁵⁶⁶ Private and public cult are again identified in a year-feast. “Because he was a man of some property,” says Pausanias of one Aethidas of Messenia, “the Messenians honor him as a hero.”⁵⁶⁷

The public feast in Greece appears accordingly to have been provided by a divinity at a personal anniversary which is identical with the common festival of the year.

Remembering that the contribution of the poor to the old Spartan feast was a reed or laurel-leaf, one will readily see the meaning of the giving of *reed* tokens to the people by Constantine and Artabanus. The possession of such would enable the holder to make his contribution and thus entitle him to a share. Even so the Emperor at Christmas time and Pentecost did not give food, clothing or money to the people outright, but instead gave them a token apiece which they could contribute to the common fund, either at the palace or at a monastery.⁵⁶⁸

In the case of Greece as of other lands, the writer has confined him [85] self to but one aspect of the year-festival at a time, and to such evidence as would illustrate that aspect alone. The full validity of the parallels cited cannot be seen until the annual celebrations of the various regions are considered each in its entirety, a task beyond the scope of this present study. But it is the belief of the writer that the little said so far will cast some light on certain aspects of the games at Rome which generations of intensive local study have failed to explain.

[86] Traces of an old Roman *epaiklon* may also be detected in the custom of the early Romans, described by Seneca, of letting slaves divide among themselves the left-overs of a banquet which they had served.⁵⁶⁹

The Host at the Public Feast: The host in Rome to the people was never an ordinary person and his hospitality seems to have been confined strictly to special occasions, namely birthdays and funerals. Birthdays included those official birthdays which took place at the first of the year.

The giver is divine. Gellius says that there was a tradition that Romulus by his will made the Roman people the inheritor of his worldly goods and thereby, *ob id meritum*, received a cult; *a flamine Quirinali sacrificium ei publice fit et dies e nomine eius in fastos additus*.⁵⁷⁰ Such divinity was not reserved to kings. The first aedile to give grain to the people received (*quam ob causam*, says Pliny) a statue in the capitol: eternal memory for the giver.⁵⁷¹ When a citizen of Ferentinum left a fund to be expended for a public feast *and* distribution, it was provided that those festivities should take place on his birthday: what his “gift” amounted to was the purchase of a cult.⁵⁷²

The giver, in death a hero, is in life a king. At Gabii Sextus Tarquin upon becoming king “destroyed the more influential citizens and distributed their wealth among the populace,”⁵⁷³ an enthronement gift made possible by the dual prerogative of the king to take and to give out. By the prerogative Spurius Maelius at the end of the 4th century B. C. thought [87] to establish a claim to the crown.⁵⁷⁴ That a gift of two pounds of corn per man to each Roman was enough in itself to produce a revolution is unthinkable, but that such a distribution should be undertaken by one putting himself forward for the throne is not.⁵⁷⁵ When one gives to the people by that act he has a claim on their “contributions” to his office: even the lowering of the grain-price by the eleventh Tribune of the Plebs got him a statue outside the Trigemina gate

by popular contribution.⁵⁷⁶ That the giver was divine is seen in nothing more clearly than the fact that there was *no other way* of obtaining ritual remembrance on one's birthday than by giving the proper endowments for it; no amount of honor or heroism could get one a cult of an unendowed college.⁵⁷⁷ It was more than sheer corruption that led Caesar to spread 22,000 tables in the Forum to celebrate his consularship,⁵⁷⁸ or induced Crassus to inaugurate his censorship by giving a public feast at which as a "second table" every Roman was given sufficient means to live on for three months.⁵⁷⁹ These men were presiding in offices that were once the king's, and as the cases of Maelius and Publicola show, the tradition of royal bounty and of personal attachment to the giver did not disappear in the Republic.

[88] The *quid pro quo* relationship between the populace and the giver of largesses was not corruption. Tacitus speaks with contempt of Atilius who built an amphitheatre *non abundantia pecuniae hec municipali ambitione sed in sordidum mercedem*.⁵⁸⁰ *Municipalis ambitio* was a noble motive, and Cicero can complain that Caesar has robbed everyone else of the ancient prerogative of showing liberality to the people.⁵⁸¹ The return for such liberality was the public recognition upon which all political authority rested, and when the gifts were withheld even the prestige of the Emperor was lost.

The Emperor who was the giver of all good in prosperity⁵⁸² suffered a corresponding humiliation when the grain failed.⁵⁸³ The people would not concede to Galba the benefit of official prayers for his health and felicity because he had been remiss in the distribution of largesses.⁵⁸⁴ Who wanted to be the first man in Rome had to furnish grain at his own expense and even the tight-fisted Augustus never thought of evading this responsibility.⁵⁸⁵ The Emperor was the impartial giver, observing a strict equality [89] for which he was hailed as *dominum aequum et bonum*.⁵⁸⁶ Like praise was accorded the magistrate in republican times who observed a strict impartiality in the distribution of grain at the *Plebei ludi*.⁵⁸⁷ The institution of "portions", with double portions for magistrates,⁵⁸⁸ is the natural concomitant of a distribution where equality must be preserved, and the sending of portions in turn explains a "cult" of hospitality such as existed at the time of the games at Rome. It was natural too that class distinction should arise from unequal ability to contribute to the feast, and in fact it seems that the three orders of *decuriones*, *severi* or *augustales*, and *plebeii* in the provinces was based in the first instance on the amount contributed by their members to the common meal.⁵⁸⁹

As is well known, the Emperor was equally available to all at the time of the games. Not only had the common people the right to make demands of him at that time,⁵⁹⁰ but it was the practice of the ruler to share the feasts with the people and as one of them. To celebrate a festival Augustus "would go the evening before to the house of some one of the imperial freedmen who lived near the palace where the crowd was to gather, and would spend the night there," so that all the people could come and greet him with the least possible trouble.⁵⁹¹ When Heliogabius *vulgum ad bibendum invitavit et ipse cum populo ... bibit*,⁵⁹² he was not orientalizing, for Claudius the zealous anti [90] quarian did the same, even going so far as to paly the part of "head-waiter" and, bustling about with a display of unwonted buffoonery,

address them as “my masters”.⁵⁹³ Class and family distinctions are forgotten at the feast, or rather, the observance of a year-cult is the point at which private and public cult are identical.

That identity may be seen in the functioning of the Pinarii and Potitii at the Ara Maxima, whither the first-fruits of war and peace were brought to provide a feast for the whole community.⁵⁹⁴ Whatever the meaning of the names may be,⁵⁹⁵ the fact that a gentilic cult could be observed at the occasion of the year-feast and preserve its identity through the centuries shows that the two types of cult could be reconciled. If one grants that the gentilic cult was the earlier,⁵⁹⁶ one is faced by the interesting fact that the altar of that cult was chosen for the general meeting and feasting of the whole nation. When the other Romans came to this place they left their family shrines, but they met at another and a common one; those who belonged to the spot throughout the year thus celebrated their gentilic and the public cult as the same event.

[91] Chapter IV

The Cult of Hospitality at Rome

The Common Meal in Rome: In Rome during the games everyone ate with their doors open.⁵⁹⁷ Gellius came across an old decree of the Senate which ordered that *antiquo ritu* the leading citizens *mutitarent*, which he explains as “acting as host to one another in rotation.”⁵⁹⁸ Significantly enough, the law of Fannius specifically limited expenditures for such hospitality to the Roman and Plebeian Games and to the Saturnalia, “and on certain other days.”⁵⁹⁹ The good old Roman hospitality seems to have definite connection with the year-rite.⁶⁰⁰

Early in the morning of the first day of their main annual celebration the Arval Brethren would come together *et fruges aridas et virides contigerunt et panes laureatos*,⁶⁰¹ etc. Henzen explains the *panes laureatos* by Cato’s recipe for *panes mustacei*, the last stage in the preparation of which is thus described: *et ubi definxeris, lauri folia subtus addito, cum coques*.⁶⁰² Persaeus says that at the Spartan feast the poor man presents a laurel leaf ὅπως ἔχῃσι τὰ ἐπαικλα κάπτειν μετὰ δεῖπνον, since the *epaiklon* is either a barley cake soaked with oil or barley meal mixed with oil.⁶⁰³ at any rate, the meal was placed on the leaf and so consumed with it. It is notable that the first thing the Arval Brethren do in their three days of year-feasting is to consume such a confection, and it is quite possible that the *panes laureati* represent the original contribution which had to come before everything else, and represent likewise a very archaic origin for the custom of sharing the feast at Rome.

[92] When M. Flavius gave a *visceratio* for the Romans at the funeral of his mother some believed it was a case of *per speciem honorandae parentis, meritam mercedem populo solutam*.⁶⁰⁴ The thing had to be done under color of ritual and even at that early date the right of feasting the whole people at a private celebration was being turned into personal ends. It was always at these seemingly very personal rites of life-crises that the family and heir, far from closing themselves in, must throw open their doors to the whole world. The convoy of the dead is met in streets by the people of Polentia who refuse the corpse a passage to the grave until the heir has promised the feast which they are accustomed to receive at the funerals of notables.⁶⁰⁵ Pliny recounts how the celebrants of coming-of-age and marriage ceremonies “are accustomed to gather with a considerable part of the community to invite the whole senate, and distribute to each of the company one or two denarii”.⁶⁰⁶ One rich woman was forced by the excessive demands of her townspeople upon her generosity to flee to another city to get married.⁶⁰⁷ So much was a funeral everyman’s affair that the populace could simply take over the whole ritual, paying where necessary the entire expense.⁶⁰⁸ The ancient grave which stood by the side of the road was in the most public of places, bore an epitaph addressed to the world at large, and received from every passer-by the due “contribution” of a stone, which [93] if nothing else was an act of recognition,⁶⁰⁹ and Lares and family cult were localized at, of all places for private cults, the crossroads!⁶¹⁰ At the time of life-crises, “rites-de-passage”, or what you will, the

individual is identified with the universal. It is useless to argue which is the older, but a few concrete suggestions may serve to indicate how deeply ingrained in Roman life was the lore of the “Great Festival.”

The Nomenclature of Roman Hospitality: A number of Latin expressions which have never been entirely explained will be found, if taken in their literal sense, which has been ascertained in all cases but one, to point to the year-festival as we have described it – a general gathering for the new year – as their common background. Just as from a simple and direct line of reasoning from the nomenclature of Roman state-religion it is possible to reconstruct the monarchy of the priest-kings, so in the words *hostia*, *lautia*, *munera*, *tessera* and *client* may be detected the customs of the primitive pilgrimage to Rome.

The son of Sulla at the funeral of his father gave the people free shows, banquets, baths and oil.⁶¹¹ The same combination that was enjoyed by visitors to the games, who had a right, along with that of attending the spectacles and feasts, to baths and oil and vinegar.⁶¹² Such are exactly the things that would be required by those pilgrims who came to the games from a distance. In archaic times the bath marked the end of every [94] long journey.⁶¹³ At Rome the *lautia* was the special official gift to strangers: *dantur legatis hospitii gratia*.⁶¹⁴ The word itself, *lautia* = *lavatia* has something to do with bathing,⁶¹⁵ and from a passage in Plutarch would seem to have stood for the most complete acceptance of the visitor into the local group, the equivalent of accepting another into one's house, for the *lautia* included, he says, a public funeral for the visitor if he died in the city.⁶¹⁶ Its regular meaning comes to be simply *epularum magnificentia*.⁶¹⁷ Plutarch's description of the reception of official visitors in Rome is against the assumption that the gift of the bath was made by the state on the pattern of private practice, for the first thing the stranger does is to go to the house of Saturn at the end of the Sacred Way and give his name.⁶¹⁸ It is Saturn who receives the guest, and though we are not justified in seeing in him King Saturn of pre-historic times, and in the Sacred Way the Road to the King's House – *ad domum regis sacrificuli*⁶¹⁹ – neither may we regard the custom as late, since its meaning was [95] entirely lost in Plutarch's time.

The gift of vinegar and oil, which was granted to strangers in Greece as well,⁶²⁰ is like the bath thoroughly practical; but it indicates a particular kind of visitor, namely one who had brought other food with him, for the three official gifts to strangers do not include other nourishment than this. We have referred to sources describing the people coming to the year-feast driving their meat on the hoof and carrying grain, bread and wine or beer with them. These things could be preserved for months on end; but oil and vinegar spoil, and hence it is these two which must be provided at the scene of the festivities. It is likewise significant that the oil-gift, *congius*, *congiarium*, should have lent itself for the designation of money for the poor, a gift of the Emperor, a general distribution to the people, to the soldiers, etc.⁶²¹ Oil and vinegar were not the gifts of the god but simply necessities for the pilgrims.

Another gift to strangers was the *munus*. It was a gift in gold or silver which represented and original distribution of food: it was a “Zehrfennig.”⁶²² It was also a duty, sometimes, in fact, an *onus*.⁶²³ A duty to whom? To the dead, according to Tertullian: the duty of giving spectacles for them.⁶²⁴ We have seen that at rites for the dead a gift was due from the heir to all his fellows. It was as it were an “enthronement gift” from one assuming the place of the deified deceased, whose status was recognized by a public feast, supplied entirely by popular contribution if necessary. The commonest meaning of *munera* refers to gladiatorial combats [96] given by magistrates on assuming an office in return for the authority (the divinity) which had been accorded them by the people.⁶²⁵ The same word applied to a number of things implies something in common: official birthdays and funerals, feasts, spectacles, obligatory contribution, gifts to strangers, all are common to the idea of the *munera*, and all have the common background of the year-festival, with no visible alternative.

So close is the association of guest and sacrifice that Mommsen was led by it into supporting an etymology which derived *hosia* from *hostis*, explaining that when the guest entered the domestic circle of the host he also entered into the domestic cult, and that “ihm zu Ehren” the *hostia* was killed.⁶²⁶ Though on etymological grounds Mommsen later recanted,⁶²⁷ the intimate relationship between host and sacrifice remains to be explained. If the presence of a guest did not necessarily produce a sacrifice, the constant conjunction of the two phenomena may be taken as a hint that the sacrifice may itself have been the reason for visitors. When the Emperor sacrifices at the *saeculares* he summons all to be present – he does not hold that sacrifice because of the gathering, but the gathering is held because of the sacrifice and feast. The *saeculum* itself is the original motive, and to a like motive (birthday, funeral, etc.) may be attributed the admission of guests to private sacrifices, after the model of the year-feast.⁶²⁸

Tesserae: The Roman *tesserae* furnish an eloquent commentary on the nature of the year-festival and on its universality. It is at [97] feasts and games that the tesserae were regularly employed.⁶²⁹ It is natural to see in their use a device for regulating mass distributions of any kind,⁶³⁰ but such a use does not explain their fundamental nature. The oldest form of *tesserae* were the *tesserae hospitales*, tokens or letters formally [98] exchanged by parties sharing an agreement of *hospitium*, or mutual friendship and hospitality.⁶³¹ The guest upon arriving at the door of the host would present his *tessera*, and if it were found to match the one kept in the house he was forthwith admitted to the *hospitalem*.⁶³² The tessera was thus at once a ticket of admission and a mark of identification, marking the holder as one eligible to share in the feast – shall we say the cult?⁶³³ – of the house. The use of tesserae in private relationships as well as public⁶³⁴ raises the question of priority which can best be answered by consideration of their nature and use. We shall first consider the *tesserae* as marks of personal identification.

The comparison of a *tessera* held by an individual with another mark kept by another private person or by the state⁶³⁵ identified the holder as one who had entered a contract of hospitality. Some *tesserae*, such as the military⁶³⁶ and “gladiatorial”⁶³⁷ tablets actually bore the

name of the holder, often with a date. The source of the *tesserae* as a means of personal identification is doubtless to be found in the venerable and widespread institution of the seal.

The conception of a personal seal as the confirmation or “seal” of a man’s status as a mortal is found among the Romans, apparently as one of great antiquity⁶³⁸ At the death of Augustus gold rings were replaced by iron.⁶³⁹ The gold ring was the special sign of power and authority.⁶⁴⁰ When the ring upon which his own image was engraved fell from his finger the portent was interpreted as a sure presage of the death of Hadrian.⁶⁴¹ Just so, when Minos lost his seal-ring he lost his kingdom, which Theseus obtained when he found the same ring.⁶⁴² The seal thus tied up with one’s mortal life would be expected to play a role in the ritual of a “year-“ or life-cycle celebration, and requires closer examination.

Herodotus notes that every Babylonian carried a seal.⁶⁴³ O. Weber in 1920 [100] wrote that the place of origin of the cylinder seal remains problematical “weil die vier ältesten Kulturen (i.e. of the Egyptians, Hatti, Elamites and Babylonians) gleichermass die Siegelrolle schon in der allerältesten Zeit kennen und gebrauchen.”⁶⁴⁴ The great antiquity and universality of the use of seals is an undisputed fact. Of some ten-thousand seals examined at the time Weber made his study, no two were found to be alike, whence the conclusion is justified that “jedes Siegel muss in irgendeinem Punkte von allen anderen Siegeln unterscheiden.”⁶⁴⁵ That the seals had much the same reference to authority status as they do in the West at later times is clear in the case of King Lugalanda of Lagash, one of the first of all historical monarchs, who was wont to change his seal upon assuming a new office.⁶⁴⁶ Inquiry into the occasions on which seals were employed showed that letters bore the seal stamp “wenn der Absender eine Interesse daran hatte, Zweifel an seiner Autorschaft auszuschliessen,”⁶⁴⁷ from which it follows that the seal was not transferrable.

In the earliest times in Egypt “the importance of the scarab emblem was transferred from the Creator to the soul which is to be united with him,”⁶⁴⁸ thus becoming the individual’s identification in the other world, “the heart which belonged to the transformations of becomings of his future life ... and the charm which should ensure his justification in the judgment.”⁶⁴⁹ What should be especially noted is that “In the xiith dunasty [101] this emblem came into common use, and served as a seal, doubtless owing to the *name* of the person placed on it, to ensure that its power should be given to him.”⁶⁵⁰ The scarab became a seal and thereby displaced the use of other forms of seal which had been in use in Egypt “in the very earliest period.”⁶⁵¹

A man’s seal was himself, and by it he stamped property which was thereby attached to him as he was attached to the creator whose seal he bore.⁶⁵² It was also a sign of membership, marking a common interest or [102] enterprise whether of a secular or a religious nature.⁶⁵³

As Mommsen has seen in the German seals and coats-of-arms an institution identical with that of the first Roman *tesserae*,⁶⁵⁴ it is no flight of fantasy to associate the Roman with

the Eastern practices. What do the *tesserae hospitales* have in common with the seal? Apart from the idea of contract and identification there is the very special use of seals at banquets, both in earliest Sumer and in Rome. The most popular theme in the archaic seal catalogue is that of a gay feast “to which a religious signification has been attached.”⁶⁵⁵

An enlightening passage on the seal, an object of considerable mystical importance in the Early Christina Church, is the promise in Revelations II, 17: “To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and I will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth save he that receiveth it.” A mystic feast and a new name,⁶⁵⁶ a rebirth, are accompanied by the giving of a seal. The new life is the reward of “overcoming.”⁶⁵⁷

[103] What is this seal that admits one to a feast? It is simply a tessera. The seal takes various forms, among them the oldest and commonest is that of the reed.⁶⁵⁸ It was a reed or laurel leaf which admitted the poor to the feasts in the Peloponnesus; it was the κάλαμος which Artabanus gave out which entitled all recipients to share in a feast in his memory once a year thereafter forever; Constantine gave “tokens of reed” to all the people, each one entitling the holder to bread and wine every day. In the famous story of the conspiracy to mutiny of the Lacedaemonian fleet in Chios, each of the conspirators was to carry a reed.⁶⁵⁹ Prof. Bonner sees in this κάλαμος “perhaps a baton consisting of a joint or two of reed, and carried in the hand,” its purpose being to serve as “a mere arbitrary symbol,”⁶⁶⁰ while the reed carried by the man with sore eyes in the story the same investigator shows at considerable length to have been in all probability simply a cheap and convenient receptacle such as was used by the poor for various purposes.⁶⁶¹ Though there is reason in Xenophon’s words for believing that the reed as a symbol was not arbitrary,⁶⁶² we may accept Bonner’s illustrations of the practical use of reeds as primitive receptacles as explaining why a reed *or* a laurel leaf would serve as a poor man’s “contribution to the feast.” The laurel-leaf of the Spartan *epaiklon* and the [104] *panes laureate* of the Arval Brethren have the same significance as the reed.

Constantine gave out his reed tokens to celebrate his consulate, and it was upon assuming office that the Roman consuls φύλλα δὲ δάφνης ἐδίδοταν, ἅπερ ἐκάλουν στρῆνα, εἰς πμὴν δαίμονός τινος οὕτω τεραταγορευσμένης, ἵτις ἔφορος ἐστὶ τῶν νίκων. This, as Peter observes,⁶⁶³ is plainly a New Year’s rite. It presents a further connection between the ancient laurel-leaf of the Roman year-feast and the primitive reed tokens of the East.

The reed token also appears as an arrow in the East, the “hollow reed arrow” being a very common seal-form especially in the archaic period.⁶⁶⁴ When the Scythian king took a census every man was represented by an arrow-head contributed in the most literal sense to a “common pot”.⁶⁶⁵ Reed and arrow were seals in the North, where each man had his mark out on such wooden “lots”, as they were called, which were used among other things in assigning places at the feasts.⁶⁶⁶

Another form of token is described by the word *tessera* itself, coming from τέσσαρες and signifying “dice”.⁶⁶⁷ A *tessera* was only effective as has been seen, when compared with a like symbol or with a mark or name on a list (*conferre*, συμβάλλειν).⁶⁶⁸ The practice is found at the primitive dicing shrines, where the devotee would draw the dice and learn [105] the meaning of the figure on each dice by comparing it with a like figure on tablets in the shrine.⁶⁶⁹ Such was the shrine of Heracles by the river Buraicus. Another was at Nemea: “Over against the Nemean Zeus,” writes Pausanias, “is a temple of Fortune which must be very old if it be the one in which Palamedes dedicated the dice that he had invented.”⁶⁷⁰ Throughout Greece the primitive system of divination by lots and dice prevailed in the earliest times at the oracular shrines of the Earth-Mother.⁶⁷¹ We have mentioned two particular instances because of the obvious connections they show with a certain Roman year-feast.

It was the custom for the temple-priest of Hercules once a year to challenge the god to a game of dice, the loser to supply the other with a wench and a dinner. Hercules was always the winner and was accordingly locked up in his temple with Acca Larentia and a feast.⁶⁷² The dice serve the very purpose of *tesserae*, namely that of tickets to the year-feast. Since Heracles is the god of the Buraicus shrine one naturally sees in this an importation from Greece. But we are given pause by the discovery that neither dicing nor the goddess were ever imported into Italy.

Neolithic Italy has yielded a large harvest of knuckle-bones, a thing which Victor Ehrenberg had found most surprising in view of the fact that the peninsula, like Greece, betrays in historic time “nur sehr geringe Spuren von Astragalmantik.”⁶⁷³ What could have happened to one of the most universal and persistent of customs? Ehrenberg supplies, while he ignores, the solution of the problem when he points out that [106] representations of knuckle-bones and of boys playing dice occur frequently on *coins* found in Mediterranean lands from Cyprus to Sicily.⁶⁷⁴ He is sure these coins have a “Kultische Bedeutung”, but what it is he declares himself unable to say. One suspects that the astragals became coins, a suspicion born out by the word *tessera*, which actually *means* “dice”. For the *tesserae* were coins.

Those *tesserae* which were distributed at the Saturnalia looked so much like coins that they were called *numismata*.⁶⁷⁵ The well-known New Year’s gift of a coin (Etrennes, Heckpfennig, Lucky Farthing, etc.) had a long past in Rome, where the commonest gift was an old Janus-coin, the older the better, imitations being made when genuine old coins could not be obtained, for the rich and poor both gave and received these coins.⁶⁷⁶ It was also the time for distributing *tesserae*, most of which are actually dated January.⁶⁷⁷ The Roman guest in olden times was given a *munus* of gold or silver which was really, as Mommsen has shown, a “Zehrpennig”, i.e. it was to be exchanged for food like any *tessera*.⁶⁷⁸ At the time of initiation and marriage one would invite the entire town to his house and give each guest a penny or two;⁶⁷⁹ it was also required of everyone who came of age to contribute a coin to a common chest reserved for such contributions.⁶⁸⁰ Moreover, every coin was issued by a distribution, since it had to bear the signet, the *seal* of the magistrate who issued it.⁶⁸¹ The single coin [107]

which the Emperor gave to his poor guests at Christmas dinner in Constantinople was, strictly speaking, a *tessera*, for it was to be exchanged only for certain specified gifts.⁶⁸²

A very probable point of connection between knuckle-bones and coins is found in the second prize which the dicing of Hercules won him, namely Acca Larentia. Rostovzeff found the *lascivia nomismata* “für die Moral der römischen Kaiserzeit ... höchst bezeichnend,” as symbols of degeneracy and decline.⁶⁸³ Three stories of Herodotus indicate a more venerable and ritual background for these *tesserae*. The first is the tale of King Cheops who, needing silver, ordered his daughter to become a prostitute; the princess in complying required of every man that came to her the contribution of a stone, one stone to contribute to her monument.⁶⁸⁴ Then there is the account of the daughters of Babylon, sitting as prostitutes before the temple of the Mother Goddess and available to the first comer for one piece of silver, such silver being accounted sacred, being the property of the Goddess Mylitta.⁶⁸⁵ Then there is a peculiar custom at the same place of auctioning off brides once a year, making a common fund of the money obtained from the fair ones to endow the less favored.⁶⁸⁶ This last practice obtained, says Herodotus, also among the Venetians.⁶⁸⁷ It recalls the common-pot and the system of contribution (to the Goddess in this case) and redistribution (to establish an equality) of the year-rite elsewhere, to say nothing of the emphasis put on the yearly feature of the rite by Herodotus: κατὰ κόμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἐκάστου ... [108] In each case the object of the rite is a collection to a fund, from which equal distribution was made in one case and to which a strictly equal contribution was made in the others. In every case one buys a bride with money. The presence of the bride-buying custom in Italy indicates an older background for the *lascivia nomismata* than Rostovzeff admits. The dicing oracles of Greece were at shrines of the oracle-goddess Tyche, situated, significantly, at places of the great games – the Pythia, for example, would only give her oracles once a year.⁶⁸⁸ Italy also had its dicing oracles and the Fortuna who presided over them was no importation: she was “uritalisch”.⁶⁸⁹ The one dicing oracle in Italy of which something definite is known is that at Praeneste, said to be the oldest oracle in the Peninsula, the shrine of the goddess *Fileia* = Fortuna Primigenia.⁶⁹⁰ We pass over the great importance of this place in the Roman year-festival,⁶⁹¹ as we do over the nature of Fortuna as presiding goddess of the games: Murcia = Venus the oldest deity of the Circus,⁶⁹² to consider further the nature of the *tes* [109] *serae* as lucky pieces.

The people would come once a year to consult the Pythian – hence the assembly, market, booths, etc., at Delphi – and while the oracle uttered prophecies for the year pebbles would dance in the urn.⁶⁹³ The pebbles in the urn were divining pebbles. Pebbles in an urn were also lots,⁶⁹⁴ lots being simply a form of divination. In the North the box-twigs used for divination (whence “Buchstabe”) were also the seals of individuals and by them the victim for the year-sacrifice was marked out.⁶⁹⁵ Those who came to enquire of the oracle of God received answer by wooden lots and pebbles, and the year-sacrifice was designated by a box-wood lot.⁶⁹⁶ The commonest way of securing a good year in Africa is to establish contact with the dead by basket-divination, the basket being a sort of grab-bag.⁶⁹⁷ The principal object of the

Slavic temples and of the gathering at them [110] was divination.⁶⁹⁸ Divination is the dominant theme in the New Year's gatherings of the East which "vor allem ... als Fest der Zukunftsbetimmung für das bevorstehende neue Jahr galt."⁶⁹⁹ This is such a natural motive that one need not exhibit evidence from various places, though it should be pointed out that it was by means of dice, knuckle-bones and lots that the gods who assembled at Babylon on New Year's Day determined the whole future of the world.⁷⁰⁰

At Rome the Saturnalia was the one time of year when one could dice openly, *neo timet sedilem moto spectare fritillo*.⁷⁰¹ It was at the New Year that the *strenae*, *verbenae felices*, figured in the *anni novi auspices*.⁷⁰² It was then that people would exchange the Janus-coins and the best things to eat, coin and *cibus* being the same thing,⁷⁰³ and the round Janus-"Year-cakes", called *Janual*, *Vota*, *Omina*, *Strena*,⁷⁰⁴ all these things being interchangeable and identical: they were prophetic, and they spoke of abundance. The latter significance is inseparable from the other.

The tokens distributed at games and after Imperial feasts are called *sortes*.⁷⁰⁵ *Sortes* are simply lots, and the element of chance which is the main characteristic of lot-drawing is very obviously preserved in the grab-bag nature of the *sparsiones*. The word *sors*, which according to Ehrenberg [111] goes far towards proving the "uritalisch" origin of the institution,⁷⁰⁶ is from *sero*, "set in rows" – "ursprünglich das – etwa auf einer Schnur – aufgereihete, d.s. Lostäfelchen."⁷⁰⁷ So the original *sortes* were little tablets strung on a string, and they were lots. The string is the key to Martial's *neo linea dives cessat*:⁷⁰⁸ abundance came from a string. The difficulty of interpreting the practice of scattering gifts from a string lies in the fact that the arrangement is neither obvious nor ingenious. If candy or tokens are to fly through the air they might quite as well be hurled from the ground or from platforms: the string cannot be justified on practical grounds,⁷⁰⁹ and plainly indicates that the goods distributed were meant as lots.

Who was the giver of the *sortes*, the bestower of life for the year?⁷¹⁰ It was the sower. The common words for distribution, *ρίπτειν*, *spargere*, emphasize the act of throwing. Was the *sparsio* a sowing of grain, [112] a falling of rain, or of manna from heaven? That it had such an implication follows from the close association of *sparsiones* with Ceres,⁷¹¹ but it was something more specific as a part of the year-festival; it was the act of the *saeculum* the sowing of the human race.

When Deucalion and his wife wished to people the world Jupiter *responsum ei per sortem indicavit* what was to be done: they were to each toss stones, and the stones would become men and women.⁷¹² The sowing of the race by the first parents is preserved in the Eastern custom by which the King at his wedding scatters gold from the palace gate and the Queen distributes pearls in her chamber.⁷¹³ We have shown that at the year-rites in all the places mentioned above the King distributes gifts. The fullest account of his giving is in the texts prescribing the ritual for the Ásvamedha. There is a feast given by the King to his high priests, the *brahmaudana*, a meal of rice, of which the Vedas say "*brahmaudana* (rice) est

semence, et l'or ests semence," the latter remark referring to the gift of the King after the meal of a piece of gold to each of the participants, [113] each gold piece weighing 100 grains "because the life of man is 100 years."⁷¹⁴ Each of the King's wives ties 101 gold beads to the Ásvamedha horse,⁷¹⁵ and when the animal is led to be married to the Queen these women throw rice over it.⁷¹⁶ At a "second table", which as has been seen preserves the old communal feast, each man receives his lot for the year, which is a century of life and specifically stated to be the exact equivalent of the rice of the feast. The Roman parallel is too close to be ignored: when the Arval Brethren feasted in the temple of the Dea Dia, *signo data publici introier(unt) et libellos receperunt et ante ianuam deae Diae adsteterunt ... et de Saturnalibus primis illum mag(istrum) creaverunt*.⁷¹⁷ After thus proclaiming the year-king, having brought their first-fruits and participated in a re-distribution,⁷¹⁸ the people depart and the college holds a feast, *Post epulas sportulas accep(erunt) singul(i) praes(entes) denarius c(entencs)*.⁷¹⁹ The sportula which follows the Arval feasts is mentioned again and again, and it is always stated to be 100 denarii.⁷²⁰ The Significance of that figure is less obvious than that of the *panes laureati* with which the Brethren begin their feasting, the laurel-leaf being the *strena*, which easily became identified with the *coin*, e.g. the "etrennes" which the French King gave at New Year's.⁷²¹ On the same occasion on which the people received [114] *libellos et panes laureatos per public(os) partiti sunt*.⁷²²

Herodian gives us the picture of the Emperor, dressed to be the Sun, scattering his gold and silver gifts from a high platform specially erected for the purpose.⁷²³ Gaius would throw gold and silver to the crowd from the palace roof.⁷²⁴ On Easter day behold the Empress Irene riding forth in a golden chariot drawn by a white quadriga, scattering gifts abroad to the people.⁷²⁵ The Babylonian Ninurta, preeminently the Year-King,⁷²⁶ rides about over the land in his thunder-chariot, shaking heaven and earth, and from the tops of mountains he scatters seed over the whole world.⁷²⁷ Even so Triptolemus rode through the sky in his snake-drawn chariot over the earth, disseminating the blessings of the soil among the children of men.⁷²⁸ Dionysus who came after him performed the same office.⁷²⁹ To avoid orientalizing, we should refer to the Gallic Louerbius, the giver of the great year- [115] feast, who rode through the fields scattering gold abroad for the people to pick up, from what motive was disputed by the ancients.⁷³⁰ We also read in Republican Rome of *Tuditanus nempe ille, qui cum palla et cothurnis nummos populo de rostris spargere solebat*.⁷³¹ And there is the old Roman *sparge, marite, nuces*,⁷³² which clearly shows the fertility nature of the *sparsio*, the scattering of nuts being likewise a feature of the Saturnalia⁷³³ and Cerealia.⁷³⁴ It should be noted too in passing that the bread of year-feasts in the North was used in divination⁷³⁵ and was thought of as money.⁷³⁶

The *Mirabilia Romae* speaks of a gate in Rome called the Arch of the Golden Bread.⁷³⁷ Under Augustus the distribution of *tesserae* took place at the *Porticus Minuncia* which housed shrines and before which games were given and the acts of the magistrates enacted.⁷³⁸ Some believe this was the original place of the distributions, though Rostovzeff is inclined to doubt it.⁷³⁹ But that the gate as such has a significance as a place of distribution appears from various

considerations. Thus at Scipio's *funeral ad portem Capenam mulsum prosecutes funus dedisse*, Livy records.⁷⁴⁰ At Delphi it was at the door of the palace that the King sat to distribute his year-gift to all comers,⁷⁴¹ and when the people came to share the [116] feast of the Arval Brethren it was at the gate of the Dea Dia that they hailed the victorious year-king.⁷⁴² It is at the gate in coming out that the King is first hailed by the multitude at the Babylonian New Year.⁷⁴³ Nothing could be more natural than that the King should be met and greeted at the gate; King Janus is preeminently the gate-god, and at the end of the Sacred Way was the King's house, or more exactly, the house of Streniae, where the New Year's distribution of life and health, *strenae ineunte Anno* took place.⁷⁴⁴

Cassiodorus admonished the Emperor that "the King should sow his gifts broadcast, as the sower his seeds."⁷⁴⁵ With such majestic impartiality *iam bellaria linea pluebant*⁷⁴⁶ at the Emperor's birthday, as bounteous as rain.⁷⁴⁷ Everyone received something⁷⁴⁸ but no one knew before hand what it would be – the *sparsiones* are a grab-bag, they are literally *sortes*, "dice", a man's lot or fortune for the year, his share in a feast [117] of abundance.⁷⁴⁹ The *tessera* which one received and with which one made one's contribution to the feast was not a gift for which the recipient was beholden to any man. What is obtained by lot is the gift of god, not man. As Rostovzeff puts it, the *tesserae missiles* of the games were "eine Art Lotterie und die Markendienten als Lotteriebilletts," such being the nomismata of Martial (I, 2, 26; VIII, 78, 9).⁷⁵⁰ Dessau found that even in the time of Augustus there was at distributions no question of who was worthy or in need of a portion; even to the closed list of grain recipients made necessary by limited funds everyone was eligible, who was to get on the list and who was not being determined solely by *lot*.⁷⁵¹

Just as private individuals could and on occasions had to give public banquets, so *sparsiones* might be undertaken, but only on the same occasions as the feasts, i.e. at personal "year-festivals" of coming-of-age,⁷⁵² marriage⁷⁵³ and death.⁷⁵⁴ To the latter those who came made the usual contribution of a coin, and it is in these ritual "Pfennigcollection" that Mommsen sees so much of Roman bribery and corruption take its rise.⁷⁵⁵ The Fortuna of the dice and the Circus⁷⁵⁶ was likewise the sponsor of birth- [118] day and initiation rites of individuals and corporations.⁷⁵⁷ On the occasions which lent themselves to distributions the line between public and private cult disappeared; the *strenae* were given in their proper time *ἐς τιμῶν δαίμονος τινοῦς*.⁷⁵⁸

Another term in the nomenclature of hospitality at Rome is "client". Since centuries of investigation have yielded little more than theories on the subject of the client, the present writer feels he will be in the best tradition by contributing one of his own which he believes comes nearest of all to reconciling the most probable meaning of the word with the behavior of the people to whom it applied. Both these things have been thoroughly investigated, and we shall no more than to reconcile Walde's interpretation of the name with Mommsen's of the status of the client.

At the feast of loaves and fishes Jesus “commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the green grass.”⁷⁵⁹ When Cyrus provided bread and wine and all his father’s cattle for a feast of all the Persians, rich and poor, “He made them lie down on the grass and feasted them.”⁷⁶⁰ The year-feast is a *lectisternium*.⁷⁶¹ At the revived feast of the Jews “all the congregation of them . . . made booths and sat under the [119] booths.”⁷⁶² To be sure, what else was one to do? As natural as the act of [120] building booths is the act of sitting in them, which with long usage is bound to become equally ritualized. The hero at the seven-day feast in the Ras Shamra drama “ascends his couch and lies down.”⁷⁶³ The chamber of the Babylonian temple wherein the god was entertained contained a table and a couch.⁷⁶⁴ Among the Parthians those invited to be guests of the king sat on the ground, while the king reclined above the company on a high couch.⁷⁶⁵ Likewise the guests of the King of Persia at the public feasts which he gave sat on the floor while the king lay on a couch with feet of gold.⁷⁶⁶ In Crete the house in which strangers were feasted was called the κοίμητήριον,⁷⁶⁷ while the natives of a place shared the public meals καθήμενοί,⁷⁶⁸ for they were not pilgrims and practical considerations bore more weight than ritual. But that the ritual observance of the older feast of the assembly called for a reclining may be seen in the provision that at the Spartan year-feast, the Cleaver, any stranger who entered a booth and “placed themselves in a reclining posture” had a claim upon the hospitality of the people.⁷⁶⁹ In celebrating the *panegyris* at Naucratis the people “after reclining themselves and kneeling arise again and join in [121] pouring libations and prayers. After this they recline and all receive a pint of wine.”⁷⁷⁰ When Antony played Dionysus at Athens he built himself a booth, like the ἄντρα built for the Bacchic revels, “where he reclined in company with his friends and drank.”⁷⁷¹ The cliché Moscioni shows the people of Egypt reclining in their booths for the festival by the Nile.⁷⁷² When St. Patrick came to Tara in *die Pascae* he found a great feast in progress, *recumbentibus regibus et principibus et magis apud Loiguire, festus enim dies maximus apud eos erat*.⁷⁷³ The German “-ala-“ giving the same tradition.⁷⁷⁴ [This last sentence is crossed out with Footnote 5 / Endnote 774 reading “Now disproven”. This is Nibley’s correction, not the reviewers.]

In Rome for the feast of Anna Perenna *plebs venit ac virides passim disiecta per herbas potat et accumbit cum pare quisque sua*.⁷⁷⁵ Part of the ritual of the Liberalia, for Ceres who was also the Mother Goddess,⁷⁷⁶ was *in publico discumbere*.⁷⁷⁷ At the Arval feast for the Dea Dia . . . *reversi in aedem in mensa sacrum fecerunt o(II)is et ante aedem in cespite promag(ister) et flamen sacr(um) fecer(unt)*,⁷⁷⁸ which Wissowa interprets: “dann nehmen sie im Tempel auf einem Opfertische unverständliche Handlungen vor, während der Magister und der Flamen auf dem Rasen irgend einem heiligen Gebrauch vollziehen.”⁷⁷⁹ Since the Arval sacrifices are all concluded in the directions with the refrain *ex sacrificio epulati sunt*,⁷⁸⁰ it is not [122] too much to assume that the *sacra* at the tables included eating. The Arval brethren took their ritual meals *discumbentes* when they were *ad magistrum*.⁷⁸¹ As to what takes place on the grass, Henzen suggests a libation of milk or a feast held by the two magistrates apart from the society with the people.⁷⁸² However one looks at it, the doings on the grass and the feasting as guests in a reclining position are a ritual part of a year-feast. It was to this banquet of the grass, on the

second day, that the people came bringing their first-fruits for redistribution, hailed the Year-King, *ex Saturnalibus primis ad Saturnalia secunda* at the gate, and received their *libellos*.⁷⁸³

Mommsen shows in his study of Roman hospitality that “Gastrecht” and clientel differ from each other not in nature but in degree; that each contains all the elements of the other only with a different emphasis on them. Thus both client and guest have a claim on the protection of the host,⁷⁸⁴ but while the guest needs such protection during his stay in Rome, and profits by it, the client’s very existence depends upon it.⁷⁸⁵ Though inclined to treat the two forms of hospitality as things differing in kind, Mommsen still admits that “ehemals Gäste und Clienten zusammen- [123] gefasst worden sind als die Personen in der Treue des Hausherrn.”⁷⁸⁶ This conclusion we see no reason to dispute.⁷⁸⁷ In view of the dearth of records on the earlier nature of clientel,⁷⁸⁸ the writer feels justified in giving considerable weight to the mere name *cliens*, and rejecting the discredited *cluēre*, to follow Walde in his not yet disproven derivation of the word from *clino*, “to lean, recline”.⁷⁸⁹ Walde has been able to reconcile this meaning with the idea of clientship only by a figurative interpretation “*cliens*, -*tis*, “der sich Schutzes halber an jemanden anlehrende.”⁷⁹⁰ He does not interpret the derivation, as did the *cluēre* school from observing the activities of clients and hence inferring the meaning of their name, and accordingly ends up with only a somewhat abstract connection between the two. But Roman terms are noted for their concreteness and simply realism,⁷⁹¹ and we can think of nothing more natural in *cliens* than one who reclines at the house of the host, the oldest example of such reclining being that at the house of the *magister* at the [124] year-feast of the Arval brethren.⁷⁹²

Thus the nomenclature of Roman hospitality shows traces of origin in a year-feast. As to whether this hospitality was originally a private or public affair, it was pointed out that the occasions on which the individual had the right and duty to entertain the public were times of “life crisis” celebration: birthdays, marriages, funerals, etc., at which the division between public and private disappeared,⁷⁹³ i.e., they were “year-rites”. Gifts such as *lautia* and *tesserae* implying long distances and large numbers are what one would expect at a general rather than a private year-festival, while the association of reclining with a particular type of feast gives weight to the supposition that the client recalls the original hospitality of the feasts in which the entire society shared rather than in an isolated contract between parties.

[125] Chapter V

Games and Contests: The “Year-Drama”

Ostensibly the purpose of coming together once a year in Iceland is for games. The booths are called “Game-huts” and the place of the assembly the Plain of the Game-huts.⁷⁹⁴ The main events were ball-games,⁷⁹⁵ horse-races and wrestling. Of the ball-game and its possible solar significance nothing need be said. The wrestling match was the *glima*, a very ancient form of combat, the winner being known as “king”.⁷⁹⁶ The horse-races in ancient times never took place between more than two contestants and the betting was very heavy, the loser in a celebrated, perhaps mythical, instance throwing himself from a cliff.⁷⁹⁷ The horse-fight (hestathing) was also an important part of the games, a bloody business.⁷⁹⁸ It should be noted that the principal sacrificial animal throughout the North was the horse, and its flesh was the “Hauptteil des Festschmauses.”⁷⁹⁹ The horse was the inspired animal for prophecy and divination, whether alive or dead.⁸⁰⁰ From none of the games in the North is the element of chance absent. The circular enclosures where combat took place were holy ground;⁸⁰¹ the dual was ordeal and divination, the King wrestles to establish his authority,⁸⁰² the world itself begins and ends with a ritual combat, “Loki’s duel.”⁸⁰³ The combat in the North is duel, ordeal and divination whether kings and champions or entire nations are engaged.⁸⁰⁴ It is less a test of skill and strength than the searching of fate for the coming year which [126] the people see in the games. At the year-feast the King determined his fate and confirmed his rule by consultation of oracles and dice as well as by tests of strength.⁸⁰⁵

All over the North on Christmas night the “Stephansritt” was held.⁸⁰⁶ Staffen rides his horse to the water before sun-up and then the animal is sacrificed.⁸⁰⁷ For the enthronement of the King and the sacrifice of the year (til ârbôtar) as for funerals a horse was beheaded.⁸⁰⁸ The Midwinter event was repeated in the Mayrides on Mayday, when the contests between “Summer” and “Winter” and their armies took place, and the most universally attested features of which were the triumphant hailing of the victorious May-King and his marriage to the May-Queen.⁸⁰⁹ Not only the King has his bride at the year-rites throughout Scandinavian lands, but everyone for the occasion chooses a May-bride for himself⁸¹⁰ – the year-rite never loses significance for the individual.

