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

By

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

DISSERTATION

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OF

HUGH NIBLEY

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DISSERTATION

THE ROMAN GAMES AS A SURVIVAL OF AN ARCHAIC YEAR-CULT

nia. 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.

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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 Fowler,⁴ of whom Deubner rightly observes, in view of the exhaustion of local materials at Rome, that there is "kein Zweifel, dass eine religionsgeschichtliche

1. Thus Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht, I: 42ff; II¹: 3ff

2. Below, p. 10

3. W. Warde Fowler, The Roman Festivals, p. 243

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Untersuchung über die römische Urzeit heute immer an Preller und Preller wird anknüpfen müssen."¹ 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",² 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

1. L. Deubner, in Neue Jahrb., XXVII (1911), 322

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!

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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.

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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.

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.¹ Time moved in a circle, as Homer's περίπλοκόν ἐνιαυτὸν² the dor of the Old Testament³ and the Latin annus, anni circulum⁴ attest. The great year-festival in the North is the "Yule", from O.N. hveol, "wheel",⁵ while the

1. Acta Ludorum Saecularium, ll. 52ff, in Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften (Berlin, 1913), VIII: 572, cf. 578ff
2. Odyss., I, 16
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 is Arab. hwl, for which E. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon (London, 1863) Pt. I, Bk. 2, pp. 675-7 gives "Changed, turned away, not straight, 'You say hala 'lhawl,' said of the year: it passed, or it revolved and passed: or it became complete... The revolution of the Sun in its places of rising and setting the end of the past and the beginning of the future... hawl, a year; adv. hawla, "around, about." ... turning, transmission, revolution, etc."
4. Thesaur. Ling. Lat., II, col. 115, art. "Annus"
5. Paul Herrmann, Nordische Mythologie (Leipzig, 1903), p. 508, and 14.. Alt-deutsche Kultgebräuche (Jena: Diederich, 1928), p. 42. In Ulfilas the one "blosser Zeitbegriff" is hveila. OHG huila, and is used to render ἡμέρα and καρπός. It is cognate with ME vile and AS hyll (hvel and hveol, "der sich drehende"), whence Eng. "while", cf. Ar. hwl, etc. (!), -J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie (Göttingen, 1835), (II), pp. 750-751; 664-665

etymology of Ger. "Jahr" from "ja-". "Jahn" gives the word an original sense of motion, specifically of "gehen im Kreise", according to Otto Huth, who cites Walde's association of annus with various expressions for "going".¹

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.² The same writer wonders why a certain Roman noble observed in December a festival which the rest of the city keeps in Feb.,³ and he has described the rite of the October horse as taking place on the Ides of December.⁴ These are obvious cases of duplication, and such duplication was especially easy in the Roman calendar, as Alf. von Domassowski has shown, due to "eine echt römische Phantasie ... in der Auffassung des Naturlebens als eines grossen organischen Ganzen."⁵ That authority finds the ordering of the festivals "als ob in jedem Monate die Feste um ein Hauptfest zu höheren Einheit sich zusammenschliessen," while these central month festivals in turn have definite reference to each other.⁶ Thus the October-horse

1. Otto Huth, Janua (Bonn: Rhrscheid, 1932), 94

2) Plutarch, Quaest. Rom., no. 19: Καθόλου μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστι φύσει τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ περιφερομένων, οὐτ' ἔσχατον, οὐτ' ἀρχαῖον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀλλήλων ἀλλοιῶν καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ἀρχήν. ἀριστα δὲ σίτην μετὰ τροπῆς χειμερινῆς λαμβάνοντες.

3. Idem, no. 34

4. Idem, no. 97

5) Alfred von Domassowski, "Die Festcyclen des römischen Kalenders", ANW, I (1910), 343, where he is reminded of the Pythagorean cycles of rebirth.

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.

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celebration has, as Wissowa has shown, an exact parallel in the festivities of Mars in March,¹ which Ritzen has accepted as determining the identity of the two widely separated events.² 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."³ 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 21.⁴ The Consualia of August 21 is likewise the Consualia of December 15.⁵ 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.⁶ The year-cycle was a life-cycle, a concept expressed in the word saeculum.

Saeculum. F. Diehl concludes from his thorough study of the word, "war *se-tle-m = saeculum das, was das Leben ermöglicht."⁷ Never, however, is it a saecula plantarum, but always of men and animals.⁸ It is the renewing of the race. "Les jeux seculaires avaient pour objet d'assurer le renouvellement du monde jusqu'à une nouvelle echeance."⁹ Thus Pignaniol, who finds that the pur-

1. G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer (München, 1912), 230

2. S. Ritzen, Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte (Kristiania: Dyb-wad, 1917), III: 19

3. Ibid. p. 20

4. Wissowa, op.cit., p. 162

5. Domaszewski, op.cit., pp. 334-335, not only do they parallel each other separately, but they are accompanied by parallel festivals.

6. Ibid. pp. 336-343, wherein every case cited refers to a beginning, opening, rising

7. F. Diehl, "Das saeculum, seine Riten und Gebete", Abh. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., v. 61 (1934), 256

8. Diehl, ibid.

9. A. Pignaniol, Recherches sur les Jeux Romains (Strasbourg: Istra, 1923) p. 143

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poses of all the ludi may be comprised under eight heads, to wit, "Anniversaires de dieux, dedicaces de statues et de temples, anniversaires des morts, anniversaires des vivants, anniversaires des victoires, anniversaires des villes. a l'occasion d'une peste" and for the "inauguration d'une periode nouvelle."¹ 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."² 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 cycle.³ The anniversary of the saeculum concerned each member of the society individually; every man was specially invited and no man might attend more than the celebration held in his particular lifetime.⁴ 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.⁵ 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,"⁶ that is, its year was originally identical with the universal New Year. Not only

1. Piganiol, op.cit., pp.145-148 (I have joined the scattered headings in a single sentence.

2. Idem. p.145

3. Diehl, op.cit., pp.262-3

4. Ios. II, 8, 1; Sueton., Claudius. c.21; Acta. in Mommsen, Ges.Schr., VIII:572

5. G. Wissowa, in RE II, 148b

6. Idem, II, 1472-3

did the Arvals celebrate their own "Wandelfest" as their principal activity,¹ 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.² For Statius the Saturnalia is specifically the Emperor's birthday party.³

The Romans then, celebrated (with games) the beginning of each new revolution and the termination 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.⁴ Holidays in Rome were increased in number not by a random 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.⁵ Other anniversary festivals besides the games were subject to repetition, both on consecutive days⁶ and at widely separated intervals.⁷

1. Wissowa, in RE, II, 1472-3

2. Idem, II, 1485. They held a yearly sacrifice in sacra via ante domum Romulianam ... ob memoriam eius patris, according to Guil. Hansen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium (Berlin, 1874), p. 59

3. Satt. Silvae I, vi.

4. P. Ritschl, Parasceae ad Plautum und Terentium (Leipzig, 1854), I: 309-311

5. L. Friedländer, in J. Marquardt & G. Hensen, Handbuch der Römischen Altertümer (Leipzig, 1885), VI: 484

6. Thus the Salii performed their processions and dances every day, from the Ides of March to the 22nd, Rome Girilli, Les Fraternes Romaines de Rome (Paris,

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The gods of the Circus, Neptune,¹ Consus,² and Mars,³ 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.⁴ In the latest interpretation of this name, by Altheim,⁵ it has been found to refer not only to the hiding or storing away of grain, a long-familiar theory,⁶ but to the ending of the harvest itself, and also to the "Beisetzung und Beendigung des alten saeculum."⁷ 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 Terminalia.⁸

Mobiles," Antiquite Classique, VII, 199 opposes this interpretation.

1. Lactant. de vere cultu, VI, 20: Venationes quae vocantur munera Saturni attributae sunt. Indi scenici Libero. Circenses Neptune... Salvian, de gov. Dei, VI, 11: Veneratur honoraturque Minerva in gymnasio. Venus in theatro. Neptunus in Circo.
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
3. Festus (ed. Lindsay), p. 71: Equitria Indi, quos Romulus Marti instituit per equorum cursum, qui in Campo Martio exercebantur.
4. Consus est deus condendi, T. Mommsen, in CIL I, 400; cf. Dion. Halic., II, 31, Plutarch, Romulus, c. 14. Tertullian, de Spect. c. 5, calls Consus Consilii potens, and Padianus, Orat. ii in G. Verrem (ed. F. Asulanus, 1522, p. 21) says the games are called consuales, quod consiliorum secretorum deo data.
5. F. Altheim, "Altitalische und altgriechische Göttervorstellung", Klio, XX (1927, N.F. Bd. XII, Heft 1), pp. 47 ff
6. Mommsen, loc. cit., ... deus condendi, i.e., massi, horrearius...
7. Altheim, op. cit., p. 50
8. Ibid., p. 50. The conclusion is that Consus is an "Spektraktum" signifying burial in general, of which anything may be the object (p. 49).

Census has been identified with both Neptune¹ and Mars.² His counterpart is Janus, "der Gott alles Anfanges."³ The latter has his festival at the Winter Solstice, which is the "Erneuerung des Weltbeginns."⁴ 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,⁵ a dualism expressed in the two faces of Janus -- a young and an old one, a black and a white, etc., which are yet the faces of a single god.⁶ This Janus, the positive team-mate of Census, opening with his key what the latter shuts,⁷ is also a "Doppelgänger" of Mars, being like him chthonian, war-god, and "Urvater".⁸

1. Dion. Halic., II, 31, says that the proper translation of Census is Ποσειδῶνα τελευτῶνα. This identification has been treated by A. Schwegler, Römische Geschichte (Berlin, 1878), IV: 472; G. Wissowa, Abhandlungen, 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 Census is always and only Neptunus equester.

2. Tertullian, de Spect., c.5; Servius, Ann. VIII, 636. A philological explanation of the identification, based on the name Mamurius occurring in the Carmen Saliare, is that "the Salian songs have 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

3. F. Altheim, in Klio, XIX (1937), 50. These are the two eldest Roman gods (pp. 47-48).

4. O. Huth, Janus, p.94; Roscher, in Lex., II¹, 43ff; Preller, Röm. Myth., 152ff

5. Carl Hentze, Mythes et Symboles Immortels (Anvers: "de Sikkel", 1932), p.39

6. Huth, Janus, pp. 28; 34, the commonest combination is the bearded-unbearded.

7. i.e. the depths of the Mother-Earth, Roscher, Reallexikon, II¹, 30; Huth, Janus, pp.22-23. cf. W. Kähler, in ANW. VIII (1904), 228ff

8. Huth, Janus, p.23. cf. Ovid. Fasti, I, 69. Wissowa, Abh., p. 160

Janus was a year-god whose sacrifices were repeated on the Ides of every month.¹ As divus Janus or principium saeculi, according to Wissowa, he stands "rein abstrakt an die Spitze der Welt- und Götterschöpfung."² He is greater Janus and Janus Janus,³ the god of "Zeugung und Schöpfung", the "Urahn und Stammvater."⁴ 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."⁵ Janus was more specifically the first king of Rome,⁶ standing with the key and sceptre of his authority as a "spezifisch italische Gottheit."⁷ When Saturn came to Rome, according to a legend which Speyer holds to be "assurement antique et national", he was received by King Janus, with whom thereafter he shared the throne on the

1. Wissowa, Religion, p.104. He had a separate altar for each month.

2. Idem, p. 109

3. Idem, p.103

4. Huth, Janus, p.93

5. v.Domaszewski, in ANW X (1907), 337; he accepts Usener's derivation of the name from a root for "light". This much-disputed etymology: Janus = Janus, "the shining one" refers quite as plainly as the Janus = Janus interpretation (i.e. motion, life, beginning) to a revolution of time: the solar year.

6. Pfister, Religionenkultus im Altertum (Gießen, 1909-1912, being vol. V of ANW), 593ff. His special priest was the Rex sacrorum (Wissowa, Religion, p.103).

7. Ad. Schmidt; "Die Schlüssel des Petrus", ANW VII (1906), 224-5.

This authority finds that the staff of Kronos is simply "der alte Janusstab", 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, Religion, p. 103.