It is natural to interpret the May-day contest as a war between Summer and Winter, but even at this time of year in many places the more general significance of a contest with Death is found,⁸¹¹ and he is represented, as Winter should certainly not be, by fire: the hero is slain by fire and revived by the Mother-Goddess who gives water.⁸¹² In the interests [127] of a good year drought is the principal enemy, in the North as in the South; when the spring is low the people say “heuer wird es teuer”: the index of prosperity is the spring, not the rain gauge.⁸¹³ The end of the whole year-rite in Germanic countries is the “rechtliche Besitznahme” of the

King,⁸¹⁴ accompanied by the usual feasting and gaiety, called a “Nachbarstrunk” in one of the most authentically archaic instances.⁸¹⁵

Games were the chief activity of the Celtic year-festival. The Council of Cloveshove warns the people to abstain at the three-day festival of Ascension from *ludis, & equorum cursibus, & et epulis majoribus* as were the *antiquus mos*,⁸¹⁶ the antiquity of which is attested by the *Cursus* at Stonehenge.⁸¹⁷ The combat is the constant motif of the year-feast. It is at Beltane that the new king fights the old king, his father, who becomes after his defeat the god of Death.⁸¹⁸ Two brothers, Perex and Porrex,⁸¹⁹ Fer and Fergnia,⁸²⁰ Sinorix and Sinatos⁸²¹ duel for the bride. Or else it is two nations which fight it out at the New Year,⁸²² the classic case being [128] the battle of Mag-Fured between the Fomorian and the Tuatha De Danann, the “Bad People” and the “Good People”, led by their respective god-kings, Tethra, King of the Dead and In Dag-de, “the Good God”,⁸²³ which may be a “quasi-historische Uebertragung von Mythen, die von Kämpfen zwischen den Mächten des Wachstums und der Getreidebrandes, des Sommers und des Winters,” etc.⁸²⁴ The element of divination was very strong in these combats, the fate of the society being determinable equally by a general engagement, by a single combat of kings, or by a fight between chosen companies of equal numbers.⁸²⁵ The Celtic captives of Hannibal drew lots for the privilege of duelling to the death for prizes set by the king.⁸²⁶ The Celtic feasts seem regularly to have broken up with a fight.⁸²⁷

The King of the Dead, Mider came as a red knight to challenge the King of all Ireland to a game of chess, the bride of the latter, Etain the water-goddess being the prize; Mider won the first game, but the second was postponed until the end of the year when, exactly at midnight, he appeared and carried off the bride.⁸²⁸ This typical year-tale, recalling the dice-game of Hercules for Acca Larentia (the Northern chess-game was played with dice)⁸²⁹ presents the issue of the year-combat as a con [129] test in which the king of the land must meet the powers of the underworld in an attempt to liberate or preserve water, in which attempt he fails. He is the Fisher King who is locked up “in languishment”, when the grail⁸³⁰ fails to be obtained.⁸³¹ The Grail, which Prof. Schroeder found not mentioned by a single Christian writer,⁸³² replaces the Celtic Goddess, who is before all things a spring-goddess,⁸³³ and is the “Lady” of chivalry.⁸³⁴ Mary Williams has found her as Gwenhyvar in the year-drama, to be “a green or blue water-horse.”⁸³⁵ The Celtic Epona is the horse-goddess and at the same time one of the Matres, Mother-goddesses of streams and fertility.⁸³⁶ The year-rite of the Illyrian Celts was the sacrifice of horse “to Saturn” by drowning it in a stream.⁸³⁷ Water and a good year are inseparable concepts; the mysterious visitor who challenges the King at midnight on the [130] turn of the year is Death not in the abstract, but drought and plague.⁸³⁸ The stakes in the Celtic year-contest are the kingdom and the bride, the land and its prosperity, and the king, riding in triumph in his chariot, was a god.⁸³⁹ Whether the games of the year were horse-races (Lug the year-god, who established the year-festival for his father, last king of the Fir Bolg and King of the Dead, was held to be the inventor of chariot-racing)⁸⁴⁰ bardic contests,⁸⁴¹ armed combats or games of chance, the purpose was to establish the authority of the winner for the year.⁸⁴²

[131] The Slavic year-festival was marked by *ludi*⁸⁴³ and divination.⁸⁴⁴ Divination for the year was by black and white lots, drawn by priests, whose power to perform that office gave them in places and influence surpassing that of the kings.⁸⁴⁵ To the central shrine came the people *de omnibus Sclavorum provinciis*, where was sacrificed *in peculium honoris annuiatim hominem ... quem sors acceptaverit*.⁸⁴⁶ The most solemn mode of divination was by a horse: *colligitur populus, voluntas deorum de immolatione sorte inquireret, ponitur lancea, calcat equus*.⁸⁴⁷ The way the horse stepped determined before everything prosperity or failure in war, for *in hoc equo ... Svantovitus ... ad-adversum sacrorum suorum hostes bella gerere credebatur*.⁸⁴⁸ Svantovit is the god of the Slavs, whose office fluctuates between war and the household.⁸⁴⁹ In the midst of Lent *cum rithmis et ludis superstitiosis ymagines in figura mortis ad flumen deferent ... cum impetu submergunt. ... asserentes quod mors eis ultra nocere non debet tanquam ab ipsorum terminis sit consumata et totaliter exterminata*.⁸⁵⁰ Here is the year-combat with Death, who is given the usual water-treatment.⁸⁵¹ The essential elements in the Slavic funeral [132] of the earliest times were the *strava*, “Totenmahl”, Jordanis: *ingens comessatio*, and the *trizna*, “Kampfspiele, mit Preisen aus der Habe des Verstorbenen.”⁸⁵² Since the Slavic year-rites were attended by the dead,⁸⁵³ we may assume that the *ludi* of the year included various kinds of combat.

Great amounts of material have come forth in recent years to give rise to much speculation on the nature and meaning of the Semitic New Year’s celebrations, in which it will not be necessary to become involved in pointing out a few well-known and long-established features of the same.

Behind the Semitic New year’s festival is “a dramatic conception which sees everywhere a strife between divine and demonic, cosmic and chaotic powers.”⁸⁵⁴ A Ras Shamra fragment, which has been given the title “The Harrowing of Baal”, describes the war of Baal, who is a rain-god supposedly, with the destructive power of the heat, a contest which has been called “the ancient Semitic counterpart of those annual combats and tug-o’-wars between Summer and Winter which are enacted as part of the harvest ceremony all over the world.”⁸⁵⁵ Another contest from Ras Shamra does not admit so easily of a seasonal interpretation; it describes a chariot contest with the exhortation: “Repel the sea from his throne [133] and the River from the seat of his dominion! Charge onward at a gallop!”⁸⁵⁶ ... Is Yahweh wroth against the rivers? ... That thou ridest upon thy horses, and upon thy chariots in triumph.”⁸⁵⁷ No one can deny that the fragment deals with a contest, that one of the contestants is a king, and ~~the~~ [that] the affair has something to do with water. In the former fragment Baal is killed by his rival El, who “fills the rivers with drought” and brings desolation to the land,⁸⁵⁸ and in still another it is El who is overcome by the great adversary *MT*, which has been rendered Moth, “Death”⁸⁵⁹ or “Drought”⁸⁶⁰. Moth taunts the sister of El with the words, “At my pleasure the earth has become a wilderness which will continually devour the field.”⁸⁶¹ But Anath slays Moth and El is brought to life again, passing through a sevenfold barrier to the underworld.⁸⁶² As Alein Baal, the twin of Anath, the god in yet another version “sat upon his throne, Dagan’s

son upon (his chair), to a thousand sounds of shouting ... She embraces (Anath) ... a bull is born unto Baal even a buffalo unto the Rider of the Clouds. Alein Baal was glad.”⁸⁶³ The King fights [134] with Death who is Drought, is overcome and slain, rescued from death, hailed in triumph, and married. So much is certain. The story of Danel betrays the same plot,⁸⁶⁴ and is further characterized by the presence of the dead “on the eve of the old New Year” at a great feast.⁸⁶⁵ The Poem of Aneyan Ba’al and Mot also ends with an elaborate banquet, which Gaster has explained as a renewing of the covenant between Yahweh and his people.⁸⁶⁶

The Moth of the Ras Shamra tablets has been compared with the MWT of Psalm lxxviii in Johnson’s reconstruction of “the original New Year Festival” at Jerusalem, in which the King is held to be the center and theme of everything.⁸⁶⁷ Since it is the particular concern of the present writer to avoid controversial ground, he will confine himself to noting 1) that there was once a more or less typical Semitic year-festival celebrated at Jerusalem,⁸⁶⁸ and 2) that part of the ritual was a combat. The element of divination was not absent: the choosing of the scapegoat⁸⁶⁹ and the privilege of dicing at the Chanukka⁸⁷⁰ are examples. No [135] one is unaware that both humiliation and triumph find voice in the Psalms. Whether or not it is a ritual humiliation and a triumphal procession, it is certain that “the Lord sitteth upon the flood; yea the Lord sitteth king forever,” and gives strength and peace to the people.⁸⁷¹ In this “the essential factor is Jahweh’s power over the cosmic Ses which forms the riverhead.”⁸⁷² The Mishna says that “at the Feast of the Tabernacles the fate of the world is decided with regard to water.”⁸⁷³ and the penalty for all who do not come to this feast is drought and plague.⁸⁷⁴ The triumphal procession starts from a spring,⁸⁷⁵ and the triumph song was sung “in the places of drawing water.”⁸⁷⁶ The connection between a good year and water – ground water rather than rain⁸⁷⁷ – need not be demonstrated. The degradation of the King at the instance of [136] Satan, and his final victory and reinstatement as described in Zechariah need no commentary.⁸⁷⁸

The year-festival at Mecca is marked by various sorts of contests. There is the running from Arafah to Muzdalifah which has to be carried out with all possible speed and noise,⁸⁷⁹ the stoning of the devils at Mina,⁸⁸⁰ and the *sa’y* or seven-lap race between Safa and Marwah.⁸⁸¹ Since the interpretation of these rites is a subject of dispute, it would be well to mention a pre-Islamic version of the year-combat. The Himyarite King Dhu H’orath found a great spring in the desert, where there was a temple and a stone monument; he claimed all that land for his own but a giant appeared bearing a sword like a green club and challenged the King to a duel for the land. The giant lost and was buried on the spot.⁸⁸² He was Chadir, the pattern of chivalry in the East, who constantly engages in combats; he is a water spirit and his kingdom is the nether-world, and these things, together with his name, which means “Green”, make him appear surprisingly like the Challenger in the West.⁸⁸³ What we are pointing out is not this likeness but simply the fact that there *was* a challenger and a combat in the year-rite of the Arabs, and that water [137] was his element.⁸⁸⁴

The year-drama has been longest known for what it was in Babylonia.⁸⁸⁵ A concise summary of what actually occurred on each day of the Babylonian New Year Festival has been

made by Zimmern, thus sparing the student the pains of examining in translation the abundant Babylonian literary material. The first thing noted is that the Babylonian New Year, the great festival of the land,⁸⁸⁶ is “vor allem ... das Fest der Zukunftsbestimmung” for the year.⁸⁸⁷ Accordingly the King shakes dice at New Year, just as the gods do at the creation of the world.⁸⁸⁸ On the 4th of Nisan the gods (acted by priests) rouse Marduk (the King) to go forth and do battle with Tiamat, and the King and creator arms himself and mounts a fiery quadriga from which he launches his arrows to the destruction of the adversary.⁸⁸⁹ In the Sargonid seals it is a seven-headed flaming dragon with which the god contests,⁸⁹⁰ and inscriptions from the gateway of the “Neujahrsfesthaus” at Assur tell how Assur overcame Tiamat with the bow of the “Sturmflut”, also mentioning the chariot.⁸⁹¹

But the quick, complete and unqualified victory of the god, consis [138] tent with certain political developments,⁸⁹² is a variation on the older theme. “In the ‘Epic of Creation’”, writes Prof. Frankfort, “the idea of the victorious sun-god is supreme. Not so, however, in the New Year Festival,” in which “at a certain period of the feast Marduk was confined in the ‘mountain’ which stands for the underworld and for death.”⁸⁹³ In this position the god represents the primitive Babylonian vegetation god, the begetter of all things, “who lived in the nether world and ... who was exposed to dangerous encounters but succeeded in vanquishing monsters, and whose connubium with a goddess was essentially a part of the annual ritual.”⁸⁹⁴

The god (Enlil in Sumer like Bel-Marduk in Babylon) is overcome and confined in the mountain of death, from which he is liberated by the help of others, wherein “he recalls rather the passive Sumerian god called Tammuz, Lillu, and so on, than the invincible hero of Semitic mythology.”⁸⁹⁵ Rescued by the goddess in her celebrated descent to the underworld,⁸⁹⁶ Bel rises again to be hailed by all the people in a song of [139] triumph, the “Weltschöpfungslied”, as he passes through the sacred gate.⁸⁹⁷ Triumph and creation come together as the festival culminates in the marriage of the Year-King and the Goddess.⁸⁹⁸ This episode is described in the very ancient Sumerian “Epic of Paradise”, in which the Goddess appeals to Enki to supply the land with water and in a “scene described with primitive frankness”⁸⁹⁹ the fields are inundated: “Like fat, like fat rich cream, Nintu, the mother of the land brought forth.”⁹⁰⁰ In the Sumerian New Year’s rite “man also results from a union between the water-gods.”⁹⁰¹ The creation is further thought of as a victory over chaos: during the time that the true King is in the underworld an imposter reigns in his stead and the whole world-order is topsy-turvy. But with the final victory over Tiamat and the powers of the underworld the right king is enthroned and the false one hanged.⁹⁰²

[140] The Ásvamedha, which is essentially the same as the Sumerian year-sacrifice, save for the substitution of a horse for the original bull as the chief victim,⁹⁰³ was a victory festival, “to ensure the king victory and sovereignty, but also to ensure fecundity to the land.”⁹⁰⁴ As such it included a combat. Throughout the year the sacred horse wanders where it will accompanied by an army of 400 youthful guardians who deliver combat to all who oppose its passage and who plunder the possessions of any Brahmin ignorant of the Ásvamedha.⁹⁰⁵ At the

year-rite proper the horse is hailed as “le vrai seigneur, le roi, le meurtrier de vrtra, tu es la force bienfaisante!” For “Vrtra est le mal.”⁹⁰⁶ This adversary is represented by a red dog, which is clubbed to death by the priests and plunged into the water at the feet of the horse.⁹⁰⁷ The Vedas recount that in the beginning there existed only Mrtyu, Death, and Ásanāyā, Famine; death sang and as he sang the water was born, the water being the *arka*, the triumph-song, which is the ásvamedha.⁹⁰⁸ As the slayer of Vrtra the King is Indra,⁹⁰⁹ which he may only be when he is victorious,⁹¹⁰ and only the victorious King may [141] offer the Ásvamedha.⁹¹¹ Before the triumph-song only death and famine prevail in the world, but their rule is ended with the birth of the horse “de la source primitive des eaux”, the original sacrifice of the ásvamedha having been for Varuna as “dieu et seigneur des eaux,”⁹¹² and representing “the fecundizing inundation of the river” in India as in Babylonia.⁹¹³ The fasting and privation which the King must undergo during the sacrifice⁹¹⁴ recall the bonds which Varuna must break⁹¹⁵ and the hundred-year concealment of Yima,⁹¹⁶ and are the defeat of the King, as is the killing and cutting up of the horse, which is followed by his marriage to the Queen.⁹¹⁷ The King rides to the great sacrifice on his war-chariot with his bow in his hand, is sacrificed as the horse,⁹¹⁸ and resurrected at the marriage.⁹¹⁹ On the last day of the sacrifice there is a song praising the King as the [142] Great God, after which all depart to their homes.⁹²⁰

The well-known cosmic dualism of the Persians goes hand in hand in doctrine and cult with the concept of the first man, the King of the World, and the day of creation.⁹²¹ The combat for the kingdom and the queen is the most familiar feature of Persian stories:⁹²² on New Year’s the King’s son mounts his magic horse and challenges all the army of the neighboring king to combat for the hand of the princess.⁹²³ The Persians thought of the revolving ages as marking the alternate triumph of a black and a white horse in a ceaseless struggle between them.⁹²⁴ These horses were the rival elements of fire and water of which all things were made,⁹²⁵ and the victory of the white horse brought drought, that of the black one flood in the aeon in which the one or the other was predominant.⁹²⁶ The object of the endless duel was the Lake Vourukasha, the heavenly rain-pond, from whose banks, in another version of the combat, the black horse twice drives away the white, only to be himself expelled by a third effort of the white horse aided by Ahura Mazda.⁹²⁷ The contest has been identified with the Vrtra combat in India.⁹²⁸ When access to the lake is won it over [143] flows and the glory which is in the lake escapes to the King of Iran, bringing him fertility, wealth, and fame.⁹²⁹ Thus an Avestan hymn declares: “... they overcame the enmity of Ahriman, so that the water did not stop in its course nor the plants in their growth, but at the same time the good waters flowed and the plants sprang up.”⁹³⁰ The horses who struggled for mastery of the age were represented to Dio as yoked to a chariot,⁹³¹ and the sacred team and chariot are conspicuous objects in the Persian cult.⁹³²

It is to Dio Chrysostom that we owe knowledge of an important element in the Persian New Year Festival. He has described how at the celebration of *Sakai*, which Prof. Meissner has shown to be Zagmuk, the New Year Festival,⁹³³ a condemned prisoner enjoyed all the delights of the throne during the festivities, but at the end was stripped of his royal finery, beaten with

rods and hanged.⁹³⁴ He was the imposter, the temporarily victorious Lord of Misrule, and with his overthrow the rightful king comes into his own and the world-order is established.⁹³⁵ The great prototype of the true king taking possession is Cyrus.⁹³⁶ To become King of Persia one had to enter into the temple of Anahita, the Mother Goddess whose main spheres were water and war,⁹³⁷ and to don the robe of [144] Cyrus and eat certain condiments, whereby he became the god-king.⁹³⁸

Perhaps the best known of all year-combats is the fight for the head of Osiris. Herodotus has described how the Sun came once a year to the temple on a four-wheeled car, and how the priests there refused him admittance “to his mother”, and the rushing of the votaries of the god to his defense with stick and stones.⁹³⁹ The god was taken to his temple at Abydos by way of the canal, the followers of Horus and those of Set staging a ritual combat on the way; then there was the slaying and dismemberment of a bull in the sanctuary followed by the “Coming forth of Osiris” who was taken to his tomb and then mourned and hunted for three days. His sister and spouse finally assembled his bones and after the villain Set had been sacrificed Osiris returned in triumph to Abydos.⁹⁴⁰ A newly-found account of the combat at Abydos on the first day of spring shows the King fighting for the god: “Pharoah ... fells Apep for thee, (as) he cuts up the Ill-Disposed One for thee ... even as he fells all thy foes for thee daily.”⁹⁴¹ Osiris himself who is here being rescued is in the earliest records the dead king, personified by [145] by Thoth, to whom the people pray to bring about the rise of the Nile, that being his principal function.⁹⁴² The combat does not have to be with sticks and stones, and there are records in which it takes the various ritual forms.⁹⁴³ The coronation of the Pharoah, “culminating in the sacred marriage”, followed the pattern of the Osiris ritual.⁹⁴⁴

Osiris as Thoth, “the personification of dead kingship”, is the moon in earliest Egypt.⁹⁴⁵ The ancestor-king of the Africans is likewise the moon, and his death secures water.⁹⁴⁶ In the African year-rite “König und Königin spielen die Rollen der Welteltern” in which “gewaltige Schöpfungsdrama” everyone must imitate them, the penalty for the omission of the rite being drought.⁹⁴⁷ The element of the *agon* enters clearly, thanks to Greek analogies, in the rites that are held when Venus becomes a morning-star: a black goat is brought into the round or oval sand-plot, the “Ruschanga, Regenopferplatz”, by one gate and a white goat by another gate on the opposite side. The white goat is sacrificed for Venus, the black for the moon, the entrails of the latter being carried around the enclosure in solemn procession and thence to the principal shrine. The prosperity of the land depends on the observance of this rite.⁹⁴⁸

[146] Because of its unimpeachable antiquity a Hittite combat from the thirteenth century deserves notice. It is a planned and ordered affair, such a rite as “nur von einer Organizaion ausgehen konnte.”⁹⁴⁹ The factions are called “the Men of the City of Hatti” and “the Men of the City of Mása”. The men of Hitt had bronze weapons, while the men of Masa had only reeds with which to oppose them. Of course the Hatti won, and in their victory they grabbed a single prisoner – just one – who was then “sacrificed” to the god. After that they took the god up to his temple and placed the vessels before him and brought him a handful of bread

and poured out beer before him, while they themselves feasted merrily. Another feature of this same celebration was a race.⁹⁵⁰

Lucian testifies on more than one occasion to the loss of all real understanding in his time of the ceremonies at Hierapolis. “For the greatest festival of all” at that place, “all Syria and the lands about take statues of their deities and carry them thither to witness the ceremonies”,⁹⁵¹ On the Iasily Kaya cliffs is the relief, from the fourteenth century, depicting a long procession of gods streaming to the enthronement and marriage of the great god at that place.⁹⁵² That [147] it was such a marriage and enthronement that brought all the gods to the shrine of the Syrian Goddess may be inferred from a number of things – it was there that the new race was created,⁹⁵³ there the fertility rites of Dionysus were practiced to procure prosperity for the year, etc.⁹⁵⁴ – but especially by the office of the high priest, who wore a red robe and a golden crown and held his office for exactly one year.⁹⁵⁵ The combat motif is to be seen in the ceremonies of the Galli, in which the defeated year-god is glorified: τὰμνονταί τε τοὺς πῆχεας καὶ τοῖσι νώτοισι πρὸς ἀγγήλους τύπονται. (*Dea. Syr.*, c. 80)

Delphi, which furnishes the best all-round example of a year-festival, is the scene of one of the best-known combats, that between Apollo and Python. “The Seperion” writes Plutarch, “seems to be an imitation of the god’s fight against Python and the flight and pursuit to Tempe after the battle,” the latter being represented by the race along the Sacred Way.⁹⁵⁶ The Seperion took place yearly just before the Pythian games: a boy (Apollo) attacks and burns a booth, and then goes through the motions of wanderings and servitude, λατρεία, but in the end returns triumphant, crowned with laurel.⁹⁵⁷ The “Carrying out of Death”⁹⁵⁸ the visit to the underworld⁹⁵⁹ and many other year-rite motifs are attested at Delphi, but for the present purpose it is enough to know that there was a contest, a defeat and a triumph, without concern over the question of the introduction of the name of Pythis and Apollo into the [148] cult.

The year-combat takes various forms in Greece. Since the Karneia was a booth festival and booths are rustic inventions we are asked to regard Demetrius of Skepsis as one confusing the issue when he describes that celebration as μῖμημα στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς, the men feasting in ordered groups of nine in their booths and doing everything by order, exactly as if they were on a military campaign.⁹⁶⁰ The military aspect of the thing, it is explained, is the result of the association of Zeus *Agetor* with Karnos and his festival, which *Agetor* “dachte man sich dem ausziehenden Heere voranschreitend wie der Leithammel der Herde.”⁹⁶¹ As “Leithammel” the god fits into the agrarian festival, but such a lyrical interpretation is far less convincing as the reason for identifying Agetor with Karnos than the fact that the year-king is the leader of the hosts. The most conspicuous episode of the Karneia festival was the pursuit and capture of a victim, which means his defeat and death.⁹⁶² Nilsson follows Wide in comparing the Staphylodromos with those harvest races of which Mannhardt has collected so many examples in the North of Europe.⁹⁶³ There are two ways of explaining what happened in the Greek year-combats; one may treat them as their own ex [149] cuse for being, or one may heed the legends. The constant theme of the legends is combat.

The Olympic games were held to celebrate the triumph of Zeus over the Titans,⁹⁶⁴ by which victory a new world-order was established, the winner of the cosmic combat being the type and model of the triumphant year-king, acclaimed by the gods as the ruler of the world and the just dispenser of benefits: ἐὺ διεδάσσατο τιμάς.⁹⁶⁵ Whatever the place or time of origin of the Titanomachia, the fight for the kingdom is the stock theme of the heroic age: “The cult of Heroes was the earliest breeding ground of the Agon, the most characteristic feature of Greek life.”⁹⁶⁶ The subject of the agon is the succession of one life-cycle to another; “Mutterehe, Vaternord, Sphinxstötung” occur together in a single complex, the year-drama.⁹⁶⁷

[150] King Nisus and King Pterelaus were both by their daughters deprived of a magic hair, red in one case, gold in the other, which caused them to lose kingdom and life to younger men, of whom the princesses were enamored.⁹⁶⁸ Theseus, also saved by a princess and a red thread, figures in just such a year-triangle when he makes a raid into the Thesprotian land for the express purpose of carrying off the king’s wife.⁹⁶⁹ As typical knight-errant he has been compared with Heracles,⁹⁷⁰ who won brides and kingdoms by wrestling with kings,⁹⁷¹ running foot-races,⁹⁷² or winning other forms of contest,⁹⁷³ including games of pure chance.⁹⁷⁴ The mythical fight for the kingdom between Proteus and Acrisius⁹⁷⁵ is matched by the supposedly historical one between Mopsus and Amphilochus.⁹⁷⁶ Prof. Rose has rightly insisted that the Summer vs. Winter motif and purification do not explain all the many cases of ritual sham-battles in Greece.⁹⁷⁷ The year-combat is not so abstract a thing [151] as a mere imitation of the elements, though the victorious king was the guarantor of a good year, his particular enemy in combat being drought or flood.⁹⁷⁸

It was a race which determined the issue in the contest for the kingdom and the bride at Olympia, but it was none the less a race for life.⁹⁷⁹ Endymion set his 50 sons to run a race for the kingdom at Olympia,⁹⁸⁰ as Danaus had suitors run a race for his 50 daughters.⁹⁸¹ The 50 daughters, the 50 weeks of the year,⁹⁸² mark the contest as a year-rite, and Cornford cannot be far from the truth in regarding Olympic Games as “originally and essentially a New Year’s festival – the inauguration of a ‘Year’.”⁹⁸³ Whether the contest to choose the King of the year was originally a foot-race, as Cornford avers,⁹⁸⁴ the idea of combat [152] and kingship is fundamental, and it would appear that the Queen of the Year was also chosen by a race as well as the King.⁹⁸⁵ In the Lake Tritonis rite she was the object of an actual combat of the girls.⁹⁸⁶

Prof. Murray’s recognition of the basic elements of Greek Tragedy as *Agon*, *Pathos*, *Threnos*, *Anagnorisi* and *Theophany*, provides a neat summary of the Greek year-rite, for *Agon* is the contest of the “Year against its enemy, Light against Darkness, Summer against Winter,”⁹⁸⁷ and, it might be added, water against drought, or death.⁹⁸⁸ The goat [153] motif in Tragedy appears in the combat between the black and white, the Xanthos-Melanthos alignment which is still found in the year-combats of the Balkans.⁹⁸⁹

The identity in the Greek of the year-combat with regular warfare is attested by the common practice of preceding a regular battle with a “ritual” combat of individual heroes or

chosen companies. Thus when the Paeonians and Perinthians encamped against each other they first of all before any general engagement would match a man against a man, a horse against a horse and a dog against a dog.⁹⁹⁰ Numerous other instances have been cited by Nilsson in support of his claim that the sham battle was essentially a form of *divination* among the Greeks,⁹⁹¹ in which he clashes with Usener's seasonal-combat theory.⁹⁹² The two interpretations may be reconciled in the year-rite which determines all the issues of the year, the victory of the King (to determine which was the purpose of the divination, according to Nilsson) being inseparably connected with the prosperity of the land.⁹⁹³

[154] No further commentary is needed on the year-combat in Greece than mention of the well-known characteristics of Dionysus as the suffering year-god who is resurrected from death and whose triumph brings fertility to the world, especially through the agency of water.⁹⁹⁴ These are the elements of his mid-winter year-festival.⁹⁹⁵ The drama of the conflict with death and the final overcoming reveals its significance for the individual as such in the mysteries in which each man followed the pattern set by the god for the attainment of a new life through re-birth, i.e., a new creation with its individual victory over the powers of death, its passing through the water, mystic marriage, and all the rest.⁹⁹⁶

What has been said about the activities of the year-festival apart from those appurtenant to the gathering and feasting may be summarized very briefly. In all the regions examined the main event of the annual celebration, and hence the most easily discovered and the best known – in no case has it been necessary to infer the presence of the institution described – was a contest. The contest was regarded as a form of divination. The protagonist was the King, upon whose success depended the prosperity of the land, regularly thought of in terms of an abundance of water. After a temporary defeat and death the King rises and is acclaimed in triumph, married and enthroned, thus confirming the world-order for another year or age.

[155] **Annual Combats at Rome:** The element of combat was not absent from the year-rite at Rome. No sham battle is better known than the fight for the head of the October-horse. It took place between the dwellers in the Sacra Via and those in the Subura,⁹⁹⁷ and may well recall the time when those two districts were separate communities.⁹⁹⁸ This fight was an appendage to another combat, the military campaign of the year, to the celebration of the victorious conclusion of which it contributed,⁹⁹⁹ and an episode of yet another, the contest of chariots in the Circus.¹⁰⁰⁰ A very ancient dualism is seen in the opposition of the two oldest “neighborhoods”, those of the *montani* and the *pagani*. Every year the *montani* would celebrate their *Septimontium* and the *pagani* their *paganalia*, at which year-rites each group would meet at its *sacellum* and offer sacrifices to the unnamed numen of the *mons* or *pagus*. Such is the interpretation of Wissowa¹⁰⁰¹ who, noting that in Cicero these two groups are [156] always mentioned along with the *collegia* of the *compitalia*, assumes that they kept their identity as such right through republican times.¹⁰⁰² Here we have factions as old as Rome itself, and though it is perhaps too much to suggest that the “Men of the Hill” and the “Men of the Plain” once waged ritual combat, there are certain points of resemblance to other colleges which

incline one to such a view. *Septimontium*, in a largely reconstructed passage in Festus, *appellatur mense (Decembri ... qui dicitur in) Fastis Agonalia*.¹⁰⁰³ Now the two colleges of Salii at Rome were the *Palatini* and the *Collini*, the latter known also as the *Agonales* or *Agonenses*.¹⁰⁰⁴ The Salii engaged in a year-combat, whatever may have been the purport of it,¹⁰⁰⁵ and the connection between the *Agonales* and the December *Agonalia*¹⁰⁰⁶ would in some way associate the *Collini* of the former with the *Montani* of the latter. Be that as it may, we have in the Salii societies devoting themselves to a ritual military opposition to certain evil forces at the turn of the year.¹⁰⁰⁷

[157] An immemorial rivalry existed between the Palatine and the Aventine.¹⁰⁰⁸ This feud was inherited from the kings Cacus and Evander, the “Badman” and the “Goodman”.¹⁰⁰⁹ When Hercules came to Rome he took up the cause against Cacus, god of death and fire¹⁰¹⁰ (the unfailing adversaries in the year-combat), when he took over the charge of the Ara Maxima, to which the tithes of wear as well as of the fields were brought for the year-feast.¹⁰¹¹

Without attempting to explain them at once, we may mention the existence of other conflicts at Rome. The city was founded with a dispute between twins, who settled the issue first by divination and then by a duel.¹⁰¹² The very essence of the nature of the year-god Janus is a dualism and a conflict.¹⁰¹³ The need-fires lit for his festival¹⁰¹⁴ recall the fire of Palilia, another year-rite, which the ancients represented as a conflict between fire and water.¹⁰¹⁵

In the *pompa* of the Circus were companies of dancers, who performed armed war-dances in scrupulous imitation of their leaders, and an armed troupe which reminded Dionysius of Halicarnassus of the Salii.¹⁰¹⁶ Even the Roman boxers fought in two companies.¹⁰¹⁷ An important event [158] at the games was the *ludi Troiae*, a ritual combat between bands of boys, in which mounted contestants followed a labyrinthine course in counter-circles resembling those described by the Salii in their dance.¹⁰¹⁸ Of the great variety of combats between men and beasts in the same arena nothing need be said, since they were not necessarily part of the great festival. To complete the picture of strife there is the division of the whole society at the games into factions, whose rivalries became the predominant feature of the whole celebration.¹⁰¹⁹

What are we to make of all this fighting? What were they fighting about? Aside from reasons of human nature, which would foster and perpetuate pleasant customs regardless of their original significance there is a religious import to the games thanks to which they preserve among a great confusion of usages the recognizable remnants of the original year-rite. How can we detect them? By the simple expedient of matching the Roman year-rite with the general scheme of the year-rite elsewhere. It has been our concern to show that there was such a general scheme: so general, in fact, that even the limited faculties of the writer could perceive it. So very few details of that scheme have been noted that one could be almost sure of picking them all out in the wealth of material that exists on the Roman festivals. For which reason we are again justified if not actually bound to deal with the problem of the games in its broadest aspect, to escape the charge of appealing to isolated or chance resemblances.

[159] **The Victor:** The year-rite at Rome culminated in a procession. It was a triumphal procession celebrating victory in war and at the same time an indispensable part of the games. Considerable embarrassment has been caused by this dual nature of the triumphal procession.¹⁰²⁰ But the [160] question is never which element is the older, but only how they became separated. The break is held to be the result of the fact that *ludi* could always be held annually whereas victory in war could not be arranged for with perfect certainty, and hence when the yearly victory was not forthcoming the games could still be held without it and for their own sake.¹⁰²¹ Is it any more reasonable to assume that the idea of annual games should have arisen from a chance series of successive victories than that the games were originally *annui*, just as the war cult of Mars was essentially a year-cult?¹⁰²²

Another dualism appears in the triumph. Its goal is the Capitol, and yet no sooner are the final rites performed at the house of the god than the procession moves on to the Circus.¹⁰²³ The games held there were preceded by auspices, for they were held outside the city.¹⁰²⁴ The war was ended on the Capitol, and then followed another going forth, another taking of auspices, another combat and another victory!¹⁰²⁵ The triumph is not only a returning from war but it is likewise a going out to war;¹⁰²⁶ [161] the Campus was the scene of another contest, and we are faced with the further interesting fact that this Campus which was the place where Mommsen would bring the victory celebration to its final close was also the very place from which the triumph to the Capitol took its start.¹⁰²⁷ One left the field of battle and presumably one returned to it – for another battle! And are we to believe that there was no return in triumph from the second engagement? It is true that the October-horse was taken, in pieces, to the Regia, but there is more direct evidence that the final rites in the Campus were followed by another return to the Capitol, thus making of the single celebration of the victory two complete and parallel ceremonies.

Nero dreamed that the *currus Jovis Optimi Maximi* in passing from the Capitol to the Circus visited the house of Vespasian.¹⁰²⁸ In speaking of the *pompa* of the Circus, Tertullian declares, *etsi unam tensam trahat, Iovis tamen plastrum est*.¹⁰²⁹ Servius defines *Currus* as *par esse cum 'Thense' qua deorum simulacra portantur*.¹⁰³⁰ Jupiter, then, rode into the Circus on a chariot. He came from the Capitol where his car was kept, recalling the bronze quadriga kept in the temple of Vulcan, possible one-time great god of Rome,¹⁰³¹ among the founder's relics, having placed there, it was said, by Romulus himself.¹⁰³² Another parallel [162] is the war-chariot of Juno, kept in the shrine with her arms¹⁰³³ and appearing in the Campus Martius on the occasion of games.¹⁰³⁴ The sacred quadriga was a fixture of the Capitol, upon which the prosperity of the city depended.¹⁰³⁵ From which it may be safely assumed that the *currus Jovis* which passed from the Capitol down to the Circus for the games, returned to the Capitol when the games were over.

The chariot was the car of the King as well as the god,¹⁰³⁶ and of his successors to the supreme authority.¹⁰³⁷ It has recently been pointed out by Deubner that the triumphal car was copied from the royal chariot, which begot the *sella curulis* and was itself derived from the

Jovis Currus. The chariot marks the heir to divine authority, while at the same time it continues to be the most special symbol of victory,¹⁰³⁸ implying that it was the King who celebrated both the triumph of war and the victory of the games. This supposition is borne out by the consideration that only Dictator, Consul and Praetor, i.e. the legitimate successors to [163] the kingship could have a triumph, hold the *maiora auspicia*, or conduct the Great Games.¹⁰³⁹ it may be further argued that there were triumphal processions to the Capitol from the Circus, and not only in the reverse direction, with reference to the games alone on the basis of Pliny's joyful declaration that in Hadrian's time *accipiet ... Capitolium, non mimicos currus, nec falsae simulacra victoriae, sed Imperatore veram et solidam gloriam*.¹⁰⁴⁰ The *simulacra* are surely not invented by the poet for the purpose of contrast with the real and solid gains, but must refer to the regular ritual victory following the ritual combat.¹⁰⁴¹

[164] It is not necessary to settle the much-disputed question of whether the triumphator was the incarnation of Jupiter O. M. or not¹⁰⁴² in order to place him in the year-rite, for his "Vorbild ... ist natürlich der Rex."¹⁰⁴³ Only one man could triumph at one time, even when the highest power was shared by consuls,¹⁰⁴⁴ and, since the triumphator had to hold the *imperium* as well as the *auspicium*, in Imperial times only the Emperor could triumph.¹⁰⁴⁵ The *Imperator* was necessarily the victorious leader, his title was awarded with his triumph, and, as Prof. Nesselhauf has recently shown, his rule was simply in the last analysis a protracted triumph: it was not the proconsular title which he chose to express his military power, but the victory-title of *Imperator*.¹⁰⁴⁶

[165] If the supreme office was a reward reserved for the victor, it is understandable that when the Plebs obtained the right to elect a Consul, that election should be celebrated by games.¹⁰⁴⁷ The games had their victories no less than war. It is also significant that the Emperor was not only the head of an army in the field but of a faction at the festival, where he acted "as if he were himself the more head of one of the factions (στασίαρχης) and uttered any shouts that he saw other people wished him to utter."¹⁰⁴⁸ This was more than a whim of the Emperor, who took seriously the old practices *ex antiquitate repetita*.¹⁰⁴⁹ Gaius and Nero fought and sang with the Greens and the Blues, but even Caesar and Augustus could not be absent from the festivals or fail to enter into them with spirit: the *Imperator* belonged at the games as well as at the battle, and was expected to take the lead in the one place as in the other.¹⁰⁵⁰

It is plain enough who the enemy was in the field, but over whom was the victory of the games obtained? If the *triumphator* is a true year-king we can confidently expect the adversary to be something on the order of Death, Drought, or whatever makes a bad year. But rather than hastening to interpret Roman phenomena in this light we shall follow Prof. Deubner's lead: the triumphator wears the royal insignia which Jupiter also retains from his carefully forgotten days as Jupiter Rex.¹⁰⁵¹ The purpose of these insignia Deubner would explain on magical grounds, as certainly they do not suggest the strictly practical: ivory scepter, [166] *toga picta*, wreath, eagle, snake, red-face, all stand for something which the classic sources do not explain and to discover which one is not only justified in going afield but obliged to. Deubner finds the

Egyptian Pharaoh covered with apotropaic charms among which is the conspicuous use of the color red, and concludes accordingly that like devices of the Roman *triumphator* were meant to prevail against the powers of evil.¹⁰⁵² We are asked further to regard the red face of the triumphator as exerting a positive influence, it is “blühend, strahlend,” etc.¹⁰⁵³ In the red face of the triumphator can be detected something quite specific, however, combat, kingship and a particular kind of victory.

The Roman King had his face painted red.¹⁰⁵⁴ Other kings were adorned in the same way. The ill-fated King Pentheus was dismembered and the tree from which he was taken made into images of the year-king Dionysus, which were gilded all over except for the faces, which were painted red.¹⁰⁵⁵ The Sphinx, a divine king, was known as Rhodopis in classical times, its face being painted a bright red lacquer traces of which were visible as late as the 14th century A. D.¹⁰⁵⁶ The scarlet hair of the murdered Nisus was matched by the golden one of the likewise murdered Pterelaus.¹⁰⁵⁷ Red, as Eva Wunderlich has shown is preeminently the color of death.¹⁰⁵⁸ To match the red face of the Sphinx Egypt has produced an abundance of gold masks such as have been found also at Nineveh and around the Mediterranean and have been held to belong to the same tradition as the Roman *imagines*.¹⁰⁵⁹ The latter were brought out for the Roman funeral processions which resembled nothing so closely as a regular triumph.¹⁰⁶⁰ These masks are the ancestors, risen from the other world to join in a year-rite to which all men are invited, and riding in triumph on the occasion.¹⁰⁶¹ The king with the red face is one of these of the other world. The Romans like the Lacedaemonians buried their dead in red garments.¹⁰⁶² Both these people also went to war in red.¹⁰⁶³ When Augustus died gold rings were changed for iron,¹⁰⁶⁴ and the Roman triumphator wore an iron ring too.¹⁰⁶⁵ It is not necessary for [168] the writer to deal extensively with a theme which has been so thoroughly worked out as “Rot und tot”¹⁰⁶⁶ nor to demonstrate a fact so well established as the essential identity of the funeral pompa and the triumphal. As in the non-Roman cases, we are dealing with commonplaces. The triumphator is accompanied by his children and his ancestors, quite as if he were celebrating a family rite.¹⁰⁶⁷ At the triumph as at the *funus publicum* the lines between past and present as between public and private disappear in the universal reunion which marks the “year” festival. But what of the combat?

One day a year the Archon of Plataea “puts on a scarlet chiton and taking a hydria and girded with a sword goes to the sepulchers” where he feasts with the heroes. That was the only day on which he might touch iron (cf. the iron ring of the triumphator) or wear anything but white.¹⁰⁶⁸ Red is the color of death in opposition to white: at the triumph of Aemilius Paulus the soldiers all wore red, the people white.¹⁰⁶⁹ At the beginning of a war the Roman Consul would put on a purple trabea and open the double doors;¹⁰⁷⁰ red is here the badge of authority in war.¹⁰⁷¹

[169] It so happens that the colors of the year-combat at Rome were red and white. The Salii¹⁰⁷² and the mounted *juventus*¹⁰⁷³ appeared in those colors, which also served to designate the original factions of the Circus.¹⁰⁷⁴ The date and origin of the latter practice is unknown.¹⁰⁷⁵

The custom was for team, chariot and driver to be decked in these colors,¹⁰⁷⁶ the significance of which is more open to dispute than the fact that the issue of the year-contest is represented elsewhere in the ancient world by the same colors, as may be briefly demonstrated.

The Northern May-day is marked by a contest in which one company bearing red streamers moves in a circle against a counter-circle described by a band with white streamers, the dancers intermingling in a mazy pattern which exactly recalls the description given by ancient authors of the Troy-game.¹⁰⁷⁷ The famous prophecy of Merlin, beginning *Vae rubreo draconi*, was inspired by the sight of the Red dragon and the White fighting in the pool.¹⁰⁷⁸ St. Patrick dispelled the three-days darkness caused by the King's daughters, *Ethne Alba et Fedelm Rufa* who met him at the spring.¹⁰⁷⁹ A lengthy demonstration is not necessary of the [170] constant association of the two colors in European year-rites.¹⁰⁸⁰

The conflict of good and evil, life and death, a good year and a bad year takes various forms in the East. There is the contest between the red and white fillet in Israel,¹⁰⁸¹ between the red torches and the milk ponds in Egypt,¹⁰⁸² as between the red and the white kingdoms.¹⁰⁸³ The Vrtra contest appears as the fight with Orthos, the red hell-hound, or with Hydra the water-monster,¹⁰⁸⁴ in Greece as in the Ásvamedha.¹⁰⁸⁵ We have noted [171] that the Vrtra contest takes the form in Persia of the fight between the horses for Lake Vourukasha, and that it was conceived also as a chariot contest.¹⁰⁸⁶ Xenophon describing the high sacrifice of the Persians says that after the oxen were slaughtered the chariots were brought in, the chariot of the god being followed by the white chariot of the sun and another the horses of which were decked with red and which was accompanied by a great flaming brazier borne by men.¹⁰⁸⁷

We pass over examples from the Far East¹⁰⁸⁸ and Africa¹⁰⁸⁹ to indicate [172] the presence of the red-white combination in two forms of Greek year-rite. The visit to the underworld in the mysteries was performed by devotees clad in red¹⁰⁹⁰ while the return or rather the rebirth into a new life was accompanied by the donning of white robes.¹⁰⁹¹ The other form is the tug-of-war between the Erythraeans and the Chians.¹⁰⁹²

These few examples are enough to show that the red-white conflict of the Roman games was not an isolated instance. When if ever it was introduced may remain a mystery, but certain relevant facts cannot be denied. Not only were the triumphator and the king red, but the scarlet tunic of the *prisci Latini*¹⁰⁹³ was worn both by the Salii in their dances and by the chief of the Arval brethren as he set off the races in the Circus,¹⁰⁹⁴ and was further the garment of Picus, *equum domitor* and ancestor-king of the Romans.¹⁰⁹⁵ Since war, triumph and games are indisputably and originally welded in a single rite, and since the triumph and the funeral procession are almost perfect parallels, it is not too much to conclude that the issue at the year-games was between the King and Death or the underworld, and that his red face marks him as one who has been to the other world, as in fact does all his insignia.

[173] **Acclamatio**: - The victorious king was formally acclaimed. The *acclamatio* was the recognition of authority, and was equivalent to the bestowing of the same. In the words of Mommsen, “Dies Moment der Volkswahl ist das spezifische Kriterium bei *magistratus* wie bei *honor*,”¹⁰⁹⁶ bestowing that single authority from which all right and power was ultimately derived: “Es ist ein Fundamentalsatz des römischen Staatsrechts, dass der Begriff des Imperium dem Königtum wie dem früheren Consulat in völliger Gleichheit zu Grunde liegt.”¹⁰⁹⁷ The bestowing of this authority was yearly, marking in fact the beginning of a year, and accompanied by vows of which the triumph in the Circus was an indispensable element of fulfillment.¹⁰⁹⁸ Who held authority participated in that triumph, whether the King or the whole body of *Patres* who were his successors.¹⁰⁹⁹ Since [174] the records are virtually silent on the subject of the Roman kingship,¹¹⁰⁰ we can do no better than to consider the *acclamatio* in historic times in the light of the probability that it contains at least as much of the tradition of the priest-kings as do the political offices with reference to which the monarchy has been reconstructed. Indeed, since the *acclamatio* is a “folkway” and apparently never subjected to the formal alterations and official reinterpretations which affected such a large part of Roman politics and religion, one might assume on the face of it that the institution is particularly archaic.

The *index pacis bellique* of the Romans was a gate.¹¹⁰¹ To mark the beginning of a war the Consul opened a gate and through it in all probability the army marched forth,¹¹⁰² as through it they returned in triumph.¹¹⁰³ In both cases a sort of “rite de passage” is implied,¹¹⁰⁴ but of one thing we may be sure, the gate meant a going-out, a leave-taking, a departure – the issue with death was decided, not on the native soil but in the beyond: only one could triumph who was returning from victory on *foreign* soil.¹¹⁰⁵ The Campus too, as has been mentioned, was not Rome, and in entering it for the games the magistrate had to take the *same* auspices as in going out to war.¹¹⁰⁶ Hence an important part of [175] the year-rite was the greeting at the gate; the *index pacis bellique* was the gate of the temple of Janus the year-god.¹¹⁰⁷

The king was acclaimed three times, by the people as he left the city, by the army in the field, and by all on his triumphant return.¹¹⁰⁸ The bestowing of the Imperium by the army in the field needs no discussion;¹¹⁰⁹ the ritual significance of the other forms of acclamation may be inferred from their close association with elections, wherein they take a peculiar form.

More people journeyed out of Rome to meet the victorious Vespasian on the way than remained in the city, and when he came within hailing distance the entire population poured forth, greeting him as τὸν ἐνεργέτην καὶ δωτήρα καὶ μόνον ἄξιον ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ρώμης.¹¹¹⁰ Long before, Varro, fleeing from Cannae, was greeted by the whole city, which poured out to meet him as if he had not lost the battle.¹¹¹¹ The routed Pompey was shown the same courtesy by the people of Larissa.¹¹¹² Whole cities poured forth to hail the victorious Scipio.¹¹¹³ The custom was alike common to the East and the West, and when the Younger Cato was met by the entire population on the way as he approached Antioch, he exclaimed his peevish “Ὁ τῆς

κακοδαίμονος πόλεως!” not at the sight [176] of such obsequiousness, but upon discovering that it was not for him.¹¹¹⁴

The Eastern custom went back to the year-king. It will not be necessary to refer again to all the separate instances in which the year-festival has been cited – in all the references given the reader may find descriptions of how the victorious king was acclaimed. The Babylonian festival is an example. There the image of Marduk was taken from the Chamber of Destiny by the sacred Gate of Esagil with appropriate hymns celebrating his “going forth”, and leaving the city by the Ishtar gate, with more acclamations, would pass out of the land to spend three days abroad in the “Neujahrsfesthaus” in the fields; after which he would return by exactly the same route, acclaimed in triumph, to hold the last grand meeting of the festival. In this the famous New Year’s procession of Babylon the images of all the other gods would accompany Marduk, and the whole was led off by the king.¹¹¹⁵ The Talmud gives the injunction, “Let it be the concern of all to go forth to meet a King,” with the explanation that “the Earthly Kingdom corresponds to the Kingdom of Heaven.”¹¹¹⁶ The Christians adopted the practice, preserving intact the double sense of kingship and victory.¹¹¹⁷ Since we have noted [177] that the Davidic King was a year-king and the rites in which he appears New Year’s rites,¹¹¹⁸ it is pertinent to mention the triumph of Solomon with its exhortation, “Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold the King Solomon with the crown,”¹¹¹⁹ etc. as a true ritual *acclamatio*.

“When King Attalus and the Roman ambassador came up from Piraeus,” Polybius reports, “not only all the magistrates and knights, but all the citizens and their wives and children went out to meet them ... and they named one of their tribunes Attalus after him.”¹¹²⁰ A natural enough sort of thing, it will be thought, and yet at Rome we find the simple business of greeting and escorting given a place of first importance, for which there is no exact parallel anywhere.

The Roman magistrate returning from his province is hailed by a multitude of people, a perfectly ordinary thing, says Cicero, who notes that such is consistent with the usual announcement of the candidacy of the returning noble for the consulship.¹¹²¹ The people who thus leave the city to greet a man escort him to his place with acclamation, an act essential to a candidacy for office. “Men of the lower order have only one opportunity of deserving kindness at the hands of our order, or of requiting services, namely this one attention of escorting us when we are candidates for office.”¹¹²² The people were to receive all blessings of life from their magistrates, but to these blessings they had a right based on the authority with which they could invest the [178] giver.¹¹²³ The principal blessings were games and feasts; it was the magistrate’s business, as it had been the king’s, to give the earnest of abundance.¹¹²⁴ The *quid pro quo* relationship that once existed between the king and the people continued as before, and the most interesting thing about the institution of acclaiming and escorting is that its exercise required no legal prerequisites of any sort – the right to bestow authority by *acclamatio* was derived from no visible source, as every other real power in the state had to be.¹¹²⁵ One can trace all power back to it but nothing appears beyond it.

When Servius Tullius was at odds with the senate he went to the Forum and gave account of his political acts directly to the people, who overwhelmed him with signs of affection, begged him not to desert them, and finally ἡ πληθὺς ἅπασα μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κρότου καὶ ἑυφημίας accompanied him to his house.¹¹²⁶ What could have been the king's object in causing such a scene? This direct and intimate contact of king and people takes place over the heads of the senate, which does not fit into the picture at all. "Where did this meddling body get the right to interfere?" asks a recent investigator, and finds the answer, "In all likelihood, they never had such a right and their inter [179] ference was at all times a usurpation."¹¹²⁷ He is speaking of the bestowing of the *imperium*, in which the *acclamatio* played such a large part. There is no room for a third party in the simple give and take relationship of acclaimers and acclaimed, and the Patrician development of the institution produced those queer invidious relationships expressed in the salutations¹¹²⁸ which cannot conceivably have been the original order of things: *acclamatio* is by nature a public and a general thing, and could not be applied to private cult without making it public, placing a premium on the numbers of retainers and producing those monstrous "revolutionare Leibwachen" which made social stability impossible.¹¹²⁹

Just as the right to a triumph was reserved to the highest officer in the state and even then under certain conditions, so the formal acclamation was the almost exclusive right of the Emperor and his family and closest associates and of the magistrates who gave the games.¹¹³⁰ The Emperor himself was the perpetually triumphant, but even he received the *acclamatio* only on three occasions: *Triumphantes, Recitantes in Rostris, Spectacula et ludos agentes* were alone eligible,¹¹³¹ and the reader will recognize that all three have the common main feature of acting in triumphal rites.

[180] The Emperor speaking on the rostrum was in a position to receive acclamation. It was at the Lupercalia *pro rostris* that Caesar was offered the kingly crown¹¹³² without the slightest reference to the Senate, just as his statue had been crowned as he was receiving *immodicas ac novas populi acclamationes* by *quidam e turba*.¹¹³³ By the universal will Augustus was declared *Pater Patriae*, first of all by the Plebs and after that by the Senate, *neque decreto neque adclamatione* but by a speaker, who announced: *senatus te consentiens cum populo R. consalutat patrias patrem*.¹¹³⁴ The phrase is significant as showing that the Plebs in their own right could bestow the exalted title, and that the regular procedure called for acclamation.

It is a noteworthy fact that with the abolition of kingship, the mode of electing the highest magistrate remained the *acclamatio*; it was by exception that Augustus received the *Pater Patriae* title by another means.¹¹³⁵ This is particularly enlightening since the acclamation [181] by nature and as practiced in the Senate is obviously a device for obtaining united action among great multitudes of people, as a few instances will make clear.

When Tacitus was made Emperor he protested his advanced age, whereupon all the senators together cried: *Et Trajanus ad Imperium senex venit: dixerunt decies. Et Hadrianus ad Imperium senex venit: dixerunt decies. Et Antonius ad Imperium senex venit*, also ten times, and so on down the line of aged Emperors, after which, *Imperatorem te, non militem facimus: dixerunt vicies. Tu jube, milites pugnent: dixerunt tricies*,¹¹³⁶ etc.

Such a procedure in a relatively small and conservative deliberating body appears slightly absurd, as it certainly was not highly practical; nor was it absolutely dignified. It needs no argument to show that the disgraceful display the Senate made of itself when it complied to the whim of Commodus and chanted “~~Paulus~~ Commodus, first of the Senators” six hundred times was simply carrying a familiar practice to an undue degree.¹¹³⁷ With the masses however such repetitions were a necessity: if the people were to make known their will or carry on their conversations with the King a confused shouting would accomplish little. It was only when all shouted the same thing that the *acclamatio* bore conviction. Apart from the psychological circular reaction which is quite fundamental,¹¹³⁸ we are faced by something formal and concrete in the way in which the *acclamatio* was managed and in the substance of the recitations themselves, which are limited to a very few themes, although [182] there was no limit to the variations to which the practice might have been subjected, and in the notable lack of any parallel institutions in the modern world.

At the games the factions were choruses and the insults they exchanged were on the order of antiphonal chants.¹¹³⁹ Theophanes has described the interruption by the Blues of a formal “conversation” between the Mandator and the Greens in the Hippodrome, and the argument which followed between the two factions seems to have been carried on in a spontaneous fashion – the bitter words were certainly not rehearsed – in rather lengthy sentences.¹¹⁴⁰ Large masses of people were able to recite whole phrases without rehearsal, though not without practice, by following a *choregos*, who would speak the words before them. It was such a part that Claudius was taking when “just like a *stasiarchos*” he would lead out in shouting whatever anyone of the people asked him to.¹¹⁴¹ It was an old Roman custom.

At the trial of Milo, Clodius rose up and shouted a series of questions to his supporters, who gave answer ὥσπερ χορὸς εἰς ἀμοιβαῖα συγκεκρίτημένος, when he gave them the signal by waving his toga.¹¹⁴² He was following the custom of the games,¹¹⁴³ where the Romans recited long sentences in unison to the Emperor long before the existence of the better-known repartees between the ruler and [183] people in the Hippodrome.¹¹⁴⁴ The old Roman *occantatio*, a public denunciation chanted *clare et cum quodam canore*¹¹⁴⁵ by groups of people and perhaps taken up by the whole market-place or street¹¹⁴⁶ provides a venerable native background for the public recitations of the Romans, Usener seeing in it a primitive “Volksjustiz”.¹¹⁴⁷ The *flagitatio* was the same sort of thing, but sung in antiphony after a regular set pattern, closely resembling the “Wechselgesang der militärischen Spottlieder.”¹¹⁴⁸ Are we to assume that the people who invented the art of public denunciation by a sing-song repetition had to borrow a like form for acclamation from the senate?¹¹⁴⁹ Yet when we hear of acclamation it is

always for a triumph.¹¹⁵⁰ This combination of democracy and triumph points to a particular “Moment”.

The final act in the enthronement of Saul was the shouting by all the people of “God save the king.”¹¹⁵¹ This public acclaim made the king. By it Saul was “turned into another man”,¹¹⁵² and when it was refused him upon his failure to gain victory he was no longer recognized as king.¹¹⁵³ Chapters VIII to XII in First Samuel are full of conversations between the prophet and all the people. At Constantinople “en tout temps ces dialogues etaient habituels entre le prince et ses subjects,”¹¹⁵⁴ and one [184] of the most famous, in the time of Constantine V, illustrates well the relationship which existed between the ruler and the people in the politico-ritual environment of the games.¹¹⁵⁵ The Emperor wishing to punish a rebellious monk summons all the people to a *silentium* in the Hippodrome. Emperor: “God has delivered this wretch to me; I will show him to you if you wish.” People: “Kill him! Burn him! Since he has broken your orders.” The monk was then thrown to the people who tore him to tiny bits.¹¹⁵⁶ This instance is cited because it closely resembles the case of Cleander centuries before at Rome, who was turned over to the people at their request and dismembered amid the antiphony chanting of the throng in the theater, i. e. in true ritual fashion,¹¹⁵⁷ and in a manner which very strongly suggests the October-horse.¹¹⁵⁸

The opposition of people and Emperor at the games, where indeed the former often displayed a freedom which the Senate dare not,¹¹⁵⁹ [185] suggests the relationship of chorus and leader, as has been noted. In this regard it should be noted that acclamations like *occantationes* were chanted rather than spoken,¹¹⁶⁰ so that the analogy with the chorus is not a far-fetched one. Even less so since in all probability the chorus itself originated in the combat-song of the year-rite.¹¹⁶¹ In places the year-combat survives to this day as a combat-song,¹¹⁶² and Pausanias says that the Pythian games themselves were originally a singing contest.¹¹⁶³ In the East¹¹⁶⁴ as in the North¹¹⁶⁵ the same records to which we have previously referred make specific references to choral singing at the year-festival as one of its principal features. Both com [186] bat and victory are represented in chants or hymns. When the Emperor enters the Circus,

Huc omnes populi, pueri iuvenesque senesque
Dant agmina plausus vox omnibus una,
Mens eadem: nomen populis placet omnibus unum
.
“Tu vincas, Justine,” canunt ingensque tumultus
Crescit, etc.¹¹⁶⁶

“Tu vincas”, is the proper greeting. The common acclamation for the hero going into battle is *Felicitur*,¹¹⁶⁷ the political salutation which covers the walls of Pompeii, and shows the complete identity of politics, games, factions and possibly collegiae.¹¹⁶⁸ The factional watch-word, Nika

(cf. the famous Nike riots between the factions of Cp. And the Empire)¹¹⁶⁹ was very early the rallying-cry of the church, in which the ideas of struggle and victory were greatly stressed.¹¹⁷⁰

Besides victory another thing is stressed in the acclamations, namely length of life. “God save the king” (cf. *Salva Roma, Salva Patris, Salvus est Germanicus*¹¹⁷¹) is usually given a more specific form: *De nostris* [187] *annis tibi Jupiter augeat annos*,¹¹⁷² or *Augeat imperium nostri Ducis, augeat annos*.¹¹⁷³ The Christian bishops would hail the Emperor in the same way: *Multos annos Augustis, Patriarchis multos annos*.¹¹⁷⁴ In the Christian community where, as Ignatius avers, the Bishop was king,¹¹⁷⁵ the synods continued conscientiously to observe the technique of the old senatorial *acclamatio* both in approving elections and in confirming policies and doctrines,¹¹⁷⁶ while the ultimate source of episcopal power was the congregation which announced its will by acclamation.¹¹⁷⁷ For Augustine “the people shouted ‘To God be thanks! To Christ be praise!’ twenty-three times, ‘O Christ hear us; may Augustine live long!’ sixteen times, ‘We will have thee our Bishop!’ eight times ... ‘He is worthy and just!’ six times,” and so *ad infinitum*.¹¹⁷⁸ Compare this last with the confirmation by the Senate of the election of Probus by the military (also an acclamation): *Probe Auguste, Dii te servant. Olim dignus et fortis, et justus, bonus ductor, bonus Imperator, dii te servant*, etc,¹¹⁷⁹ and it will appear that [188]popular and senatorial, pagan and Christian acclamation are the same thing.¹¹⁸⁰ The one and the other bestow authority, ask for many years, proclaim the proven worth of the candidate.¹¹⁸¹ Now since candidates were proclaimed in a triumph at the beginning of the year, wishes for many years were pronounced at the same time, and the victor was hailed in the year-combat as well, one is forced to recognize in the year-festival the common background for the various forms of *acclamatio*. The highly popular nature of the *acclamatio* is further significant in this direction, for not only did Nero and Caligula join in the street fights, but even Augustus took an active interest in them when they were year-combats.¹¹⁸² Lest such an interest be thought beneath kingly dignity, we cite Usener’s observation that at the combat of the Macedonians at the spring Equinox “selbst für Prinzen des königlichen Hauses war es eine Ehre, diese Führerschaft (of the factions) zu übernehmen”,¹¹⁸³ and further recall that Claudius himself conscientiously played *στασίαρχης*.¹¹⁸⁴

[189] [Both the microfilm copy and the print PDF copy appear to skip a page here. The PDF copy also has handwritten numbers that start the first page of Chapter V as Number 1 and go to the end. Handwritten Number 64, the same page as Page Number 188 is the last page in Chapter V. Chapter VI, Page 190 has Handwritten Page Number 66. Since Chapter V, Page 189 ends with the end of a paragraph, it’s hard to tell if there was another page that is now missing, if Nibley himself removed a completed page or if he just skipped a number.]

[190] Chapter VI

The Triumph as a Marriage Procession

The triumph got its name, according to Varro, from the cry *io triumphe* of the soldiers as they accompanied the victorious Imperator to the Capitol.¹¹⁸⁵ The Bacchanalian cry was accompanied by all sorts of ribald remarks, the soldiers enjoying perfect freedom to indulge in obscene remarks about their leader. Fabius Pictor, cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, described the scurrilous chants and recitations which were a regular part of the Circus *pompa*, and which Dionysius compares with an extinct Athenian custom of shouting σκώμματα from wagons.¹¹⁸⁶ While comparing the ritual scurrility of the Roman *pompa* with like practices of the Greeks that latter authority, given as he was to a partiality for attributing Greek origins to Roman things,¹¹⁸⁷ still admits that it has all the signs of being both archaic and native to Rome.¹¹⁸⁸

[191] To spare the reader another recapitulation of all the sources we have foregone the opportunity of exhibiting instances of chants and acclamation in the year-rites at many places.¹¹⁸⁹ It is because the evidence at Rome so plainly indicates a popular rather than a senatorial, to say nothing of private, origin for the *acclamatio* that it has not been necessary to go far afield. The people rise to heights of eloquence in their mass conversations,¹¹⁹⁰ while the Senate prefers a single orator to speak for it. The terms used in the *acclamatio*: *patri omnium bonorum ... Fausta omnia optamus et precamur*,¹¹⁹¹ and the like, do not agree with the Patrician doctrine that *omnia a nobis sperant*.¹¹⁹² The grateful words were never addressed to a senator as such but only to the victor and successor to the king, the holder of the Imperium. We cannot hold with Schmidt that when the Arvals acclaimed the Emperor on his birthday they were following the example primarily of the Senate.¹¹⁹³ The *acclamatio* of the schools, where one would expect it to appear at farthest remove from a year-rite was most commonly *θείως*, recognizing something of the divine in the professor,¹¹⁹⁴ a spirit that filled him as victory did the triumphator with divinity. Not rarely Emperors were acclaimed as gods, specifically as Dionysus, Apollo, Heracles, the victorious ones,¹¹⁹⁵ quite in keeping with the divinity which the triumphator had never lost from the earliest times.

[192] The scurrilous remarks addressed to the *Triumphator* are regarded as charms against the evil influences which he in his divine position is particularly exposed.¹¹⁹⁶ Such they may well be; noise, laughter and obscenity could be the means by which *umbrae silentes* and *taciti manes* were “beschämt” or “erschreckt”¹¹⁹⁷ though such an effect would seem largely to be cancelled in the case of ghosts loving both noise and obscenity,¹¹⁹⁸ and there would be also a contradiction in the fact that the *triumphator* was necessarily *entirely* victorious at the time of his triumph,¹¹⁹⁹ and having obtained divinity could regard the issue with the powers of death as definitely settled.¹²⁰⁰ The same contradiction may be seen in the philosophic *Respice post te; hominem te memento te*¹²⁰¹ addressed to one wear [193] ing the very robe of Jupiter O. M.¹²⁰²

Such limitations in the victorious god are conceded to explain usages which may be better explained without them by a more literal interpretation of the accoutrement of the *triumphator*.

Beneath the triumphal chariot was a *fascinus*, serving, says Pliny, as *medicus invidiae* and as a means of bringing the triumphator to his senses, to which purpose the ribald songs of the soldiers were likewise dedicated. This apart from its natural significance as *infantium custos*.¹²⁰³ Here the moral note is strong; the phallus is an embarrassing object, and Zonaras, while mentioning the bell also appended beneath the chariot, ignores it.¹²⁰⁴ Pliny attributes to the fascinus as an apotropaic charm the purpose plainly served by the bell, - the Circus chariots bore bells for protection¹²⁰⁵ - but that the former object was more than a symbol of modesty (of all things) is as evident from its very nature as is a more than strictly moral implication in the songs of the soldiers. The conspicuous motive of humility as exhibited in some actions of the *triumphator* (Caesar's ascending the Capitol on his knees)¹²⁰⁶ would supply the readiest explanation for the phallus, but not the most obvious, to the moralizing observer. If humility could be so perfectly expressed by other means, why the particular emphasis on sex? Was "Io Triumphhe!" meant to inspire modesty? Or are pride and evil spirits to be expelled at the expense of chastity? The lewd antics of the Satyrs in the *pompa* reported by Dionysius may have had various purposes, but of the fundamental nature of their activity there can be no doubt, and Dionysius recalls having seen them in the funeral *pompae* of distinguished men, ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις πόμταις¹²⁰⁷ - they belong to the *pompa* as such, not as a deliberate attempt to rebuke or protect a victorious general.

When an unpopular consul was celebrating a victory his soldiers *alternis inconditi versus militari licentia jactati*, in which antiphonal all the people joined and *cum vocibus militum certaret*.¹²⁰⁸ This Usener identifies with the "Alte p uerliche satura,"¹²⁰⁹ the Fescennine verses in which *opprobria rustica* was expressed, *versibus alternis*,¹²¹⁰ and which was very specially reserved for wedding processions.¹²¹¹ The obscenity [195] of the military chants seems thus to be both popular and primitive, and to combine the elements of combat and obscenity in a single festive rite. It is interesting in this connection that the soldiers and their leader in the triumph were decked with laurel or myrtle, noted for their fertilizing offices at the year-rites of May-day and the Lupercalia.¹²¹² Even more significant is the staff of the year-king.

Janus, the first King, the "Anfangsgott" and war-god has the insignia of the laurel crown, the key (*clavis*) and the staff (*virga, baculum*).¹²¹³ In representations of the god he retains the staff but has exchanged the key for a *patera*.¹²¹⁴ If Janus, the most notable of key-gods,¹²¹⁵ thus loses that badge it is no wonder that his successors do not bear it: the scepter as a royal symbol was "aus dem r mischen Gemeinwesen der historischen Zeit verbannt."¹²¹⁶ In ritual use alone it survived, wherein, quite significantly, "der Gebrauch dieses Stabes beschr nkt sich auf den Tag des Triumphs."¹²¹⁷ In the newly-found statue of the "Capistrano Warrior", however, a chieftan dressed for war bears both key and staff, and has been looked upon as the holder of the pre-historic *Imperium*.¹²¹⁸ Both key and staff are signs of the highest authority [196] in heaven and earth.¹²¹⁹ As door-keeper Janus is intimately related with Vesta in

the divine proto-type of the household, and both in Greece and Rome the key was an essential property at rites of marriage and of divorce.¹²²⁰ As he stands with staff and key Janus appears as ἄνοιξις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ before a house in which are seen the four seasons and to which a boy bears a full cornucopia,¹²²¹ a vivid representation of the “good year” through the offices of the ancestor-god, named “Consivium” *a propagine generis humani*.¹²²²

A form of *acclamatio* is the *talassio* of the Roman *deductio*, the marriage procession, accompanied by the same antiphonal mockery that marked the triumph.¹²²³ On that occasion the groom carries a torch not of pine, as the rest of the company do, but of *spina alba*,¹²²⁴ the same wood as the *virga* of Janus.¹²²⁵ The *talassio* marks a particular kind of wedding: we have seen that the year-combat everywhere has the bride [197] as a prize, and the *talassio* accompanies and indeed signifies a bride –stealing¹²²⁶ and is accompanied itself by antiphonal *opprobria* of the Fescinnine verses.¹²²⁷ The military acclamation *feliciter* was a common greeting at betrothals.¹²²⁸ This does not mean that the institution of marriage began with the year-rite, though it is not without significance that certain days were especially esteemed by the Romans as particularly adapted to marriage and others avoided.¹²²⁹ But it does imply that among other things the year-rite included a marriage, a claim which can be best supported by brief consideration of a figure which it has been our concern until now to overlook as much as possible, namely the year-goddess. The Mother-Goddess appears in such a bewildering number of persons and places that mention of her is liable to raise suspicions of romancing, but where we are dealing with the problem of marriage it is right to consider whether or not a bride exists.

Flora, whose particular interest was the prosperity of the fields,¹²³⁰ had a festival which adjoined that of the Bona Dea on May 1.¹²³¹ Her fertilizing activity had special reference to water.¹²³² At the Floralia *omnia semina super populum spargebant*,¹²³³ the most literal instance one could ask for of the *sparsiones* as an actual sowing of [198] seed. The resemblance of this practice to the χύτρα πανσπομίας of the Anthesteria, a year- and water-rite, also leads to designation of Flora as goddess of the dead, which office in conjunction with her other one of fertility and growth justifies Altheim in identifying her with Ceres, Tellus and Demeter.¹²³⁴ Her festival is closely bound up with the killing of the red-dog at the Robigalia,¹²³⁵ which is consistent with her championing on the moist element,¹²³⁶ and introduces an element of combat.¹²³⁷ But it is for a particular kind of combat that the Floralia is particularly interesting. At that time *meretrices ... armis certabant gladiatoriiis atque pugnabant*.¹²³⁸ The female sham-battles were native to Rome and “den Romern der historischen Zeit langst vollig unverstandlich geworden.”¹²³⁹ They may be explained by another contest at the festival of Flora – the *meretrices* were again the competitors. It was a beauty-contest in which the *meretrices* exhibited themselves nude to the Romans to the accompaniment of all sorts of lewd words and gestures.¹²⁴⁰ Altheim finds no Greek parallels for this and yet the maiden-songs of Alcman preserve both the physical combat, a foot race, and the beauty contest, the καλλιστεῖαν in which the rivalry of the two choruses, alternating praise and disparagement of the candidates, reminds one strongly of the Song of [199] Songs. The Greek contest was held as part of a tree-and-water

cult that furnishes a further analogy with Flora, and its purpose was to choose the Queen and bride.¹²⁴¹ One is reminded of the fight for the bride between the troops of maidens at Lake Tritonis, and of the fact that the bride in question was “the fairest of their number” who had been chosen necessarily by competition and elimination.¹²⁴² It is not necessary to go into the “fairest of the land” motif, so popular in folklore; Herodotus has furnished a specific instance in the Veneti of Italy whose bride-auctions were definitely beauty contests, even as those of the Babylonians, the winners of the high awards contributing to a common fund for the good of all the others,¹²⁴³ of which custom it is not to much to see an indication in the magnanimous behavior of Flora herself who *quam magnas opes ex arte meretrícia quaesivisset*, willed it all to the people, setting aside a sum for the celebration of her birthday.¹²⁴⁴

In her capacity as *meretrix* Flora has been long since identified with Acca Larentia for whom Hercules rolled the dice, the scholar who noted the identity pointing out at the same time that Hercules is a sun-god in the story, so he thought, because, though he lacked any solar attributes references to the moon in related instances show him to be a *year-god*.¹²⁴⁵ The same nudity and scurrility as at the Floralia [200] appear in the festival of the year-goddess Anna Perenna, held on the banks of the Tiber with promiscuous relationships in honor of the goddess who as a nymph had been carried off by the river to be a bride in the underworld.¹²⁴⁶ As he overlooks the marriage element in comparing the festivals of Anna and Flora, so too in his preoccupation with the dead Altheim misses the beauty-contest in the Demeter cult, which he finds in other things parallel to both. The festivals of Demeter and Hera were both marked by beauty-contests,¹²⁴⁷ in the latter case at least the competitors were following the example of the goddess herself as in Italy.¹²⁴⁸ Indeed so universal is the custom of sacred prostitution and so uniform its characteristics that a very general statement is possible: “Diese Göttin war überall in irgendeiner Weise als Mutter Erde aufzufassen, die Spenderin der lokalen Fruchtbarkeit, zu der die fremden Männer, die Stelle besuchen, ihren Beitrag leisten müssen.”¹²⁴⁹ The emphasis on strangers shows that we are dealing with a peculiar sort of thing and since “die Fremden dadurch in die städtische Gemeinschaft aufgenommen wurden” and, to follow the same authority still further, the rite took place at the solstice and was meant to coincide with the rebirth of Nature,¹²⁵⁰ it is sufficiently plain that it belongs specifically to the year-rite as we have described it so far.

[201] Whatever their origin the rites of the *meretrices* and the *talassio* are most intimately associated with the games at Rome. There was a firmly-rooted tradition at Rome that the games of Consus were founded by Romulus expressly for the purpose of capturing brides.¹²⁵¹ At these first games the *io talassio* cry was thought to have been invented.¹²⁵² It was at the games that the Sabine youth in turn carried off some *courtesans*, an act resulting like the other in a fight.¹²⁵³

The games at which the Sabine maidens were robbed were *Neptuno Equestri sollennes*, though called the Consualia.¹²⁵⁴ In the *libris sacerdotum populi Romani* Neptune has Salacia as his female companion.¹²⁵⁵ [202] It is quite possible that the goddess, whose name was given to

Venus, *quae proprie meretricum dea appellata est a veteribus*,¹²⁵⁶ was both water deity and “salax”.¹²⁵⁷ Acca Larentia guarded a spring to which Hercules gained access by violence,¹²⁵⁸ an alternative to dicing for the winning of a bride.¹²⁵⁹

Flora’s temple at the Circus Maximus¹²⁶⁰ was matched by the much older shrine of Murcia, the *ara vetus*,¹²⁶¹ right at the *metae Murciae*.¹²⁶² The one-time importance of this almost forgotten goddess may be inferred from Servius’ remark that when Diana came to Rome she took the place of Murcia.¹²⁶³ Though Murcia’s true significance is lost, the nature of her successors is an indication that her patronage of *meretrices*¹²⁶⁴ was essential to her nature. Near her shrine stood the *Venus Obsequens Aedes*,¹²⁶⁵ while the Circus structure itself served as a brothel.¹²⁶⁶ The dedication day of the Venus-temple was the [203] *Vinalia Rustica*, closely associated with the Portunalia on one hand¹²⁶⁷ and the Consualia on the other.¹²⁶⁸ The festival was marked by an “Auftreten der *meretrices*”¹²⁶⁹ which makes it parallel to the Flora festival,¹²⁷⁰ as does the presence of Fons. The latter event on May 1 features the myrtle in ritual explained by the story that when the Bona Dea the wife of Faunus was found guilty of wine drinking the enraged monarch beat her to death with a myrtle switch.¹²⁷¹ On the Venus festival the women of Rome would bathe in the men’s bath wearing crowns of myrtle.¹²⁷² Myrtle and the vine together thus associate the two year-festivals from an early time, fertility and water being emphasized in each case. Liber was held to be the inventor of the triumph¹²⁷³ and the patron of the first rustic games.¹²⁷⁴ Whatever the true explanation, it appears [204] that amorous practices which characterized the year-festivals of the Saturnalia, Floralia, Anna Perenna, etc., were patterned after an exalted proto-type. The ultimate goddess of the Circus was the Magna Mater who *praesidet euripo*¹²⁷⁵ with the same lion, flowing jar, and mural crown, marking her as *urbium conditrix*, as distinguished the Queen of Heaven and “Hilferin bei Dürre”¹²⁷⁶ in so many other places.¹²⁷⁷ Augustine has described her principal rite as a parade of *meretrices*, which was made as obscene as possible and yet performed with the greatest religious devotion and piety.¹²⁷⁸ This goddess was naturally perfectly suited to be the successor to the Roman Mother Goddess in the local year-rites. A genuinely native predecessor may be detected at Rome not in Venus Victrix nor necessarily in Murcia, but in Flora, Anna, Acca Larentia and especially Fortuna.

Fortuna Obsequens is the same as that Venus Obsequens who had her temple in the Circus.¹²⁷⁹ The Venus Victrix of Sulla and Caesar [205] has her nearest proto-type not as Keune would have it in Aphrodite,¹²⁸⁰ but in the venerable Fortuna Primigenia. She was “Matur und Schicksalsgottin von allgemeiner Bedeutung, welche für die Mutter des Jupiter und Juno galt,”¹²⁸¹ which is to say, the Mother Goddess. Her appearance as daughter of Jupiter – “Primigenia,” whose shrine stood by his¹²⁸² – and as mother of the same, as also of Juno, strongly suggests the “year-triangle”, the idea of birth and succession, in which divination plays an all-important part. Her divination in fact does have special reference to combat and victory and to the year. Fortuna as giver of the victory appears in the vow of the Consul P. Sempronius Tuditanus at the beginning of a battle in 204 B. C., which promised a temple to the goddess for

a success.¹²⁸³ Just how the goddess gave victory is seen in the case of another Consul, who during the first Punic War was prevented by the Senate from visiting her lot-and-dice oracle¹²⁸⁴ – one of the oldest shrines in Italy, incidentally, and in the time of Cicero frequented only by the common people.¹²⁸⁵ Why did the Senate interfere? The indication is that the visit to this oracle was a kingly tradition. Apart from the non-Patrician tradition revealed in the popularity of the oracle with the lowest [206] classes, it is specifically Consuls, Kings and Emperors who resort to this lady to determine the issues of war. King Prusias fulfilled his battle vows for the Romans on the Capitol and at the shrine of Fortuna in Praeneste.¹²⁸⁶ The victorious Sulla, whose well-known Venus was clothed with the trappings of Tyche-Fortuna,¹²⁸⁷ splendidly restored the Fortuna temple at Praeneste.¹²⁸⁸ At the beginning of every year Domitian would visit the goddess to receive the fortunes of the year.¹²⁸⁹ An inscription calls the goddess *Fortuna Praenestina Augustorum nostrorum*.¹²⁹⁰ The intimate relationship of the Emperors to Fortuna suggests more than a mere abstraction of fate in the traditional view of that deity, particularly in the case of the *Fortuna Regia, quae comitari principes et in cubiculis poni solebat*.¹²⁹¹ Galba held a monthly *supplicatio* and an annual *pervigilium* for her,¹²⁹² the personal Fortuna being a deity of considerable importance to the Emperors in general.¹²⁹³ All but Tiberius, who tried actually to put an end to the goddess at Praeneste:¹²⁹⁴ again we see the indication of the kingly tradition, to which Tiberius was of [207] all the Emperors least hospitable.¹²⁹⁵

But before all else Fortuna Primigenia is shown to be the goddess of the pre-historic year-rites in the position of her shrine as a federal meeting-place of the Latins. Before all things the year-festival was a great general gathering. Kings, then Consuls, and then Emperors consulted this goddess before marching out to the lands beyond for the yearly campaign, and for victory they returned in triumph to fill their vows at the same place. Just so vows were taken and fulfilled on the Capitol.¹²⁹⁶ The goddess was the beginning and the end of the triumphal procession. It was her oracle that promised the victory. The Venus who supplanted Fortuna¹²⁹⁷ also supplanted a goddess of the games, or joined her, both as the giver of victory and as the bride to be won: *Obsequens* expresses her attitude. The Greek year-combats, as we have observed, are regularly won through the instrumentality of the maiden or queen who is in love with the victor: such is the story of the first races at Olympia, where the Mother Goddess presided, like the “Natur und Shicksalsgöttin” at Praeneste, over an oracle of lots and dice.¹²⁹⁸ The temptation to demonstrate the existence of an identical set-up at all the places where the year-cult has been mentioned has been very strong, for the plot is a very conspicuous one and has been treated at great length by such writers as A. B. Cook, Ludwig Laistner, Frazer, etc., and is [208] furthermore illuminated by legends of great age and rich detail. But the existence of this material is not a matter of dispute; the only problem is to expose the elements of the plot in the sphere, to do which we have noted 1) that the *triumphator* was surrounded by insignia and shouts which gave his parade a definitely sexy atmosphere such as apotropaic interpretations will not fully explain; 2) that there was a year-goddess with year-rites of her own, including a general unlimited congregation¹²⁹⁹ engaged in wantonness and drinking,

distributions,¹³⁰⁰ and contests, especially a “beauty contest”, the auctioning and stealing of brides being a regular marriage procedure, but closely associated in legend with the games; 3) that the festivals of the goddess correspond in time and place to the regular games and to the celebration of the triumph which was inseparable from them; 4) that the year-goddess is the giver-of-victory, who in other year-dramas is as a rule the bride herself. Hence we conclude that the loud and ribald triumphal procession with its Bacchanalian cries was also a marriage procession.¹³⁰¹

[209] [Based on the text, I don't believe a page is missing, but Nibley numbers the next chapter with Page Number 210 leading one to wonder if he had a few more final sentences to sum up Chapter VI. Neither the microfilm nor the print PDF version indicate a missing Page 209 and the additional hand written numbers that start with Chapter V in PDF do not skip a page number.]

[210] Chapter VII

The Place of the Year-Festival

The oldest and once the only Icelandic Thing-stead was the place of the All-thing by the river Oxara where it ran into the sea. The popular and ancient¹³⁰² tradition of its founding recounts that the King of Norway gave a silver axe to an Iclander so that the latter could slay the Giantess Jora who, once the axe was buried in her body, threw herself into the river. The Iclander was instructed to name the river after her and to found the great Thingstead on its banks.¹³⁰³ A sacred spring hard by the Dom-ring was a fixture of nearly every Thing-stead,¹³⁰⁴ and the most famous spring in the North was at the most renowned of cult centers, Upsala. There in the temple-precinct was a mighty tree from the foot of which flowed a spring with a large enough basin to receive human sacrifice.¹³⁰⁵ Into this fountain at the festival a man was thrown, bearing with him good wishes for the year; if he drowned without ado the people rejoiced in the good omen.¹³⁰⁶ The fountains at the other Northern shrines were put to the same use,¹³⁰⁷ receiving sacrifices and offerings of all sorts.

[211] The great federal festival of eight German tribes was the taking of Nerthus for her yearly bath, after which her servants were drowned.¹³⁰⁸ Her sacred car was inherited by Frau Holde, who rides about at New Year's pronouncing the blessing "so manches Haar, so manches gute (or böse) Jahr."¹³⁰⁹ She is thus the year-goddess as well as a water and fertility deity.¹³¹⁰ When Death loses the year-combat among the Germans he is dumped into the stream.¹³¹¹ It is at the Winter¹³¹² and Summer¹³¹³ solstices that the holy waters of the Germans have particular power and it is then that they are visited for their healing and prophetic offices.¹³¹⁴ The year-rite is a gathering [212] by the waters of life and death,¹³¹⁵ the flowing waters worshipped at their source, upon which (rather than upon rain, even in this part of the world) the prosperity of the year depends.¹³¹⁶

The main ritual of the people who assembled at the lake which became St. Hilary's in Gaul consisted of fasting and of throwing food, clothing and other offering into the waters of the lake. The last day of the feast was expected to be followed by a cloudburst.¹³¹⁷ Lyons, headquarters of the game-god Lug and meeting-place for all Gaul, was the city ἐπὶ τῇ συμβολῇ τῶν ποταμῶν.¹³¹⁸ Celtic and Germanic cult practices overlap on the Rhine, into whose waters every child had to be plunged in order to be born:¹³¹⁹ the life-cycle must begin and end at the water. This is clearly seen at the British shrine of Biffrons, where the King was buried under the river and at which spot the year was formerly initiated.¹³²⁰ Lug's festival in Ireland took place properly at Tailtu, at the spot where the divine ancestor King Dagna held forth in his tumulus with his queen [213] Boand, the water-goddess who brought forth the river Boyne.¹³²¹ From the hero-graves of Ireland gushed springs of water,¹³²² and it was one of these, the "Aquarum Rex", whom St. Patrick showed to be a false legend when he removed the *petra quadrata in ora fontis* and showed the people gathered at the great assembly from all the land,

that there were no bones in the water under the rock,¹³²³ though he did find a large hoard of gold and silver offerings which had been thrown into the spring.¹³²⁴ It was to St. Patrick's Purgatory that the pilgrims resorted in greatest numbers in the Middle Ages, that being an island in a lake and the entrance to the nether world.¹³²⁵ The year-assemblies both of Wales¹³²⁶ and of [214] Scotland¹³²⁷ took place beside the water which played a definite part in the ritual of the event. The Mother-Goddess plays the same role in the water cult of the Celts as among the Germans: she is water-goddess and year-goddess.¹³²⁸ When everyone in Ireland brought his first-fruits to the Fomarians at the feast of Samhain, when life ends and death begins, it had to be to the Island of Tory, which was the Isle of the beyond,¹³²⁹ intercourse between the people of the island and mortals being a feature of every year-festival.¹³³⁰

[215] The cult of fountains and grove was of foremost importance to the Slavs.¹³³¹ Lest it be thought that the presence of water at the places of the year-gatherings, though essential to such gatherings, was not fundamental to the cult itself, it should be noted that fountains in general are sacred in all the cases mentioned,¹³³² and that when sacrifices and divinations of particular importance take place at holy waters at the turn of the year it is because the waters themselves are of primary importance. Rethr, the *sedes ydolatriae* of the Retharii, was *undique lacu profundo inclusa*.¹³³³ The festival of the year¹³³⁴ and *pro pestilentia*¹³³⁵ were the main occasions for universal gatherings at the fountains, the motives combining in the throwing of death into the river.¹³³⁶ The goddess figured conspicuously in the fountain-cult.¹³³⁷

[216] Among the Semites "the fountain or stream was not a mere adjunct of the temple, but was itself one of the principal *sacra* of the spot, to which ... the temple in many cases owed its celebrity and even its name."¹³³⁸ Springs were sacred in their own right from the earliest times,¹³³⁹ but it is significant that "sacred springs in the full sense of the word were generally found, not at the ordinary local sanctuaries, but at remote pilgrimage shrines like Aphaca, Beersheba, Mamre."¹³⁴⁰ The places named are quite specifically devoted to the year-cult. Mamre, Abraham's oak, we have already mentioned as presenting as perfect an example of the cult as one could wish for.¹³⁴¹ There "no one draws water at the time of the festival, for according to the custom of the heathen, some place lights at the well, others pour wine on the surface or toss in cakes or coins ..." ¹³⁴² Aphaca as the source of the Adonis River was the scene of one of the best-known of all year-cults.¹³⁴³ In its time Beersheba was the one place to [217] which every man in the south had to resort for "the yearly sacrifice and his vow".¹³⁴⁴ Wellhausen has noted its exact resemblance to Mamre in other respects.¹³⁴⁵ Jerusalem later became the place for the New Year's celebration,¹³⁴⁶ and was likewise essentially a water-shrine.¹³⁴⁷ So were Shiloh,¹³⁴⁸ Hierapolis,¹³⁴⁹ Mecca,¹³⁵⁰ and the place of the Ras Sham [218] drama.¹³⁵¹ A well, a tree, a tumulus and a circle of stones are what mark the Semitic "High Place" the scene of the cult-gathering from the Stone Age.¹³⁵²

An important part of the Babylonian New Year's rite was the procession of the god by boat and wagon; it took place in Sumer as well as at Babylon and has suggested the wagon-ships or "floats" of the carnival in Egypt,¹³⁵³ the Classical world¹³⁵⁴ and the North.¹³⁵⁵ Be that

as it may, the Babylonian life-cycle festival had to be celebrated by the water. A plain reference to the pilgrimage is the tablet which states, "If he go to Namma, and swim the divine river, he will exercise power, his days will be long."¹³⁵⁶ The gift of the Mother-goddess [219] is long life,¹³⁵⁷ as well as life itself, which she brings forth at New Year's with the inundation of the land.¹³⁵⁸ The center of the land in Babylonia as in Jerusalem was the temple; "the native temple-centered realism of Babylon" conceived of the gathering-place of the pilgrims as the center of the earth and as marked among other things necessarily by "the gate of the *apsu* or mouth of the *tehom* or entrance to the underworld."¹³⁵⁹ This was the cosmic river-head: the world is created "with the foundation of Eridu on the *abzu* or primeval fresh-water in the midst of the sea" where stands the temple.¹³⁶⁰ Surely this is [220] more than an after-thought inspired by the fact that the annual celebration of the creation of the world happened to take place near water.