Janiculum, where he presided over the golden age.¹ Prof. Speyer has maintained that the tradition was genuinely archaic, and that the religion of Janus was older than Rome itself.² It was the priest of Janus who was "the special representative in later times of the king" at Rome.³ Janus, sharing the throne with Saturn — Kronos — is preeminently the King of the Age; he is Patuleius and Glusius, the beginning and the end of all time.⁴ 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 every day.⁵

As to the age of the "saecular" idea at Rome, Diehl 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.⁶ There were three versions of the saecular festival, the Etruscan, the Roman, and the Greek, and the Roman version was gloomy and chthonian,⁷ quite in the Etruscan mood.⁸ Diehl thinks to find the Etruscan saeculum attested as early as 968 B.C.⁹

1. J. B. Speyer, "Le Dieu Romain Janus", REH, XXVI (1892), 33-34

2. Idem, p.47

3. Fowler, Rom. Fest., p.282

4. Roscher, Lex. II¹, 37-40

5. L. Preller, Römische Mythologie (Berlin, 1865), pp.57; 150

6. E. Diehl, in Rh.Mus., v.83 (1934), 271-2

7. It was because he wished to celebrate the idea of birth rather than the underworld rites of the dead, according to Diehl (op.cit. pp.256; 260-270), that Augustus turned to the saeculum of the older Sikyri, the Greek one, in preference to the older local one.

8. As described by Prof. Conway, Ancient Italy and Modern Religion (Cambridge: Univ., 1938), 59-74. Egidio (Joux Romains, p.6) cites Livy, I, 35, as proving Etruscan modification of the Roman games.

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.¹ Such a series reveals that the games of Consus in March and in October are the same rite,² such repetition being characteristic of the oldest Roman festivals.³ 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.⁴ March 1 was also a New Year, perhaps the oldest,⁵ and the festival of Anna Perenna on March 15 was another.⁶ The 17th and 21st of December also passed for New Years, the former the festival of Saturn.⁷ The Palilia was the New Year of the herdsmen,⁸ 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.⁹

1. G. Wissowa, "De feris anni Romanorum vetustissimis", In Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur röm. Relig.- u. Stadtgesch., (München, 1904), pp. 154-174

2. Idem, of. Hitren, Beitr., II: 19ff

3. Id., of. L. Deubner, "Zur Entwicklungsgesch. der altröm. Religion", Mon. Jahrb., XXVII (1911), 325ff, it is in the primitive magical type of festival that the series and repetitions are the rule. of. all cases cited

4. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 126

in L'Ant. Class., V: 381-404, VI: 92-117

5. Idem, p. 159

6. Id., p. 241

THE EXTENT OF THE IDEA OF THE SARCULUM:^a—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 almost part of the ancient world.²

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."¹ Which means that everyone celebrates his particular "Wendefest" with a group, considering the day of the group-initiation, for example as his own birthday.¹ As is well known, such events were fixed by primitive people mostly with reference to the Moon and to Venus.² Whatever the explanation for that may be, the time for the "heiliger Königssturz" of Frobenius' Africans is "wenn die Venus und der Mond noch nicht aufgegangen seien, und wenn die Saat zwar schon gesät, aber noch nicht ausgesät sei."³ 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-tle-m, SARCULUM, of Diehls).

1. Heinr. Schurts, Altersklassen und Menschenalter (Berlin, 1902), p. 64. The question of whether the individual belonged more to his age-group, his sarculum, or to his ancestors (family) is as old as the human race (idem., p. 68).

2. E. Przybyllok, "Unser Kalender in Vergangenheit und Zukunft", Marxismus, Heft 22 (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1930), pp. 7ff.

3. L. Frobenius, Mythos. Länder und Zeiten des heiligen Königssturzes (Berlin: Atlantis, 1931), 225; 228; 231ff, etc.

We should not mention the customs of the Spaniards, were it not for the fact that Pignaniol has seen in them a distant but authentic and independent edition of the ludi.¹ Strabo tells us that these people celebrated the death of a chieftain with games.² He also records that the regular time for the festival gatherings of the Celtiberi and their neighbors was at the full moon.³

Far more specific is our knowledge of other Celtic and related peoples, especially of those in Ireland, who also held funeral games.⁴ 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 Lughnased of August 1 and the Samain of November 1.⁵ It was on May 1 that "marriages were broken off and new ties formed."⁶ Well known is St. Patrick's lighting of a fire at Easter, when the Irish adorant exarcent-que festivitatem gentilem.⁷ Seeing the fire the pagan priest announced: "Unless your fire be quenched before this night, he whose fire you is shall have the kingdom of Ireland forever."⁸ For it was the custom for every fire in every

1. Pignaniol, Joux 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."

2. Strabo, III, 3, 7

3. Strabo, III, 4, 16; cf. Przybyllok, Unser Kalender, p. 9

4. Ireland and Spain are the only parallels cited by Pignaniol (loc. cit.) to show that games were not confined to Rome. There are infinitely better ones.

5. H. D. De Jubainville, The Irish Mythological Cycle, trs. R. I. Best (Dublin, 1903), p. 3

6. Ibid.: cf. J. A. MacCulloch, Relig. of the Anc. Celts (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 70-71

7. St. Patricius, Confess. II, p. 278, in Swicker, FMR, Fasc. V², p. 148

house in the ^{1st} to be extinguished on that night and not lit again until the fire had been lit in aula regia¹-- in domu regia, id est in palatio, at Tara.² Plainly the Irish king, like the Roman, "was the equivalent in the State of the head of the household,"³ in which capacity Janus appears with Vesta as his mate.³ One thinks instantly of the fire lit on the old Roman New Year in the temple of Vesta,⁴ and gives a ready ear to Huth's discourse on Janus as the god of the need-fire.⁵

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.⁷ A seven-day plague ended by wiping out the entire race of Partholon exactly 300 years from that day.⁸ One man survived, Tuam Mac Cairill, who lived on in various incarnations to see new races come to Ireland and be destroyed at regular hundred-year intervals,⁹ always on the day of Beltane.¹⁰

1. Swicker, FHR, V², 130, cit. Jocelinus de Furness, Vit. S. Pat., V, 35

2. St. Patric., in FHR, V², 149; 141

3. Fowler, Rom. Fest., p. 282ff

4. Ovid, Fasti, III, 45-46

5. Huth, Janus, pp. 76 ff

6. Jubainville, Ir. Mythol. Cycle, pp. 19-21

7. Id., pp. 21; 23

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, Id., pp. 25-35

9. The people of the Fuinthe Be Danann overcome the Fomorians on that day (Id., p. 9, and the people of Mile landed on the same (p. 126).