The Sumerian New Year's celebration is the Ásvamedha in India.¹³⁶¹ It had to take place by the water, both for the bathing, the best-known feature of Indian pilgrimages,¹³⁶² and for the ritual, for the sacred horse "est ne des eaux",¹³⁶³ wages the combat with Vrtra at the pond,¹³⁶⁴ is elaborately drenched at the fountain,¹³⁶⁵ goes down into the water drawing the sacred chariot immediately before his sacrifice,¹³⁶⁶ and ultimately triumphs bringing the waters of inundation.¹³⁶⁷ Likewise the prosperity of the Persian kingdom was secured by the Vrtra combat,¹³⁶⁸ taking place at the heavenly rain-pond from which despite its name the waters of the underworld are supplied,¹³⁶⁹ and for which [221] the goddess, she of the chariot, is ultimately responsible.¹³⁷⁰

For the place of water in the year-rites of the Africans no clearer demonstration could be asked than that given by Frobenius, whose conclusions may be summed up in his own words, describing the "Dsivoa" at the place of the great assembly. The Dsivoa is "das Wasser der Herkunft. Aus dem Dsivoa stammt alle Kenntniss der Technik, die Wissenschaft ... das Ritual des Königsmordes. Er ist der Quell des Regens und nun auch noch das Urland der Ersten Könige - der *ersten* Dynastie."¹³⁷¹ Whether or not one accepts Frobenius' projection of the rites and legends of the Dsivoa into the year-cult of the Egyptian kings,¹³⁷² it cannot be denied that the river was a fundamental element in the Egyptian festivals.¹³⁷³ It could not well be otherwise in Egypt, and yet the Egyptian cult presents more than casual resemblances to others. The New Year's procession of Osiris is by boat *and* wagon,¹³⁷⁴ the place of assembly is marked by a deep lake – bottomless in fact -¹³⁷⁵ and the principal shrine of the [222] land in the XII Dynasty centered at the entrance to the underworld, and it was there that the "first sunrise", the coronation and marriage of the king and all the other rites of "creation" took place.¹³⁷⁶ Moreover the Apis bull, the complete exemplification of the world cycle, either in the rising and falling of the Nile or in heavenly motions,¹³⁷⁷ was watered not at the Nile but at a sacred fount,¹³⁷⁸ and was likewise slain at the end of a certain period by being plunged into such a fountain.¹³⁷⁹ One cannot avoid the conclusion that more than the accidental presence of the Nile gave point to the presence of water at the places of pilgrimage.

Of the innumerable fountain shrines of Greece which Pausanias has described it will be necessary to refer to but three. Delphi, which never fails to reveal prominently each feature of the year festival, is not lacking in holy waters, waters in fact which have a direct bearing on the purpose of the gathering. Washing in and drinking of the sacred springs at Delphi was essential to the prophetic offices of the Pythian.¹³⁸⁰ There was the Omphalos, the center of the Earth and its link to the underworld.¹³⁸¹

[223] The prophetic powers attributed to the Alpheus in Pindar,¹³⁸² and its association with the “stream of Castalia”¹³⁸³ leave no doubt that that river was holy in its own right. The poet tells us that the banquet held beside the water was the means by which *πμάσαις πο τον Αλφεῶν*.¹³⁸⁴ The original attraction to Olympia was not the games, but the oracle of the Earth Goddess, the Mother of Truth,¹³⁸⁵ at her fountain shrine.¹³⁸⁶ The opening words of the Olympian odes declare the primacy of water to all things: *Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ*.¹³⁸⁷ All the games were held by water, a fact which purely practical considerations would explain fully were it not that the water in question was oracular water from primitive times.¹³⁸⁸ It is likewise perfectly natural that where year-rites and water are associated legends should arise in recognition of the fact. But that does not excuse even the most conservative investigator from a consideration of the stories of Ino, Hippolytus, Perseus, etc. It is beyond the scope of the present writer to examine these year-dramas, in which horses, water, combat, and the rest recur with great regularity; all that is to be noted in the present instance is that the year-rite was held in Greece and elsewhere at places of water.

[224] The Lucanian fair described by Cassiodorus was “according to the old superstition named Leucothea (after the nymph), from the extreme purity of the fountain at which it is held. ... The place itself ... has received the name of Marcilianum from the founder of these sacred springs. And this is in truth a marvelous fountain, full and fresh. ... Choice fishes swim about in the pool, perfectly tame, because if anyone presumes to capture them he soon feels the Divine vengeance.”¹³⁸⁹ On the morning which precedes the holy night (of St. Cyprian) ... the water begins to rise;” it rises two steps above the normal height, “a stupendous miracle. ... Thus hath Lucania a Jordan of her own”, etc.¹³⁹⁰

There is an odd coincidence in the date of the festival at Lucania’s lake with the games of Mars and Neptune in Rome, and in the culmination of the event in the rising of the water with the festival of Venus Genetrix.¹³⁹¹ The last-named deity was successor to Venus Victrix, who herself was a variation on an original theme in which Venus appears as goddess of the “Reiz und die Blüte in der Natur,”¹³⁹² as a true native Italic goddess.¹³⁹³ It was at her shrine in Lavinium that all the Latins gathered.¹³⁹⁴ But for the year-rite by the water the most significant [225] appearance is at lake Cutilia, where the goddess again appears as Victory, which is more than a hint that the Roman Venus Victrix, however late her cult, may well have had old Italic connections.¹³⁹⁵ The shrine of the Sabine Victoria was on a floating island in lake Cutilia, which was thought to be the exact center of Italy and the seat of its first inhabitants.¹³⁹⁶ It was the scene of the first great year-celebration, according to Macreobius, who recounts that the

Pelasgians were advised to settle there by the oracle of Dodona as well as by the Delian Apollo, the latter instructing them to construct *Diti sadellum et Saturno aram* and to offer a tithe of their booty. This they did, and *festum Saturnalia nominarunt*.¹³⁹⁷

The Sabine Victory was identical with Vicuna, the “mutterliche Gottin der Flur, welche wie Venus aus dem *Feuchten* schuf,” but for all that was also a Victoria.¹³⁹⁸ At her shrine near Reate the Sabines gathered for their national sacrificial feast.¹³⁹⁹ It was a very damp place, where the river Avens ran into lake Velinus.¹⁴⁰⁰ these three old Italic meeting-places give more than a slight indication of the importance of water as a characteristic feature of the place of the year-gathering. The island in lake Cutilia could only be trodden once a year. The waters of the lake were of immense depth.¹⁴⁰¹ “We vene [226] rate with awe rivers bursting from the earth, vast cavities and very deep lakes.”¹⁴⁰² Are we to assume or may we for a moment suppose that the very deep lake which was the center and gathering place of all the land and the scene of the first year-rites received its sanctity from the fact that it happened to be at the scene of the festival? Or that what led to its choice as the meeting-place were practical considerations, since it later became a famous bathing-place?¹⁴⁰³ Anciently only those authorized to perform the sacrifices on the island were allowed to approach the water, and they only once a year.¹⁴⁰⁴

When the Romans assembled for year-rites they too met beside the water. The founding-celebration of the Lupercalia centered at the water-shrines¹⁴⁰⁵ of the ancestor-king Faunus,¹⁴⁰⁶ who as “Repräsentant des [227] Gaues”, as “Landeskönig und als Stifter religiöser Satzungen”, represents the *public* cult of the “vorstädtlichen und vorstaatlichen Kultur”.¹⁴⁰⁷ In view of De-Marchi’s principle that drought and plague were the forces which produced general cooperation in the pastoral society,¹⁴⁰⁸ it is not surprising that the principal objects of the Lupercalia besides the begetting of the race was the expulsion of pestilence and accompanying evils.¹⁴⁰⁹

When the Plebs went forth and built their booths for Anna Perenna it was beside the water.¹⁴¹⁰ The year-goddess is a water-goddess,¹⁴¹¹ and nowhere more plainly so than in the Circus, where in the form of Cybele¹⁴¹² she *praesidet Euripo*.¹⁴¹³ The Euripus itself is more than a vague indication that the games were purposely held by the water. [228] The Eurpius was a stream of water which flowed around the center or down the side-lines of the Roman and other circuses.¹⁴¹⁴ It was fed by the fons Camenarum, the original and principal sacred fountain of Rome.¹⁴¹⁵ The Campus was the place where the sacred Petronia Amnis joined [229] the Tiber.¹⁴¹⁶ It was often flooded,¹⁴¹⁷ and “contained several swamps or ponds, as well as streams, the largest of which, the Petronia Amnis ... flowed from the Cati fons into the largest swamp, the palus Caprae or Capreae.”¹⁴¹⁸ It lay right along the Tiber and was called the “Campus Tiberinus” as well as the “Martinus”.¹⁴¹⁹ It was in this very damp place that the Romans held their first horse-races at the time of the general assembly, which was also the time for going out to war as for triumphal return.¹⁴²⁰ The question arises as in other cases of meeting at water: did the water happen to be incidental to the place, or did the people assemble there “because there was much water there?”¹⁴²¹

The *Acta ludorum saecularium* states that the rites took place *ad Tiberim* and in *Campo*,¹⁴²² the Sibylline prescription is: ῥέζειν ἐν πεδίῳ παρὰ θυμβριδος ἄπλετον ὕδωρ, ὅπη στεινότατον.¹⁴²³ Whether the narrowness in question refers to the river or the Campus is a disputed question,¹⁴²⁴ but it is certain that Campus Martius and Tiber meet at the place, and that at the place where the horses raced, as Zosimus explains: ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀρείου πεδίου καθ' ὃ καὶ [230] ἀνεῖται τοπὸς εἰς γυμνάσιον ἵππων¹⁴²⁵ that being the place of the Tarentum.¹⁴²⁶ What the word means is a matter of doubt and to the present study of complete indifference. Whether or not one accepts Weinstock's identification of the Tarentum with the Ara Consi,¹⁴²⁷ it is certain that its situation right on the river was of significance in the celebration of the *ludi Saeculares*.¹⁴²⁸ Likewise, whether or not one chooses to regard the Ara Consi as a *mundus*, and entrance to the lower world,¹⁴²⁹ the Campus presents a water-entrance to the upper world in the Caprae Palus, where Romulus, the first king and founder ascended to heaven.¹⁴³⁰ Apart from the Campus was the Lacus Curtius into which the Romans of old would throw their first-fruits offerings,¹⁴³¹ a true *mundus*, as was the grave of Romulus in the Comitium.¹⁴³² The picture of all the people coming to one spot once a year to throw things (ordinarily fruits, etc., later coins)¹⁴³³ into a particular water¹⁴³⁴ is not, we trust the reader will acknowledge, with [231] out parallel. [Note that a second Page 230 is inserted between Page 230 and 231. It is entirely taken up with the end of Footnote 4 and Footnotes 5-8.]

The close association of the Fontinalia¹⁴³⁵ and the Volcanalia¹⁴³⁶ with the original games is an argument for deliberate choosing of a watery place for the event. Both Fons¹⁴³⁷ and Vulcan¹⁴³⁸ are very old gods, the latter being intimately connected with the Tiber.¹⁴³⁹ Their companions Flora¹⁴⁴⁰ and Maia¹⁴⁴¹ are indigitations of the Mother-Goddess whose contribution to the prosperity of the land is evident from their names. "Wie die Quellen, so haben auch die Flüsse überall in Italien uralten Kult,"¹⁴⁴² and there is no reason for viewing this element of the year-festival as secondary. If anything, it is the horse-races which are [232] a later development, they being subject to continual changes and variations, such as the water-rites were not.¹⁴⁴³ Possibly identical¹⁴⁴⁴ with the temple of Juturna, a goddess intimately connected with the triumph and the games,¹⁴⁴⁵ wife of the year-king Janus and mother of Fons,¹⁴⁴⁶ is that of the Nymphs, *in Campo*.¹⁴⁴⁷ these were appealed to, Wissowa suggests, at the Volcanalia, when according to Cicero the Romans observed the cult of certain unnamed goddesses who *incendiis subvenitur*.¹⁴⁴⁸

[233] Further evidence that water is fundamental to the games may be found in the aqueous nature of Neptune and the ancestor Picus,¹⁴⁴⁹ both gods of the Circus. Mars himself, so intimately bound to Consus,¹⁴⁵⁰ was an old Italic stream-god,¹⁴⁵¹ and there is no need for supposing that the year-kings Janus and Faunus acquired their watery natures through association with the water which happened to be flowing at the places of the festival. Moreover it is impossible to deny that a very ancient tradition looked upon the horses themselves as water-creatures.¹⁴⁵² Whatever the source of the concept it gives a more than casual association of water and year-rites, notably in the case of the October-horse.¹⁴⁵³

[234] Summary and Conclusion

[Nibley did not put a header on the summary page. The title is taken from his table of contents.]

The preceding paper may be briefly and easily summarized.

The Romans celebrated a festival marking the life-cycle of the race. A dozen other races in distant regions did the same. They assembled at a particular place by the water side and held a great fair, with markets, feasting and booths. Wherever booths are found as ritual survivals they are a fixture of the year-festival. The sacrificial meal was a feast of abundance supplied by the King, who was ancestor and god, and was distributed in certain forms which show that it was the gift of prosperity and abundance for the year. The cult of hospitality characterized the yearly gatherings where equality and sharing were the rule, and for such a tradition Rome offers plain independent evidence. All the regions noted engaged in ritual combats at the New Year, and so did the Romans. The theme of the combat elsewhere is a contest with the underworld or the powers of destruction, taking everywhere the form of heat or drought. This gives one a hint of what to look for at Rome. It was not possible to examine the contest itself, the degrading of the King, as at the Saturnalia, or his possible sacrifice as preserved in the October-horse, but it was found that an adequate indication of the issue in the Roman year-combat was offered by the nature of the triumph: the triumphator was one in close contact with the underworld. The key to the ritual nature of the triumph was found in the marriage motif: the year-king in other places marries the goddess immediately after his victory, and at Rome there is evidence for such a marriage. Since drought is so often the adversary, the fact that the year-rite takes place by if not in the water is no doubt of significance. The symbol of the water is no concern of the [235] present investigation, which contents itself with pointing out that certain things happened at a certain kind of festival in certain places, and that in all probability Rome was one of those places.

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Endnotes

1. i-1 Thus Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I: 42ff; 11 1: 3ff
2. i-2 [Missing reference to Wissowa]
3. i-3 Below (Deubner), p. 10
4. i-4 W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, p. 243
5. ii-1 L. Deubner, in *Neue Jahrb.*, XXVII (1911), 322
6. ii-2 So A. Rosenberg, in *RE*, 9:1, of Frazer, whom he finds "auf methodischen Gründen ... undiskutabel", by means of reassuring the reader that his own reconstruction of the Roman regifugium on the basis of a single Greek parallel is perfectly sound, because that is a classical parallel!
7. 1-1 *Acta Ludorum Saecularium*, 11.52ff, in Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin 1913), VIII: 572, cf. 578ff
8. 1-2 *The Odyssey*, I, 15
9. 1-3 The root dor in W. Gesenius, *Heb. and Eng. Lexicon* (Boston, 1906), p. 189, is rendered "period, generation, dwelling" (i.e. from the round shape of the primitive house): dar, "age, generation"; cf. Ar. daur, "Gyrus, orbis, period." Equally specific in Arab. ḥwl, for which Eduard William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, William & Norgate, 1863) Book I, pt. 2, pp. 675-7 gives "Changed, turned away, not straight, 'you say ḥala 'ḥawl,' said of the year: it passed, or it revolved and passed; or it becomes complete ... The revolution of the Sun in its places of rising and setting; ... the end of the past and the beginning of the future ... ḥawl, a year; adv. ḥawla, "around, about." ... turning, transmission, revolution, etc."
10. 1-4 *Thesaurus Linguae Lat.*, II, col 115, art. "Annus"
11. 1-5 Paul Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 308, and id., *Altdeutsche Kultgebräuche* (Jena: Diederich, 1928), p. 42. In Ulfilas the one "blosser Zeitbegriff" is hvella. OHG huilla and is used to render ὥρο, χρόνος and καιρός. It is cognate with MHG wîle and AS hvil (hvel and hveol, "der sich drehende"), whence Eng. "while", cf. Ar. ḥwl, etc. (!), J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (Gottingen, 1835), (II), pp.750-751; 664-665.
12. 2-1 Otto Huth, *Janus* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1932), 94.
13. 2-2 Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, no. 19: καθόλου μὲν γὰρ οὐδέί ἐστι φύσει τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ περιφερομένων. οὐτ' ἔσχατων, οὐτ' πρίατων μόμῳ δάλλην ἄλλαι τοῦ χρόνον λαμβάνουσιν ὑρλήν. ἄριστα δὲ σί τὴν μετὰ προπὸς χειμερινὸς λαμβάνοντες.
14. 2-3 Idem, no. 34
15. 2-4 Idem, no. 97
16. 2-5 Alfred von Domaszewski, "Die Festcyclen des römischen Kalenders", *ARW*, X (1910), 343, where he is reminded of Pythagorean cycles of rebirth.
17. 2-6 Idem, 333; thus all the rites of October "weisen auf die Wiedergeburt des Mars im nächsten Jahre hin" (id.p.342) that is in March, to which birth "die Vorfeier ...

sind die Equirria des 27. Februars" (id. p. 338). So events in October, December (Plutarch), March and February are all episodes of the same main event: the celebration of a *birth*.

18. 3-1 G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer (Muenchen, 1912), 130.
19. 3-2 S. Eitrem, Beitrage zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte (Kristiania: Dybwad, 1917), III: 19.
20. 3-3 Idem, p. 20.
21. 3-4 Wissowa, op.cit., p.162.
22. 3-5 Domaszewski, op.cit., pp.334-335, not only do they parallel each other separately, but they are accompanied by parallel festivals.
23. 3-6 Idem, pp.336-343, wherein every case cited refers to a beginning, opening, rising.
24. 3-7 F. Diehls, "Das saeculum, seine Riten und Gebete", Rhein. Mus., v. 81 (1934), 256.
25. 3-8 Diehls, ibid.
26. 3-9 A. Piganiol, Recherches sur les Jeux Romains (Strasbourg: Istra, 1923) p.148.
27. 4-1 Piganiol, op. cit., pp. 145-146 (I have joined the scattered headings in a single sentence.)
28. 4-2 Idem, p. 145.
29. 4-3 Diehls, op. cit., pp. 262-3.
30. 4-4 Zos. II, 5, 1: Suetonius, Claudius, c. 21; Acta, in Mommsen, Ges. Schr., VIII:572.
31. 4-5 G. Wissowa, in RE II, 1485.
32. 4-6 Idem, II, 1472-3.
33. 5-1 Wissowa, in RE, II, 1472-3.
34. 5-2 Idem, II, 1485. They held a yearly sacrifice in sacra via ante domum Domitianum ... ob memoriam aius patris, according to Guil. Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium (Berlin, 1874), p. 59.
35. 5-3 Satt. Silvae I, vi.
36. 5-4 F. Ritschl, Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz (Leipzig, 1854), I: 309-311.
37. 5-5 L. Friedlander, in J. Marquardt & T. Mommsen, Handbuch der Römischen Altertümer (Lepizig, 1885), VI: 484-5.
38. 5-6 Thus the Salii performed their processions and dances every day, from the Ides of March to the 22nd, Rene Cirilli, Les Preteres Danseurs de Rome (Paris, 1913), p. 129. The event was a New Year's celebration, id. P. 126.
39. 5-7 They repeated in May, October and January. id. P. 124; cf. L. Delatte, "Yates Mobiles." Antiquite Classique, XVII:199 opposes this interpretation.
40. 6-1 Lactantius, de vero cultu. VI, 20: "Venationes quae vocantur munera Saturno attributae sunt, ludi scenici Libero, Circenses Neptuno ..." Salvian, de gub. Dei, VI, 11: "Veneratur honoraturque Minerva in gymnasic, Venus in theatro, Neptunus in Circo."

41. 6-2 A. Piganiol, "Consus, Dieu du Cirque", *Rev. d'Hist. et Litt. Relig.*, VI (1920), 335ff, which is Chap. I in his *Jeux Romains*, pp. 1-14.
42. 6-3 Festus (ed. Lindsay), p. 71: Equirria ludi, quos Romulus Marti instituit per equorum cursum, qui in Campo Martio exercebantur.
43. 6-4 Consus est deus condendi, T. Mommsen, in *CIL I*, 400; Dionysius Halicarnassus, [Loeb Greek #87 V. 1] II, 31, Plutarch, *Romulus*, 14.3. Tertullian, *de Spect.* C.5, calls Consus Consilio potens, and Pedianus, *Orat. ii in C. Verrem* (ed. F. Asulanus, 1522, p. 21) says the games are called consuales, quod consiliorum secretorum deo dato.
44. 6-5 F. Altheim, "Altitalische und altromische Gottesvorstellung", *Klio*, XXX (1937, N.F. Bd. XII, Heft 1), pp. 47 ff.
45. 6-6 Mommsen, loc. Cit.: ... d—s condendi, i.e., messi, horreorumque ...
46. 6-7 Altheim, op. cit., p. 50.
47. 6-8 Idem, p. 50. The conclusion is that Consus is an "Abstraktum" signifying burial in general, of which anything may be the object (p. 49).
48. 7-1 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, [Loeb Greek #87 V. 1] II, 31, says that the proper translation of Consus is Ποσειδῶνα Σεισίχθονα. This identification has been treated by A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1878), IV: 472; G. Wissowa, *Abhandlung*, p. 160, n. 1; J. B. Bury, "Achilleus and Erechtheus", in *Class. Rev.*, XIII (1899), 308; Grace Macurdy, "The Horse-taming Trojans", *Class. Quart.*, XVII (1923), 51. S. Weinstock, in *RE XVI*, 2. 2523-4, maintains that Consus is always and only Neptune equester.
49. 7-2 Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, c. 5; Servius, *Aen.* VIII, 636. A philological explanation of the identification, based on the name Mamurius occurring in the *Carmen Saliare*, is that "the Salien songs gave rise to the legend of Mamurius, and this in turn gave a new name to the second Equirria or feriae Marti." W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals* (London, 1899), pp. 44-46.
50. 7-3 F. Altheim, in *Klio*, XXX (1937), 50. These are the two oldest Roman gods (pp. 47-48)
51. 7-4 O. Huth, *Janus*, p. 94; Roscher, in *Lex.*, II, 43ff; Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, 152ff.
52. 7-5 Carl Hentze, *Myths et Symboles Lunaires* (Anvers: "de Sikkel", 1932), p. 59.
53. 7-6 Huth, op. cit., pp. 28; 36, the commonest combination is the bearded-unbearded.
54. 7-7 i.e. the depths of the Mother-Earth, Roschaer, *Reallerikon*, II, 30; Huth, *Janus*, pp. 22-23. Cf. W. Köhler, in *ARW.* VIII (1904), 225ff.
55. 7-8 Huth, op. cit., p. 23, cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 99; Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 97.
56. 8-1 Wissowa, *Religion*, p. 104. He had a separate altar for each month.
57. 8-2 Idem, p. 109.
58. 8-3 Idem, p. 103.
59. 8-4 Huth, *Janus*, p. 93.

60. 8-5 V. Domeszewski, in ARW X (1907), 337; he accepts Usener's derivation of the name from a root for "light". This much-disputed etymology: Janus = Dianus, "the shining one" refers quite as plainly as the Janus = "Gehn" interpretation (i.e. motion, life, beginning) to a revolution of time: the solar year.
61. 8-6 Pfister, Reliquienkultus im Altertum (Giessen, 1909-1912, being vol. V of RgVV), 593ff. His special priest was the Rex sacrorum (Wissowa, op. cit., p. 103).
62. 8-7 Ad. Schmidt, "Die Schlüssel des Petrus", ARW VII (1905), 224-5. This authority finds that the staff of Kronos is simply "der alte Janus-stab", a claim born out by the fact that Saturn shared the throne of Janus. Janus was "uralt" (p. 224), and by the activities of his priest "we are carried to the very beginnings of Rome," according to Fowler, Rom. Fest., pp. 282 ff. Certainly his antiquity is not to be doubted (Wissowa, Relig., p. 103).
63. 9-1 J. S. Speyer, "Le Dieu Romain Janus", RHR, XXVI (1892), 33-34.
64. 9-2 Idem, p. 47.
65. 9-3 Fowler, Rom. Fest., p. 282.
66. 9-4 Roscher, Lex., III, p. 282.
67. 9-5 L. Preller, Römische Mythologie (Berlin, 1865), pp. 57; 150.
68. 9-6 E. Diehls, in Rh. Mus., v. 83 (1934), 271-2.
69. 9-7 It was because he wished to celebrate the idea of birth rather than the underworld rites of the dead, according to Diehls (op. cit. pp. 258; 260-270), that Augustus turned to the saeculum of the elder Sibyl, the Greek one, in preference to the older one.
70. 9-8 As described by Prof. Conway, Ancient Italy and Modern Religion (Cambridge: Univ., 1935), pp. 59 - 74. Piganiol (Jeux Romains, p.8) cites Livy, I, 35, as proving Etruscan modification of the Roman games.
71. 9-9 Diehls, op. cit., p 258. It was a "'Kühnfest ... unbestimmter Dauer."
72. 10-1 G. Wissowa, "De feriis anni Romanorum vetustissimi", in Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur röm. Relig. – u. Stadtgesch., (München, 1904), pp. 154-174.
73. 10-2 Idem, cf. Eitrem, Beitr., II, 19ff.
74. 10-3 Id., cf. L. Deubner, "Zur Entwicklungsgesch., der altröm. Religion", Neue Jarhb., XXVII (1911), 325ff, it is in the primitive magical type of festival that the series and repetitions are the rule. cf. all cases cited.
75. 10-4 Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 126.
76. 10-5 Ibid., p. 159.
77. 10-6 Ib., p. 241.
78. 10-7 Deubner, op. cit., pp. 327-8.
79. 10-8 Ib., p. 328.
80. 10-9 Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 451.

81. 11-2 [Note that Nibley's footnotes for this page are numbered 2, 1, 1, 2, 3 in that order and three sources are cited at the bottom of the page. His order is followed here.] E. Przybyllok, "Unser Kalender in Vergangenheit und Zukunft", *Morgenland*, Heft 22 (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1930), pp. 7 ff.
82. 11-1 Heinr. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbunde* (Berlin, 1902), p. 84. The question of whether the individual belonged more to his age-group, his saeculum, or to his ancestors (family) is as old as the human race. (Idem., p. 82).
83. 11-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
84. 11-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
85. 11-3 L. Frobenius, *Erythräa, Länder und Zeiten des heiligen Königsmordes* (Berlin: Atlantis, 1931), 225; 228; 321ff, etc.
86. 12-1 Piganiol, *Jeux Romains*, p. 144: "... il est bien probable que la vogue exceptionnelle des jeux du cirque en Espagne ... s'explique comme une survivance d'un rite indigene."
87. 12-2 Strabo, III, 3, 7.
88. 12-3 Strabo, III, 4, 16; cf. Przybyllok, *Unser Kalender*, p. 9.
89. 12-4 Ireland and Spain are the only parallels cited by Piganiol (loc. cit.) to show that games were not confined to Rome. There are infinitely better ones.
90. 12-5 H. D. De Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle*, trs. R. I. Best (Dublin, 1903), p. 3.
91. 12-6 Ibid.; cf. J. A. MacCulloch, *Relig. Of the Anc. Celts*, (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 70-71.
92. 12-7 St. Patricius, *Confess.* II, p. 278, in Zwicker, *FHR*, Fasc. V2, p. 149.
93. 12-8 Idem., p. 158 (from the Tripartite Life of Patrick).
94. 13-1 J. Zwicker, *FHR*, V2, 1-, cit. Jocelinus de Furness, *Vit. S. Pat.*, V, 35.
95. 13-2 St. Patric., in *FHR*, V2, 149; 141.
96. 13-3 Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 282 ff.
97. 13-3 [Nibley numbered both Fowler references as #3] *ibid.*
98. 13-4 Ovid. *Fasti*, III, 45-46.
99. 13-5 Huth, *Janus*, pp. 76 ff.
100. 13-6 Jubainville, *Ir. Mythol. Cycle.*, pp. 19-21.
101. 13-7 *id.*, pp. 21; 23.
102. 13-8 He is reincarnated five times (there is among them a twenty and an eighty year period, but they come together, making a round hundred.). Jubainville, *op. cit.* pp. 25-35.
103. 13-9 The people of the Tuatha de Danann overcame the Fomorians on that day (*id.* P. 9.) and the people of Mile landed on the same. (p. 136).
104. 14-1 Discussed by H. W. Lawton, in *Speculum Religionis*, p. 73; cf. Strabo, IV, 3, 2; Greek Loeb #243 V. 2.

105. 14-2 Jubainville, op. cit., p. 78: "In Irish tradition Lug is the originator of the old pagan assemblies held on fixed days." On the Gallic custom *sollempnia anniversario ordine celebrars*, Venant. Fortunat. XX 108 ff, in FHR, V2, 190.
106. 14-3 Geoffrey, Br. Hist. IV [III}, 14, ed. Griscom, p. 270, an assembly of the "kingdom".
107. 14-4 Grimm, Dt. Myth., II: 752.
108. 14-5 Grimm, loc. cit.; Jubainville, Cycles, pp. 5-7.
109. 14-6 L. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* (Berlin 1885), II: 27. This great work is devoted to the mystic phenomena of mid-night and noon.
110. 14-7 Supra, p 1 f.
111. 15-1 Grimm, Dt. Myth. I: 28-29.
112. 15-2 Adam Brem., Gesta, in Mon. Hist. Ger., SS, VII, 379. [IV: 34]
113. 15-3 Pictured and discussed by T. Kendrick, in *Antiquity*, XI (June, 1936), 247-8.
114. 15-4 Paul Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 500.
115. 15-5 Herrmann, op. cit., p. 498.
116. 15-6 P. B. Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age* (N.Y., 1889), I: 345.
117. 15-7 Herrmann, op. cit., pp. 498-499.
118. 15-8 Grimm, op. cit., II: 716.
119. 15-9 Grimm, I: 26; Du Chaillu, op. cit., I, 345 ff.
120. 15-10 Grimm, loc. cit., citing Inglingasage, c. 8.
121. 15-11 Herrmann, op. cit., p. 505. Every year at Midwinter the King asked the Oracle at Upsala to give him 300 years of life by giving him the promise of them (id. P. 5311).
122. 16-1 Herrmann, op. cit., p. 500.
123. 16-2 Supra, p. 1.
124. 16-3 Talmud ed. L. Goldschmidt (Berlin, 1897), III-1: 291, i.e. Rosh-Hashanah, I, 1.
125. 16-4 A. J. Wensinck, "The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology", *Acta Orientalia*, I-1 (1922), 158.
126. 16-5 M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Timereckoning* (Lund: Gleerup), p. 270.
127. 16-6 "It is further known that of the Jewish New Year festivals in autumn and spring, the former corresponds to the Arabic and the latter to the Babylonian and Persian customs." Wensinck, loc. cit.
128. 16-7 J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1899), p. 106 observes that however numerous the local festivals there was in reality but a single main year-feast. Thus O. Zimmern, *Das babylonische Neujahrfest* (Bd. 25, Hft. 3 of *Der Alte Orient* (1925) p. 3: "... immer und uberall bildst dae Neujahrfest den feierlich festgehaltenen Ausgangspunkt im rollenden Kreislauf der Zeit, im swigen Wechsel," etc. Beginning is the theme, East and West.
129. 17-1 Wellhausen, Proleg., p. 106.
130. 17-2 C. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (Leiden, 1889), p. 14.

131. 17-3 loc. cit.: “Het eigenaardige van den hadj bestaat daarin dat hij slechts een-mal en door een groot aantal geloovigen te gelijk gevierd wordt.” As is well known, the injunction to make the great hajj is upon all men.
132. 17-4 Sozomon, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 4, in Migne PG v. 67, 941-4.
133. 17-5 Gen XVII, 1 and 24 for Abraham, verse 17 for Sarah, the prophecy in the 24th verse. Why this great emphasis on ninety-nine years unless it had a definite and highly significant meaning to the writer?
134. 17-6 Gen XVII, 15.
135. 18-1 Gen. XVII, 16.
136. 18-2 Wensinck, in *Acta Orient.*, I, 178.
137. 18-3 The title “Father of Years”, occurring in a Ras Shamra fragment suggested to Barton the “Ancient of Days” of Daniel VII, 9, 13, and 22: G. Barton, “A ritual Poem from Ras Shamra,” *AOSJ*, LII (1932), 224. “King of the Age” is familiar to all from the Thousand and One Nights.
138. 18-4 Albert J. Carnoy, “Iranian Views of Origins”, in *AOSJ*, XXXVI (1917), 318.
139. 18-5 Thus Xenophon, *Instit. Cyr.*, VIII, 1, 32; Strabo, XV, 3, 7; Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.*, III, 3, 10, etc.
140. 18-6 Athen., VI, 60 (514); the account of the Persian King’s hospitality and reception of all his subjects on New Year’s as found at the beginning of the Old Persian “Story of the Magic Horse” in the 1001 Nights (ed. Lane, New York, II: 150) is held by Lane to be authentic (id., p. 188) cf. Herodot. III, 84.
141. 19-1 Xenophon, *Instit. Cyr.*, I, 6, 1; III, 3, 21; VII, 5, 57; VIII, 7, 3; 17.
142. 19-2 Fr. Jeremias, “Semitische Völker in Vorderasien”, in Chantipie de la Saussaye’s *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925), I:505.
143. 19-3 H. Zimmern, *Babyl. Neujahrsf.*, p. 3. The New Year in Autumn was reckoned by the moon, the spring New Year by the sun: Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 546.
144. 19-4 Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 599.
145. 19-5 P. E. Dumont, *L’Asvamedha* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927), I and 1: The ancient text (of which this book is a translation) begins “C’est le roi des sacrifices!”.
146. 19-6 Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. xii-xiii.
147. 19-7 Idem, p. i.
148. 19-8 Idem, p. viii.
149. 19-9 Idem, p. 50.
150. 20-1 Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
151. 20-2 Id., p. x.
152. 20-3 Id., p. 15, the expression is from the ancient text. Sun and sowing both determine the New Year’s time. On the night before the great festival the king exclaims (p. 18): “Puisse-je ... atteindre heureusement la fin de l’annee!”.
153. 20-4 Ad. Erman, *Aegypten* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1923), pp. 59-60.
154. 20-5 *op. cit.*, p. 60.

155. 20-6 Idem, p. 41.
156. 20-7 “Der am allgemeinsten, zu allen Zeiten verehrte Gott ist Re, die Sonne.” Thus H. O. Lange, “Die Aegypter”, *Lehrb. Der Rg*, I: 452. Erman op. cit., p. 294.
157. 20-8 Erman, op. cit., p. 398.
158. 20-9 A. Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs* (London: Butterworth, 1925), I: 24-25.
159. 21-1 Weigall, op. cit., I: 24; the calendar begins with the ascension of a king.
160. 21-2 Erman, op. cit., pp. 184-5.
161. 21-3 Erman, loc. cit., quoting an Egyptian document.
162. 21-4 Erman, op. cit., p. 185.
163. 21-5 “... every New year’s Day, when (it is the custom for) the household to make gifts to its lord, and when the (sacrificial) fire is rekindled in the temple ...” This from the long inscr. of Hepzefi, given at length by Weigall, op. cit., II: 60 ff.
164. 21-6 Sir F. Petrie *Social Life in Ancient Egypt* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923) p. 125.
165. 21-7 Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, ed. W. Halliday, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928), no. 12.
166. 22-1 Halliday, op. cit., p. 72. Of the three ennaeteric festivals of the Delphians (Plut., O. G., no. 12; PG Loeb #201 V 4) one was that of Charila, which was originally a spring rite held every eight years (Halliday, pp. 72-73).
167. 22-2 Cornford in Harrison, *Themis*, p. 238; p. 233 “... the term of office (of the King) was a ‘year’ – a term which ... may denote a lunar or solar year or a longer period of two, four, or eight solar years ...”.
168. 22-3 Plut. *Quaest. Gr.*, no. 9.
169. 22-4 M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Fests* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 156.
170. 22-5 Cornford, op. cit. pp. 156 ff, on the purpose of the Olympic games – to choose the King of the year.
171. 22-6 Aristot., *Meteor.*, I, 14, 352a, b.
172. 22-7 E. Diehls, in *Rh. Mus.* V. 81 (1934), pp. 262-3.
173. 23-1 Diehls, in *Rh. Mus.* V. 83 (1934), 263; cf. Plato, *Republic* X, viii (615).
174. 23-2 So much is certain; cf. Korte, “Zu den eleusinischen Mysterien”. *ARW*, XVIII (1915) 116 ff.
175. 23-3 Mysteries treated in their broader sense by Edv. Lehmann, in *Lehrb. Der Rg.*, I: 35f, 57f, 97-99.
176. 23-4 “Ob zur Zeit der Wintersonnenwende, der Frühlings – oder Herbst-Tag und Nachtgleiche gefeiert – immer und überall bildet das Neujahrsfest den feierlich festgehaltenen Ausgangspunkt im rollenden Kreislauf der Zeit”, Zimmern, *Bab. Neujahrsf.*, p. 3; cf. Prellwitz, in *Festschr. Für L. Friedländer* (Berlin, 1895), p. 362, cit. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 183.
177. 25-1 A. De Marchi, *Il Culto Privato Di Roma Antica* (Milano, 1896), I: 21-24.
178. 25-2 Idem, p. 23.
179. 25-3 Idem, p. 13.

180. 25-4 Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (Jena: Diederich, 1926), II 6 ff.
181. 25-5 De Marche, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.
182. 26-1 M.Radin, "Imperium", in *Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobono* (Palermo: Castiglia, 1932), 25-26. We shall deal with the subject below, pp. 159 ff, T. Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht* (3. Anfl.; Leipzig, 1887), II: 13 ff.
183. 26-2 Surge, p. 5 ff. De Marchi, *op. cit.*, I: 46-47.
184. 26-3 The motive of public emergency appears in the only element of the Year festival mentioned so far, the need-fire, which is meant to counteract the murrain. Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 500 explains its yearly nature as the attempt "von vornherein den Viehseuchen vorbeugen." The Roman *ludi Tauri* were held to counteract just such a public disaster as De Marchi *altes* (... *lpos publica*, Serv., *Aen.*, II, 140; Festus, ed. Lindsay, p. 479) as a motive for general cooperation.
185. 27-1 Thus for the *ludi Saeculares*, συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἑν τε τοῦ ῥηθεῖσι τόποις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (Sos., II, 5).
186. 27-2 Messal, *Corvin.*, de prog., xiii.
187. 27-3 Livy, IV, 35; Eutrop., *Brev.*, I, 2: *Conditā civitate ... (Romulus) multitudinem finitimarum in civitatem recept ... (Tunc) ... invitavit ad spectaculum ludorum vicines Urbis nationes*, etc.
188. 27-4 Yel. Max., VII, iii, 10: cf. IX, 10, 1.
189. 27-5 Eduard Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* (Halle, 1924), II, 404 ff.
190. 27-6 It was the games of Neptune and Census which [Latin unreadable] says ---, ---, XXIII, --
191. 27-7 --- 115 B. C. a certain man of Apulia, while returning with his entire family from the *ludis Romanis* to his home, was bereaved of his daughter who was struck by lightning *eque insidens*. No easy journey, this. *Jul. Obsee.*, xcvi (A.U.C. 638).
192. 28-1 Ovid., --- I, 173-4.
193. 28-2 Ammian., XVI, x, 6; Tac., A., XVI, b; Dio, LXXVIII, 26; Kasar., *Capat*, c. 32; *precep.*, Anee., 11 fin.
194. 28-3 Adam. Brem., IV, 27, 28 (WHG, 55, VII, 379) *Ex omni animanie, quod --- --- est, --- oeptia offerentur, quorum does placari mes est*. These victims include a man sacrificed every day of the festival. The *saeculum* ---
195. 28-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
196. 28-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
197. 28-4 ---
198. 29-1 Thietmar Maresburg., I, 9.
199. 29-2 Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 509.
200. 29-3 P. Herrmann, *Island* (Leipzig, 1914), I: 302-3, regards this as one of the oldest Icelandic traditions.
201. 29-4 Herrmann, *Island*, p. 303: "Mit Kost musste sich jeder selbst für die D---ar der Tag--g versehen." Siedner ---

202. 29-5 Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p. 503. Always with a feast, of course!
203. 29-6 ---
204. 30-1 Tac., Ger., 11.
205. 30-2 P. Herrmann, *Altdeutsche Kultgebräuche* (Jena: Diederich, 1928), p. 21; cf. “Gelage” in L. K. Weigand, *Deutsche Wörterb.*, (-ed., 1909), I:662-3.
206. 30-3 Olaf Tryg., c. 151, cit. Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, I:346.
207. 30-3 [second Footnote 3 – both refer to parts of the same quote in Du Chaillu].
208. 30-4 Helmold., *Chron. Slav.*, I, 83.
209. 30-5 Innocent III (in FHR IV, 58) describes the Slavic year-rites in *tribus anni festivitibus que continue Natalem Christi secuntur* while Jeh. Diugess (FHR IV, 60) places the Polish version at Pentecost (cf. FHR IV, 66) 77.
210. 30-6 Helmold, op. cit., I, 52.
211. 30-6 [second Footnote 6]
212. 30-7 Helmold, loc. cit.; *The Vita Ottonis*, III, 1, reports the same of the images.
213. 30-8 Vit. Otto., III, 1.
214. 30-9 Jehnnee Diugess, *Hist. Poland.*, in FHR IV, 67-68.
215. 30-10 ---
216. 31-1 Jubainville, *Ir. Cycle*, p. 3.
217. 31-2 Henri Hubert, “*Les Cultes des Héros*,” etc.; RHR, v. 71 (1915), 207.
218. 31-3 Tripartite Life of Patrick, in FHR V2, 141; Maccu-Machtheai, id., p. 149.
219. 31-4 Jubainville, op. cit., pp 98 ff. it was the capitol of the Tuatha De Danann.
220. 31-5 Jubainville, op. cit., p. 96.
221. 31-6 Greg. Turon., *In Glor. Confessorum*, ---, ii, in Migne, Pl. v. VI 630-1, and FHR V2, 179.
222. 32-1 Vocastius Fortunat., *Vit. S. Amentii*, in FHR, V2, 188.
223. 32-2 Voc. Fortunat., op. cit., p. 190.
224. 32-3 ---, XII, 400
225. 32-4 ---
226. 32-5 I Samuel 1:3.
227. 32-6 I Samuel 1:21.
228. 32-7 I Samuel 1:24.
229. 33-1 –th. Schimdt, “*La Canticles an Adonis Litany?*” AOSJ, XLVI (1926), 163; A. R. Johnson, “*The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus*,” in *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London, 1935), pp. 73 ff.
230. 33-2 F. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (N. Y., 1913), pp. 248, 252.
231. 33-3 The animal sacrifice always kept its original significance as a feast shared by god and man as an act of communion and covenant, ib., 226-7.
232. 33-4 I Samuel 2:11.
233. 33-5 T. Gaster, “*The Story of Aqhat*,” *Studi e Materiali*, XII (1936), 142.

234. 33-6 Gaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 128 ff, citing many parallel cases of the bringing of first-fruits for a feast among primitive peoples.
235. 33-6 [Repeated reference to Footnote 6]
236. 33-7 ---
237. 34-1 Ses., II, 4.
238. 34-2 J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 87, also pp. 84-94.
239. 34-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
240. 34-3 On the Arab tithe, Robertson Smith, *Relig. Semit.*, pp. 99; 241.
241. 34-4 S. Hurgrenje, *Mekkaansche Fest*. P. 172: "De dagen van Mina zijn dagen van etem, drinken en singenot ... Het werdt dem pelgrims entraden, op den dag van Arafat te vesten." The meal, of course, was furnished from the sacrifice, that being in fact the one good meal experienced which many Arabs can ever experience. See C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (London, 1921), I, 452; on the bringing of the food to Mecca by each pilgrim, *ib.*, I:60.
242. 34-5 On its nature as such, T. Juyabell, in *Hastings, Encyclop.*, X, 10.
243. 34-6 ---
244. 35-1 Strabo, XV, 13 (732).
245. 35-2 Daniel 3:1-7.
246. 35-3 Daniel 4:21-22 expresses the idea beautifully. Cf. Herodot., III 68; Athen., IV, 144-145; Alberty J. Carnoy, in *AOSJ XXXVI* (1917), 316 ff.
247. 35-4 "The Great King gives a royal banquet ... once a year on his birthday ..." tukta, which in Greek means 'complete' (Athen. IV, 146). On every other day a vast company is fed by the crumbs for this table (*id.*, 146). "The dinner, like the tribute, has from ancient times been imposed upon all cities in proportion to their population." (*id.* 145, also 144).
248. 35-5 Dumont, *L'Asvamedha*, pp. 16; 377.
249. 35-6 *Idem.*, p. x.
250. 35-7 *Idem.*, pp. 40; 354 ff.
251. 35-8 ---
252. 36-1 Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 356; 386.
253. 36-2 Frobenius, *Erythras*, pp. 192 ff.
254. 36-3 *Idem.*, p. 198.
255. 36-4 W. Hambly, *African Anthropology* (Chicago: Field Museum Publ., 1930), --- 400; Frobenius, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
256. 36-5 Nilsson, *Primitive Timereckoning*, p. 107.
257. 36-6 Erman, *Aegypten*, pp. 318-319.
258. 37-1 Erman, *Aegypten*, pp. 316-318.
259. 37-2 *Idem.* P. 316.
260. 37-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2].

261. 37-3 Rene Basset, *Mille et un Contes, Recites et Legendes Arabs* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1924), I: 85 f.
262. 37-4 Lucian, *Des Syr.*, c. 13.
263. 37-5 Idem., c. 29.
264. 38-1 Pindar describes Olympia as the far-famed tomb by the much-visited altar (Ol., I, 90 ff). The tradition of the great gathering at Olympia for the purpose of procuring a good year is graphically set forth by Malalas, *Chron---*, VIII; ed. Dinderoft, pp. 173 ff. *πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἤρχετο θεωρῆραι τὸν ἐτήσιον βασιλικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ ἐκάττης χώρας καὶ πόλεως*. The crowding at the games was notorious; Lucian saw several people crushed to death at Olympia, Peregrinus, c. 32; cf. Strabo, XIII, 4, 1; Dio Chrysostum, *Orat.*, XXVII, 5ff; XXVIII, 2; Epictetus, IV, 4, 26-27; cf. Comita Curiata.
265. 38-2 Plut., ---est. Graec., no. 59.
266. 38-3 Pindar, Ol., I, 60 ff; Cornford, in *Themis*, pp. 244 ff.
267. 38-4 Athen., IV, 139-141.
268. 38-5 Such is the explanation of Suidas. *ροῦς ἑβδομος* (ed. Adler, II, 189), While Roscher, "Zu den greich. Religionsaltertüserers", ARW, VI (1903), 66, claims that the crescent-shaped cake stands simply for the horns of a beast, Stengl in *Hermes*, XXXVIII, 565, maintains that as such it may still be the crescent moon. F. J. Delgar, *Antike und Christentum* (Minster: Asch---, 1930), I:1 is for a reproduction of the whole beast in the round, with wooden legs, etc. The number seven is the problem, of Rescher, in ARW VII, 419-424.
269. 39-1 Bustan., *Div. Jul.*, c. 39.
270. 39-2 Festus, ed. Lindsay, p. 296: Mommsen, *Staater.*, I, 97, 103.
271. 39-3 Vitruv., I, 7.
272. 39-4 Livy, XXX, 21, 12; XXXIII, 24, 5; Platner, *Top. Dict.*, p. 93.
273. 39-5 Sueton., *Aug.*, c. 43.
274. 40-1 F. Altheim, *Terra Mater* (Giessen: Tepelmann, 1931, XXII, Heft. 2 of BgVV), pp. 92-93, rejects the interpretation of the goddess as a year-deity by reason of her name, the argument of Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus*, p. 241: "Anna Perenna, in deren Namen sich die Beziehung auf Jahresanfang und Jahres schluss deutlich kundgibt." But Altheim does identify Anna as an indignation of Ceres-Tellus (T.M., pp. 93-94), who, he maintains is representative "des Gebarens alles Lebendigen und des Bergens der Toten," (id. ., 116), whose festival must accordingly be the birthday of the race, the beginning and ending, or since Altheim is simply giving a spatial interpretation to what others regard as a temporal idea, (id., p. 115-6), "das Sich-Öffnen und Schleissen der Erde." It marks a cycle at any rate.
275. 40-2 Wissowa, *Relig. U. Kultus*, p. 241, c. 10.
276. 40-3 Ovid., *Fast.*, III, 525 ff.

277. 40-4 id., 1. 532-3 ... annesque precantur, -uct sument –athes, as numerum--- bi-unt.
278. 40-5 Altheim, op. cit., pp. 93-93; 110: the *feriae semantivas* for the goddess, and her identification with the *mundus Cereris* (id., 113), are sufficient evidences for a strictly seasonal or yearly side to her nature.
279. 40-6 As life-cycle and year-goddess Anna has been treated at length by Harrison, ---is, pp. 197 ff.
280. 41-1 L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie* (2te. Aufl.: Berlin, 1865), p. 304.
281. 41-2 Ov. *Fast.*, III, 527-30:
 Sub Iove pars durat: peuci teuteria penunt:
 Sunt quibus e ramis frendea facta casa est;
 Pars ibi pro rigidis calames statuare columnis,
 Desuper extentas imposuere togas.
282. 41-3 W. W. Fowler, *Religious Experiences of the Roman People*, Appendix I, pp. 474-5.
283. 41-4 T. G. Pinches, in *Hastings*, Encl., X, 12.
284. 41-5 Wissowa, *Relig. U. Kult.*, p. 226.
285. 41-6 Wissowa, *Wald. und Feldkalle* (2. Aufl.: Berlin, 1904), I: 315; 334-L. Deubner in *Neue Jahr.*, XXVII 1911), 322-3; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult.*, p. 143; for *Neptualia* see note I on next page.
286. 42-1 It occurs in the oldest calendars, and Neptune himself is a native deity whose title *pater* classes him with Mars, Janus and Saturn. Fowler, *Roman Fest.*, pp 185-6; Wissowa, *Relig. U. Kult.*, pp 225-6.
287. 42-2 Festus (ed. Lindsay), p. 519: *Umbræ vocabantur Neptunalibus ossem frendose pre tabernaculis.*
288. 42-3 *tuac marsatores casas de linteis faciunt ... antea in portico Agrippinna sigillaria propacebectur.* Schol. Juv., VI, 154 cited by St. Weinstock, ---: 2, 2523.
289. 42-4 Weinstock, op. cit., 2621, on the original nature of the feast.
290. 42-5 Id., 2625.
291. 43-1 Friedlander, in Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, III, 483; Wissowa, *Relig. U. Kult.*, p. 454.
292. 43-2 Discussed by Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I, 152.
293. 43-3 Friedlander, lo. cit.; Wissowa, loc. cit.
294. 43-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
295. 43-4 Cio., *de Bep.*, II, 14, on merchants coming to the games in Fuma's time. It is well known that Rome was a city of traders rather than of producers. Thus Mommsen, *R. G.*, III, 49: "Es hat vielleicht nie eine Grossstadt gegeben, die se durchaus nahrungelos war wie Rom ... dert war jede freis industrie ---glich." The same writer holds, id., I, 44, that Rome owed its first importance to its place as a "Handelstadt", which ---, "---stehung des Tribunats", *Rh. Mus.*, ---F. XXI (1846), 162-3 calls "wister nicht als ein Kirngespinst."

296. 44-1 Thus Robertson Smith in *Religion of the Semites*, cited by Fowler, *Relig. Exper.*, p. 467.
297. 44-2 T. Wiedner. *Islanda Kultur*, pp. 46-47; for the archaeological evidence. T. Erlingsson, *Ruins of the Saga Time* (London 1899), pp. 70 ff.
298. 44-3 Egil's Saga, cited by Du Chaillu, *Vik. No.*, I, 522; Herrmann, *Island*, I, 303.
299. 44-4 Wiedner, *op. cit.*,
300. 44-5 Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, I: 520.
301. 45-1 Migne, *PL.*, v. 77, 1215-6.
302. 45-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
303. 45-2 Mannhardt, *W. F.*, I: 187; 315.
304. 45-3 K. Barclay, *Stonehenge and its Earth-Works* (London, 1895), pp. 74-95; Carl Schuchardt, *Alteurop* (Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1935), p. 81: "Neben das Gräbern, die stattliche Megal-beuten sind, liegt ein Festplatz, der Tausende von Menschen zu fassen vermag." W. Lockyer, *Stonehenge and Other British Monuments Astronomically Considered* (London, 1909), p. 319, associates Stonehenge directly with the Mayday festival.
305. 45-4 T. D. Kendrick, *Archaeology in England and Wales* (London: Kethman, 1932), p. 21, citing *Frankfurter Komm. D. dt. Arch. Inst.*, 1941, pp. 40-46
306. 45-5 C. H. Dawson, *The Age of the Gods* (London: Murray, 1928) p. 224 f.
307. 46-1 Geoffrey, II, 14.
308. 46-2 H. Allesoft, *The Circle and the Cross* (London: MacMillan, 1930), II: 19-20.
309. 46-3 Jubainville, *Ir. Mythol. Cycle*. P. 78.
310. 46-4 Strabo, IV, ii, 3, and H. L. Jones' note on it in the Loeb ed., II, 220-1.
311. 46-5 Athen. IV, 34 (150).
312. 46-6 Jubainville, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101; 174-5. The examination was conducted by Lug, the same for whom the Gallic Lugdunum is named.
313. 47-1 Fowler, *Relig. Exper.*, p. 475.
314. 47-2 cf. Talmud, Sukkah, I, 2b.
315. 47-3 A Brock-Utne, "Zu dem ursprünglichen Passahepfer", *ARW*, XXXI (1934), p. 274f: Gaster in *Stud. e Natl.*, XII, 128 ff.
316. 47-4 Prysbyllec, *Unser Kalendar*, p. 21, cf. 9, 11.
317. 47-5 Deut., XVI, 5: "Thou mayest not sacrifice the Passover within thy gates." Cf. Robertson Smith, *Relig. Of the Semites*, pp. 172-3.
318. 47-6 Zech., XIV, 16 ff, the plague was upon all who do not "go up from year to year to worship the King ... and to keep the feast of the tabernacles."
319. 47-7 Zech., XIV, 14.
320. 48-1 Barton, in *AOSJ LV* (1935), 41 renders orš mlk "the palace of the king", but Gaster *Stud. e Natl.* XII (1936), 147, vi, I, 1. Keeps to the root meaning, Heb. qeresh, "Beard, Beards." Weinstock, *Rom. Mitt.* V. 47, p. 104 finds that Tabernaculum originally meant "Bretterhutte", a booth hastily constructed of

boards (id. P. 106 f) and cloth (p. 109, cf. Ov. Fast., III, 630, ; cf. Tabernacula = “Booths” in the vulgate.

- 321. 48-2 Sosemen II, 4, in Migne PG, v. 67, 941.
- 322. 48-3 loc. cit., PG., 67, 944.
- 323. 48-4 Sneuck-Hurgronje, in Lahrb. Der Religionsgesch., I: 613.
- 324. 48-5 Sneuck-Hurgronje, Mekkaansche Feest. pp. 128-9
- 325. 48-6 Idem. P. 130.
- 326. 48-7 Idem. P. 129.
- 327. 48-8 Doughty, Arabia Deserta, I: 60.
- 328. 49-1 T. G. Pinches, in Hastings Encycl., X, 12, citing Babylonian tablets. C. Dawson, The Age of the Gods, pp. 111-118; 128-132, etc.
- 329. 49-2 L. Legrain, Ur, Archaic Seal-Impressions, pp.
- 330. 49-3 W. H. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia (Washington, 1910) pp. 30-43; 149-151. H. Frankfort, “Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals”, Iraq, I (1934), p. 27, pl.4. reproduces one of these seals and explains it as the god climbing the world mountain (i.e. in the New Year’s rite); but other versions depict the god in the same attitude by an unbent tree, M. Jastrow, Bildermappe (Giessen,), Taf. 46, nos. 153, 156, 157; Taf, 55, no. 213; he is the sun-god trying to enter the booth (cf. Ward).
- 331. 49-4 Dumont, L’Asvamedha, pp. 12, 70, 84.
- 332. 49-5 Weigall, Pharaohs, II 82, who places it in the oldest Egyptian calendar.
- 333. 50-1 The “cliché Mescieni”, R. Cagnat & V. Chapet, Manuel d’Archeologie Romaine (Paris, 1880-83), IV, fig. 183.
- 334. 50-2 Such is the interpretation of Erman, Aegypten, pp.587-590.
- 335. 50-3 Lucian, Dea. Syr., 10.
- 336. 50-4 Herodot., I, 93; it was a great cult center.
- 337. 50-5 Acts, XIX, 24 ff.
- 338. 50-6 Plut., ---Gr., no. 12, discussed by Halliday in his ed., pp. 67-71.
- 339. 50-7 Nilsson, G. F., pp. 154-9.
- 340. 50-8 Pausan., X, 32, 14.
- 341. 51-1 Athen., IV, 148.
- 342. 51-2 Nilsson, G. F., 319, citing Fraser on Aristoph., Themis, 624 & 658; Nilsson sees in these booths among other things evidence for the primitive nature of the Thesmophoria, the most widespread festival of Greece (p. 313).
- 343. 51-3 e.g. the booth of Orestes at Troisen, Pausen., II, 31, 8.
- 344. 51-4 Athen., IV, 141, gives the reason for the booths in their name. This is discussed as a year-festival in Mannhardt, W. F., II: 255.
- 345. 51-5 Nilsson, G. F., p. 118.
- 346. 51-6 Strabo, V, II, 1, (216).
- 347. 51-7 T. Hodgkin, The Letters of Cassiodorus (London, 1884), pp. 383, Cass, III, 51.

348. 51-8 [Repeated reference to Footnote 8]
349. 52-1 Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age*, I, 294 ff.; *The Flateyjarbok*, I, 579-580, tells how King Eric came to the feast in two wagons.
350. 52-2 F. Cepei, "Fruehgeschichtliche Strassen in der Senne", *Mannus* (1938) 1, 90; Map on pp. 66-67.
351. 52-3 Sugre. P.
352. 52-4 Schuchardt, *Alteuropa*, p. 81, on the Carnac road-system.
353. 52-5 A. Grenier, "Les Voies Romaines en Gaule", *Melanges d'Arch. Et d'Hist.*, LIII (1936), 16 ff.
354. 52-5 [Repeated reference to Footnote 5]
355. 53-1 J. Harrison, "The Pillar and the Maiden", *Cl. Assn. Pres.*, 1908, pp. 66 ff, has described the pillar-cult of Chartres as very primitive. For the great feast of Notre Dame du Pilier (p. 67), "from all the country round the mothers bring their babies and camp out on the great cathedral steps" for a week.
356. 53-2 Geoff., II, 17.
357. 53-3 Hartwell Jones, quoted by L. D. Agate, *Hastings Encl.*, X, 20.
358. 53-4 Cosmas, *Chron.B---*, III, 1, in *FHR*, IV; 20, ---.
359. 53-5 Mansi, XII.
360. 53-6 Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 50. Meetings at crossways were in order especially on Midwinter Night, as with the Slavs, A. Bruckner, *Lahrb. D. Eg.*, II, 515, who, if such a session were neglected, expected "Misswachs und Viehecuchen" for the coming year.
361. 54-1 W. Crooke, in *Hastings Encycl.*, X: 12; L. Lagrain, *Ur, Archaic Seal Impressions* (Univ. Penns., 1935), p. 7: "The trading roads round Ur had been open and busy centuries prior to the establishment of an aenolithic culture of the al 'Ubaid type ...".
362. 54-2 See Hacan's ed. of *Herodot.*, II, pp. xiii.
363. 54-3 Dumont, *L'Asvamedha*, II, 354-5.
364. 54-4 A. K. Comaraswamy, "The Pilgrimm's Way", *Jnl. Bihar & Orissa*, XXXII (1937), 457.
365. 54-5 Schuchardt, *Alteuropa*, pp. ---
366. 54-6 Sir A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos* (London, 1928), II, 61f; 578; 580ff.
367. 54-7 Is. XXXV, 8; LXII, 10; I Sam VI, 12 etc., Gen XIX, 2; Joshua the tear-king (Zech. III) was the builder of roads, *Talmud*, ed. Goldschmidt, II: 78 (Erubin, II, 4).
368. 54-8 A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1925), II: 588, citing Sir Chas. Fellows.
369. 54-9 *Herodot.*, VI, 57.
370. 54-10 Geoff., II, 17.
371. 55-1 In *Aeschyl.*, *Eumen.*, 8ff, the road is made specially for Apollo.
372. 55-2 cf. the description of the Sacred Way to Eleusis, in *AJA* XLII (1938)1, 137.

373. 55-3 Plut., Galba, c. 24; Pliny, NH, III, 66; Tac. Hist., I, 27, etc., all edited by S. B. Platner, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London: Milford, 1929), p. 342.
374. 55-4 Dio, 54, 8; Platner, loc. cit.
375. 55-5 G. Wissowa, Ces. Abh., p.197.
376. 55-6 Idem., pp. 1980202.
377. 56-1 E. Diehl, Rh. Mus., v. 83 (1934), 164ff; 354-5.
378. 56-2 Zos., II, 5.
379. 56-3 Varro, L-, V, 43; the abundant evidence for its federal nature given in Platner, Top. Dict., 149 f. Diana's title of Trivia marks her, in my opinion as a goddess of general festivals, held at places where roads converged.
380. 56-4 Zos., loc. cit.
381. 56-5 Diehl., op. cit., pp. 357 ff; cf. the last line in the extract in Zos., II, 6.
382. 57-1 Zos., II, 5.
383. 57-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
384. 57-2 F. Blumenthal, "Ludi Saeculares", Klio, XV (1917-18), 232.
385. 57-3 Piganiol, Jeux Romains, pp. 93 ff.
386. 57-4 T. Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften (Berlin, 1913), VIII: 596.
387. 57-5 Idem, pp. 594-5.
388. 57-6 Idem, p. 595, cit. Livy, XXII, 10, 8.
389. 58-1 Mommsen, op. cit., p. 596.
390. 58-2 Zos., II, 6, 11-17 ff. quoting the Sibylline oracle.
391. 58-3 Festus, ed. L., p. 479; the resemblance being in their chthonian nature, cf. Diehl, op. cit.
392. 58-4 Plut., Qu, Rom., no. 4.
393. 58-5 Livy, XXXIX, 46. A funeral game, of course, marks a life-cycle; repeated as memorial games, they would constitute a year-rite. The close relationship between games and funerals cannot be treated here.
394. 59-1 Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult, pp. 399; 390.
395. 59-2 Zos., II, 2, 1.26, from the oracle.
396. 59-3 Id., 1.27 f; on the offerings as first-fruits, Mommsen, Ges. Schr., VIII, 596.
397. 59-4 11. 30 ff: τὰ δὲ πάντα τεθυσανριτμένα κείσβω, ὄφρα ... ἐδρίωσιν, κτλ.
398. 59-5 On the Saeculares as a primitive Bouphonia, Diehl, Rh. Mus., v.83, p. 267 The animals slain with the archaic culture oplongus were prodigivae, "solche die verzehrt wurden", i.e. consumed at a banquet.
399. 60-1 Victor, Vir. Illust., c.32.
400. 60-2 Zos., II, 6, the opening line of the oracle.
401. 60-3 Stat., Silv., I, vi.
402. 60-4 Ch. Diehl, "La Societe byzantine a l'epoque des Comnenes", Rev. Hist. de Sud-Ost de l'Europe, VI (1929), 342-3.

403. 61-1 As Mommsen, R. G., I, 39, would imply: "Zu den Opferschmausen hatte jede teilnehmende Gemeinde nach festem Satz ein Gewisses und Vieh, Milch und Käse zu liefern, u. dagegen v.d. Opferbraten ein Stuch zu empfangen."
404. 61-2 Grimm, Dt. Myth., I:43.
405. 61-3 St. Olaf, 115; 123, in Du Chaillu, Vik. Age, I:334, 347.
406. 61-4 Nilsson, in Lehrb. D. Religionsgesch., II: 291.
407. 61-5 Grimm, op. cit., I:169.
408. 61-6 Herrmann, Altd. Kultgeb., p. 15.
409. 61-6 [Repeated reference to Footnote 6]
410. 61-7 Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p. 507.
411. 62-1 Herrmann, Altdt. Kultgeb., p. 13; Mansi, XII, an. 742.
412. 62-2 Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p. 505.
413. 62-3 Niedner, Islands Kultur, p. 407.
414. 62-4 S. Olaf, c. 151, cit. Du Chaillu, Vik. Age, I:346.
415. 62-5 Hak. Adalst. (Hkr.), c. 16, in Du Chaillu, I: 349.
416. 63-1 Herrmann, Altdt. Kultgeb., p. 20; Nord. Mythol., pp. 199 f; 353 (citing various sagas), cf. L. Wiegand, Dt. Worterb., 5. Ed. (1909), I:662-3, on "Gelage".
417. 63-2 Herrmann, N. M., p. 528; Niedner, Isl. Kultur, p. 47.
418. 63-3 Herrmann, N. H. p. 528.
419. 63-4 Idem, p. 252; see esp. V. Grönbech, in Lahrb. d. Rg., II: 568 ff.
420. 63-5 Herrmann, H. M., pp. 466-7.
421. 63-6 Id., pp. 466; 525; the king was sacrificed for a good year, p. 467.
422. 63-7 Beowulf, 11. 4-10.
423. 63-8 This subject is fully treated in Grönbech, op. cit., pp. 555-578.
424. 63-9 Migne, PL, v. 77, 1215-16.
425. 64-1 Jubainville, Irish Cycle, pp. 174-5.
426. 64-2 Athen., VI, 49 (246).
427. 64-3 Diodorus, V, 34.
428. 64-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
429. 64-4 Athen., IV, 37 (152).
430. 64-5 L. v. Schroeder, "Wurzel der Sage vom heiligen Gral", Wien. Akad. Denks. V. 166, 2A bh. (1910), 94-95. A. H. Krappa, "Who was the Green Knight?" Speculum, XIII (1938), 206-216. Mary Williams, "An Early Welsh ritual Poem", Speculum, XIII (1938), 43-44.
431. 64-6 Supra, p. ---
432. 64-7 Athen., IV, 37, (152).
433. 64-7 [Repeated reference to Footnote 6]
434. 64-8 Jubainville, op. cit., p. 84; cf. Hecatus, in Diodorus, II, 47.
435. 64-9 Geoffrey, III, 7.
436. 65-1 Geoff., IX, 1.

437. 65-2 Jubainville, op. cit., pp. 174-5.
438. 65-3 H. Hubert, RHR, LXX (1914), 11 ff.
439. 65-4 Jubainville, op. cit., pp. 219-220.
440. 65-5 Especially Cenn Cruach, cf. Life of Patrick, in FHR, V2, 143-4; Jubainville, op. cit., pp. 61 ff.
441. 65-6 Hubert, op. cit., pp. 11 ff, and RHR, v. 71 (1915), 229 ff.
442. 65-7 Jubainville, op. cit., pp. 61 ff.
443. 65-8 Tac., Hist., II, 61 (a god); Strabo XII, 5, 2; cf. Livy, V, 34.
444. 65-8 [Repeated reference to Footnote 8]
445. 65-9 Cic., De Divin., I, 15; II, 36.
446. 66-1 Helmold, I, 16, FHR, IV, 42-43.
447. 66-2 Ibn Rusta, II, in FHR, V, 94.
448. 66-3 Christianus, Vit. S. Wenceslai, VI, in FHR, V, 7.
449. 66-4 Saxo, XIV, in FHR, IV, 49, cf. 50, 7, 11, 44, 81.
450. 66-5 Helmold, I, 84, in FHR, V, 45; Ibn Rusta, loc. cit.
451. 66-6 Ibn Rusta, in FHR, V, 93; it was held at the tumulus.
452. 66-7 Geograph. Anonym. Pers., in FHR, V, 95.
453. 66-8 Procop., Bel. Goth., III, 14.
454. 66-9 Brückner, in Lehrb. d. Rg., II: 510-511.
455. 67-1 Brückner, op. cit., p. 511.
456. 67-2 Deut, XV, 15; Lev., XVI, 14: "... and the Levite, the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy gates." No rent could be charged pilgrims sojourning in Jerusalem (Talmud, ed. Goldschmidt, II: 781, Yoma, I[2a], i.).
457. 67-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
458. 67-3 Talmud, (ed. Goldschmidt), II, 647 (Pesahim, VIII [89a], iii).
459. 67-4 Zech., XIV, 16-21; cf. Thackeray, Septuag., pp. 64-67; Wensinck, in Act. Or., I, 163.
460. 67-5 Robertson Smith, Rel. Sem., p. 201: "There is no real difference between the table and the altar." Cf. id., 200, 204, 210.
461. 67-6 "Gott ladet ein, den sein ist das Haus, sein ist auch die Gabe." Wellhausen, Prol., p. 71.
462. 68-1 Wellhausen, Prol., p. 71, states the principle, "Kein Opfer ohne Mahl und kein Mahl ohne Opfer."
463. 68-2 Wellhausen, op. cit., pp. 77-81 has described the process; also pp. 71-72.
464. 68-3 Robertson Smith, Rel. Sem., p. 254.
465. 68-4 Lev., XII, 7; Zech., IX, 17.
466. 68-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
467. 68-5 II Sam., VI, 19.
468. 68-6 Wellhausen, op. cit., p. 248.

469. 69-1 The King does the serving himself and they assist. The royal and the menial are combined in Melchizedek: when Abraham brought tithes to him "Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God." (Gen., XIV, 18). How the priests took advantage of their privilege to share the feast may be seen in I Sam. II, 13ff; cf. Wellhausen, Prol., pp. 88; cf. I Sam., II, 36 and Julian. Imp., Epistola no. xxiii.
470. 69-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
471. 69-2 Neh., VIII, 12.
472. 69-3 Neh., VIII, 10.
473. 69-4 In theory tithing was for a "communal fund ... for the maintenance of a public table, where everyone had a right to claim a portion, and which was doubtless of some service to the landless proletariat." Robertson Smith, RS, p. 250.
474. 70-1 A. R. Johnson, "The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus", in *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London: Macmillan, 1935), pp. 73 ff.
475. 70-2 Malachi, III, 10-11.
476. 70-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
477. 70-3 Johnson, op. cit., pp. 79 ff; 107 ff.
478. 70-4 Josephus, Bel. Jud., II, 1, Greek Loeb #182 V. 2.
479. 70-5 Gaster, *Stud. e Matl.*, XII (1936), 128; 130.
480. 70-6 Idem., pp. 130 f; the same in Carnoy, AOSJ, v.
481. 70-7 Robertson Smith, Rel., Semit., p. 80 (Speaking of Mecca)
482. 70-7 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
483. 71-1 Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 452.
484. 71-2 Idem, p. 451.
485. 71-3 Talmud, ed. Goldschmidt, II, 634 (Peshim VIII, iii): Feasting groups must sit with their backs to each other.
486. 71-4 Robertson Smith, Rel. Sem., p. 281.
487. 71-5 Wellhausen, *Resta Arab. Heidentums*, p. 118.
488. 71-6 Idem, p. 119.
489. 71-7 Cited by H. Zimmern, *Bab. Neujahr.*, p. 18.
490. 72-1 T. L. Wooley, *Ur, Royal Cemeteries* (Univ. of Penn., 1934), I: 332; L. Legrain, *Archaic Seal Impressions*, p. 4 (Wooley's note).
491. 72-2 Zos., II, 6, 1. 34.
492. 72-3 Frankfort, in *Iraq*, I, 21.
493. 72-4 A. J. Wensinck, in *Acta Orient.*, I, 166 ff.
494. 72-5 R. Basset, *Mille et un Contes*, etc., I: 85 f; for the survival of the festival at Erech, Zimmern, *Bab. Neuj.*, p. 23.
495. 73-1 Story of the Magic Horse, incip., in 1001 Nts., ed. Lane, III, 150.
496. 73-2 Athen., IV, 145, trs. C. B. Gulick, p. 185.
497. 73-3 Athen., IV, 145, e, f.

498. 73-4 Athen., IV, 145 b.
499. 73-5 Herodot., IX, 110, and in Athen., IV, 146, b.
500. 74-1 Athen., IV, 151 d, citing Gnessipus the Athenian.
501. 74-2 Supra, p. 7.
502. 74-3 A. J. Carnoy, in AOSJ, XXXVI (1917), 316.
503. 74-4 Herodotus, I, 132; Strabo, XV, 3.13 (732).
504. 74-5 Strabo, XVI, 2, 39 (762); Philo, de. spec. leg., III, 18 (100).
505. 74-6 Herodotus, I, 126.
506. 74-7 Dan., IV, 21-22 (interpreting the dream): "It is thou, O king!"(v. 22) To which the prophet adds a logical conclusion: "Wherefore, O king, break off thy sins by showing mercy to the poor." (v. 27). Which strongly reminds one of the "excellent custom" cited by Gnessipus, who calls it as well ἀρχαῖος.
507. 75-1 Edv. Lehmann, in Lehrb. d. Rg., II: 245.
508. 75-2 E. Washburn Hopkins, "The Divinity of Kings", AOSJ, (1931), 312.
509. 75-3 Albright, " --- ", AOSJ, LIV (1934), 109.
510. 75-4 Hopkins, loc. cit.
511. 75-5 Quoted from two Indian sources by Hopkins, p. 311, cf. p. 309.
512. 75-6 Dumont, L'Asvamedha, p. 317.
513. 75-7 Id., p. 386.
514. 76-1 Dumont, L'Asvamedha, p. 15.
515. 76-2 Idem, p. 117, including "a l'exception de la terre meme, des hommes qui l'habitant, et de ce qui est la propriete de brahmanes, tous les biens du pays qu'il a conquis." There were vast payments in cattle and gold (p. 118).
516. 76-3 Idem, p. viii.
517. 76-4 Id., p. 15.
518. 76-5 Id., p. vi.
519. 76-6 Erman, Aegypten, pp. 104-5, the portion he kept from the offering was his own, but all ---.
520. 76-7 Erman, loc. cit, (the inscription of Ameni).
521. 77-1 Hambly, Afr. Anthro., p. 549.
522. 77-2 Ibid., cf. Supra, p. --
523. 77-3 Victor Bérard, "La Table des Dieux", in RHR, XCVII (1928), 3.
524. 77-4 Idem., p. 5.
525. 77-5 Plut., Qu. Gr., no. 12.
526. 77-6 Plut., Qu. Gr. No. 1 35.
527. 78-1 Athen., I, 13; the dais as a communal meal closely connected with the celebration of the year has been treated at length by Harrison, Themis, 140 ff.
528. 78-2 Athen., I, ---.
529. 78-3 Athen., IV, 138 f.
530. 78-4 Athen., IV, 143, b, c.

531. 78-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
532. 78-5 Lactant., Div. Inst., I, 21.
533. 78-6 Polyaen., Strat., VI, 24.
534. 78-7 J. Harriison, Themis, pp. 133-157; 260-326.
535. 79-1 Athen., IV,
536. 79-2 Apollod., III, II, 2.
537. 79-3 Nilsson, G. F., pp. 14 ff; Harrison, Themis, pp. 320 ff.
538. 79-4 Nilsson, G. F., pp. 202 f; and Lehrb. d. Rel. Gesch., II: 291-2 (animals), 298 (the dead).
539. 79-5 Athen., IV, 149 c.
540. 79-6 Athen., IV, 149 c.
541. 79-7 On the Bouphonia as communal year-feast, Harrison, Themis, pp. 142 ff. The “public oxen” of Zeus Sosipilus, Polieus, etc., Nilsson, G. F., 23 ff.
542. 79-8 Themis, p. 244.
543. 79-9 Athen., IV, 150a.
544. 79-10 Athen., IV, 149 e, f.
545. 79-11 Athen., IV, 143 a, b.
546. 80-1 Athen., IV, 141.
547. 80-2 Athen., IV, 140 c.
548. 80-3 Athen., IV, 141 a.
549. 80-4 Supra, p. 38.
550. 80-5 Athen., V, 215 b. However violent or unjust, the confiscations and redistributions of the time were formal acts, cf. Polyb., XV, 21; XXIV, 7;
551. 81-1 Dio Chrys., Orat., XXXVIII, 1.
552. 81-2 The name itself suggests ἐπι Χορηγήματα τοῦ συντεταγμένου τοῖς φιδίταις ἄικλου to Athen., IV, 140 c. He quotes Dicaearchus (IV, 141 a, b): “The dinner is at first served separately to each member, and there is no sharing of any kind ... afterwards” each is given a cup and a cake. It was to the epaiklon that all contributed alike (id. IV, 140 f, 141 c). “The doles given to messmates after dinner” were called epaikla by the Spartans (IV, 140 a).
553. 81-3 Cornford, in Themis, pp. 250-1.
554. 81-4 Athen., IV, 149 c; cf. C. B. Gulick’s note on the passage.
555. 81-5 Schol. Aristoph., cited by M. Morin, “Histoire Critique de La Pauvrete”, in Memoires de l’Acad. Royals des Inscr. et Belles Lettres, IV (1746), 303.
556. 82-1 Evagrius, IV, 36; Cedrenus, I, pp. 686-8 (ed. Bekker).
557. 82-2 Piganiol, Jeux Romains, pp. 93-96, shows that such was the original treatment of the δῶρον, later distribution being confined to the clergy. The Emp. Julian provided that of the corn and wine tax of all Galatia “one-fifth be used for the poor who served the priests” (Jul. Imp., Epist., XXII, 430 A. D.) on the Jewish Christian example.

558. 82-3 Athen., IV, 139 f.
559. 82-4 When the Athenians would throw open their doors ἐνκόλω καὶ ἱλαρῶς, to all (Plut., de Exil., 601 b); the Metageitnia is treated in its archaic aspects by L. Radermacher, "Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus dem Gebiete der Antike", Wien. Akad. Sitzungsber., v. 187 (1906), 11-13.
560. 82-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
561. 82-5 Athen., loc. cit., it was a three day festival of the dead; no one was absent; choruses, etc., for its antiquity, Nilsson, G. F., pp. 130-1.
562. 83-1 Athen., V, 215 b, c. He wore a gold crown for the occasion.
563. 83-2 Anaxandrides, frg. 41 in Kock, Com. Att. Frg., II.
564. 83-3 Malal., Chron., XII, p. 289 (ed. Dindorff).
565. 83-4 Malal., loc. cit. ; Chron. Pasch., Migne, PG, v. 92, p. 641 (Olymp. ccxl). The latter source describes his motive as φιλότιμος.
566. 84-1 W. Buckler, "A Charitable Foundation of A.D. 237", Jnl. Hel. Stud., LVII-1 (1937), 1-10, the donor received a statue in exchange: statue + feast = cult.
567. 84-2 Pausan., IV, 32, 2. The crystalizing of class feeling, as would be expected, confined the generosity and hospitality of individuals to those within their class, much against the spirit of the thing; thus Diod. XII 83; Hieronum., Epist., XXII, 16 & 32, just as in Rome, Infra, p. -.
568. 84-3 Supra., p. -.
569. 86-1 Seneca, Epist., I, 77.
570. 86-2 Gellius, Noct. Attic., VII, 7, 1; Victor, Vir. Illust., c. 15.
571. 86-3 Pliny, NH, XVIII, iii, 4.
572. 86-4 S. Dill, Social Life, p. 230, for like cases, Schmidt, RgVV, VII: 30 f.
573. 86-5 Zonar., VII, 10.
574. 87-1 Zonar., VII, 20.
575. 87-2 Mommsen (in Hermes, V (1871), 257 ff) believes that the whole Maelius story, unlike the parallel tales of Sp. Cassius and Manlius later, was a fabrication, entirely (p. 267) "im aristocratischen Sinne." The various interpretations of the Maelius case with its one-sided evidence may be found in Schwegler, Rom. Gesch., III, 132-4.
576. 87-3 Pliny, NH, XVIII, 4.
577. 87-4 Ad. Schmidt, "Geburtstag", Rg. V. V., VII (1909), 37, finds not one case of a college celebrating a birthday "aus freien Stücken."
578. 87-5 Plut., Caes., ---
579. 87-6 Plut., Crassus, c.29.
580. 88-1 Tacitus, Annals, IV, 62.
581. 88-2 Cicero, ad Atticum, I, 16, 12; cf. M. Gelzer, Nobilität der römischen Republik (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 101 ff.

582. 88-3 Stat., Silv., I, vi; Mamart., Paneg. Jul., 25, the Emperor is the creator of wealth and honor; so also Soz., V, 17; Pliny, Paneg., V, 2; VI, 1: Imperator et parens generis humani, etc. Cassiod., VI, 4; IX, 17; XII, 11 (on reciprocity of the giver and the people). Thus the Emperor was acclaimed: Pertinace imperator secure viximus ... patri omnium bonorum. Fausta omnia optamus et precamus (Paul. Dia., X, ---). Corripus, Justin., IV, 165 ff compares the Emperor to the Nile, swelling by a miracle within itself to become the source of all joy and life. Cf. W. Schubart, "Das Königsbild des Hellenismus", Die Antike, XIII (1937), 274, 281; E. Goodenough, "The Politicla Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship", in Yale Cl. St., I, 55 ff; Chr. Schoener, "Ueber Titularen der römischen Kaiser", Acta Seminar. Philol. Erlangen, II (1881), 449 ff, esp. 471 ff.
583. 88-4 Suet., Claud., c. 18.
584. 88-5 Plut., Galba., 18; Suet., Tib., c. 37.
585. 88-6 V. Gardhausen, Augustus und seine Zeit (Leipzig, 1891 f), I 2: 588.
586. 89-1 Suet., Aug., c. 53
587. 89-2 Livy, XXXI, 4, Latin Loeb #68 V. 9.
588. 89-3 Discussed by V. Duruy, "Du Regime Municipal dans l'Empire Romain", in Rev. Hist., I (1876), 341; on the honor of a portion from the Emperor's table, Suet., Domit., c. 11.
589. 89-4 O. Toller, De Spectaculis, Cenis, etc. (Altenburg, 1889), pp. 63-64. When Cicero is speaking in his most class-conscious vein he still speaks in the spirit of the old communal feast as observed within the Patrician class: their exchange of gifts was in a communitas in which firma devincitintur societats (de Off., I, 17, 56);
590. 89-5 Suet., Tib., c.37.
591. 89-6 Dio., LVII, 11.
592. 89-7 Hist. Aug., Heliog., c. 21.
593. 90-1 Suet., Claud., c. 21, see below, p. 55. Claudius Latin Loeb #136, v. 2.
594. 90-2 Marquardt, Staatsverw., III, 149-150; the common feast in Varro, Lingua Latina, VI, 54. Latin Loeb 176 v. 1.
595. 90-3 Schwegler, Röm. Gesch., IV: 370, calls them the "Haber" and the "Darber", the latter being the unwarlike population who simply "participated" in the feast by looking on. Though looking on is no way to share a feast (the Pinarii plainly did something), the names as thus rendered tempt speculation on the subject of distributions. Livy, I, 7, says the Pinarii came ad ceteram dapem, which may well recall a second-table. Cf. De-Marchi, Culto Privato, II: 3-5; F. Muenzer, "Die romischen Vestalinnen", in Philologus, XCII 1 (1937), 55.
596. 90-4 De-Marchi, op. cit., II: 5-7, cit. Livy, I, 7: familiae ... ea loca incolebant. All that is known about the Pinarii, Muenzer finds (loc. cit.) is that they were a family of pre-Roman antiquity, held the priesthood of Vesta, and that their children are concerned in legends of immoral conduct.

597. 91-1 Livy, XXV, 12; cf. Gel., II, 24; Val. Max., II, 5, 6; Tacitus, Annals, IV, 63; cf. atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis of Ovid.
598. 91-2 Gellius, Noct. Attic., II, 24.
599. 91-3 Gellius, loc. cit., cf. Supra, p. ---
600. 91-4 Cicero, de Off., II, 16, 55; Tacitus, Annals, IV, 63.
601. 91-5 Henzen, Acta Frat. Arval., p. 11.
602. 91-6 Idem, p. 14, quoting Cato, R. R., 12.
603. 91-7 Athen., IV, 140 f & d.
604. 92-1 Livy, VIII, 22.
605. 92-2 V. Duruy, Rev. Hist., I (1876), 349. ---.
606. 92-3 Pliny, Epist., X 76, Latin Loeb #93 p612, V.7.
607. 92-4 Apul., Apolog., V, cited by Duruy, op. cit., p. 348.
608. 92-5 Joh. Kirchmann, De Funeribus Romanorum (Lubeck, 1625), pp. 28ff; 648ff; Supra, p. 58f. It is possible that in the practice described by Herodotus, of cutting up the dead man himself and mixing his remains with those of slaughtered cattle, to be consumed by the entire community, is the ultimate background of the viscerationes – at any rate it is a public cult. Herodotus, I, 216; IV, 26; cf. Apollod., I, 6, 3; III, 14, 8; Pausan., VIII, 37, 5; X, 4, 6; W. Kroll, in Wiener Studien, LV (1937), 168-172; S. Thompson, Index, V 30.1.
609. 93-1 Kirchmann, De Funeribus Romanum, p. 277 ff; one is reminded of the graves that line the Via Appia, etc.
610. 93-2 Whatever might be the mystic symbol of crossroads, the primary and essential nature of compita and trivia was that of a public place.
611. 93-3 Dio., XXXVII, 51, Greek Loeb #61, V. 8.
612. 93-4 T. Mommsen, “Das röm. Gastrecht u. die Rom. Clientel”, Hist. Ztschr., I (1859) pp. 2342, 370.
613. 94-1 Mommsen, op. cit., p. 370, n. 31, and Römische Forschungen (Berlin, 1864), I: 344, n. 37, does not hesitate to see in the Roman *lautia* “eine deutliche Spur der homerischen Sitte dem Ankömmling vor allen Dingen das Bad zu Rüsten.” Cf. the treatment of Minos in Sicily by A. R. Burn, Minoans, Philistines and Greeks (N. Y.: Knopf, 1930), pp. 98-99; cf. also the foot-bathing practice of Sciron of Corinth, Apollod., Epit., I, 2, with the splendid foot-bathing establishment at the road-head at the house of the “Priest-Kings” of Cnossos, Evans, Palace of Minos, II: 116f; 120-3.
614. 94-2 Festus, ed. Linds., p. 60.
615. 94-3 Discussed by Mommsen, loc. cit., and Röm. Forsch., I: 344-5: “das sog. Badegerath, das heist alle Ausrüstung, welche der Gast braucht um den Badekassel zu erwärmen und sich die Speisen zu bereiten.”
616. 94-4 Plut., Qu. Rom., no. 43.
617. 94-5 Thesaur. Ling. Lat.