It was at the great assembly of the Gauls at Lyons that Drusus committed these people to the worship of Augustus, the new King of the Age, in 12 B.C.¹ 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.² That time and place, if any, was ^{and} 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 Biffrens (Janus) where the kings were buried and there make their agreements and plan their work for the coming year.³

The universal Germanic word for "world" appears in its oldest form as Goth. waitrals, which, following Grimm, is "vairê alps (vireorum aetas, hominum aetas), giving from an original expression of time "den rationalen Gedanken von Mundus, gerade wie seculum, siècle gleichbedeutig werden mit mundun, monde."⁴ 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)⁵ to the cycle of a single day.⁶ The Germanic idea of the revolving course of time (wheel-while) has already been mentioned.⁷ The Nordic peoples observed a larger

1. Discussed by H. W. Lawton, in Speculum Religionis, p.73; cf. Strabo, IV, 3, 2

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 gallorum annivertaria ordine celebrare, Vondt. Fortunat. II, 16ff, in RE, v², 190

3. Geoffrey, Br. Hist. II, 14, ed. Griscorn, p.270, an assembly of the "kingdom".

4. Grimm, Alt. Myth. II: 753

5. Grimm, loc. cit.; Jubainville, op.cit. pp.5-7

6. J. Laistner, Das Mysterium der Solenne (Berlin, 1908), II: 27. This great work is devoted to the mystic phenomena of mid-night and noon.

cycle of nine years, the rites at that time being true year-rites: til arðr, the term being applied specially to New Year celebrations and to the enthronement of the King.¹ Adam of Bremen has described the nine-year festival at the great shrine of Upsala,² where the noble mounds are still known as the Kings' Mounds.³ At this great Thing the King officiated, to bring a good year.⁴ Where everything depended on the sun it is surprising to find no specific reference to a Summer Solstice.⁵ The Midwinter festival was the one great ritual event of the year, the Jolablot.⁶ In a region where large assemblies in Mid-Winter were virtually impossible the shifting of the festival to May 1 is understandable.⁷ There is a good deal of shifting about of the festival in the Nordic year,⁷ 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 (missara, -2) of six months each.⁸ Again, there was an Autumn sacrifice til ara (pro annone ubertate), a Midwinter sacrifice til arðr (pro feracitate), and a summer one til sikra (pro victoria).⁹ But at the great Midwinter festival at Upsala all these rites were held at once.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ The Need-fire is a New Year's rite in

1. Grimm, De Myth., I: 28-29

2. Adam Brem., Gesta, in Mon. Hist. Sax., SS. VII, 379

3. Pictured and discussed by T. Kendrick, in Antiquity, XI (June, 1937), 247-8

4. Paul Herrmann, Nordische Mythologie (Leipzig: 1903), p. 500

5. Herrmann, op. cit., p. 498

6. P. B. Du Chaillu, The Viking Age (N.Y., 1889), I: 345

7. Herrmann, op. cit., pp. 498-499

8. Grimm, op. cit., II: 716

9. Grimm, I: 28; Du Chaillu, op. cit., I, 345ff

10. Grimm, op. cit., citing Einleitung, c. 8

Northern lands, even though its full effect is felt at a time late in the year.¹

We have cited Semitic word-roots descriptive of the circular course of the year.² 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, markings 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).³ Wensinck at the outset of his study lists eleven New Year's days in Palestine alone,⁴ explaining them by Nilsson's theory that "where there are several fruits which ripen at different times there may be several new year festivals,"⁵ and on historical grounds.⁶ But this confusion does not hide the fact that there is but one New Year's festival.⁷

at Upsala to give him 300 years of life by giving him the promise of them (id. p.531).

1. Herrmann, op.cit., p.500

2. Summa, p.1

3. Talmud (ed. L. Goldschmidt (Berlin, 1897), III¹: 291, i.e. Res-Hasanah, I, 1

4. A.J. Wensinck, "The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology", Acta Orientalia, I¹ (1922), 158

5. M. P. Nilsson, Primitive Timereckoning (Lund: Gleerup), p.270

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.

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. Simmern, Das babylonische Neujahrsfest (Bd. 25 Hft. 3 of Der Alte Orient (1925)) p.3: "... immer und überall bildet das Neujahrsfest den feierlich festgehaltenen Ausgangspunkt in rollenden Kreislauf

The Semitic hajj, Wellhausen finds, was a "turnus" of three seven-day festivals, two at least of which "sind in der That das selbe Fest."¹ 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 umra.² The one difference between hajj and umra 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.³ The great event in the life of the individual is his participation in the year-rite of the race.⁴

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.⁵ Here the year is a sort of professional cycle, as at the shrine of Biffrens in Britain, with a formal act of initiation and conclusion. That the place is the shrine of Abraham, who was the king of a great saqulim. 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."⁶ For the occasion Sarai's name was changed to "Princess",⁶ and there

1. Wellhausen, Proleg., p.106

2. C. Snouck-Hurgronje, Het Mekkaansche Feest (Leiden, 1889), p.14

3. loc. cit. : "Het eigenaardige van den hadj bestaat daarin dat hij slechts eenmaal 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.

4. Bosman, Hist. Eccl., II, 4. in Migne PG v.67, 941-4

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?

was accomplished the founding of many nations.¹ 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."² 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.³

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 Nauruz-feast, the New Year's Day of the Persians, occurring in March at the beginning of spring.⁷ Furthermore, it follows the old year: Yima's hundred years of concealment.⁴ Thus Prof. Carnoy.⁴ Long before him many antiquists made the same sort of observation, noting that the main business of the Magi was to celebrate a cycle every day.⁵ 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.⁶ It is the King who sacrifices to *Διὶ Βασιλῆϊ*, who is also

1. Gen. XVII, 16

2. Wensinck, in *Acta Orient.*, I, 176

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 R. Shamra," *AOSI*, LII (1932), 224. "King of the Age" is familiar to all from the Thousand and One Nights.

4. Albert J. Carnoy, "Iranian Views of Origins", in *AOSI*, XXXVI (1917), 318

5. Thus Josephus, *Jastit. Cyr.*, VIII, 1, 32; Strabo, XV, 3, 7; Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.*, III, 3, 6, etc.

6. Athen., VI, 80 (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 Yima.

Zeus πατριος.¹

Nowhere was the idea of the saeculum stronger than in Babylonia. A citation from Friedrich Jeremiaß will give the briefest summary of the situation: "Beim babylonischen Neujahrsfest bestimmt der Götterkönig alljährlich im Schicksalsgemach des Tempels mit den versammelten Göttern die Geschichte des kommenden Jahres. Es ist das Abbild der Schicksalsbestimmung bei der Welterschöpfung, die als Welterneuerung einen neuen Aeon einleitet."² There is the usual duplication of New Year days, according to localities³ and methods of computation.⁴ The Year-King is also repeated, "Adapa der Menschensohn, der babylonische Urmensch-Adam mit Heroscharakter," being none other than Marduk,⁵ -- man and god, identified in the King.

All other rituals of ancient India were overshadowed by the Āsvamedha.⁶ The victim was a horse which was allowed to wander for one year "because the wandering of the sun must last for one year",⁷ and yet, though a New Year's rite, it could take place either yearly or biennially,⁸ and was repeated in part at the beginning of every season,⁹ while its main points were ritually repeated every day in the year.¹⁰ And at the celebration of the feast 100 years

1. Xenophon, Instit. Cyr., I, 6, 1; III, 3, 21; VII, 5, 57; VIII, 7, 3; 17.

2. Fr. Jeremiaß, "Semitische Völker in Vorderasien", in Chantepie de la Saussaye's Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925), I:505

3. H. Simmern, Babyl. Neujahrsf., p.3. The New Year in Autumn was reckoned by the moon, the Spring New Year by the sun; Jeremiaß, op.cit., p.546

4. Jeremiaß, op.cit. p.599

5. P.-R. Dumont, L'Āsvamedha (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1927), I and I: The ancient text (of which this book is a translation) begins "C'est le roi des sacrifices!"

6. Dumont, op.cit. pp. xii-xiii

7. Ibid., p.1

of life were allotted to the participants -- not as a body but individually on tokens.¹ The fact that it was everyone's birthday does not alter the fact that "l'Assamedha est un sacrifice offert par le roi et pour le roi" -- at this event the King was all-in-all.² The King "etablit la sennence",³ it was the festival of sowing and procreation, in short, the saecular celebration.

A stela of Ramses IX that stands by a wayside calls that ruler "Chosen of Ra; the son of Ra: 'Ramses, beloved of Amon', to whom constantly and forever life is given, as to his father Ra, every day."⁴ Erman cites this inscription as showing that the King of Egypt was the "leibliche Nachkommen des Sennengottes."⁵ The Egyptians began their history with the Age of Ra,⁶ who was the common senned and year-god of every Egyptian nome from the earliest times -- and that in spite of all local cults.⁷ The existence of the remarkably perfect Egyptian calendar as early as 4236 B.C.⁸ (or at least 3400 B.C.)⁹ attests the closest observation of times and seasons by these people, while the passage cited from the stela, one example among many, shows how closely the King is bound up with the "saecular" idea as the son of Ra, the first king, the king of

1. Dumont, *op.cit.*, p.15

2. *Id.*, p.x

3. *Id.*, p.15, the expression is from the ancient text. Sowing and sowing both determine the New Year's time. On the night before the great festival the king exclaims (p.18): "Tuisse-je ... atteindre heureusement la fin de l'annee!"

4. Ad. Erman, *Ägypten* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925), pp.59-60

5. *op.cit.*, p.60

6. *Id.*, p.41

7. "Der am allgemeinsten, zu allen Zeiten verehrte Gott ist Ra, die Sonne." Thus H. O. Lange, "Die Ägypter", *Jahrb. für Äg.* I: 452. Erman, *op.cit.*, p.296

8. Erman, *op.cit.*, p.296

an age, the sun, performing his yearly and his daily revolutions, who grants the life-span of an eternity every day, etc.¹ 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,² and had the duty "seinem Vatern auf dem Sitze seines Vaters zu setzen."³ The interpretation was not a spontaneous inevitable one, for the Egyptians display "keinen eigentlichen Familiensinn",⁴ but must be taken quite literally. The private festival of the dead man who could afford it was held on New Year's Day,⁵ 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.⁶

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.⁷ 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

1. Waigall, op.cit., I; 24; the calendar begins with the accession of a king.
 2. Bruma, op.cit., pp. 184-5
 3. Bruma, loc. cit., quoting an Egyptian document.
 4. Bruma, op.cit., p. 185
 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 inser. of Herodotus, given at length by Waigall, op.cit., II, 304
 6. Sir F. Petrie, Social Life in Ancient Egypt (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923) p. 125

subsequently made ennaeteric under priestly influence."¹ 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.² 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 Boedromion, which "they regard as the birthday of the god."³ So it would appear that the original Delphian festival was celebrated with a "Jahresfeier"⁴ marking the birthday of a god and the enthronement of a king.⁵

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".⁶ Such a larger cycle is brought into definite relationship to human life in the story of Minos in the "Republic", in which appears "genau wie in der disciplina astronomica", according to Diehl, the hundred-year life-span with its "Verzehnfachung" to form still larger "years".⁷ Diehl is puzzled by the arrangement

1. Halliday, op. cit., p. 72. Of the three ennaeteric festivals of the Delphians (Plut., Q. G., no. 12) one was that of Charila, which was originally a spring rite held every eight years (Halliday, pp. 72-73)

2. Cornford, in Harrison, Themis, p. 236; p. 223 "... 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."

3. Plut. Quaest. Gr., no. 9

4. H. P. Hulsen, Griechische Feste (Leipzig, 1904), p. 154

5. Cornford, op. cit. pp. 156ff, on the purpose of the Olympic games -- to choose the King of the year.

6. Aristot., Meteor., I, 14, 342a, b

7. H. Diehl, in Beitr. z. Kl. Phil., v. 21 (1924), no. 242-3

of saecula in groups of four, for which he finds in the Greek-Oriental "Zahl-system" and the Pythagorean lore, "die mit ἀνακύκλωσις und παλιγγενεσία zusammenhängen," plain analogies but "keineswegs eine nachweisbare Quelle."¹ The Mysteries, the performance of which gave a new birth and divinity to the individual,² offer another demonstration of the identity of the individual birthday with the sowing-rite of the year.³

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.⁴

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

1. Diehl, in *Rh. Mus.* v. 83 (1934), 265; cf. *Plato, Rep. X*, xiii (615)

2. So much is certain; cf. Körte, "Zu den eleusinischen Mysterien", *AMN.* XVIII (1915), 116ff

3. Mysteries treated in their broader sense by Edv. Lehmann, in *Lehrb. der Gr.*, I-III, 57f, 97-99.

4. "Ob zur Zeit der Wintersonnenwende, der Frühlings- oder Herbst-Tag- und Nachtgleiche gefeiert -- immer und überall bildet das Neujahrsfest den festerlich festgehaltenen Ausgangspunkt im rollenden Kreislauf der Zeit".