618. 94-6 Plut., loc. cit., suggests the custom be suited to Saturn the wanderer, as one rejoicing in hospitality.
619. 94-7 Festus, 290, cit. Platner, Topog. Dict., pp. 456-7.
620. 95-1 Mommsen, Röm Forsch., I: 345, citing Athen., IV, 74, in Delos & Magnetia.
621. 95-2 Thesaur.
622. 95-3 Mommsen, op. cit., I: 345-6; Marquardt, Staatsverw., III: 494.
623. 95-4 B. Kubler, in RE 16:1, 645.
624. 95-5 Tertullian, de spect, c. 12: officium ... mortuus hoc spectaculo facere se veteres arbitravintur.
625. 96-1 On the coincidence of birthdays, official birthdays, and personal cult, W. Schmidt. "Geburtstag", RgVV, VII (1909), 30 f; 44-45; 58 ff.
626. 96-2 Mommsen, in Hist Ztschr., I: 343.
627. 96-3 Mommsen, Röm Forsch., I: 326 ff, 347, n. 44.
628. 96-4 Idem, p. 347, visitors to the games had a special favored section of the grandstand, next to that of the Senators.
629. 97-1 M. Rostovzeff, "Römische Bleitesserae", Klio, Beiheft III (1906), 16-17 holds that the tesserae were introduced into Rome for the purpose of regulating the distributions of food or entertainment, following the Greek practice as developed at Athens in the fifth century. Though the device was known to the Republic, it was not employed on a national scale, according to R., until the time of the Empire. What were the tesserae meant to regulate? The amount distributed or the number of recipients? But that was determined entirely by the number of portions: there could not under any circumstances be more than a definite amount given and received. Nor were they to limit the distributions to certain classes or groups, to judge by Rostovzeff's emphatic declaration that the tesserae were transferrable: "der Regierung war es doch gleichgültig, ob Titus oder Seius das Korn bekam," (p. 17), and this not only as between citizen and citizen: slaves, R. maintains, were perfectly free to use the tesserae, obtaining them by purchase or any other way, which explains why the stands at the games "so bunt aussah" (p. 56). It limited, R. claims, the number of people who might attend the shows, but the capacity of the stands did that quite effectively: they were filled to capacity, and Friedlander, in Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw., III: 493, cites various passages attesting the existence of a reserved section of the seats which were for sale to those who would avoid the crush in the free benches, i.e., the tesserae failed utterly to limit the crowd to anything below what the size of the stands would permit. And why should people come in the middle of the night to get places, gratuita in circo loca (Suetonius, Calig., c. 26, Latin Loeb #135 ---), if the tessera made one as sure of a place as a ticket (tessera!) to the reserved section would? Gaius was a liberal giver of tesserae. (Suetonius, Calig., c. 18).
630. 97-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]

631. 98-1 Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, I: 338-343.
632. 98-2 Id., p. 338, the process is described in Plautus, *Poenulus*, 5, 1, 25; 5, 2, 87; 5, 2, 89. Latin Loeb #---.
633. 98-3 Plut., *Qu. Rom.*, n. 64: ἑρὸν δὲ ἡ (every) τράπεζα, Greek Loeb #201.
634. 98-4 Does the possession of a token mark any holder as eligible, or only one who has contracted the agreement of hospitium with the host? Mommsen holds that the latter is the case. Would then such an exchange of tokens be necessary to identify true friends to each other? Even in the largest private establishments the proper thing was for the host to know personally and to recognize every guest, Lucian, *de Mercede Conductis*. Since the influence and reputation of every Patrician depended on his having the largest possible number of hangers-on, the limiting of people admitted to the hospitality by tesserae (unless different tesserae were used for different occasions, a thing incompatible with the idea of hospitium) would have disadvantages, cf. Gelzer, *Die Nobilität der Römischen Republik* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 49ff; 79ff.
635. 99-1 The state kept a list of incise who were eligible to receive bounties, and the posession of a tessera identified the holder as an incises, K. Regling, *RE* %A: 1, 852.
636. 99-2 For military tesserae, Regling, *op. cit.*, 851; Rostovzeff, *BL* tesserae, pp. 2-3 refers the “gladiatorial” tesserae year incubation practices.
637. 99-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
638. 99-3 J. Heckenbach, *De Nuditate Sacra* (*RgVV*, vol. IX, 1911), 194 ff.
639. 99-4 Suetonius, *Aug.*, c. 100, Latin Loeb #135, V. 1.
640. 99-5 J. E. Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, (Cambridge, 1910), p. 584, no. 862.
641. 99-6 *Hist. Aug.*, Hadrian, XXVI, 7.
642. 99-7 Pausan., I, 17, 3; Atticus, Greek Loeb #106, V.1.
643. 99-8 Herodotus, I, 195; Greek Loeb #113, V -.
644. 100-1 Otto Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920) in *Der Alte Orient*, XVII-XVIII), 5-6.
645. 100-2 Idem., p. 1.
646. 100-3 Id., p. 10.
647. 100-4 Id., p. 4.
648. 100-5 Sir W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, etc.*, (London: Univ. College, 1917), p. 12.
649. 100-6 Idem, pp. 2-3, it was “a symbol and guarantee of his (the Creator’s) assistance to the deceased.”
650. 101-1 Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pp. 2-3.
651. 101-2 Wm. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1909), p. 1.
652. 101-3 Ward, *loc. cit.*, Weber, *Spiegelbilder*, p. 1: “Das siegel bezweckt die unanfechtbare, weil gestzlich anerkannt Legitimation seines besitzers.” According

to Evans, P. M., III, 144, the Minoan seal was a peculiar of the owner and could not be separated from him. It “had a protective virtue” and a “sense of divine companionship”. Among primitive peoples the wearing of a bead is essential to the life of the individual, cf. T. Elliot Smith, *Evolution of the Dragon* (Manchester, 1919) p. 70. The origin of the Sumerian seals “has been traced back to buttons and beads worn in a necklace”, T. L. Wooley, in Legain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions*, p. 8. The Minoan signet-ring originated from a bead seal, Evans, P. M., III, 139 f. With the flowers scattered at funerals beads were also scattered in Rome, Kirchmann, *de Funerib.*, p. 86, having no doubt the same life-and-death significance as the cicer, faba and lupine scattered on the same occasions, Hor., Sat., II, 3, 182, cf. Altheim, *Terra Mater*, pp. 135ff, as well as at the games, when flowers were also strewn, *vid.*, Rev. Et., Anc., XXVIII (1926), 321-2.

- 653. 102-1 cf. F. J. Dölger on the “Spragis als religiöse Brandmarkung” in *Antike und Christentum*, I: 73.
- 654. 102-2 Mommsen, *Rom. Forsch.*, I: 338-9.
- 655. 102-3 Wooley, in Lagrain, *Archaic Seal-Impressions*, pp. 3-4; and *Ur Excavations* (Oxford, 1934), I: 317. The stock subject of the archaic seals is a picture of people or “deities” feasting and drinking under the moon, Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, pp. 36 ff.
- 656. 102-4 Name and seal are inseparable and have the same significance. A man’s name, says Philo, *Decalog.*, 82, is as much a part of him as his shadow.
- 657. 102-5 When Alexander overcame the powers of the underworld and emerged to the light the pieces of wood and stone he had commanded his men each to pick up became shining jewels and gold, *Pseudocallisth.*, II, 41; the thing which drew the hero into the underworld according to this tale was the desire for pearls. When he takes back stone from the river of life they become white, cf. E. W. Budge, *Alexander* (London: Oxford, 1933) p. 100; *Joshua IV*, 2 ff.
- 658. 103-1 Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, pp. 3-6, following Hilprecht.
- 659. 103-2 Xenoph., *Hellenica*, II, I, 1-4; Greek Loeb #259 v. 1-4.
- 660. 103-3 C. Bonner, “Notes on a Certain Use of the Reed”, *APA*, XXXIX (1908), 36.
- 661. 103-4 Bonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38.
- 662. 103-5 The innocent victim was killed not simply because he had a reed, but ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον ἔιχε. The reed is a definite type of thing with a definite implication: fellowship, and hence conspiracy. cf. the palm branch in the same sense in *Mich.*, *Syr.*, VIII, 11; *Socrat.*, VII, 13, the Jewish conspiracy at Alexandria.
- 663. 104-1 Lydus, *de Mens.*, IV, 4, cit. R. Peter, in *Roschar, Lex.*, II 1, 227.
- 664. 104-2 Ward., *op. cit.*, p. 6; on the question of whether the kalamoi in Xenophon’s story were arrows, see Bonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.
- 665. 104-3 Herodotus, IV, 81, everyone in the kingdom assembled by compulsion.
- 666. 104-4 Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age.*, I:350, citing Hallfredar Sg. And Jomsvikingasaga.

667. 104-5 Rostovzeff, *Bleitesserae*, p. 1; Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, I:342; in *RE* 5A:L, 581.
668. 104-6 Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 341; Rostovzeff, *loc. cit.*
669. 105-1 Pausan., VII, 25, 10.; *Achaia Greek Loeb* #168 v. 3.
670. 105-2 Pausan., II, 20, 3; *Corinth Greek Loeb* #166 v. 1.
671. 105-3 E. Rohde, *Psyche* (London: Kagan Paul, 1925), p. 290, divination by mantike “was a late-coming innovation in the Apolline cult.”
672. 105-4 Macrobius, *Sat.*, I, 10; as a year rite, K. Schwenck, *Rh. Mus.*, NF XXII (1867) 0130-1.
673. 105-5 V. Ehrenberg, *RE* XIII 2, 1485, citing Mosso, *Monum. Antichi*, XVIII, 646 ff; XIX, 149.
674. 106-1 Ehrenberg, *RE* XIII: 1459.
675. 106-2 Rostovzeff, *Bleitesserae*, p. 41; *Mart.*, XII, 62, 9-12.
676. 106-3 Rostovzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-6.
677. 106-4 *Idem*, p. 99, the college of Aeculapi et Hygiae distributed only tesserae.
678. 106-5 Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, I:345.
679. 106-6 Pliny, *Epist.*, X, 117, *Latin Loeb* #93, 2, V. 2.
680. 106-7 Such contributions were also required at birth and death, Kirchmann, *Funer.*, 701.
681. 106-8 P. Gardiner, *Types of Greek Coins* I, 53 (cit. *Oxford, Dict., Art and Symbol*) “The symbol ... is a copy or replica of the signet of the magistrate who is responsible for the coin.”
682. 107-1 *Supra*, p. 60; Rostovzeff, *Bleitesserae*, p. 116, believes the Imperial ἀντίδορον consisted of old Janus-coins.
683. 107-2 Rostovzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
684. 107-3 Herodotus, II, 126.
685. 107-4 Herodotus, I, 199, cf. Strabo, XI, 8, 4, on Persian hierodules as a New year’s rite.
686. 107-5 Herodotus, I, 196.
687. 107-6 *Ibid.*, It seems to have lasted among the Veneti into the twelfth century of our era, J. Whatmough, *Foundations of Roman Italy* (London: Methuen, 1937) p. 173.
688. 108-1 Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.*, no. 9, *Greek Loeb* #201, V, 4; at Olympia the “Queen of Truth”, Pindar, *Olympia*, VIII, 1ff, cf. L. Weniger, “Die Seher von Olympia”, *ARW*, XVIII (1915), 53 ff; 112; for this goddess as an original Tyche, F. Altheim, *Terra Mater*, pp. 40-41; Tyche at Nemea, Pausan., II, 20, 3.
689. 108-2 V. Ehrenberg, *RE*, XIII: 1455.
690. 108-3 “... a name which indicates the impersonal character of this divine force and its almost autochthonous origin”, M. Radin, *Stud. Onor. Salv. Riccobono*, II: 25; Ehrenberg, *loc. cit.*; *Cic., de Div.*, II, xv, 48.
691. 108-4 i.e., as headquarters of the Year-King; below, p. 204 ff.
692. 108-5 The whole valley which the Circus occupied was originally the vallis Murcia, *Serv., Aen.*, VIII, 636, and the central shrine, at the altar of Consus, the *Ara Vetus*

also bore her name (cf. Platner, *Top. Dict.*, p. 348). She was often identified with Venus, Tertullian, *de Spect.*, c. 8: *Murciam enim deam amoris volunt...*, and the Venus Obsequens Aedes stood near her shrine, vid. Roscher, *Lex.*, II, 3231-3, that temple having been built with fines contributed by women taken in adultery (Platner, *T. D.*, p. 552), whence it is not surprising that Murcia was the especial intimate of Ladies of the Profession, whose work-shops occupied the arcades of the Circus Maximus (Juven., III, 65; cf. Tertull., *de Spect.*, 8). Servius, *Aen.*, I, 720 identifies Equestris Venus, Myrtea, Salacia, with the Great Mother, Of her great antiquity, Nielesty, in *RR*, 16: 1, 658.

693. 109-1 Frazer on *Apol.* III, x, 2 cf. Suet., *Tib.*, c. 14; Pliny, *Ep.*, VIII, 8, 2.
694. 109-2 For the various meanings of $\Psi\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ see *Lexicon*. The use of divining pebbles at the trial of an individual retained in legend its fundamental significance as a means of securing prosperity for all the land. The trial of Alcmaeon was held because his crime had made the ground barren, Pausan., IX, 40, 1; the crime of Orestes (the same crime) brought to the land “fatal, endless plague,” hence the pebble-dropping on the Areiopagus, Aesch., *Eumen.*, 449-451; the Boeotians first sought the oracle of Trophonius in time of drought, Pausan., IX, 40, 1.
695. 109-3 Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age.*, I: 350ff; Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 531 ff: the king at Midwinter would shake the lots to find out how many years he would live. Both these authorities cite many cases.
696. 109-4 Talmud. (ed. Goldschmidt) II: 854 (*Joma*, III, x): *Lev.*, XVI, 8; *II Sam.* XXI, 1 ff (on the public motive for a personal trial) cf. especially the trial of Jonathan. For the Urim and Thummim as stones, H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East* (London; Methuean, 1936), p. –
697. 109-5 Hambly. *African Anthropology*, I: 402.
698. 110-1 Thietmar, *Chron.*, VI, 22; *Homilarium Opatoviz*, in *FHR*, IV:21 on sortes and caracteres. *Herbord.*, II, 33: *lignas calculations*, *FHR*, IV, 27, 41, 43f. esp. *Helmold*, I, 52.
699. 110-2 H. Zimmern, *Bab. Neuj.*, p. 4.
700. 110-3 Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 17; *Jeremias*, in *Lehrb. d. Religgsch.*, I: 505.
701. 110-4 Martial, XIV, 1, 3; cf. XIV, 17; Suet., *Aug.*, c. 71; discussed by Conway, *Ancient It. And Mod. Relig.*, p. 123.
702. 110-5 Symmach., *Relat.*, 15, 1, cited by R. Peter, *Roscher Lex.*, II 1, 227.
703. 110-6 For this identification, O. Toller, *De Spectaculis*, etc., pp. 77-78.
704. 110-7 Huth, *Janus*, p. 92; Plut., *Qu. Rom.*, no. 41, identifies Janus-coin and Saturn.
705. 110-8 Thus *Hist. Aug.*, *Elegab.*, c. 22.
706. 111-1 Ehrenberg, *RE*, XIII:2: 1459; the Italian oracles were the first given out on such little wooden tablets. Cf. Rostovzeff, *Bleitesserae*, pp. 2-3 on the “gladiatorial” *tesserae*, perforated “zum Aufhängen”.
707. 111-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]

708. 111-2 Martial, VIII, 78, 7-8. Latin Loeb #78 v. 2.
709. 111-3 O quantum negoti et sudoris indagatoribus Criticis facessit haec 'linea'! Thus Farnabius, in his note on Martial, loc. cit., in his ed. of same.
710. 111-4 The white stone of Rev., II, 17, which goes with a new name and a feast can hardly be other than the life-giving stone or pearl to which the British anthropologists have given much attention (e.g. W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun* (London: Methuen, 1923), pp. 387-9; 393; H. Peake, *The Bronze Age and Celtic Europe* (London: Benn, 1922), pp. 36-40). In the one place where the ancient seal has survived in use it is called γαλοπετρα "milk stone", or λαλουσαις, "milk makers", the most coveted seals being those of a milk-white hue, Evans, *Scripta Minoa* (Oxford, 19091), I, p. 10.
711. 112-1 Case cited in Marquardt, R. *Staatsverw.*, III:496 in which food and tesserae which stood for food were distributed. To these cases should be added the account of how Cato being in charge of scenic games revived an ancient custom and delighted the jaded Roman taste by tossing vegetables and fruit to the actors, Plutarch, *Cato Minor.*, c. 46, Greek Loeb #219 V.8.
712. 112-2 Nigid. Figul., frg. 99 (Schol. Ad Germanicum, p. 85, 13ff; p. 154, 1ff) explaining the common idea that human beings come from stones.
713. 112-3 The custom was observed by the Kings of Armenia in the Golden Age, Z. C. Boyajian, *Armenian Legends & Poems* (London, 1916), p. 49, citing Moses Khoren. That gold, "the seed of the gods" is fertility is one thing which has been established by anthropology with great certainty. The significance of strewing in year and fertility rites is treated by Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, pp. 413-415.
714. 113-1 Dumont, ed., *L'Asvamedha*, pp. iii; 15.
715. 113-2 Idem., pp. iv-v; 153-4, these beads, says the text, are what give him divinity; at the same time the horse is given rice to eat.
716. 113-3 Idem, p. 291, cf. the throwing of meal at the Saturnalia to give "Zeugungskraft," Lehmann, *Lehrb. der RG.*, I:36.
717. 113-4 Henzen, *Acta Frat. Arv.*, p. 27.
718. 113-5 Henzen, op. cit., pp. 31-32, in which one gives with one hand and takes with the other.
719. 113-6 Id., p. 27.
720. 113-7 Id., pp. 13, 26, 27, 45-46: on this occasion the giver is formally wished many years of life, e.g. augeat tibi Juppiter annos, etc.
721. 113-8 L. Deubner, in *Lehrb. d. RG.*, II:421-2.
722. 114-1 Henzen, op. cit., p. 26.
723. 114-2 Herodian, V, 6, 9. Greek Loeb #118.2, V. 2.
724. 114-3 Jos., *Jewish Antiquities*, XIX, 1, 11. Greek Loeb #130, V.9.
725. 114-4 Theophan., *Chron.*, anno 791.

726. 114-5 Ninurta is preeminently the god in Babylonia, all the various main male-gods being but local derivations whose names are simply epithets for this one Year-God, the fertilizer of the fields and of animals and the consort of the Mother Goddess; this has been demonstrated by Prof. H. Frankfort, *Iraq*, I (1934), 24 ff. He appears already in Sumerian Lagash and that in the act of giving his New Year's gifts, Weber, *Babyl. Neuj.*, p. 16.
727. 114-6 Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Jeremias, *Lehrb. d. RG.*, I:563.
728. 114-7 Hyginus, *Fab.*, cxlvii.
729. 114-8 Diod., I, 15, 14ff, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1925), I:214.
730. 115-1 Strabo, IV, 2, 3; Athen., IV, 152; cf. Holde of the North, who scatters.
731. 115-2 Cic., *Phil.*, III, vi, 16.
732. 115-3 Ver., *Ecloga* VIII, 30, cf. Festus, ed. L., pp. 178-179.
733. 115-4 Martial, V, XXX, 8, cf. Preller, *Rom. Mythol.*, p. 415.
734. 115-5 Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 436. Thus Festus, *Nuces mitti in Cerealibus*.
735. 115-6 Concil, Aucerre, 578 a.d., in Mansi, IX, 912; Herrmann, *Altdt. Kult.*, pp. 24 ff.
736. 115-6 [Repeated reference to Footnote 6]
737. 115-7 *Mirabil. Rom.*, I, 4.
738. 115-8 O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (Muenchen, 1901), p. 195.
739. 115-9 Rostovzeff, *Bleitesserae*, pp. 15-16.
740. 115-10 Livy, XXXVIII.
741. 115-11 Plut., *Qu. Gr.*, no. 12, discussed by Halliday in his ed., p. 72 f.
742. 116-1 They repeat the shout "fere Mars! limen sali, sta berber!" Henzen, *Acta Frat. Arv.*, pp. 26-27
743. 116-2 Zimmern, *Babyl. Neuj.*, p. 18; the gate is a constant motif in the Sumerian seals, representing in fact "the first attempt at a ritual scene", Wooley in Legrain, *Arch. Seal-Impressions*, cf. nos. 9, 35, 45, 187, 333-342, etc. cf. E. Smith, *Dragon*, pp. 183 ff. on the primitive gate-goddess.
744. 116-3 Varro, *LL*, 47; Festus, 290; Symmach., *Relat.*, XV, 1; Surt., *Calig.*, c. 42: *Edixit et strenas ineunte anno se recepturum stetitque in vestibulo aedium Kl. Ian. Ad captandas stipes, quas plenius ante eum minibus ac sinu omnis generis turba fundebat*; cf. Suet., *Aug.*, c. 57; another royal house to which the wealth was brought was the temple of Saturn, where also every visitor to Rome was originally given a munus, Plut., *Roman Orestion* nos. 42, 43; cf. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 21.
745. 116-4 Cassiod., *Var.*, III, 20.
746. 116-5 Statius, *Silvae*, I, vi, 9ff, emphasizing the great abundance of everything.
747. 116-5 [Repeated reference to Footnote 5]
748. 116-6 Suet., *Domit.*, c. 4; Symmach., *Epist.*, IX, 153, wealthy senators take it hard if they fail to receive their sportulae.
749. 117-1 The element of chance is seen in the regulation that people had to catch their contribution to the feast in Sparta, Athen., IV, 141 d, e. It appears also in the

Roman custom of having the people scramble for birds and animals, a practice in itself the height of the impractical, Friedlander, *Sittengesch.*, III: 316-318; birds were especially common. According to Lampridius, in *Hist. Aug.*, Alex. Sever., XXXVII, 6, it was considered the best of omens for a goose, pheasant or cock to hop onto the Emperor's table at the year-feast of the Saturnalia. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Semit.*, p. 342 emphasizes the scramble for meat as a necessary part of the oldest Semitic sacrifice as described by Nilus. Athen., IV, 35 describes the Thracians as throwing the portions at their feasts.

- 750. 117-2 Rostovzeff, *Bleitesserae*, p. 56.
- 751. 117-3 H. Dessau, *Geschichte der röm. Keiserzeit* (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1924-30). I, 339.
- 752. 117-4 Pliny, *Epist.*, X, 116; on the occasions for spectacles, feasts, and distributions, O. J. Toller, *de Spectaculis*, etc., pp. 1-23, the same occasions call for any or all of the three forms of celebration.
- 753. 117-5 *Supra*, p. 92. See New Year festival.
- 754. 117-6 Kirchmann, *de Funeribus*, on Libitina.
- 755. 117-7 Mommsen, *de Collegiis et Sodalibus*, p. 55; *R.G.*, I, 787.
- 756. 117-8 *Below*, pp. 201 ff.
- 757. 118-1 W. Otto, *RE*, VII, 32-33.
- 758. 118-2 Lydus, *de Mens.*, IV, 4.
- 759. 118-3 Math., XIV, 19 (grass); Mark, VI, 39 (green grass); Luke, IX, 15; John, VI, 10.
- 760. 118-4 On the Iovis Epula as lectisternia, Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, p. 423; the lectisternium of 355-399 was held in time of national emergency and a complete hospitality prevailed, all citizens opening their doors to friends and strangers alike (Livy, V, 13, 6); this lectisternium, ordered by the Sibylline Books, Preller maintained to be "der griechische, speciell der Apollinische Gottesdienst," (*Röm. Mythol.*, pp. 133-4) and Marquardt, (*Röm. Staatsverw.*, III: 46-47) holds that the whole institution is Greek and late because 1) in Rome "in guter Zeit" people ate in a sitting posture, 2) the images of the gods which were placed on the couches were "im ältesten Rom völlig unbekannt", 3) the lectisternium ordered by the Sibyl was the *primum in urbe Romana facto* (Livy, loc. cit). He further suggests that the lectisternium, which is "nachhomerisch" because gods and men sit in Homer (vs. *Odyss.*, III, 38; Greek Loeb #124 V.1) in which the arrangement in companies of nine recalls the year-feast and suggests on the strength of Athenagoras (*Athen.*, IV, 145 c; Greek Loeb #39 V. 2; II, 48 d; Greek Loeb #38, V. 1) that it is of Asiatic origin. To his objections we would remind the reader 1) that we are not dealing with the "gute Zeit", 2) that the gods of the old year-feast were very different from those of historic times, and point to Erich Bethe, *Ahnenbild und Familiengeschichte bei Römern u. Griechen* (München: Beck, 1935), who can claim, p. 12, that the Roman images that were brought out for every year-rite "Ueberbleibsel aus dunkler Vorzeit . . . bewahrten", and were far older

than anything of the kind which had survived in Greece. 3) That we have insisted above that the great assembly could not be held in the city (supra, p. ---) while Livy (see above ref.) specifically states that the lectisternium of 355-399 was the very first held in urbe Romana. The fact that people sat on the ground to eat in Persia would suggest a Persian origin if Persians were at the time the only ancient people to do so.

- 761. 118-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
- 762. 119-1 Neh., VIII, 17.
- 763. 120-1 Gaster, *Studii e Materiali*, XII (1936), 139 frg. ---, l. 11ff: "The godly hero eats, the hero drinks, even the holy one. Behold for five, and six days and seven . . . He ascends his couch and lies down."
- 764. 120-2 Herodot., I, 181; Greek Loeb #143, V. 1.
- 765. 120-3 Athen., IV, 152f-153a, the food was παραβληθὲν by the king to the guests.
- 766. 120-4 Athen., IV, 145c.
- 767. 120-5 Athen., IV, 143c.
- 768. 120-6 Athen., IV, 143e, the specific statement implies that reclining at meals was common, cf. Marquardt, *Röm Staatsverw.*, p. 47.
- 769. 120-7 Athen., IV, 138 f.
- 770. 121-1 Athen., IV, 149 e; Greek Loeb # -9, V. 2.
- 771. 121-2 Athen., IV, 148 c; Greek Loeb # -9, V. 2.
- 772. 121-3 Cagnat & Chapot, *Manuel*, II: -.
- 773. 121-4 St. Patrick, *Confess.*, II, in FHR, V2, 150.
- 774. 121-5 Now Disproven
- 775. 121-6 Ovid., *Fasti.*, III, 523 ff. Latin Loeb #81 V. 1.
- 776. 121-7 For Anna Perenna as an indignation of Ceres, Altheim, *Terra Mater*, pp. 93 ff.
- 777. 121-8 Tertullian, *de Spect.* ; Latin Loeb #144.
- 778. 121-9 Henzen, *Act. Frat. Arv.*, p. 26.
- 779. 121-10 Wissowa, *RE*, II, 1476.
- 780. 121-11 Henzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.
- 781. 122-1 Henzen, *Act. Frat. Arv.*, pp. 12, 25.
- 782. 122-2 Henzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
- 783. 122-3 Henzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
- 784. 122-4 It was as a visitor to the harvest feast that Ruth claimed the hospitality of Boaz by formally reclining at his feet, Ruth III, 7, as she had been instructed by Naomi: "uncover his feet, and lay thee down; and he will tell thee what thou shalt do." Ruth, III, 4, thus marking the act as a formal procedure, whether or not one holds with a recent investigation of the story which concludes that it is all ritual of the year-drama, W. E. Staples, "The Book of Ruth", *Am. Jnl. Sem. Lang. & Lit.*, LIII (1937), 145-158.
- 785. 122-5 [Footnote 5 is missing. Based on context it is probably a reference to Mommsen.]

786. 123-1 Mommsen, *Hist. Ztschr.*, I: 563-4; *Röm. Forsch.*, I: 379 ff.
787. 123-2 It is accepted by A. V. Premmerstein, *RE*, IV, 23, 26.
788. 123-3 Premmerstein, *op. cit.*, 25, the records of the oldest clientel “nur sehr später Zeit ... auch nicht selten durch einseitige Parteinahme betruht.”
789. 123-4 Alois Walde, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der Indoger. Sprachen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1930), I: 490; and *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1906); the cluere derivation is accepted by Mommsen and may be found in A. Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb. D. Indoger. Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1876), II: 71.
790. 123-5 Walde, *loc. cit.*
791. 123-6 O. Weise, *Language and Character of the Roman People* (London, 1909), pp. 5ff.
792. 124-1 At the time of the *ludi plebei* and *Romani*, the whole Senate would hold the *epulum Iovis* in the Capitol, while exercising at the same time their *ius publice epulandi*, thus recalling the feasting of the Arvals in the temple of Dea Dia with a strictly formal entertainment of all the people, cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, III: 348-350. The sacrificial meals of the *Salii* became notoriously sumptuous, cf. R. Cirilli, *Les Pretres Danseurs de Rome* (Paris: Guenther, 1913), p. 121.
793. 124-2 This goes for games as well as for feasts, e.g. Suet., *Claud.*, c.11, Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, III: 469 f.
794. 125-1 Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 504, citing Eyrb. S., 43.
795. 125-2 *Loc. cit.*, Lindroth, *Iceland* (Princeton, 1937), pp. 123-4.
796. 125-3 Lindroth, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
797. 125-4 Herrmann, *Island*, I, 231 ff, citing *Lnd.*, III, 8.
798. 125-5 Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age*, I: 357-361.
799. 125-6 Niedner, *Islands Kultur*, p. 46; Olaus Magnus describes ---.
800. 125-7 Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, pp. 461 ff; Grimm, *Dt. Mythol.*, I:621-9.
801. 125-8 Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-5; Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, I:563-6.
802. 125-9 Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 342; Du Chaillu, I: 568 ff.
803. 125-10 Herrmann, pp. 414 ff.
804. 125-11 *Idem.*, pp. 480, 484-5.
805. 126-1 Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, pp. 530-1, the lot-taking goes with sacrificing. Kings of the North would shake the dice for the possession of lands, Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age*. I:356.
806. 126-2 S. Eitrem, *Beiträge zur german. Religionsgeschichte* (Kristiania, 1917), II: 21 ff.
807. 126-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
808. 126-3 Grimm, *Dt. Mythol.*, I:28-29.
809. 126-4 Mannhardt, *Wald- u. Feld-Kulte*, I:391-396, 341 ff.
810. 126-5 Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 501.
811. 126-6 Grimm, *op. cit.*, II:726-9.
812. 126-7 L. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* (Berlin, 1889), II:339, claims this to be the original motif of the “Erlöser” drama of the year. Grimm, *Dt.*

813. 127-1 Grimm, *Dt. Mythol.*, I:333.
814. 127-2 Mannhardt, *Wald- u. FeldKultus*, I:392-3; 341-406.
815. 127-3 L. Rademacher, "Beitr. Zur Volkskunde", *Wien. Akad. Sitzber.*, v. 187, 3. Abh. (1918), 13.
816. 127-4 Mansi, XII, 400 (747 A. D.).
817. 127-5 Of the games at Stonehenge "unter ihnen kann sich das Wagenrennen schon befunden haben", Schuchardt, *Alteuropa*, p. 81, cf. the chariots on the Scandinavian rocks, Bohuslan, etc.
818. 127-6 Supra, p. 12 f.
819. 127-7 Geoffrey, II, 16, they fought for the kingdom.
820. 127-8 Jubainville, *Ire. Cycle*, pp. 19-20, they were twins.
821. 127-9 Polyaunus, VIII, 39.
822. 127-10 Supra, p. 12 f.
823. 128-1 Jubainville, *op.cit.*, pp. 72 ff; 79-109.
824. 128-2 J. A. MacCulloch, *Lehrb. d. RG.*, II:608.
825. 128-3 After single challenges had been exchanged between the Tuatha De Danaan and the Fir-Bolg, they went out in small equal groups to fight each day; on the last day the outcome of the combat between two companies of 300 was regarded as final, Jubainville, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-93.
826. 128-4 Polyb., III, 62, 5ff.
827. 128-5 Posidonius, in *Athen.*, VI, 246 c, d, where it is more definitely a formal than in Magnobodus, *Vit. St. Maurilii*, in *FHR*, V2, 193, but no more so than in Venantius, XX, 108, in *FHR*, V2, 191.
828. 128-6 Jubainville, *op.cit.*, pp. 176-7.
829. 128-7 Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age.*, II: 353.
830. 129-1 M. Williams, in *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 50-51.
831. 129-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
832. 129-2 von Schroeder, *Wien. Akad. Sitzber.*, CLXVI, 3, Abh., pp. 65ff. "die Befreiung der Wasserströme". The horse motif is very prominent.
833. 129-3 Albert Dufourcq, *RHLP*, IV (1899), 254.
834. 129-4 M. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 50; 43-44, the lady is abducted by the black horse Melwas from the banquet on January 1, where the college of heroes sits "exactly as at the Grail table." To rescue the water-goddess Eithne Dagda prince of the T. De Danaan went to the castle of the underworld and laid siege to it, whereupon he became a swan, Jubainville, 159f; cf. Melwas as Orpheus, A. H. Krapple, "Disarmuid", etc. *Folklore*, v 47 (1936), 347-361.
835. 129-5 M. Williams, *op.cit.*, p.47.
836. 129-6 MacCulloch, *Lehrb. d. RG.*, II" 606, 616, the nature of Epona is too well known to need discussion.

837. 129-7 Serv., ad Georg., I, 12 ... unde Illyricos quotannis ritu sacrorum equum solera aquis inmergere; hoc autem ideo, quod Saturnus umoris totius et frigoris deus sit.
838. 130-1 Alex. H. Krapple, in *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 208 ff has shown that the Challenger in the Green Knight story is "Death itself ... the God of Death, the Celtic Hades," etc. whose challenge the hero accepts, and with whom he plays the beheading-game in the underworld. cf In Geoffrey, III, 21, the Black Knight who comes at midnight to the feast, Grendel-like, to steal away all the food in his basket, and whom the King wrestles and overcomes, thanks to a tub of water, is the Plague, and he is forced to swear an oath of allegiance to the King, Lydd. The people of Massilia, more Gallorum, in times of drought and plague would sacrifice a mocking, Schol. Juven., I, 44, in FHR, V1, 60, ad Lucan., id., p. 53, Serv. ad Aen., III, 57. The Beltane fires were for "the cattle against the diseases of each year," Cormac, cit., FHR, V3, 247.
839. 130-2 Jubainville, Ire. Cycle, p. 84, Brennes, Brian, etc., is the incarnation of the victorious year-king.
840. 130-3 Idem., pp. 76-77, at Teltown, to modern times the scene of the great horse-fair. On the Celtic horse in divination, Migne, PL. XXXIX, 2239, FHR, V2, 134.
841. 130-4 Schol. Juven., I, 44, at the Ara Dianae in Lyons (in FHR, V1, 69-69), this was the most popular form of contest in Wales, the Eistoddffed.
842. 130-5 St. Patrick won many kinds of contest, always at the year-feast, and so established his authority, FHR, V 2, 140ff, 149, 150, 154f, 158, 160, etc.
843. 131-1 Ebbo, III, 1, in FHR, IV, 35; Concil. Prag., FHR, IV, 64, 67-68, 70, 77.
844. 131-2 Idem, and Helmold, I, 52; 83, Thietmar, VI, 22; also FHR, IV, 21, 27, 43, 64.
845. 131-3 Helmold, I, 6, cf. Brückner, Lehrb. d. RG, II: 513.
846. 131-4 Helmold, I, 52.
847. 131-5 Chron Livon., in Grimm, Dt. Mythol., II: 629; Thietmar, VI, 22; Monach. Priefling., in FHR, IV, 41; Saxo XIV, 564, in FHR, IV, 51; Bruckner, loc. cit.
848. 131-6 Saxo, loc.cit.
849. 131-7 Brückner, op.cit., II: 510f, 513, 516.
850. 131-8 Concil, Prag., in FHR, IV, 63-64.
851. 131-9 Procop., Bell. Goth., III, 14: σεβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νόμ φας... καὶ Θύσσυσι αὐτοῖς ἅπασι, τάς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς Θυσίαις ποισῶνται.
852. 132-1 Brückner, Lehrb. d. RG., II:518.
853. 132-2 Idem, p. 515; Sermones Polonici, in FRH, IV, 70.
854. 132-3 A. J. Wensinck, "The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology", *Acta Orientalia*, I (1922), 159.
855. 132-4 T. Gaster, "The Battle of the Rain and the Sea, an Ancient Semitic Nature-Myth", *Iraq*, IV 1 (1937), 21; and G. Barton, *AOSJ*, XLVI (1932), 225.
856. 133-1 Gaster, *Iraq*, IV1 (1937), 31.
857. 133-2 Id., p. 26.

858. 133-3 T. Gaster, The "Harrowing of Ball, a Poem fr. R. S." *Acta Orientalia*, XVI 1 (1937), 40 f; Ginsberg recalls, p. 43, that Adonis in some legends is killed by demons of the desert while hunting.
859. 133-4 A. R. Johnson, in *The Labyrinth* (ed. S. H. Hooke), pp. 91-92, 94-95, does not mention drought.
860. 133-5 Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and *Stud. e Matl.*, X (1934), 152 on "the pruning of Mot".
861. 133-6 G. Barton, *AOSJ*, LII (1932), 225.
862. 133-7 *Idem*, p. 229, comparing the story with "Ishtar's Descent" this writer suggests a lost episode in which Moth overcomes Alein and drives him down to the underworld.
863. 133-8 Ginsberg, "Ba'al and 'Anat", *Orientalia*, VII (1938), 10.
864. 134-1 The son of Danel, Aqhat is killed by the harpy-like 'Anat, flying in a host of eagles that prophesy drought, and Danel himself is tortured by being shown in a dream "just such a spring of living waters as the soil so badly needs," Gaster, *Stud. e Matl.*, XII (1936) 126-7, and XIII (1938), 42.
865. 134-2 Gaster, *Stud. e Matl.*, XII, 127, 129, it was both year-feast and funeral-feast for Aqhat, the people all brought their firstlings as offerings. Cf. *id.*, pp. 135, 139.
866. 134-3 T. Gaster, *Iraq*, IV 1, 25.
867. 134-4 Johnson, in *The Labyrinth* (ed. S. H. Hooke) , pp. 90-92.
868. 134-5 N. Schmidt, *AOSJ*, XLVI (1926), 163: There is much evidence that Shemesh, Tammuz, Astarte and other divinities were worshipped in the royal temple at Jerusalem before the exile."
869. 134-6 *Lev.*, XVI, 8, there are two goats and lots of box-wood are drawn for them.
870. 134-7 Wensinck, *Act. Or.*, I (1922), 184, notes the parallels of the Saturnalia.
871. 135-1 *Psalm xxix*, 10f, discussed by Thackeray, *Septuagint*, p. 47.
872. 135-2 A. R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 86, citing *Ps. xlv*, 5; *lxv*, 10; *Amos V*, 8; for the establishment of the throne of dominion over the flood, A. J. Wensinck, *Act. Or.*, I: 175 ff, and Eric Burrows, in *The Labyrinth*, pp. 52-55; Thackeray, p. 73; *Dan.* VII, 9-10; *Rev. XXII*, 1; *Joma*, VIII, 2.
873. 135-3 *Rosh Hashana*, I, 2, cited by Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 182, n. 1.
874. 135-4 *Zech.*, XIV, 16-17, cf. Thackeray, *op. cit.*, pp.
875. 135-5 Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 90, citing *Ps. xviii*, 25-26.
876. 135-6 *Jud.*, V, 11, Sir Arthur Evans feels that the Sisera story, especially with regard to the window (*V v.* 28-29) has something to do with the ritual windows of the Mother Goddess in Cnossus, *P. M.*, II, 602, and cites *2 Kings IX*, 30 in this connection. In the Ras Shamra tablets there is a whole drama about the placing of a lattice window "in the midts of the temple. ... in the house of Yadad, god of the sea," etc., which seems to be a cause of disaster, Barton, *AOSJ*, LV, (1935), 44, 46-48 etc.

877. 135-7 Robertson Smith, *Rel., Semit.*, pp. 98, 100, 110 ff, 104 ff. 1, has discussed the subject at length: the fertility of the ground has “no direct connection with rainfall, but depends on the depth of the ground water.”
878. 136-1 Zech., III, 1, 3-5, 9; after the issue is settled: “Even he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon this throne...” VI, 13. The whole book is a description of the year-rite with all details.
879. 136-2 Shouck-Hurgronje, *Mekkaanschue Feest*, p. 166; Juynboll, in *Hastings Encl.*, X, 10, says this race “seems to have ritual meaning”.
880. 136-3 S.-Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 166f: The tradition is that “onder die steenhoopen bedolven waren.” There is a full but not final treatment of the subject by Houtsma, in *Kon. AK. Wetens.*, VI, 187 ff.
881. 136-4 S.-Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 166 f.
882. 136-5 R. Basset, *Mille et un Contes*, etc., I: 207.
883. 136-6 I. Friedländer, “Zur Gesch. Der Chadirlegende, “, *ARW*, XIII (1910), 92-161 compares Chadir with water and year gods everywhere.
884. 137-1 Friedländer maintained that Chadir’s name referred originally to the green vegetable growth on the sides and surfaces of ponds, and identifies him with the “Seedämon der Lebensquelle”, whether the Greek Glaucus or the Hindu Raga Kidar, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-6. The year-god Osiris is addressed in a hymn as “green, in thy name of Great Green”, i.e. the sea, Elliot Smith, *Dragon*, p. 105.
885. 137-2 A. Jeremias, on “Izdubar”, in *Roscher, Lex.*, II 1, 773 ff.
886. 137-3 Zimmern, *Babyl. Neujahrsfest*, pp. 3-4.
887. 137-4 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
888. 137-5 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18, Nebo writes the results on a tablet.
889. 137-6 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
890. 137-7 H. Frankfort, *Iraq*, I (1934), 8ff; P1. I, a.
891. 137-8 Zimmern, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
892. 138-1 How the self-conscious egoism of the conquering kings comes to overshadow all else at the festivals may be seen in the Sumerian seals, Legrain, *Archaic Seal- Impressions*, p. 4; Wooley, *Ur Royal. Cem.*, I:335-342, cf. 342-351.
893. 138-2 Frankfort, *Iraq*, I, 22.
894. 138-3 Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 17, *supra*, p.
895. 138-4 Frankfort, p. 22; Zimmern, *Babyl. Neujahr.*, pp. 13-15.
896. 138-5 A. Jeremias, in *Roscher, Lex.*, *Nath. Schmidt.*, *AOSJ*, XLVI (1926), 161; Zimmern, *Bab. Neuj.*, p. 15.
897. 139-1 Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 15, the song, ‘Einst als droben’ Zimmern calls a “Neujahrsfestlied”. It declares the cosmic nature of the combat.
898. 139-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
899. 139-2 J. D. Prince, “The So-called Epic of Paradise”, *AOSJ*, XXXVI (1916), 95ff.

900. 139-3 M. Jastrow, "Sumerian & Akkadian Views of Beginnings", AOSJ, v. 36 (1917), 291-3.
901. 139-4 Ibid., p. 300.
902. 139-5 Ibid., pp. 282-3, 287; though the "world city" is founded over the deep, which is chaos, and in the Akkadian version the hero fights the water-dragon, pp. 304 ff, and the waters of the underworld are often the main adversary of the hero, Noah, Ut-Napishtim, etc., Act. Or., I: 183-7, water, whether too much or too little, is the theme of the combat: the control of the water, to restrain it or bring it forth, is ever the theme of the contest, E. Smith, Dragon, pp. 76 ff; cf. W. Neidder, in AOSJ, XLV (1925), 284-6, in H. Guntert, Der Arische Weltkönig u. Heiland (Halle: Niemeyer, 1923).
903. 140-1 W. F. Albright and P. E. Dumont, AOSJ, LIV (1934), --- ff, have established the identity. The original sacrifice in India was a cattle offering, the source and date of origin of the horse-rite being unknown, pp. 113; 127-8.
904. 140-2 Ibid., p. 109.
905. 140-3 Dumont, L'Asvamedha, pp. iii-iv; 38; xi.
906. 140-4 Ibid., pp. 19-20.
907. 140-5 Ibid., pp. 27.
908. 140-6 Ibid., pp. 5-7 with the water was brought forth the semente of the year, the year not having existed before, p. 6.
909. 140-7 Ibid., p. xi; Albright, op. cit., p. 112.
910. 140-8 E. W. Hopkins, AOSJ, LI: 312-313.
911. 141-1 Dumont, op. cit., p. i.
912. 141-2 Ibid., p. xiv; H. Guntert (rev.), AOSJ, XLV (1925), 283, while insisting that Varuna's aquatic nature has been under-emphasized, specifies that this office of the god is "nicht aus seiner Gewalt über regen abgeleitet worden." He is originally, the cosmic sea.
913. 141-3 Albright, op. cit., p. 127
914. 141-4 Dumont, p. 18.
915. 141-5 Guntert, op. cit., pp. 286 ff.
916. 141-6 Jastrow, in AOSJ, XXXVI: 318.
917. 141-7 Dumont, pp. xii; xv; vii.
918. 141-8 In killing the horse he sacrifices himself, Dumont, pp. 101; 183 ff; vii; xv; the cutting up of the horse is a rite much older than the Rig Veda, according to Dumont, who does not hesitate to compare it with like rituals elsewhere, pp. xv-xvi, while not being able to declare its origin with certainty, though suggesting that it was Indo-Iranian.
919. 141-9 [No #9 footnote is present]
920. 142-1 Dumont, L'Asvamedha, viii.