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 ~~in~~ 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.

CHAPTER II

THE Πανηγυρις

largely on the basis of the well-known domestic nature of the nomenclature of the Roman state cult, DeMarchi rightly observes that the oldest Roman cult was the private or family cult, of which the other was the magnified reflection.¹ So he remarks that "la famiglia e la gens furono la prime unità religiose."² Shortly before this, however, he has observed that at Rome, unlike in the Medieval or modern world, state and religion were inseparable concepts.³ 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,⁴ 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. DeMarchi 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 ngoviriti e a carimenis superstisiose per placar l'ira degli dei..."⁵ 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

1. A. De-Marchi, Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica (Milano, 1896), I: 21-24

2. Ibid., p. 23

3. Ibid., p. 13

4. Ed. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums (Jena: Diederich, 1925), I: 6ff

5. De-Marchi, op.cit., pp. 13-14

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,¹ the first of the line being Janus.² Whence it may be concluded that the cult of the first Romans in which the separate families made common cause centered in the activities of the Year Festival under the aegis of the common ancestor as one big family.³ 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.

1. M. Radin, "Imperium", in Studi in onore di Salvatore Riccobene (Palermo: Castiglia, 1932), II: 25-26. We shall deal with the subject below, pp. 159ff
 F. Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht (3. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1887), II¹: 13 ff

2. Summa, p. 6ff . De-Marchi, op.cit., II: 46-47

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, Hand. Mythol., p. 500, explains its yearly nature as the attempt "von vornherein den Viehseuchen vorzubeugen." The Roman ludi Tauri were held to counteract just such a public disaster as De-Marchi cites (...ludus publicus.... Serv., Aen., II, 140; Festus, ed. Lindsay, p. 479) as a motive for general celebration.

THE GREAT ASSEMBLY:- For the celebration of the saecular festival the entire society was gathered together at one place.¹ In an extensive kingdom this means a general migration once a year. For 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.² The games held by Romulus "were attended by large numbers from the surrounding cities,"³ and from the earliest times Rome was full of strangers at the time of the games.⁴ 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.⁵ The difficult journey to the Campus where both games and political assemblies were held,⁶ was made by the greater part of the people of Italy, women and children included.⁷ For the Emperor's games ab utroque mari iuvenes, ab utroque puellas Venere, atque ingens orbis in

1. Thus for the Indi Saeculares, οὐνεξόοντες δὲ τοῦ ὅπμιου πάντες ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀττικῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (Ros., II, 5).

2. Messal. Corvin., de prag., xiii

3. Livy, IV, 36; Entrop., Prav., I, 2: Condita civitate ... (Romulus) multisque finitimorum in civitatem recepit ... (Tunc) ... invitavit ad spectaculum ludorum vicinas urbis nationes, etc.

4. Val. Max., VII, iii, 10; cf. IX, 10, 1

5. Ed. Mayer, Kleine Schriften (Halle, 1924), I: 404 ff

6. It was the games of Neptune and Censu which invitant Romanos finitimorum suas. says Auson., Mal., XXIII, 22

Urbe fact.¹ The center of the world-empire became the center of the world-pilgrimage.²

This aspect of the year-festival is found elsewhere.

At the great shrine of the Northsølet quoque post novem annos communis
omnis Suevianae provinciarum in Upsala celebrari. Ad quam videlicet bellorum
nitatem nulli praestatur immunitas. Reges et populi, omnes et singuli sua
 dona transmittunt ad Upsalam.³ 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.³ When King Anund
refused to officiate at the sacrifice he was driven from the kingdom.³ The
Heimskringla states that for the festival "all the boendr would come to the tem-
ple and take with them the provisions needed while the feast lasted. Every
man was to bring ale, and ... all kinds of small cattle."⁴ A like great as-

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 aque insidens. No easy journey, this. Jul. Obsequ.
xovii (A.U.C. 638).

- 1. Ovid., Fast., I, 173-4
- 2. Ammian., XVI, x, 6; Tac., Ann. XVI, 5; Dio, LXXVIII, 26; Euseb., Constat. c.32; Procop., Anag., 11 fin.
- 3. Adam. Brem., IV, 27, 28 (HEB. RE. VII, 379) Ex omni animalia, quod maxime
lium est. Xovem cautia offerentur, quorum deos placari mos est. These
victims include a man, sacrificed every day of the festival. The saeculum
it will be recalled, deals with all animals and men rather than plants.
- 4. Heimskr., c.14, in Du Chaillu, Viking Age, I: 349. These cattle were

assembly was held by the Danes in Ringstedt-Hleider on Zealand: it was annæstoric and the whole nation attended.¹ Indeed, in the North the extent of a kingdom was identical with the regions which contributing 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.² In far-off Iceland, according to the tradition, the All-Thing was established by the Ózara when the King of Norway gave a silver axe to an Icelandic, with the authority to establish the Thing-stead.³ 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.⁴ Throughout the North whole communities make pilgrimages to springs and wells at Midsummer.⁵

One example of the practice will suffice for Germany. Tacitus writes of the Semnones: Stato tempore in silvam augurii patrum et priscae formidine sacrum omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus acceunt caesoque publice homine cebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.⁶ 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

1. Thietmar Meresburg., I, 9

2. Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p. 509

3. P. Herrmann, Island (Leipzig, 1914), I: 302-3, regards this as one of the oldest Icelandic traditions.

4. Herrmann, Island, I: 303: "Mit Kost musste sich jeder selbst für die Dauer der Tagung versehen." Niedner, Islands Kultur (Jena, 1913), p. 44

5. Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p. 503 (always with a feast, of course)

6. Tac., Ger., I, 40

an undertaking.¹ The year-festival of the Germans called for a nocturnal gathering at a holy place and a sacrificial meal "wosu jeder beisteuerte".² At the Yule fest, says St. Olaf, "the ale was provided by each one himself,"³ and the people all assembled to drink "for long life."³ Larger political units in Germany called for more imposing versions of the year-rite.^{same}

To the Slavic shrine of Arkona omni secunda feria populus cum regulo et flamine convenire solebant propter iudicia.⁴ At Midwinter or the spring Equinox⁵ conveniebant viri et mulieres cum parvulis, mactantque diis suis hostias de bobus et ovibus, plerique etiam de hominibus,⁶ in a great sacrificial feast.⁶ To this affair de omnibus Sclavorum provinciis statuas sacrificiorum impensas illo transmittabant.⁷ The same thing happened at the Wendish capitol of Julin.⁸ The Poles assembled at Pentecost; mares et feminae cum parvulis, diis suis victimas et hostias de pecoribus et pecunibus, nonnumquam hominibus ... offerabant.⁹ At the place ludi certis anni temporibus decreti et instaurati were attended by the usual throng utriusque sexus ex vicis et coloniis.¹⁰

1. Tac., Ger., 11

2. P. Herrmann, Altdeutsche Kulturgeschichte (Jena: Diederich, 1928), p.21; cf. "Gelage", in L.K. Weigand, Deutsches Wörterb. (5.ed., 1909), I:662-3

3. Olaf Tryg., c.151, cit. Du Chaillu, Viking Age, I: 346

4. Helmold., Chron.Slav., I, 83

5. Innocent III (in PHR IV, 58) describes the Slavic year-rites is in tribus anni festivitatis que contingunt Natalem Christi sequentium while Joh. Plugess (PHR IV, 68) places the Polish version at Pentecost (cf. PHR IV, 68/77)

6. Helmold, SRadit., I, 52

7. Helmold, loc. cit.: The Vita Ottonis, III, 1, reports the same of the images.

8. Vita Ottonis, III, 1

9: Jacques Plugess, Hist. Polon., I, in PHR IV, 67-68

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."¹ 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'Irlande disséminée, sans villes, où St. Patrick a prêché, n'avait de culte vraiment public qu'aux fêtes, où les hommes se trouvaient réunis, panégyriques nationales, fêtes des royaumes, fêtes des clans," observes Henri Hubert.² When Tara became the main capitol the principal feast was held there.³ 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."⁴ It was considered very shameful to buy food at the Irish feasts,⁵ 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 Limerick) veniant autem cum plaustris pectus obumbratae, lactantes animalia et per triduum convalescentes.⁶

1. Jubainville, *Ir. Cycle*, p. 3

2. Henri Hubert, "Le Culte des Héros," etc. . *RHR*, v.71(1915), 207

3. Tripartite Life of Patrick, in *RHR* v², 141; Maccu-Machthanai, *id.*, p.149

Jubainville, *op.cit.*, pp.98 ff, it was the capitol of the Tuatha De Danann.

5. Jubainville, *op.cit.*, p.96

6. Greg. Turon., *In Glor. Confessorum*, c. 11, in Migne, *PL*, v.71-650-1, and

RHR, v², 179

The people of Aquitania met in a like session.¹ 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 sollempnia anniversario ordine celebrare, ubi per septem dies epulando et choro ducendo atque bacchando sollempnia sua quasi iure debito persolvebant.² This last passages 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.³ Cassibelantus 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.⁴

The Cisalpine Gauls also had a place ὅπου πανήγυρις συντελείται κατ' 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 Shiloh.⁵... The man Elkanah, and all his house went up to offer unto the Lord the yearly sacrifice and his vow."⁶ When Hannah went with Samuel she "took ... with her three bullocks, and one ephah of flour and a bottle of wine."⁷ For it was at Shiloh that a child had

1. Venantius Fortunat., Vit. S. Amantii, in CHR, V², 188

2. Ven. Fortunat., SPASII, p. 190

3. Monast. XII, 400

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.¹ 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."² The tradition was accordingly that one brought one's food-offerings to the king, at least the first-fruits, the year-offering proper.³

The story of the pilgrimage to Shiloh ends with the phrase, "And Elkanah went to Ramah to his house".⁴ Almost the identical words conclude the rites of the Syrian hero: "Then Danel journeys to his home, and repairs to his mansion."⁵ This last is from a Ras Shamra fragment of the 14th Century B.C., describing with considerable fullness the Feast of the In-gathering.⁶ All who came to this feast brought their firstlings as an offering to the hero.⁷ In the year-rites of Ras Shamra the hero is properly the King, the Father of Years, a title not without "sacular" significance.⁸

1. Eth. Schmidt, "Is 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

2. F. Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites (N.Y., 1903), pp. 248, 252

3. The animal sacrifice always kept its original significance as a feast shared by god and men as an act of communion and covenant, ib., 226-7

4. I Sam., II, 11

5. T. Gaster, "The Story of Achat", Studi e Materiali, XII (1936), 142

6. Gaster, op.cit., pp. 128 ff, citing many parallel cases of the bringing of first-fruits for a feast among primitive peoples.

It is the same story all over the Semitic world. At the shrine of Abraham, Terbinth, "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."¹ Mention of the dependants makes clear that ^{each} he brought his family, just as Elkanah did his, to the feast.