921. 142-2 Schaefer, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus (ed. Reitzenstein & Schaefer, Leipzig: Teubner, 1926), pp. 225 ff.
922. 142-3 The Shah Nahmeh is full of such stories.
923. 142-4 "The Story of the Magic Horse", in 1001-and-One Nights (ed. Lane), II: 150-187.
924. 142-5 Dio Chrysostom, Orat., 36, 42-45, ed. Bude, IV: 16-18.
925. 142-6 Vitruv., VIII, Intd.
926. 142-7 Dio Chrys., IV, 48-49; 53.
927. 142-8 Lehmann, Lehrb. d. RG., II: 227-8; for a description of the rain-pond A. J. Carnoy, "Iranian Views of Origins", AOSJ, XXXVI (1917), 301-2.
928. 142-9 Lehmann, op. cit., p. 228.
929. 143-1 Lehmann, Lehrb. d. RG., II: 216, 227.
930. 143-2 Yasht 19, cited by Lehmann, p. 216.
931. 143-3 Dio Chrys., XXXVI, 42 ff, 39f.
932. 143-4 Herodot., VII, 40; 55; Xenoph., Inst. Cyr., VIII, 3, 11-12; Curt. Ruf., Hist. Alex., III, 3, 11.
933. 143-5 Meissner, "Entstehung des Purimfestes", Ztschr. D. dt. Morgenl. Ges., L (1896), 297 f, cited by F. cumont, Rev. Philol., XXI (1897), 150.
934. 143-6 Dio Chrys., Orat., IV, 66-67.
935. 143-7 Wensinck, Acta Orient., I, 183-7.
936. 143-8 H. Gressman, Der Ursprung d. israelit. – Jüd. Eschatologie (Götting, 1905) pp. 307 ff.
937. 143-9 Strabo, XV, 3, 14-15; XII, 3, 37; Max Semper, Rassen und Religionen im alten Vorderasien (Heidelberg: Winter, 1930), Bk. II, Pt. iii, "Anahita", a very full treatment.
938. 144-1 Plut., Artaxerxes, c. 3.
939. 144-2 Herodot., II, 63; for the combat motif, H. Grossmann, Tod u. Auferstehung des Osiris (Bd. 23, Heft. 3, of Alt. Or., 1923), pp. 31-33.
940. 144-3 The rite is thus summarized by C. N. Deedes, in The Labyrinth (ed. S. H. Hooke), pp. 22-23, largely from the Ramesseum Papyrus "the contents of which date from the first dynasty." A like account may be found in Erman, Aegypten, p. 318, who says that such a dramatization was characteristic of all Egyptian festivals.
941. 144-4 R. O. Faulkner, "The Bremer-Rhind Papyrus", Jnl. Eg. Arch., XXIII (1937), 167.
942. 145-1 Etienne Drioton, "Le Roi defunt, Thoth et la Crue du Nil", Eg. Relig., I 2 (1933), 39 ff.
943. 145-2 Gressmann, op. cit., passim.
944. 145-3 C. N. Deedes, op. cit., p. 24; the marriage in the Osiris cult is given special treatment by G. D. Hornblower, "Osiris and his Rites", Man, XXVII (Nov., 1937), 157 ff, 176.
945. 145-4 Drioton, loc. cit.

946. 145-5 Frobenius, Erythräa, p. 229, and Kultergeschichte Afrikas (Wien: Phaidon, 1933), pp. 160 ff.
947. 145-6 Frobenius, Kulturgesch. Afr., p. 162.
948. 145-7 Frobenius, Erythräa, p. 202.
949. 146-1 L. Radermacher, Wien. Akad. Sitzungsber., v. 187-3 (1918), 14-15.
950. 146-2 K. Ziegler, "Das Spiegelmotiv im Gorgonmythus", ARW, XXIV (1926), 9-12; A. Lesky, "Ein ritueller Scheinkampf bei den Hethitern", ARW, XXIV, 79.
951. 146-3 Lucian, Dea Syr., c. 49; of the visiting gods in Babylon and elsewhere Wensinck, Act. Or., I (1922), 177: "We cannot get rid of the idea that the gods themselves celebrate their own birth at this great feast of creation." Cf. Lucian, ib., c.7.
952. 146-4 The Iasily Kaya marriage has been discussed with some freedom by Elderkin, "The marriage of Zeus and Hera and its Symbol", AJA, XLI (1937), 428.
953. 147-1 Lucian, Dea Syr., c. 12-13 it was the shrtine of Deucalion, father of the γένεος τοῦ δευτέρου, where the re-people of the earth began.
954. 147-2 Ib., c. 16-17.
955. 147-3 Ib., c.42.
956. 147-4 Plut., Qu. Gr., no 12.
957. 147-5 Idem, cf. Halliday's note in his ed., pp. 67-70.
958. 147-6 The Charilla festival, Plut., loc. cit., cf. Harrison, Themis, p. 416.
959. 147-7 Halliday, op. cit., p. 71; a favorite theme with Harrison, Themis, pp 416-423.
960. 148-1 Athen., IV, 141 e, f; Nilsson, G. F., p. 123.
961. 148-2 Nilsson, loc. cit.
962. 148-3 It was distinctly a form of divination for the year; if the victim was caught ἀγαθόν τι προσδοκῶτιν κατὰ τὰ ἐτ χωρία τῇ πόλει. If not it was a bad sign, Bekk. Anecd., I: 30b, in Nilsson, G. F., p. 121, n. 4; the Karneia was established to counteract a plague, Pausan., III, 13, 3, and others, Nilsson, 122, n. 3, and seems to have been in the interest of the animals, since it was a pastoral festival.
963. 148-4 Nilsson, op. cit., p. 121.
964. 149-1 Pausan. V, 7, 4; on the association of Olympia with the northern Olympos, G. Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion (N.Y.; Columbia U., 1930), pp. 65-67.
965. 149-2 Hes., Theog., 881, in Preller, Griechische Mythologie (Berlin, 1860), I: 49. The battle lasted ten enneaterida, and ended with the confinement of the Titans to the depths, id., p. 48, Hes., Theog., 501ff, 617ff. [Reviewer: Hes. Theog., 881 – No mention of Olympic Games, however]
966. 149-3 Rohde, Psyche, p. 17.
967. 149-4 Weinrich, on C. Robert's "Oedipus", in ARW, XXIII (1925), 143-4. Carnoy has pointed out, AOSJ, XXXVI, 315, that "stories of irregular sexual intercourse and especially of incest have arisen in Iran from conditions special to the first man or first human pair," and notes such irregularity in Slavic mythology, p. 314. The Tristan triangle has recently been identified with the Celtic Melwas and the

- Adonis love-tales, A. H. Krappe, in *Folklore*, XLVII (1936), 347-361. Other examples, Isis-Osiris, Baal-Anat, etc. will occur to the reader.
968. 150-1 Apollod., III, 15, 8; II, 4, 7.
969. 150-2 Pausan., I, 17, 4.
970. 150-3 Sir A. Evans, *PM*, IV: 46, believes that both these characters typify a tendency of the late Minoan to glorify the consort of the Goddess.
971. 150-4 Pausan., IV, 36, 3; V, 7, 4; cf. III, 18, 16; VI, 19, 12; IX, 11, 6; III, 16, 4, etc.
972. 150-5 Pausan., V, 7, 4.
973. 150-6 Thus the archery contest, Schol. Eurip. *Hippol.*, 543, and the eating contest, Pausan., V, 5, 4; Apollod., II, 5, 9; II, 7, 6.
974. 150-7 Like his dicing contest for Acca Larentia is the lot-taking for the possession of the land by the Heraclids, Apollod., II, 8, 4; Pausan., IV, 3, 3; cf. Polyden., I, 6.
975. 150-8 Pausan., II, 25, 6.
976. 150-9 Strabo, XIV, 5, 16.
977. 150-10 J. H. Rose, "Explanations of Ritual Combats", *Folklore*, XXXVI (1925), 322-331.
978. 151-1 In time of drought the Ainianes stoned their king; their next king was stoned to death in combat with the King of the Inachians for the possession of the land, Plut., *Qu. Gr.*, no. 13, in which the connection between victory in combat and control of drought appears. In this same passage and no. 22 appears that stoning and the giving of a clod are associated in rites having to do with the transmission of the land from one rule to another, cf. Halliday's ed., pp. 75-76. There is a legend that Prometheus was a Scythian king, bound by his subjects to the mountain when he failed to provide grain for the land, due to a flood which was overcome by Heracles, Schol. *Ap. Rhod.*, II, 1248; cf. Apollod., II, 5, 9; II, 7, 6.
979. 151-2 Pausan., VI, 21, 7-11.
980. 151-3 Pausan., V, 1, 2-3.
981. 151-4 Pausan., III, 12, 2, cf. the race for Penelope, *ib.*, 13, 4.
982. 151-5 Athen., II, 57 e, f; XIII, 556 f.
983. 151-6 Cornford, in *Themis*, p. 216.
984. 151-7 *Ibid.*, pp. 235-242; he holds, p. 234, that an original flight and pursuit as at Karneia "degenerate into a mere athletic competition. Eitrem has recently expressed the opinion that the festivals of Greece seem to have originated during the Bronze Age, while the Minoans invented athletic contests which "later came to be attached to the festivals," how and why we are not told, S. Eitrem, in *AJA*, (1937), 161.
985. 152-1 Alcman's first Maiden Song was sung "by the river's water" to celebrate "the successful conclusion of a war", . Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 1935), p. 58, p. 44, and was part of a cult of Helen and Dionysus. In the song there is much reference to horses (the girls are called poloi) and to chariot-racing; the ceremony

- ended with a foot-race between the leaders of the rival choruses to choose the bride and queen of the year, *ib.*, p.
986. 152-2 Herodot., IV, 180.
987. 152-3 G. Murray, "Ritual Forms in Greek Tragedy", in *Themis*, pp. 341-363.
988. 152-4 Prof. Murray, *ib.*, p. 340, cites Hippolytus as the best example of an "Eniautos-Daimon" for whom a ritual annual lamentation was practiced. A thorough study of the whole class of year-heroes slain in the manner of Hippolytus led to the result that such a death was a "ἱερὸς λόγος bei Gottheiten des Wassers", L. Radermacher, *Hippolytos und Thekla* (Wien, 1916, being v. 182, Abh. 3, in *Wien. Akad. Sitzber.*).
989. 153-1 Albin Lesky, in *ARW*, XXIV: 75; the goat of tragedy is the black goat of Dionysus, who intervenes in the combat between Xanthos and Melanthos, A. Moret, "Horus Sauveur", in *RHR*, LXXII (1915), 213; cf. *Farnell Cults*, V: 224 ff; the reader will recall the black and white goats brought into the round "orchestra" at the African year-rite, *Supra*, p. 145.
990. 153-2 Herodot., V, 1.
991. 153-3 Nilsson, G. F., pp. 402-8.
992. 153-4 H. Usener, "Heilige Handlung: Caterva", *ARW*, VII (1904), 297-313.
993. 153-5 Which explains the military nature of the Karneia, *supra*, p. 148; *Malalas, Chron.*, VII, ed. Dindorff, pp. 173-4, has described (from what source is unknown) how all the people of the land would come to Olympia for the ἐτήσιον βασιλικὸν ἄγωνα of Oenomaus; they divided in two hosts, the mesogeoï and the paraliōi, and "if the former were worsted in the chariot-race "they felt that ... there would be dearth of corn and a scarcity of wine and oil and all other fruits."
994. 154-1 Preller, *Gr. Mythol.*, I: 519 ff; W. Otto, *Dionysos* (Frankfort, 1933), pp. 141ff.
995. 154-2 Nilsson, G. F., pp. 280 ff.
996. 154-3 S. Argus *The Mystery-religions and Christianity* (London: J. Murray, 1925), pp. 43-47; 51-52; 58ff; 81ff; 94ff; etc., combat is always the theme.
997. 155-1 Festus, ed. Lindsay, pp. 190, 191.
998. 155-2 Deubner, *Lehrb. D. RG.*, II: 424, holds that this alignment was established at a relatively late date with the inclusion in the area of the city of a new district, a natural rivalry arising between the old and the new parts of the time. It is true that the old and new citizens fought at Rome – in 88 B. C. they took after each other with sticks and stones, *Appian, B. C.*, I, 7, 55, and the Polliae always resented the Tusculans as newcomers, *Val. Max.*, IX, 10, 1 – but these two communities had always been neighbors, and sham fights and real ones between such are quite natural as between members of one community.
999. 155-3 Dio, XLIII, 24, 4. [Reviewers: No such mention, really].
1000. 155-4 The horse had to be from the winning team, *Plut., Qu. Rom.*, no. 97; Festus, *loc. cit.*,

1001. 155-5 Wissowa, *Ges. Abhandlungen*, pp. 236-7.
1002. 156-1 Wissowa, *Abh.*, pp. 238-9
1003. 156-2 Festus, ed. L., p. 458.
1004. 156-3 Dion. Hal., II, 70; Varro, *LL*, VI, 14, cited by Cirilli, *Pretres Danseurs*, pp. 31-32, who discusses reasons given to explain the dualism.
1005. 156-4 Cirilli, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-148; J. G. Frazer, *G. B.*, II, 157-182, discussed by Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, pp. 39-43.
1006. 156-5 At the Agonalia rex hostium immolabat, Festus, p. 7, who further derives the name Agonensis from the agonium of the rite. The rex in question has been held to be the rex sacrificulus whom the Salii expel from the city.
1007. 156-6 Cirilli, *op. cit.*, p. 147: "Il s'agit pour eux de livrer bataille aux esprits nuisibles, aus ennemis de la cite, du people, des troupeaux.
1008. 157-1 Schwegler, *Röm., Gesch.*, IV, 374-5.
1009. 157-2 Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, pp. 335, 647-8; Schwegler, *loc. cit.*
1010. 157-3 Virgil, *Aen.*, VIII, 190 ff, Preller, *loc. cit.*
1011. 157-4 Supra, p. --; the former possessor of the altar, Semo Sancus was preeminently a god of combat, always at war with the powers of darkness, cf. Schwegler, *op. cit.*, IV, 365.
1012. 157-5 Plut., *Romulus*, c. 9, 10, cf. R. Harris, *Picus who is also Zeus* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 61 ff.
1013. 157-6 Supra, p. 8.
1014. 157-7 Ovid., *Fast.*, III, 143; Macrobi., *Sat.*, I, 12, 6; Huth, *Janus*, pp. 70 ff.
1015. 157-8 Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 794, ff.
1016. 157-9 Dion, Hal., II, 71.
1017. 157-10 H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1894), IV, 435, and ARW, VII:297 ff.
1018. 158-1 "Les deux chœurs decrivaient, en dansant, des cercles tour a tour fermes et ouverts (CIL, II, 3853) ... se croisant dans leur parcours et en tournant en sens inverse l'une de l'autre" (Plut., *Numa*, c. 13), Cirilli, *op. cit.*, p. 99, cf. this with Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 550ff.
1019. 158-2 Friedlander, *Sittengesch. Roms*, 8. Aufl., II: 337-347.
1020. 159-1 Mommsen explains the two ending-places for the pompa, one in the Campus Martius and the other on the Capitol, as the result of a splitting of the original single triumph, in which the war-triumph continued to culminate on the Capitol while the games-triumph simply ignored that place, *Röm. Forsch.*, II: 45 ff, while both preserved the original ritual, the triumph of the Circus thus becoming a "Triumphprozession ohne triumph", *Rh. Mus.*, XIV (1879), 81. It was because the games were repeated annually to match annual victories that they became with time formal year-rites reasons Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*, II: 483, citing Livy's attribution of the first annual games at Rome to Ancus, I, 35 – so scarce is any concrete evidence on the subject. The name annui applied to games held for

numbers of years in a row due to a streak of good fortune in battle, would stick to the games, which of necessity would henceforward be thought of as annui because they were called that, according to Ritschl, *Parerg.*, I: 290, who is followed in this “durchschlagendes Argument” by R. Laquer, “Ueber das Wesen der romanischen Triumphs”, *Hermse*, XLIV (1909), 229-230. On one thing all are agreed: that originally there was but one triumph. For 500 years, says Nissen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, p. 125, “man triumphierte auf dem Capitol oder man triumphierte überhaupt nicht ... man zog zurück zu den Göttern von denen man ausging, um ihnen Dank für die Hülfe zu bringen.” So Laquer, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

1021. 160-1 See note on preceeding page.
1022. 160-2 Are we to assume that the going forth to war in the spring of the Romans gradually came to be thought of as an annual rite – a new-year’s rite in fact? Do not the twelve Salii with their year-feasts and combats demonstrate the essential year-nature of the god? H. Usener, “Das Jahr bei den Latinern”, *Kl. Schr.*, IV: 93 ff, cf. *supra*, p.
1023. 160-3 Wissowa, *Rel., u. Kult.*, pp. 127, 452; Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, II: 45-46: “Sicherlich wird ehemals der Triumphalaufzug des Siegers nach dem Capitol und der Zug desselben vom Capitol zu dem Spielplatz ein unzertrennlich es Ganzes gebildet haben.” Which does not explain why a double Ganzes.
1024. 160-4 Festus, ed. L. p. 296.
1025. 160-5 Auspices are not the ending but the beginning of an enterprise, Livy, I, 36, 6.
1026. 160-6 The original triumph was the latter, according to Radin, in *Stud. Salvatore Riccobono*, II: 25, citing Livy, XXIV, 39, 9.
1027. 161-1 Cagnat, art. In *Daremb.*, in *Dict.*, V: 488.
1028. 161-2 Suet., *Vesp.*, c. 5, it was a sure portent of future rule.
1029. 161-3 Tertullian, *de Spect.*, c. 7.
1030. 161-4 Serv., *Aen.*, I, 17.
1031. 161-5 J. Carcopino, *Vergile et les Origines d’Ostia* (Paris: Bocard, 1919), pp. 99 ff; 670-1; he was also war-god and constantly associated with Mars, Wissowa, in *Roscher, Lex.*, VI: 360 ff.
1032. 161-6 Dion. Hal., II, 54, 2, in *Platner, Top. Dict.*, p. 583.
1033. 162-1 Verg., *Aen.*, I, 16-17; Ov., *Fast.*, VI, 46.
1034. 162-2 To the distress of H. Jordan, “Bedenken über curia, curulis u. currulis, curritis, *Hermes*, VIII (1874), p. 200.
1035. 162-3 Plut., *Publicola*, c. 13; Aust, *Die Religion der Römer* (Münster, 1899), pp. 49-55.
1036. 162-4 The etymology of curulis has nothing to do necessarily with the fact that the highest magistrates did go in quadrigae, Festus, ed. L., p. 43; Gell., III, 18; cf. H. Jordan, in *Hermes*, VIII, 221f; Mommsen, *Staatsr.*, I: 372 ff; Augustus boasts that the title “father of His Country” was inscribed in foro Augusti sub quadrigis quae mihi ex s. c. positae sunt.

1037. 162-5 L. Deubner, "Die Tracht des röm. Triumphators", *Hermes* LXIX (1934), 320.
1038. 162-6 The formal monument to every triumphator was a quadriga, Pliny, *NH*, XXXIV, 19, 14.
1039. 163-1 Laqueur, in *Hermes*, XLIV: 229;.
1040. 163-2 Pliny, *Paneg.*, XVI, 3.
1041. 163-3 Every Greek city would fete victors returning from the games, as from war, with a true military triumph, Vitruv., IV, Intd. Evidence for the actual participation of the chariot of the god in the race of the Circus may be detected in the original ordering of the Circus factions. They are commonly regarded as having grown up in the course of time about the establishments of the domini factionum, Saglio, in *Daremb.*, *Dict.*, II: 1199. They were originally private individuals who supplied the quadrigae and their equipment for the races. Pliny, *NH*, X, 34, says that there was originally but one dominus. How could one chariot stage a race? If one of the chariots that entered the Circus was the quadriga of Jupiter the answer is plain: the god was challenged to a combat, just as at Olympia, and the challenger, a visitor, is guilty of great presumption: that is the very common motif of the youthful water-god who is punished for the presumption of trying to drive in the place of the god, and which is treated at length by Radermacher, *Wien.*, *Akad. Sitz.*, v. 182 (1916) Heft. 3, It is always closely associated with year-games. [Reviewers: No, that isn't what it (Pliny, *Nh*, X, 34) says]
1042. 164-1 The controversy has been fully outlined by Deubner in *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), 316 ff.
1043. 164-2 *Ibid.*, p. 320, maintaining that triumphator and Jupiter O. M. resemble each other because they have this common prototype. In our mentionings of year-kings there has been no hint of sky-gods, and Deubner's conclusion is very much in favor of the tendency to see in the King primarily the earthly ancestor, the one sure "Gegebenes" in the problem of cult origins.
1044. 164-3 Cagnat, in *Daremb.*, *Dict.*, V: 488.
1045. 164-4 *Ibid.*, p. 491; Laqueur, *Hermes*, XLIV, 226 ff.
1046. 164-5 Hermann Nesselhauf, "Die feldherrlichen Gewalt der römischen Kaisers", *Klio*, XXX (1937), 313 ff. When Augustus was declared imperator for life that act of the Senate "bedeutete also die Zuerkennung der Titels über den Triumph, den normalen Endtermin, hinaus" although the "funktionable Charakter des Begriffs war nie verschwunden", p. 315-316; the bestowing of the Imperium by an acclamation which announced candidacy for triumph of a victorious general has been demonstrated by Radink, *op. cit.*, p. 29 f.
1047. 165-1 cf. M. Büdinger, "Die Römische Spiele und der Patriarcat", *Wien.*, *Akad. Sitzungsber.*, v. 1233 (1891), 41.
1048. 165-2 Dio, LXI, 31, 7; Suet., *Claud.*, c. 21.
1049. 165-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]

1050. 165-3 Below, p. 188.
1051. 165-4 Deubner, *Hermes*, LXIX (1934), 319-320.
1052. 166-1 Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 322; description of the triumphator in Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, 2. Ed., p. 205.
1053. 166-2 Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 321.
1054. 166-3 Mommsen, *Rom., Gesch.*, I: 61-62.
1055. 166-4 Pausan., II, 2, 5. Altheim, *Terra Mater*, pp. 80-83, thinks this proves that the Romans borrowed their Liber from Greece: how it comes that they should choose an obscure Greek practice to serve as the type for their most venerable and important ritual he does not say, nor does he mention the Roman king with his red face.
1056. 166-5 Weigall, *Hist. of the Pharaohs*, I: 177.
1057. 166-6 Apollod., III, 15, 8; II, 4, 7.
1058. 166-7 E. Wunderlich, "Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe", etc. *RgVV*, XX (1925), 1 ff; F. von Duhn, "Rot und tot", *ARW*, IX (1906), 1 ff.
1059. 167-1 Bethe, *Ahnenbild*, p. 8.
1060. 167-2 Marquardt, A. Mau, *Das Privatleben der Römer* (2nd ed. Leipzig, 1886), I: 351-354.
1061. 167-3 *Ibid.*, pp. 354-7.
1062. 167-4 Kirchmann, *de Funerib.*, p. 76. The immense antiquity of this practice can be seen in the custom practiced all around the Mediterranean in the earliest times of burying the dead in red ochre of red earth, F. von Duhn, "Rot und tot", *ARW*, IX (1906), 2-7. Other cases of red burial are cited by Ernst Samter, *Geburt. Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig, 1911), 191 ff. It is important to note that the dead in red burial are all or partly painted., cf. Serv., *Aen.*, III, 67.
1063. 167-5 Wunderlich, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff; the main thing with the people of the North was to have red on the head, either by rubbing ochre in the hair or wearing a red fillet, *ib.*, p. 75.
1064. 167-6 Suet., *Aug.*, c. 100.
1065. 167-7 Heckenbach, *RgVV*, IX (1910), 94.
1066. 168-1 Beside the sources cited above see Samter, *Familien Feste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 47ff, 56f; Sonny, "Rote Farbe im Totenkult", *ARW*, IX (1906), 525 ff, and other items in the bibliography on the subject in Huth, *Janus*, pp. 58-59, n. 277.
1067. 168-2 Cagnat, in *Daremb., Dict.*, V: 490.
1068. 168-3 Plut., *Aristid.*, c. 21.
1069. 168-4 Livy, XLV, 39; cf. Appian, *B. C.*, V, 13, 128. [Reviewers: No Such Mention (Livy, XLV, 39)]
1070. 168-5 Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 607 ff.

1071. 168-6 The Lybians would paint themselves vermillion before going out to war. Herodot., IV, 191, 193; the hero in the Ras Shamra frag. Is instructed: "wash and bedaub thee with red ochre. Sacrifice unto the Rephuim ... unto the Hollow men ... harness horses ... ascend the chariots," etc. in which war and the underworld are the motifs, Gaster, *Stud. e Matl.* XIII (1937), pp. 37-40.
1072. 169-1 The Salii wore χαλκῆαι μιτραὶ ὠλατεῖαι, along with short scarlet tunics. This seems to be of Etruscan origin, like the toga praetexta and the laticlave, Cirilli, *Pretores Danseurs*, pp. 94; 82-83.
1073. 169-2 S. Weinstock, "Römische Ritterparade", *Stud., E Matl.*, XIII (1937), 10-12. At the games the sign to start was given by the Magister of the Arvals, clad in "eleganten Festtracht" and a red shirt, Wissowa, *RE*, II, 1477.
1074. 169-3 Pollack, *RE*, VI, 1954; Saglio, *Daremb., Dict.*, I2, 1198-9.
1075. 169-4 Pollack, loc. cit., will admit only that it was "gewiss schon frühzeitig".
1076. 169-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
1077. 169-5 D. Mackenzie, *The Migration of Symbols* (London, 1926), pp.
1078. 169-6 Geoff., VII, 3; cf. J. Hammer, "A Commentary on the Prophetia Merlini," *Speculum*, X (1935), 6.
1079. 169-7 Life of Patrick, *FHR*, V2, 144-5; 153.
1080. 170-1 The red and white of May-day and Christmas time are the most universal. B. Schweitzer, *Herakles* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1922), pp. 219 ff, has treated at length the subject of color in combats with the other world. The red-white combination is regarded by Prof. Conway, *Anc. It. & Mod. Relig.* P. 8, as a survival from ancient times at Gobbio, where men dressed in those colors perform rapid circumambulations before the houses of those who provide them with wine, to impart prosperity for the year.
1081. 170-2 At the Feast of the Booths a scarlet fillet was bound to the door-way; if it turned white there was rejoicing, if not sorrow and humiliation, *Talmud*, ed. Golds., II: 601 (*Peshim*, VI, ii).
1082. 170-3 At the Egyptian New Year four torch-bearers extinguished four torches of red linen in four ponds of milk, S. Schott, "Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch", *Ztschr. f. Egypt. Sprache*, LXXIII (1937), 17-18.
1083. 170-4 From the earliest times the rival kings of Lower and Upper Egypt wore red and white crowns respectively, and lived in the Red House and the White House, Weigall, *Hist. of the Pharaohs*, I: 83 ff.
1084. 170-5 Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 234; the red dog of Heracles, p. 217.
1085. 170-6 Dumont, *L'Asvamedha*, p. 27, Vrtra as a red dog is clubbed to death and plunged into the pond at the feet of the horse with the exclamation, "Dehors l'homme, dehors le chien!".
1086. 171-1 Supra, pp. 142 f.
1087. 171-2 Xenoph., *Institut. Cyr.*, VIII, 3, 11-12.

1088. 171-3 Carl Hentz, *Symboles Lunaires*, p. 164 makes much of the rivalry depicted in a Han brick between a Tiger and a white horse, claiming on the basis of like examples that the combat between the horned and some other kind of beast, usually of another color, is a fight between the water animal and the elements that oppose it. One of Hentze's principal concerns is to demonstrate that the moment of change from one age or year to another is represented throughout the Far East by a conflict of colors, red and white or black and white, and that the issue at such times is the control of the water. The Dragon is thus the New Moon, who is the "regulateur des eaux debordees," p. 206. The whole year-rite, in fact, is much more perfectly preserved in China than in any of the regions which may be found described in classical sources, as such descriptions as that of Edv. Lehmann attest, *Lehrb. Der Religgesch.*, I: 216. Cf. R. S. Britton, in *Harvard Jnl. As. Stud.*, II: 1, on the colors of divination.
1089. 171-4 When the famous African hero Runder goes down into the waters of the underworld his clothes become red; when he returns to the world of men they become white again, Frobenius, *Erythräa*, pp. 157 ff.
1090. 172-1 When Dion performed the great oath he went under the earth and was there equipped with red robe and torch, *Plut., Dion.*, c. 61; cf. the Platean archon, above, p. 168.
1091. 172-2 The initiate declares that he has "fulfilled his red and bleeding feasts ... robed in pure white I have borne me clean ..." in a frag. From Euripedes' "Cretans", cited in Harrison, *Themis*, p. 51. The donning of white to signify liberation from death, sin etc., is a familiar practice, e.g. the case of Gelasius, *Migne PG*, v. 92, 684-8.
1092. 172-3 Pausan., VII, 5, 3, the name "Chians" being derived, Pausan. Says, VII, 4, 8, (Loeb Edition) from "snow". With the floating of the image as yr. rite cf Lucien, *Dea Syr.*, c. 7, and the hair ropes, Farnell, *Gk. Hero Cults*, pp. [Reviewers: No real mention of the war (Pausan., VII, 5, 3)]
1093. 172-4 Discussed by Cirilli, *Pretres Danseurs*, pp. 82-3.
1094. 172-5 Wissowa, *RE*, II, 1477.
1095. 172-6 Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 612; the same garment worn by Flamen Dialis and Flamen Martialis, *Serv., Aen.*, III, 190 cf. Cirilli, loc. cit.
1096. 173-1 Mommsen, *Röm Staatsr.*, I: 44.
1097. 173-2 *Ib.*, p. 43 The bestowing of the Imperium as containing in itself all other offices and the significance of the title of Imperator as the most proper to the highest functionary of the state has been treated by H. Nesselhauf, *Klio*, XXX (1937), 311 ff and M. Radin "Imperium", *Stud. onor. Salv. Riccobono*, II: 23-45.
1098. 173-3 On the bestowing of the title by acclamation, Johannes Stroux, "Die Antike", XIII (1937), 199 ff; Radin, op. cit., pp. 29 ff. The triumph as the fulfillment of a vow was the subject of Laquer's thesis in *Hermes*, XLIV (1909), 213 ff, and is accepted by Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult*, p. 126, n. 9. The same conclusion was reached

- by K. F. Smith in his ed. of Fibullus, I, 7, 5-8 (1913), but rejected by Radin, op. cit., p. 26, n. 5.
1099. 173-4 M. Budinger, in Wien. Akad. Sitzber., v. 1233 (1891), 40, citing Dion. Hal., VII, 72: οἱ τὴν με μεγίστην ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν.
1100. 174-1 Mommsen, op. cit., p. 43 "... da ... eine positive Ueberlieferung (on the Kingship) nicht vorliegt, so sind wir schon dadurch genötigt die Entwicklung des ... Imperiums aus den historisch bekannten Institutionen des Consulats, der Dictatur, der Prätur zu rekonstruieren."
1101. 174-2 Livy, I, 19.
1102. 174-3 Verg., Aen., VII, 601 ff; Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., pp. 104-5, expresses the belief that the custom of opening and shutting the gate was an invention of Augustus, vs. Deubner, "Janus Quirinus", Rom. Mitt., XXXVI (1921), 14 ff. The main thing however is, as Wissowa states, p. 105, "von Haus aus war es ein Tor, und diente als Durchgang."
1103. 174-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
1104. 174-4 Deubner, Lehrb. Der RG., II, 426.
1105. 174-5 Cagnat, in Daremb., Dict., V, 488.
1106. 174-6 Mommsen, Rom. Staatsr., I: 97, 103.
1107. 175-1 Livy, I, 19: Janum as infimum Argiletum, indicem pacis bellique, fecit (Numa); apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret.
1108. 175-2 See the discussion by Stroux, Die Antike, XIII (1937), 205-6.
1109. 175-3 A. Rosenberg, RE, 9:1, 1140.
1110. 175-4 Joseph., Bell. Jud., VII, 69, 71.
1111. 175-5 Plut., Fab. Max., c. 18.
1112. 175-6 Val. Max., IV, 5, 5 [Corrected by hand from IV, 5, 3]
1113. 175-7 Livy, XXX, 45.
1114. 176-1 Julian, Misopog., 358 ff;.
1115. 176-2 Zimmern, Bab. Neuj., pp. 18-22, p. 19 on the King as starter.
1116. 176-3 Talmud, ed. Goldschmidt, I: 213.
1117. 176-4 "Behold the King cometh unto thee," etc., Zech., IX, 9, cf. Supra, p. --- When the Archbishop John returned to Cp. After his expulsion by the Empress Irene "the people went forth to meet him with torches and palms," Soz., VIII, 18. Cf. F. J. Dolger, Antike und Christentum, I: 23 ff.
1118. 177-1 Supra, p. 135.
1119. 177-2 Cantic., III, 10-11, including a description of the red chariot.
1120. 177-3 Polyb., XVI, 25.
1121. 177-4 Cic., Pro Marena, XXXIII.
1122. 177-5 Ib. XXXIV.

1123. 178-1 Sine eos, qui omnia a nobis sperant, habere ipsos quoque aliquid quod nobis tribuere possint ... suffragium, Cic., Pro Muren., XXXIV.
1124. 178-2 Cic., loc. cit.; he emphasizes the great antiquity of the arrangement.
1125. 178-3 Mommsen, Rom. Staatsr., I: 44, sees in the words magistratus and honor the ultimate source of authority as the recognition by the people of superiority, that recognition being in and of itself the starting point for everything. Tiberius Gracchus “was escorted home at night by the neediest and most reckless of the populace”, Plut., Gracch., c. 14, and was accompanied by three or four thousand people every time he left his house; there was no regulation, the lex Fabia running counter to custom, cf. Cic. loc. cit., in Cicero’s time.
1126. 178-4 Dion., Hal., IV, 37.
1127. 179-1 Radin, op. cit., p. 30.
1128. 179-2 e.g. Cic., F., III, 7: “An Appius went to meet a Lentulus, a Lentulus an Appius, and a Cicero refuses to meet an Appius! Heavens! Is it possible!” etc. Epictetus, IV, 4, 36ff, says thorybos and salutations are essence of Roman life.
1129. 179-3 Gelzer, Nobilität der r. Rep., p. 80.
1130. 179-4 Friedländer, Sittengesch., II, 299.
1131. 179-5 F. B. Ferrarius, “De Veterum Acclamationibus et Plausu”, in Graevius, Thesaur., VI, 134 ff.
1132. 180-1 Suet., Caes., c. 79.
1133. 180-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
1134. 180-2 Suet., Caes., c. 58.
1135. 180-4 The acclamatio was employed both for designation and for confirmation of Consuls and Censors. The cases are cited by Ferrarius, in Graevius, Thesaur., VI: 130-131.
1136. 181-1 Hist. Aug., Tacitus, c. 4-5.
1137. 181-2 Dio, LXXII, p. 1221; cf. Gibbon’s comment, Decl. & Fall, ch. IV, I{147-8 (1845 ed.).
1138. 181-3 “... all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, ‘Great is Diana of the Ephesians’ ”, Acts, XIX, 34; this is acclamatio.
1139. 182-1 See the description in W. G. Holmes, The Age of Justinian and Theodora (London, 1905), I: 102.
1140. 182-2 Theophan., anno 524, ed. Niebuhr, I: 279-281.
1141. 182-3 Supra, p.
1142. 182-4 Plut., Pompey, c. 48.
1143. 182-5 cf. Dio, 62, 20; at Caesars funeral Antony was a choregos, and the lamentations were chanted by all the demos, “like a chorus in a play”, carrying on a musical dialogue with Antony, Appian, B. C., II, 20, 146.
1144. 183-1 Thus Dio, 78, 10.
1145. 183-2 Festus, ed. L., pp. 190, 192.

1146. 183-3 Malim isti modi amicos forno occensos quam foro, Plaut., Pseud., 1145, cf. H. Usener, "Italische Volksjustiz", in Rh. Mus., LVI and Kl. Schr., IV, p. 367.
1147. 183-4 Usener, op. cit., p. 379, cit., Livy, IV, 53, 11; Pliny, NH, XIX, 144.
1148. 183-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
1149. 183-5 Joh. Schmidt, RE, I, 150, makes a highly rationalized attempt to explain the origin of the acclamatio with the Senate.
1150. 183-6 Schmidt., op. cit., 145 ff, for the talassio see below, p. 201 f.
1151. 183-7 I Sam., X, 24.
1152. 183-8 I Sam., X, 6; VIII, 19.
1153. 183-9 Ib., XI, 12.
1154. 183-10 C. Diehl, in Byzantion, I (1924), 210.
1155. 184-1 Just., Nov. de Just. Coll., II, tit. I, VII, 2: Cum neo differant ab alterutro sacerdotum et imperium. Cf. N. Jorga, Vie Byzantine I: 93: "... au fond, l'Empire et le sacerdoce, les 'choses sacrees' et les 'choses communes et publiques,' font le meme ensemble."
1156. 184-2 Steph. Diac. Cp., Migne, PG, v. 100, 1136.
1157. 184-3 Dio, LXXIII, 13, A. D. 189.
1158. 184-4 Mommsen has observed that the fixing of heads on public buildings by Caesar was in the same manner.
1159. 184-5 Thus Dio, LXIII, 20; LXXIX, 20; LXXIV, 13; on the well known license of the people at the games, Friedländer, Sittengesch., II,.
1160. 185-1 Thus Aristaenetus, Epist., I, 26: Populus intarea rectus, ac mirabundus adstat, et voces melodici respondet. When the Emperor enters the Circus omnes ... canunt, Coripp., Justin., 345 ff. At Cp. the victors at the games were hailed with elaborate antiphonal chanting by the demes, W. G. Holmes, Age of Justinian, I: 102. Ecclesiastical elections were an acclamation by singing, instances of which are cited by Ferrarius, in Graevius, Thesaur., VI, 155.
1161. 185-2 G. Murray, in Themis, p. 363; H. Usener, ARW, VII (1904), 313.
1162. 185-3 Usener, op. cit., pp. 307, f.
1163. 185-4 Pausan., X, 7, 2.
1164. 185-5 The whole Babylonian year-procession was accompanied by the singing of appropriate hymns, Zimmern, Bab. Neu., pp. 15 ff; since much of the religious literature of the East is contained in hymns in which the triumph motif is prominent discussion is impossible.
1165. 185-6 The Islandic tvisöngur is an antiphonal maiden-song with dancing, and a very ancient survival; it is sung at the festivals, Herrmann, Island I: 181 ff, it is "Uralt". Every Celtic source cited speaks of the choros of the year-festival, and the Cloveshove decree, Mansi, XII, 400 gives a good description of the Easter-singing from which the rota is derived.
1166. 186-1 Coripp., Justin., 345 ff.

1167. 186-2 Ferrarius, op. cit., 178-179.
1168. 186-3 CIL IV, p. 241, references under “felix”.
1169. 186-4 It has recently been pointed out that the activities of the Circus factions were always political, and not limited, as had been commonly supposed, to the games, G. I. Bratianu, “Empire et Democratie a Byzance”, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXVII (1938), 94 ff.
1170. 186.5 Dolger, *Antike u. Christentum*, I: 26: A. v Harnack.
1171. 186-6 Suet., *Calig.*, c. 6; the felicity of the chorus depends on that of the hero (cf. J. Vurtheim, *Aeschylos’ Schurtzfliehende* (Amsterdam, 1928), p. 163; The success of the ruler and the people is identified in the year rite, where every individual follows the pattern of struggle and victory set by the leader. It is suggested that the choral homonoia, so often cited as the ideal social contract by ancient writers, Christian and Pagan, furnished the pattern for *pax Romana*, H. Fuchs, “Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt”, *Neue Philol. Unters.*, III, (1926), 15.
1172. 187-1 Tertullian, *Apolog.*, c. 35.
1173. 187-2 Ovid., *Fast.*, I, 2.
1174. 187-3 Ferrarius, op. cit., 43, who refers to huiusmodi alia pene innumera, quae extant passim in Synodorum Actis.
1175. 187-4 Ignat., *ad Smyrnaeos*, ix.
1176. 187-5 Ferrarius, op. cit., 135 ff, 148-159; all of Bk. IV on eccl. acclamatio.
1177. 187-6 Augustine, *Epist.*, cxxv and cxxvi, justifying and acknowledging the de facto authority of the Hipponese mob.
1178. 187-7 Augustine, *Epist.*, ccxiii.
1179. 187-8 Ferrarius, col., 130.
1180. 188-1 The members of a Synod passed their decrees by chanting together, Omnes, omnes; placent omnia; dignum est; justum est; fiat! fiat! and the like, Ferrarius, op. cit., col. 121 ff, which is exactly the way the multitude approves a decision: “And the people cried, ‘We give thanks for this decision,’ 16 times; and then ‘Agreed! Agreed! 12 times,’ ” etc., Augustine, *Epist.*, ccxiii, 3f.
1181. 188-2 cf. the acclamatio, “mille, mille, mille, etc., decolavimus” (*Supra*, p. 173) with “David hath slain his tens-of-thousands”, and with the regulation that the triumphator had to have 5000 to his credit, Livy, XXVI, 21; XXX, 29; XXXVIII, 46; by naming the thousands slain the people thus declare the worthiness of the victor to a triumph.
1182. 188-3 Suet., *Aug.*, c. 45, cf. Usener, *ARW*, VII (1904), 297 ff. [Reviewers: OK, but no real mention of year games specifically].
1183. 188-4 Usener, op. cit., p. 302.
1184. 188-5 *Supra*, pp. 182.
1185. 190-1 Varro, *LL*, VI, 68: sic triumphare appellatum, quod cum imperatore milites redeuntes clamitant per urbem in Capitolium eunti ‘(i)o triumphē’; id a θρίαμβῳ

- ac graeco Liberi cognomento potest dictum. The Lat. triumphus is held actually to come from θρίαμβος by way of the Etruscans, vid., Walde, Etymol. Wb. D. Indoger. Spr., I: 793, 875; Roscher, Lex., II, 1188 f; cf. Waser., in RE, V, 1203 ff.
1186. 190-2 Dion. Hal., VII, 72, ed. Ribbeck, p. 96.
1187. 190-3 On Dionysius' inferiority-complex which kept him alert for signs of Greek origins for Roman institutions, Budinger, Wien. Akad. Sitzb., CXXIII, 3 (1891), 37 f.
1188. 190-4 Dion. Hal. Op. cit., pp. 95-96 (Ribbeck): δηλοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τὸν θρίαμβων ἔισοδοι παλαιὰν καὶ ἐπὶ χώριον οὖσαν Ρωμαίοις τὴν κάρτομον καὶ σάτυρικὴν παιδίαν.
1189. 191-1 For a general treatment of the pilgrims songs as antiphonal, A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Pilgrim's Way", Jnl. Bihar & Orissa, XXIII (1937), 457 ff.
1190. 191-2 Dio, 74, 13; 79, 20; other instances of chanting in unison, Tac. An., XVI, 4; Cassiod., Var., I, 31, 4; Plut., Otho, c. 3; Pompey, c. 48; Tac., Hist., I, 72; Zonar., XII, 17; XIII, 14; Dio, 65, 8; 74, 2; 78, 10; 76, 4.
1191. 191-3 Paulus Diac., Miscell. Hist., X, Ferrarius, in Graeviou, Thesaur., VI, 45.
1192. 191-4 Cic., Pro Murena, XXXIV.
1193. 191-5 J. Schmidt, RE, I, 150, his defense of the Senate is very awkward.
1194. 191-6 Ferrarius, op. cit., col 108-9.
1195. 191-7 Ib., col. 109.
1196. 192-1 Preller, Röm., Mythol., 2, p. 205; Radin, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
1197. 192-2 F. Altheim, Terra Mater, pp. 146; 141.
1198. 192-3 A. von Domaszewski, ARW, X (1907), 15, discusses obscenity as the very means by which the spirits are summoned to human aid, cf. O. Kern, RE, VII 1, 1229. So Altheim, op. cit., p. 63: "Dass auch sonst Toten und Unterweltsgottheiten als komische Figuren erscheinen, lässt sich leicht belegen." The Etruscan spirits, which figured in the Roman triumph, essentially an Etruscan institution (cf. Dion. Hal., VII, 72, p. 97) were not too modest and retiring, Preller, op. cit., p. 77, but rather of the type that "shriek and gibber in the streets", Dio, ---. Obscenity and noise are the very essence of the Witches' Sabbath.
1199. 192-4 Cagnat, in Daremb., Dict., V, 488.
1200. 192-5 Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 127, the triumph as thanksgiving for final victory.
1201. 192-6 Tertullian, Apolog., c. ---, Zonar., VII, 21 (Dind., II, 150).
1202. 193-1 Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 127; this does not necessarily mean that he was Jupiter O. M., but it does mean that both he and Jupiter were victorious kings, cf. supra, p. ---.
1203. 193-2 Pliny, NH, XXVIII, 4, 7.
1204. 193-3 Zonar., VII, 21, ed. Dindorff, II, p. 150.
1205. 193-4 Friedländer, Sittengesch., II: 351 (8th ed.).
1206. 193-5 Dio, XLIII, 21; LX, 23.
1207. 194-1 Dion., Hal., VII, 72, p. 96.

1208. 194-2 Livy, IV, 53, while the soldiers joined in condemning the consul, the people responded in hailing the Tribune; it was the latter act which annoyed the Senate, the behavior of the military being *proprio sollennis militum lascivia*.
1209. 194-3 Usener, *Kl. Schr.*, IV: 379.
1210. 194-4 *Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem*
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
Libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter, etc., Hor., Ep., II, I, 145 ff.
1211. 194-5 Marquardt, *Mau, Privatleben der R.*, p. 54.
1212. 195-1 W. Mannhardt, "Die Lupercalien", in *Mythol. Forsch.*, (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 115-123.
1213. 195-2 Roscher, in *Lex.*, II 1, 42.
1214. 195-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
1215. 195-3 W. Köhler, "Die Schlüssel des Petrus", *ARW*, VIII (1904-5), 224-5.
1216. 195-4 Mommsen, *R. Staatsr.*, I: 424.
1217. 195-5 *Ib.*, p. 425, it was used on absolutely no other occasion.
1218. 195-6 V. Bassanoff, "Le Guerriero di Capetrano et les Origines de l'Imperium", *Rev. Arch.*, X (1937), 68.
1219. 196-1 Köhler, *op. cit.*, pp. 215 ff; cf. the *σκηπτουχος βασιλεύς* of Homer.
1220. 196-2 Roscher, *Lex.*, II 1, 29; Köhler, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-2; it is the symbol of more than the mere authority of the house, cf. Roscher, II 1, 1214, where Eros is called *τῶς Ἀφροδίταςφιλτάτων Θαλάμων κληδοῦ Χον*. For this fundamental aspect of the key, Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 230 ff. Most of the *Kleiduchoi* have a cosmic significance in Drexler's account, in Roscher, *Lex.*, II 1, 1213-1219.
1221. 196-3 Roscher, *Lex.*, II 1, 38; the title is from Suidas, the picture from a coin of Commodus.
1222. 196-4 Macrobian, I, 9, 16.
1223. 196-5 Marquardt, *Mau, Privatleben*, p. 54, n. 4: at the marriage of Sulla "many verses were sung in ridicule of him by the people, Plut., Sulla, c. 4. On the antiphonal epithalamia, Bowra, *Gk. Lyric Poetry*, pp. ---.
1224. 196-6 Marquardt, *Mau.*, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
1225. 196-7. Roscher, *Lex.*, II 1, 42.
1226. 197-1 Marbach, *RE*, IV A: 2, 2065.
1227. 197-2 Marquardt, *Mau*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
1228. 197-3 Ferrarius, in Graevius, *Thesaur.*, VI: 178-179.
1229. 197-4 Marquardt, *Mau*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
1230. 197-5 Ovid., *Fast.*, V, 261 ff: ... *eamque oportere placari ut fruges cum arboribus aut vitibus bene prospereque florescerent*.
1231. 197-6 Altheim, *Terra Mater*, pp. 134-5.

1232. 197-7 She appears with Fons in rites prope- sterilitatem frugum, Henzen, Act. Frat., Arv., p. 146, and Altheim, pp. 33-4, cf. Vitruv., I, 2, 5.
1233. 197-8 Schol., V, 177 in Altheim, op. cit., p. 136.
1234. 198-1 Altheim, Terra Mater, pp 135-138.
1235. 198-2 Varro, R. R., I, 1, 6: quarto Robigum ac Floram ... neque rubio frumenta ... corrumpit. Wissowa's objection to the association, Rel. u. Kult., p. 197, is that Flora comes too late, but Altheim has vindicated her antiquity, cf. Preller, Röm. Mythol., p. 378; M. Della Corte Juventus (Arpino, G. Fraioli, 1924) pp. 67-68; n. 3 after Conway.
1236. 198-3 On the Robigalia as an anti-heat rite, Deubner, Lehrb. d. RG., II: 421, Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 197 against the "die Saaten verheerenden Sonnenbrand."
1237. 198-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
1238. 198-4 Schol. Juv., VI, 250, cit., Altheim, op. cit., p. 139.
1239. 198-5 Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 184.
1240. 198-6 Lactant., Inst. Christ., I, 20, 10; Tertullian, de Spect., c. 17.
1241. 199-1 Bowra, Gk. Lyric Poetry, pp. 44 ff, cf. Preller, Gr. Myth., I, 134; II: 413, n. 4.
1242. 199-2 Herodot., IV, 180; on this bride as the "queen" of Dionysus the year-king, cf. Rostovzeff, Mystic Italy, pp. 67 ff.
1243. 199-3 Herodot., I, 196.
1244. 199-4 Lactant., Inst. Christ., I, 20, 5, Gellius, VII, 7, 1.
1245. 199-5 K. Schwenck, "Hercules und Acca Larentia", Rh. Must, N. F. XXII (1867), 129-131.
1246. 200-1 Altheim, op. cit., pp. 98 f, 135; Ov., Fast., III, 647 f.
1247. 200-2 In Arcadia the rite for Demeter is actually called ἀγών κάλλους, Preller, Gr. Myth., I:608, n. 2, citing Athen., XIII, 90.
1248. 200-3 Nilsson, G. F., p. 367, holds that "ursprünglich hat diese Sitte mit der Religion nichts zu tun," in which case it produced the goddess.
1249. 200-4 Lehmann, Lehrb. D. RG., I: 41. A most extensive study of the subject is Max Semper, Rassen und Religionen. Altheim, op. cit., p. 132, the meretrices perhaps "Abbild der Göttin." Laistner, Sphinx, II, 298 "Kornmutter als 'Hure' ". Pausin., VIII, 5, 7.
1250. 200-5 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
1251. 201-1 Livy, I, 9; Plut. Romulus, c. 14; Tertull. De Spect., c. 5; Dion. Hal., II, 31; Ovid., Fast., III, 199 ff; cf. Varro, LL, VI, 20.
1252. 201-2 Livy, loc. cit., and other refs. In Marbach, RE, 4A: 2, 2064-5, who cites Rossbach's contention that Talassio was originally the name of Consus.
1253. 201-3 Zonar., VII, 16; Livy, I ---
1254. 201-4 Livy, I, 9: ludos ... Neptuno Equestri sollenes: Consulia vocat.
1255. 201-5 Gellius, XIII, 23, 2. Rademacher, in Wien. Akad., Denkschr., V. 182, p. 49 has shown that Poseidon as "Herr der Erdentiefe" is "Spender der befruchtenden

Wasser, die aus der Tiefe kommen,” and as such enjoys the *jus primae noctae*. Ninck has further shown that *νύμφη* as denoting both water deity and bride proves that “die Quelle ist also Schwanger und gebiert aus ihrem Schosse das Wasser, Darum sind die Nymphen auch Hochzeitgöttinnen,” M. Ninck, “Die bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leber der Alten”, *Philologus*, Suppl. band XIV, Heft ii (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1921), p. 13.

1256. 202-1 Serv., Aen., I, ---. Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, p. 186 is for “Salax” interpretation, which Witte, *RE* 1A: 2, 1818-9, rejects in favor of the “*Salacia Neptuni ab salo*” of Varro, V, 72, as the gushing or leaping water. The two ideas may have been reconciled at any time; thus Augustine, C. D., IV, 26 reports that Neptune had two concubines, Venilia and Salacia, the incoming and outgoing wave.
1257. 202-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
1258. 202-2 See Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.*, IV, 375; a complete parallel to Acca in this capacity is Mother Red-Cap in the North, Grimm, *Dt. Mythol.*, II, cf. Harris, Picus, pp. 45 ff, and Siduri of the Babylonian year-rite, W. E. Leonard, *Gilgamesh* (N. Y.: Viking, 1934), p. 46, Gilgamesg: “What ails thee, that thou lockest thy gate, etc.? The hero is seeking water.
1259. 202-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
1260. 202-3 Wissowa, *R. u. K.*, p. 197.
1261. 202-4 Pliny, *NH*, XV, 121.
1262. 202-5 Tertull. de Spect., c. 8, cf. Platner, *Top. Dict.*, p. 348.
1263. 202-6 Serv., Aen., I, 720.
1264. 202-7 Supra, p. ---; Roscher, *Lex.*, II, 3231, 3.
1265. 202-8 Idem, cf. Pausan., V, 15, 3, for the mistresses at Olympia.
1266. 202-9 [No Footnote corresponding to Page Reference 9]
1267. 203-1 Vin. Rust., Aug 19, Portulalia, Aug. 17, Volturnalia, Aug. 27, the latter two for the Tiber, for their connection, Domaszewski, *ARW*, X (1907), 334.
1268. 203-2 Consualia, Oct. 21, Domaszewski, op. cit., pp. 334-5; G. Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.*, pp. 154-174, cf. Oct. 15 Equus, Oct. 13, Fontinalia.
1269. 203-3 Altheim, *Terra Mater*, p. 144.
1270. 203-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
1271. 203-4 Mannhardt, *Mythol. Forsch.*, pp. 115-123, cf. Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, I, 22, 11.
1272. 203-5 Lydus, *De Mens.*, IV, cf. the throwing of crowns at the Fontenalia: in fontes coronas iacunt et puteos coronant, Varro, *LL*, VI, 22.
1273. 203-6 Macrobi., *Sat.*, I, 19, in which triumph, Martem ac Liberum unum eundemque deum esse voluerunt. Certe Romani utrumque patris appellatione venerantur, alterum Liberum patrem, alterum Marsipitram ..., supra, p. 183.
1274. 203-7 Tertull., de Spect., c. 5: ... promisque ludi Liberalia vocarentur ... Libero enim a rsuticis primo fiebant ob beneficium, etc.
1275. 204-1 Tertull., de Spect., c. 8.

1276. 204-2 Dolger, *Antike und Christentum*, I:92-107; Rapp in Roscher, *Lex.*, II; 1667-8.
1277. 204-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
1278. 204-3 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, II, 26, quoted by Dolger, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3, it was a “Festzug der Buhldirnen” for the Virgin goddess.
1279. 204-4 Fortuna had a temple in the Campus Martius, Drexler, in Roscher, *Lex.*, I 2, 1514. Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, p. 558, observes that the “Obsequens” title has the same significance for both goddesses, while making nothing of the name as applied to a temple built by adulteresses. The bathing of the women in the men’s bath at the Veneralia is described by Ovid, *Fast.* I V, 145 ff, and the *Fasti Praenesti* as taking place at the festival of Fortuna Virilis, which means for Drexler, *op. cit.*, 1518 that the goddesses were identified. Cf. Wissowa, *R. u. K.*, --- p. 250.
1280. 205-1 Keune’s objection to any fundamental reason for associating Venus with Murcia, Libitina and Cloacina is that the name Murcia whatever its origin suggested the Myrtle of the Greek Aphrodite and so led to a “für uns durchsichtigen Kombinationen der römischen Gelehrten,” Roscher, *Lex.*, VI, 186; but the fact that the myrtle was the plant of the Greek Goddess does not exclude its use in Roman fertility rites from the earliest times, Mannhardt, *Mythol. Forsch.*, 115 ff. even though age remains unknown, cf. Plut., *Qu. Rom.*, no. 74.
1281. 205-2 Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, p. 561.
1282. 205-3 Drexler, in Preller, *Lex.*, I, 1542-3.
1283. 205-4 *Ib.*, 1545.
1284. 205-5 *Idem.*, and Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 562.
1285. 205-6 *Supra.*, p. ---.
1286. 206-1 Livy, XLV, 44, in Roscher, *Lex.*, I 2, p. 1545.
1287. 206-2 Keune, in Roscher, *Lex.*, VI, 193.
1288. 206-3 Pliny, *NH*, XXXVI, 189, in Roscher, *Lex.*, I 2, 1545.
1289. 206-4 Suet., *Domit.*, c. 15, in Roscher, *loc. cit.*, also citing a case of Alex. Severus, from *Hist. Aug.*, *Alex. Sev.*, c. 4.
1290. 206-5 C. I. L., III, 1421, in *Lex.*, *idem.*
1291. 206-6 Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 1524.
1292. 206-7 Suet., *Galba*, c. 4; 18, *Lex.*, 1523-4.
1293. 206-8 *Lex.*, I, 1523, “Dem allgemeinen Glauben folgend ...”
1294. 206-9 Suet., *Tib.*, c. 63; *ibid.*, 1545.
1295. 207-1 This interpretation combines those of Laquer, and Radin and the instances cited on the preceding page.
1296. 207-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
1297. 207-2 cf. W. Fowler, *Röm. Fest.*, pp. 68-69.
1298. 207-3 Weniger, “Die Seher von Olympia”, *RW*, XVIII (1915), 67-68.
1299. 208-1 It is important to note that it was the Plebian women who bathed at the Festival of Fortuna and Venus, Lydus, *Mens.*, IV, 45; it is the Plebs who venit et discumbit,

- Ov. Fast., III, 523 ff; that the Floralia was a Pleb celebration, cf. Piganiol, *Jeux*, p. 87, the license of which quite overcame the noble Cato; The President of the Great Games was the priest of the temple of Ceres, the chief sanctuary of the Plebs, Dion. Hal., VI, 95. Cf. Piganiol, *op. cit.*, 85 ff.
1300. 208-2 Not only Flora but Anna Perenna “distributed”; Ov. Fast., III, 662 ff: *Fingebat ... liba ... atque ita per populum fumantia mane solebat dividere ...* cf. Altheim, T. M., 97-98.
1301. 208-3 On the spring and earth-goddesses which are the brides of the year-god Janus, Roscher, *Lex.*, I 1, 41;
1302. 210-1 Its antiquity has been treated by P. Herrman, *Island*, I: 302-3.
1303. 210-2 Herrmann, *loc. cit.*; since the 17th Century the yearly pilgrimage has had Hallgrímur Pjetursson as its patron, a mortal man (1614-1674) whose miraculous fountain heals the ills of man and beast, *ib.*, p. 266. It is not the gods but heroes who heal.
1304. 210-3 Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 515.
1305. 210-4 Adam Brem., in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, SS, VII, plus the sagas furnish the picture in Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, 592.
1306. 210-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
1307. 210-5 Such waters “werden wiederholt in den Sagas erwähnt,” Herrmann, *Altgerm. Priesterwesen*, p. 57.
1308. 211.1 Tac., *Ger.*, c. 40, the rite took place at a *secreto lacu*; her name identifies the goddess with Njörd, hence Frey, of which Grönboch, in *Lehrb. Der RG.*, II:588, “Der Freyskult ist ... ein Erzeugnis der bekannten Kulte in den Mittelmeerländern und ist mit dem Ackerbau zusammen in den Norden gekommen.” Cf. Grimm, *Dt. Mythol.*, I:157 ff on the Isis of Tac., *Ger.*, 9, and her “Wagenschiff”.
1309. 211.2 Grimm, *op. cit.*, I: 166 ff; she is identical with Perahta or Berchta, *ib.*, p. 169, who also observes “zwischen weinacten und neujahr ihren umgang,” the last-named day being her special festival. She must be served with fish on the last day of the year.
1310. 211-2 [Repeated reference to Footnote 2]
1311. 211-3 Grimm, *op. cit.*, II: 726 ff, “wir tragen den Tod ins Wasser ...”
1312. 211-4 “(Es) hat sich die sehr verbreitete Sitte erhalten” in western Germany, “zu Neujahr den Brunnen mit einem Mai zu schmücken,” Mannhardt, *Wald u. Feldkulte*, I:241, the words which this author had italicized emphasize the identity of the 2 great year-festivals.
1313. 211-5 The great time of pilgrimages, Wintr being a more difficult time, cf. Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 503.
1314. 211-6 Herrmann, *Altger. Priesterwesen*, pp. 56-57 cf. Quickborn, Jungbrunn, Heilbrunn, Heilgenbron, Wihborn, etc.

1315. 212-1 K. Weinhold, "Die Verehrung der Quellen in Deutschland", Abh. d. Kon. Ak. d. Wiss., Berlin, anno (1808), pp. 17, 23 ff, springs as the passages to the world of the dead; 26 ff, as the source of all birth.
1316. 212-2 Grimm, Dt. Mythol., I:321, 333; cf. Supra, p. 29; Mansi, XII, 375-6.
1317. 212-3 Greg. Tours, Lib. in Confess. Glor., c. 2, in Migne, PL, LXXI, 830-1 *Quartem autem die ... anticipabat eos tempestas ... et in tantum imber ingens ... ut vix se quisquam eorum putabat evadere.*
1318. 212-4 Strabo, IV, 3, 2; *ὕδω παντῶν κοινῇ τῶν Γαλατῶν.* cf. Chartres at the confluence of three streams.
1319. 212-5 Anthol., Graec., IX, 25 (III, 1), FHR, V 1, 7 f; Greg. Naz., in FHR, V, 103; Libanius, de Rheno, ib., p. 105; cf. ib., p. 182.
1320. 212-6 Geoffrey, II, 14.
1321. 213-1 Jubainville, Ire. Cycle, pp. 146, 152-5; the son of Boand, Dagda consorted with Eithne, who turned herself into a swan at New Year's, he taking a like form, ib., pp. 157 ff, 164; on Boand and the Boyne, W. Stokes, "Boand", in Rev. Celt., XV (1894), 315 ff.
1322. 213-2 Jubainville, op. cit., p. 51 (Loch Annin), 16-17 (Loch Rudraige), 143;
1323. 213-3 Book of Armagh, in FHR, V 2, 154.
1324. 213-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
1325. 213-4 L. D. Agate, in Hasting's Encyl., X: 21, the act of 1632 states that it is to "a place called St. Patrick's Purgatory ... and to Wells to which Pilgrimages are made by vast numbers at certain seasons."
1326. 213-5 The Holy Well of St. Winifred, Agate, loc. cit.; cf. Folk-Lore, XLIX (Mar., 1938), 87-88, on assembling from wide regions "on the banks of a noble river by a humble well." The first Eistedfodd recorded (Eistedfodd is Gorsedd or year-assembly – Thing) was on the banks of the Conway and marked by a swimming contest, R. Williams, art. 'Eistedfodd.' In Encl. Brit., ed. xi.
1327. 214-1 Glastonbury, the ritual significance of the island or peninsular situation of which place is clear from M. Williams' study of the year-drama of Gwenhwyvar, the Mother-Goddess, and the hero Melwas, who appear in the story as water-horses, Speculum, XIII (1938), 47, the scene being laid at Glastonbury.
1328. 214-2 Both these characters are very conspicuous in Eithne or Etain, for whom the kings play chess at New Year, the winner, the King of the Underworld, carrying her off as a swan, Jubainville, op. cit., p. 176; she lives in a lake and changes into a water-bird on alternate years, pp. 157-9; as the white maiden of the spring, Vita Pat., in FHR, v 2, 144-5; 153, she has a red sister. A beauty-contest and pitched battle between queens in Britain ended in the throwing of Queen Estrildis and her daughter Sabre into a river which was henceforward by royal decree named Severn after the maid; Estrildis had lived seven years in a chamber under the river, where the King consorted with her "under pretence of observing a cult,"

- Geoff., II, 2-5. Of the Celtic water and fertility deities W. H. Lawton, in *Speculum Religionis*, p. 85 observes: the concept “narrows down to ... water rising from the earth and making it fertile.”
1329. 214-3 Jubainville, op. cit., pp. 57f, 164, 64-65, 117ff, 48f, 16, etc.
1330. 214-3 [Repeated reference to Footnote 3]
1331. 215-1 C. H. Meyer, in FHR, IV, 108, under “fontes”. A. Brückner, in *Lehrb. Der RG.*, II:512-513, 528, 530. Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, III, 14.
1332. 215-2 In Gaul “des genies des eaux ... constituaient la religion du peuple,” Albert Dufourq, in RHLR, IV (1800), 254, while among Germanic peoples “Heilig, geweiht und heilbringend waren alle Quellen”, Herrmann, *Altgerm. Priestwesen*, pp. 56-57.
1333. 215-3 Adam Brem., II, 21; one of the main Slavic cult places was Stettin, where the most celebrated object was the quercus ingens ... et fons subter eam, Herbord, II, 32, in FHR, IV, 26, Ebbo, III, 18, ib., pp. 41-42. The central shrine of Julin was on the little island of Wollin, where the Oder flowed into the sea. Cf. Rugen, Helmold, I, 6.
1334. 215-4 FHR, IV, 8-9; 64; 77; Bruckner, op. cit., p. 515; Cosmas, III, 1, in FHR, IV, 20 gives an excellent description of the rites at the fontes at Pentecost.
1335. 215-5 FHR, IV, 23, citing a Homily.
1336. 215-6 In medio quadragesimae, FHR, IV, 64.
1337. 215-7 FHR, IV, 57, Diana’s iuxta ripam Albiae flumis templum. Ib., 58: Mercurium et Venerem colunt ... iuxta fontes; Bruckner, p. 516, the earliest Slavic female deities were the bergynje: “Uferinnen”.
1338. 216-1 Robertson Smith, *Rel. Semit.*, p. 170.
1339. 216-2 R. Smith holds, p. 102, that “agricultural religion took its starting-point from the sanctity already attaching (i.e. from pre-agricultural times) to water groves and meadows,” the spring and grove being the land miraculously tended by the Ba’al, and the proper place of the jinns, cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I: 447 ff. It has recently been demonstrated that the megalithic cult-places of Palestine, places for common worship of ancestors, were necessarily situated by flowing water, Paul Karge, *Rephaim* (????) ref. p. 751, col. 1, Karge is not certain of the reason for this, p. ---
1340. 216-3 Smith, op. cit., pp. 172-3.
1341. 216-4 Supra, pp. 17, 48, 67, etc.
1342. 216-5 Sozomon., II, 4, ---.
1343. 216-6 G. Barton, in AOSJ, LII (1932), 229, ; discusses Aphek; cf. Lucian, *Dea Syr.*, c. 6 for description of the site.
1344. 217-1 Shiloh and Beersheba were the proper places for the great pilgrimage before the days of Jerusalem, Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 21 ff, cf. J. R. Peters, in *Stud. in the Hist. of Relig.*, p. 236.

1345. 217-2 Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.
1346. 217-3 A. R. Johnson, in *The Labyrinth*, pp. 73 ff; Nath. Schmidt, *AOSJ*, XLVI (192-), 163.
1347. 217-4 Thackaray, *Septuagint*, p. 73; the Temple at Jerusalem was directly over a spring of water, cf. *Dan.*, VII, 9-10; *Rev.*, XXII, 1; *Talmud* (ed. Goldschmidt, II: 989) *Joma*, VIII, 2; it was healing water, *Ezek.*, XLVII, 1, 3; V, 4-5; *Is.*, XXXIII, 21; *Zach.*, XIII, 1; cf. *John*, V, 4. On the water-rites at the Booths, Thackaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.
1348. 217-5 Kohler, in *Jewish Encycl.*, art. "Shiloh", as a place of rock-cut tombs and pools.
1349. 217-6 At the shrine of the Syrian Goddess was the hole into which the waters of Deucalion's flood receded, which was the main object of the whole shrine complex, *Lucian, Dea Syr.*, c. 12; part of the pilgrimage was to swim out to an island shrine in a bottomless lake, *ib.*, c. 46. The orifice Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*, p. 103, identifies with the Ghabghab or 'Ab'ab common to Semitic shrines.
1350. 217-7 "In der Ka'ba zu Mekka wird der Ghabghab Brunnen genannt," even though there is no water in it. Hard by is the Zemzem well into which offerings are tossed, Wellhausen, *Reste Ar. Heid.*, p. 103; cf. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekkaansche Feest*, pp. --.
1351. 218-1 There the goddess "turned her face towards El, to the place whither all rivers do flow, hard beside the horizon where the earthly and heavenly oceans meet, "Gaster, *Stud. e. Matl.*, XII (1936), 148-9; the last expression is rendered "rivers in the midst of the clefts of the two abysses", by Barton, *AOSJ*, LII (1932), 224, who identifies it, *ib.*, p. 229, with Aphek. In either case it is a place of water.
1352. 218-2 R. A. S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine* (London: Relig. Tract Soc, 1925), pp. 271 ff; Wellhausen, *Reste Ar. Heidentums*, pp. 101 ff.; Karge, *Rephaim*, pp. --
1353. 218-3 H. Gressmann, *Tod u. Auferstehung des Osiris*, p. 12.
1354. 218-4 Zimmern, *Babyl. Neu.*, p. 20; Nilsson, *G. F. ?*, pp. 268 ff.
1355. 218-5 A. Norden, *Felsbilder* (Hagen: Folkwang, 1923), pp. 27-29, after Almgren. cf. *supra*, p. --
1356. 218-6 T. G. Pinchas, in *Hastings Encycl.*, X, 12-13; Namma was the Euphrates, "apparently a holy river", and also the name of a town.
1357. 219-1 D. J. Gadd, et al., *Ur, Royal Inscriptions* (Univ. Penn., 1928), nos. 1, 71, cf. 7, 14, 16, 19, 26, 34, 49, 52, etc.
1358. 219-2 *Supra*, p.
1359. 219-3 E. Burrows, in *The Labyrinth*, pp. 45-57; the root AB- has been found in Sumerian, Persian, Sanskrit, etc., to present an original meaning of "Wasserloch". It is the base of the familiar *apsu* and *abyss*, E. Forrer, "Quelle und Brunnen in Alt-Vorderasien", *Glotta*, XXVI (1938), 189. The original holy water of the abyss

- was a spring, it is claimed, *ib.*, pp. 182-3, with a lake or pond, together with which and the surrounding shore it formed the “Sprudelplatz” to which was given the name *sakuis*, *saigwi*, whence the Indoger. “Sea”. What is certain is that the original is that of water which “aus der dunkeln Unterwelt heraufsprudelt”, *ib.*, p. 181 cf. F. Jeremias, *Lehrb. Der RG*, II: 541; Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 103;.
1360. 219-4 Burrows, *Labyrinth*, pp. 49 ff; Johnson, *ib.*, 85-86; Thackaray, *Septuagint*, p. 47; Wensinck, *Acta Orient.*, I: 183-7; Jastrow, *AOSJ*, XXXVI (19--), 282-3, 287; etc., the place of the throne and house of God above the waters is not disputed.
1361. 220-1 W. Albright and P. Dumont, *AOSJ*, LIV (1934), 127; *supra*, p. 140.
1362. 220-2 Dumont, *L’Asvamedha*, p. 247, 284; on the antiquity of the bathing-custom, E. W. Hopkins, in *Studies in the Hist. of Relig.*, p. 214; cf W. Croke, in *Hasting’s Encycl.*, X, 24-25.
1363. 220-3 Dumont, *L’Asvamedha*, pp. xiv-xv, 5, 356: the people are specifically ordered to assemble at a place of two ponds and by a running stream.
1364. 220-4 *Ibid.*, pp. xv, 252-3; 26-27.
1365. 220-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
1366. 220-5 *Ibid.*, pp. iv, 251, 291, 152.
1367. 220-6 *Ib.*, pp. 5, *supra*, p. ---; Guntert, *AOSJ*, XLV (1925), 283 ff.
1368. 220-7 *Supra*, p. 40.
1369. 220-8 “On the summit (of mount Hugar, the lofty) is lake *Urvis* ... into that lake the water flows ... and comes back through a different golden channel ... an open branch from that channel is connected with the sea *Vourukasha*, from there one portion flows forth to the ocean” while the rest falls upon the earth, A. J. Carnoy, *AOSJ*, XXXVI (1917), 301-2.
1370. 221-1 “All the water continuously flows from the source *Ardvi Sura Anahita*,” to the various lakes, through golden channels, Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 301; cf. *Herodot.*, I, 107.
1371. 221-2 Frobenius, *Erythraa*, p. 160, 149-160; 195-6; *Kulturgesch. Afrikas*, pp. 147-153; 259 ff.
1372. 221-3 Frobenius, *Kg. Afr.*, pp. 150-3.
1373. 221-4 Strabo, XVII, 1, 14; Plut., *Antony*, c. 69-71; *Supra*, ---; the Osiris rites must take place “am breiten Strom ... der oft ein “Meer” gennant wird”, Gressmann, *Tod. U. Auferstehung des Osiris*, p. 4 & *passim*.
1374. 221-5 *Herodot.*, ---
1375. 221-6 F. B. De la Roque, “Le Lac sacre de Tod”, *Chroniques d’Egypte*, XXIV (1937), 157 ff; it was not a mere pond but a deep pit, the waters of which rose and fell with the Nile; every temple had one.
1376. 222-1 Described by A. Weigall, *Hist. of the Pharoahs*, I: 266.

1377. 222-2 Aelian, *De Nat. Animal.*, XI, 10, τὴν ἄνοδον τὴν τοῦ Νείλου ὑπερδελῶν σημεῖα φασὶ καὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σχῆμα ... καὶ τὸ μνηοειδὲς τῆς σελήνης κατηγορεῖ σχῆμα τῷ συνιέντι σημεῖον ἄλλο, etc.
1378. 222-3 Plut., *De Isid. et Osir.*, c. 5, citing rationalized explanations given for the custom.
1379. 222-4 Pliny, *NH*, VII, 46: Non fas est eum certos vitae excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte necant quaesituri luctu alium, quem substituant ... cf. Ammian., XXII, 14.
1380. 222-5 At Delphi, “une source sacree jaillit dans l’adtyton meme, comme dans les autres sanctuaires oraculaires d’ Apollon”, P. Amandry, “Eschyle la Punification d’Oreste,” in *Rev. Arch.*, XI (1938), 22; cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.*, I: 382.
1381. 222-6 L. B. Holland, “Mantic Mechanism at Delphi”, *AJA*, XXXVII (1933), 214.
1382. 223-1 Pind., *Ol.*, VI, 58.
1383. 223-2 *Ol.*, VII, 15; IX, 15-16.
1384. 223-3 *Ol.*, X, 48; no less in honor of the stream are *Ol.*, I, 92; II, 13; III, 22; V, 18; XIII, 35; *Isth.*, I, *Nem.*, I, 1; VI, 18.
1385. 223-4 *Ol.*, VIII, 1 ff;
1386. 223-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
1387. 223-5 *Ol.*, I, 1; R. Vallois, “Origine des jeux olympiques”, *Rev. Et. Anc.*, XXXI (1931), 129, sees in this ode an attempt to appease the rain-god lest he be jealous of the honor given the “dieu des eaux souterraines, des sources et des fleuves,” i. e. Pseidon, by the games.
1388. 223-6 For games by the water, Fougères, in *Daremb. Dict.*, II, 1695; some of the principal Greek oracular waters are cited by Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 430 f, n. 3.
1389. 224-1 cf. the tame sacred fish at Hierapolis, Lucian, *Dea Syr.*, c. 45; and at the shrine of the goddess in Lycia, Pliny, *NH*, XXXII, 8, 1, with other cases cited by Hardouin in his ed. of Pliny, 1832, VIII, 462; For the fullest treatment, F. J. Dolger, *IXΘΥΣ der heilige Fisch* (Muenster; Aschenbach, 1922), I, pt. iii, 425-470.
1390. 224-2 Hodgkin, *Letters of Cassiodorus* (London, 1886), p. 383.
1391. 224-3 Mars and Neptune on Sept. 23, Venus Genetrix on Sept. 26, the time when the water rose; if the Lucanian fair were a typical three-day event it would coincide exactly with the Roman series.
1392. 224-4 Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, pp. 288-292; Keune, in *Roscher, Lex.*, VI, 184-5, 193 ff.
1393. 224-4 [Repeated reference to Footnote 4]
1394. 224-5 Keune, *op. cit.*, col. 184, citing Strabo, V, 232: οὐ πανηγυρίζουσι Λατῖνοι.
1395. 225-1 The Sabine Vacuna was compared with Bellona, Diana, Ceres, Venus, Victoria and Minerva, Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, p. 359; Preller’s identification of Vacuna with the Victoria of Lake Cutilia is accepted by Latte, in *Roscher*, VI, 294, cf. Preller, *ib.*, p. 360.
1396. 225-2 Pliny, *NH*, II, 95; III, 12; XXXI, 2, 6; Seneca, *Qu. Nat.*, III, 25, 7 in Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

1397. 225-3 Macrob., Sat., I, 7.
1398. 225-4 Latte, Roscher, Lex., VI, 294-5, citing CIL, 14, 3484, Preller, op. cit.
1399. 225-5 Preller, loc., cit.,; Ovid., Fast., V, 299.
1400. 225-6 Pliny, NH, III, 12, 17, Preller, p. 360 describes it as too wet.
1401. 225-7 Dion. Hal., I, 15.
1402. 226-1 Seneca, Epist., I, 41.
1403. 226-2 Pliny, NH, II, 95;
1404. 226-3 Dion. Hal., I, 15.
1405. 226-4 Of the shrine of Faunus, Dion, Hal., I, 32, 5: σπήλαμεν ὑπὸ τῷ λέδῳ μέγα ... κρηνίδες ὑπὸ ταῖς πέτραις ἐμβύθιοι ... Ρωμαῖοι θύουσιν ... μετὰ χειμερίους τροπὰς οὐδὲν τῶν τότε γινομένων μετακινοῦντες. The same authority reports the tradition that the Tiber once flowed by the foot of this hill, I, 32, 79. The god had a temple on an island in the Tiber, Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 212.
1406. 226-5 Wissowa, loc. cit.; as “Stammgott” he is closely associated with Mars, Wissowa, in Roscher, Lex., I 2, 5454-5; his festival has all the marks of the “saecular” festival, the emphasis on the “begetting” of men, Mannhardt, Mythol. Forsch., pp. 82 ff, and animals (Wissowa, R. u. K., p. 210: “Gott der animalischen Befruchtung”); as on the expulsion of Pest and murrain (Mannhardt, p. 83; Lex., 1457); sham-battles and races (Mannhardt, pp. 76 ff); oracles (Lex., 1456; R. u. K., p. 211), etc.
1407. 227-1 Wissowa, in Roscher, Lex., I 2, 1455, citing, Hor., Carm., III, 18, 12.
1408. 227-2 De-Marchi, Culto Privato, I: 13 ff; supra, p. ---
1409. 227-3 Mannhardt, Mythol., Forsch., pp. 83 ff; Wissowa, op. cit., 1458.
1410. 227-4 Supra, p. 41.
1411. 227-5 As “Spenderinnen des irdischen Nasses für die Frucht der Felder.” The Nymphs are associated with Anna Perenna, Demeter, etc., Altheim, T. M., pp. 91 ff; Ceres, Tellus, Maia, belong to the aquae salubres, ib., 120 ff. Flora and Fons come together in the Arval cult, ib., pp. 133 f; Fortuna, whose symbol was the rudder as well as the cornucopia, combines therein the fertility and water-motifs, Roscher, Lex., I 2, 1503 ff; cf. Anna as the bride of the river, Altheim, TM, pp. 98 ff.
1412. 227-6 A. Rapp, in Roscher, Lex., II 1, 1667-8; this goddess as waterbringer in time of drought has been fully treated by Dölger, Ant. u. Christ., I:92-106.
1413. 227-7 Tertull., de Spect., c. 8; cf. the bath of the Mag. Mat. On Mar. 27.
1414. 228-1 Caesar dug a trench for water around the Circus, Pliny, NH, XXXVI, 15; cf. Suet., Caes., c. 39, of which Niebuhr, Vorträge über römische Altertümer (Berlin, 1858), p. 456 observes: “Er concentrirte also wohl das Wasser an den Seiten.” The perennial and sacred nature of the stream argues against a mere drainage, as does the elaborate system of fountains and drains on the spina, down the entire length of which flowed a stream, Tertull., Spect., c. 3, T. E. Charles, “The Circus of Romulus”, Br. And Am. Archaeol. Soc., I (1888-9), 144, citing A. Nibby, A.

De-Marchi, *I Romani nelle Istituzioni*, etc. (Milano; Vallardi, 1931), pp. 144; 256, fig. 128 (the Conserva di Acqua); 265, fig. 134. A like arrangement in the Lyons mosaic, R. J. Menard, in *Les Institutions de l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1883), IV: 200, fig. 183, and in the Barcelona mosaic, Cagnat & Chapot, Manuel, II: 221, fig. 469, and Daremb., Dict., I, 192. For the water-works in the Hippodrome at CP., Gerda Bruns, *Der Obelisk*, etc., zu Kp. (Istamboul, 1935), rev. in *AJA*, XLI (1937), 158, and *Gnomen*, XII (1937) 1, 423, and W. G. Holmes, *Age of Justinian*, I: 65. Fougeres has pointed out that the oldest Greek games-places resembled the Campus Martius at Rome in being "pourvus de pistes naturelles", and not merely beside streams (for bathing, etc.) but at confluences, Daremb. Dict., II, 1685; upon this theme Della Corte, *Juventus*, pp. 84 ff, has expanded. Cassiod., Var., III, 51 describes the Euripus as a symbol of the sea, in which swim the seven dolphins that spout water on the spina; he says it surrounds the Circus, while Lydus, *de Mens.*, I, 12 states that it flows down the middle. [Reviewer: Suet., *Caes.*, c. 39 - OK, but Suetonius doesn't say that Caesar built the trench] [Reviewer: Tertull, *SPect.*, c.3 - No]

- 1415. 228-2 See all three plans in H. Kieport et Ch. Huelsen, *Formae Urbis Romae* (Berlin, 1895).
- 1416. 229-1 Platner, *Top. Dict.*, p. 389.
- 1417. 229-2 Festus, ed. L., p. 117; it was on a bend in the river, Isid., *Etymol.* XVIII, 27, 3.
- 1418. 229-3 Platner, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
- 1419. 229-4 *Ib.*, loc. cit.,
- 1420. 229-5 On the coincidence of these events, L. Deubner, *Neue Jahrb.*, XXVII (1911), 326.
- 1421. 229-6 The existence of alternative places for holding the games implies that the Campus, full of marshes and groves, left something to be desired, though it did have the merit of roominess, Strabo, V, 3, 8.
- 1422. 229-7 *Acta*, II, 90, 108, 115, 134, 157, Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, VIII: 572 ff, 598-9.
- 1423. 229-8 *Zos.*, II, 6.
- 1424. 229-9 Mommsen, *op. cit.*, 598 f; Boyance in *Melanges*, XLII (1925), 140 ff.
- 1425. 230-1 *Zos.*, II, 2.
- 1426. 230-1 [Repeated reference to Footnote 1]
- 1427. 230-2 S. Weinstock, "Ludi Tarentini und ludi saeculares", *Glotta*, XXI (1932), 40.
- 1428. 230-3 Vol. Max., II, 4, 5, the legend that the ludi Saeculares were established when nescio quo deorum some children were healed during a pestilence at the hot-springs ad ripam Tiberis, at which spot an aram Diti patri Proserpinaeque was found twenty feet under ground. It was dug up, like the Ara Consi, for subsequent celebrations of the games, cf. *Zos.*, II, 2.
- 1429. 230-4 Piganiol, *Jeux*, pp. 1 ff; one of the three days a year on which the mundus was open was the Opsiconsivia, three days after the Consualia, with which Wissowa,

- de Feriis, in *Cos. bhandlugen*, pp. 156 ff, definitely connected it, on the basis of the three-day interval between the December Consualia and Opalia.
1430. 230-5 Livy, I, 16, 1; Solia, I, 20, etc., in Platner, *Top. Dict.*, p. 96. According to S. Weinstock, "Templum", *Röm. Mitt.*, XLV (1930), 118, there is no necessary connection between mundus and "Städtegründung". The same writer does believe that the throwing of a handful of soil into the mundus was an "Akt des Synoikismos". That act appears as part of the year-rite in Plut., *Qu. Gr.*, nos. 13, 22, and is appropriate to a general gathering for the purpose of affirming federal allegiance such as was the saeculares. The throwing of a coin, fruits or a clod into the mundus would seem to be variations on the same theme, the original motif being contribution to the feast, since that is practical, while the earth-bringing is symbolic. [Reviewer: Plut., *Qu. Gr.*, nos., 13, 22 – There is no mention of the year rite or throwing soil into the mundus.]
1431. 230-6 Suet., *Aug.*, c. 57: Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto pro salute eius (Augusti) stipem iacebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam in Capitolio ... dedicabat, etc. On the dona et fruges. Livy, VII, 6.
1432. 230-7 Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, pp. 234-5, compares them; cf. Kobbert, *RE*, I A, 576.
1433. 230-8 Dion., *Hal.*, II, 42 describes Curtius as leaping into the water. The words of good omen attributed to the hero as he leapt into the pit, Zonar., VII, 25 (Dio VII, 30), Stat., *Silv.*, I, 1, 64 ff, recall the good-wishes for the year uttered by the scape-goat in the Karneia, by the man thrown into the water at Uppsala, etc.
1434. 230-8 [Repeated reference to Footnote 8]
1435. 231-1 S. Eitrem, *Beitr.*, 20 ff; cf. Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.*, 156 ff.
1436. 231-2 Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, p. 229; J. Carcopino, *Vergile et les Origines d'Ostia*, pp. 74 ff, 110ff, 136ff, etc., H. J. Rose, "The Cult of Volkanus at Rome", *Jnl. Rom. Stud.*, XXIII (1933), 57 holds that the original games were held in the interest of the river, to keep the water-level up, so that shipping might not be interrupted at the driest season of the year, vs. Horace's description of the time of the Consualia, *Odes*, III, 13ff is a simpler and more convincing argument for wishing to preserve the full streams and the good year which they signified. Cf. Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.*, pp. 171 ff.
1437. 231-3 Fowler, *Rom. Fest.*, pp. 240-1.
1438. 231-4 Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff, as founder-god, 122 ff.
1439. 231-5 He was Thybris, Carcopino, pp. 564 f., J. Toutain, "Sur un Rite curieux de Vulcan", *RHR*, v. 103 (1931), 136.
1440. 231-6 Altheim, T. M., pp. 133ff; Henzen, *Act. Arv.*, p. 146.
1441. 213-7 Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, pp. 229ff; Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 63 gives an odd explanation of the pair.
1442. 231-8 Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, p. 224.

1443. 232-1 On the introduction of the biga, triga, quadriga, etc. see the works of Panvinius and Bulenger in Graevius, *Thesaurus*, IX (index) for an abundance of classical references. Preller and Mannhardt suggest horse and even foot-races (cf. Lupercalia, Robigalia) as the original events, cf. Mannhardt, *Mythol. Forsch.*, pp. 173 ff, while Deubner held that the Equirria was “ursprunglich nur ein Rennen, nicht ein Wett-rennen” (and that after a discourse on psychology!), *Röm. Mitt.*, XXVII (1911), 326.
1444. 232-2 Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, p. 223.
1445. 232-3 Ovid., *Fast.*, I, 706; Val. Max., I, 8, 1; the water of her fountain in the Campus Martius as of the Lacus Juturnae “galt ... für das reinste, das heiligste, das wohlthätigste, für das Wasser schlechthin,” Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, p. 508.
1446. 232-4 Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, p. 107.
1447. 232-5 *Ibid.*, p. 223.
1448. 232-6 *Idem*, citing Cic., *de Har. Resp.*, c. 57; cf. *supra*, p. -.
1449. 233-1 Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, pp. 331 ff, on the many amours of Picus, especially with nymphs; the true knight-errant; to this aspect of his nature the aqueous one is added in Grimm, *Dt. Mythol.*, I:228; II: 638 ff, cf. Rendel Harris, Picus who is also Zeus, pp. -.
1450. 233-2 *Supra*, p. 6f, Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, p. 421.
1451. 233-3 Whatmough, *Foundations of Roman Italy*, pp. -.
1452. 233-4 L. Malten, “Das Pferd im antiken Totenglauben”, *Röm. Mitt.*, XXIX (1914) 165f; P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 155-162; Whatmough, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Rathmann, *RE*, 19: 57-58; Bern. Schweitzer, *Herakles*, pp. ---‘ J. v. Negelein, *Das Pferd im arischen Altertum* (Königsberg, 1903), pp. 70 ff.
1453. 233-5 Eitrem, *Beiträge zur gr. Religionsgesch.*, II: 19ff; the October-horse rite is but a single day removed from the Fontinalia, cf. *Alttheim*, *T. M.*, p. 121.