The year-festival was the most impressive institution of the Arabs,² uniting once a year far-scattered but related tribesmen.² Tithes were brought,³ and during the festival great emphasis was laid on eating and drinking, fasting being positively forbidden.⁴ The hajj was the year-rite.⁵

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."⁶ Strabo says that the Persians do not allow any

1. Gen., II, 4

2. J. Wellhausen, Rechte Arabischen Heidentums (Berlin, 1897), p. 67, also pp. 84-86

3. On the Arab tithe, Robertson Smith, Relig. Semit., pp. 99; 241

4. H. Hurgrenje, Mekkasche Feest, p. 172: "De dagen van Mina zijn dagen van eten, drinken en zingen... Het wordt den pelgrim ontraden, op den dag van Arafat te vasten." 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: 458; on the bringing of food to Mecca by each pilgrim, ibid., I: 60

5. On its nature as such, T. J. J. Bell, in Hastings, Encyclopaedia, I, 10

sacrificial meat to be lost in the interests of religion, but carry every bit of it off for private consumption.¹ 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.² The Persians thought of themselves as living by the bounty of their King,³ and at their great feasts they were his guests.⁴ 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.⁵

Much the same arrangement appears in the Indian year-festival of the *Asvamedha*, where the King was the giver of all and yet levied taxes to collect it from the ultimate recipients.⁶ 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 fête à la fois royale et populaire.*"⁷ 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.⁸ 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-*

1. Strabo, IV, 13 (732)

2. Dan., III, 1-7

3. Dan., IV, 21-22 expresses the idea beautifully. cf. Herodot., III, 65; Athen., IV, 144-146; Albert J. Carnoy, in *AOSL*, XXVI (1917), 316 ff

4. "The Great King gives a royal banquet ... once a year on his birthday.... *lukta*, which in Greek means 'complete' (Athen. IV, 146). On every other day a vast company is fed by the crumbs for his table (id., 146). "The dinner, like the tribute, has from ancient times been imposed upon all cities in proportion to their population." (id. 146, also 144)

5. Dumont, *L'Asvamedha*, pp. 15; 377

6. *Ibid.* p. x

7. *Ibid.* pp. 40; 354 ff

quis par ses fleches ... s'établit autour du terrain de sacrifice¹.... L'Inde toute-entiere ... se voyait reunie au sacrifice Continuellement, selon l'Ordre du roi, Rhima ... faisait distribuer des vivres a ceux qui desiraient manger, "etc."¹

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.² "Alle Familienväter bringen Bier mit."³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶ 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-

1. Duvent, op.cit., pp.356; 366

2. Frobenius, Erzählung, pp. 192 ff

3. Ibid., p.198

4. W. H. H. H. H., African Anthropology (Chicago, Field Museum Publ., 1934), I, 400; Frobenius, op.cit., p.209

5. Nilsson, Primitive Time-reckoning, p.107

6. Erman, Aegypten, pp.318-319

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 Götterbilder, sondern Priester und am Feste teilnehmenden Laien zu danken," the great abundance of certain days being due to the presence of the latter.¹ Since the Egyptian kings in supplying the table of the gods had largely taken over the one-time duty of the general public,² we have in Egypt as elsewhere the picture of the pilgrims consuming the sacred meals which they themselves had supplied.²

There is an old tradition that when the King of Babylon "voulait réunir 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.³ 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."⁴ 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 feet 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.⁵ These cases emphasize the individual motive of participation in the universal pilgrimage of the year.

1. Erman, *Aegypten*, pp. 316-318

2. *Ibid.*, p. 316

3. René Basset, *Mille et un Contes. Recites et Legendes Arabes* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1924), I: 85 f

4. Lucian, *Dea Syria*, c. 13

5. *Ibid.*, c. 29

The great cyclical games of Greece called for the usual periodic migrations. The Παν-ήλικος was, as the name implies, the coming together of the whole nation.¹ And so we have the picture, from Plutarch, of the men of the Peloponnese coming to Delphi, bringing their wives and children in wagons.² The meal to which everyone contributed, the ἑρπας, is a familiar Greek institution, and when Tantalus gave a feast which the gods attended it was such an one,³ as was the primitive Hyacinthia, to which everyone contributed what he could best afford and no purchased product could be offered.⁴ The gift of cattle for the sacrificial feast was made possible for everyone by the device of the Bous Hebdomes.⁵

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, Chronogr., VIII; ed. Dindorf, pp. 173 ff πλήθος ἀπειρον ἔχετο θεωρεῖν τὸν ἐτήσιον βασιλικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ ἐκράττης χώρας καὶ πόλεως. The crowding at the games was notorious; Lucian saw several people crushed to death at Olympia, Peregrinae, c. 32; cf. Strabo, XIII, 4, 1; Diag. Chrysost. Orat., XXVII, 5ff; XXVIII, 2; Epictetus, IV, 4, 26-27; cf. Comitia Curiate.
2. Plut., Quaest. Graec., no. 59
3. Pindar, Ol., I, 60 ff; Cornford, in Themis, pp. 244 ff
4. Athen., IV, 139-141
5. Such is the explanation of Suidas, βους ἑβδομοῦ (ed. Adler, II, 109). While Rescher, "Zu den griech. Religionsaltersnennern", AMN, VI (1903), 66, claims that the crescent-shaped oak stands simply for the horns of a beast, Stengel in Hermes, XXVIII, 545, maintains that as such it may still be the crescent moon. F.J. Dölger, Antike und Christentum (Münster: Aschendorff, 1930), I:1 is for a reproduction of the whole beast in the round, with wooden legs, etc. The number seven is the problem, cf. Rescher, in AMN, VII, 413-424.

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 advenae aut inter vicos aut inter vias tabernaculis positae manerent.¹ 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 Porta Ardeatina to officiate at the Circus they had to take the same auspices as when leaving the city on a military campaign.² The peasants who came to the games, says Vitruvius, were not coming to the city of Rome.³ The Campus Martius was not Roman ground alone, but common ground, where audientia was given to foreign ambassadors who could not enter the city, and foreign cults were domiciled in temples erected there.⁴ When the city was entirely deserted at the time of the games⁵ it was because all the Romans had migrated.

1. Sueton., Div. Jul., c. 39

2. Festus, ed. Lindsay, p. 296; Mommsen, Staatsr., I, 97; 103

3. Vitruv., I, 7

4. Livy, XXX, 21, 12; XXXIII, 24, 5. Platner, Top. Dict., p. 93

5. Sueton., Aug., c. 43

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 "Jahregöttin",¹ the Plebs would migrate from the city to the first milestone on the Via Flaminia² to build themselves booths and lie about on the grass by the side of the Tiber.³ There each one would pray for as many years of life as he could imbibe cups.⁴ 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".⁵ It was a birth-day, the celebration of a life-cycle,⁶ occurring at the Ides of March,

1. F. Altheim, Terra Mater (Giessen: Topelmann, 1931, XII, Hft. 2 of Bd.VI).

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 Jahreschluss deutlich kundgibt." But Altheim does identify Anna as an indigitation of Ceres-Tellus (T.M., pp.93-94), who, he maintains is representative "des Gebührens alles Lebendigen und des Bergens der Toten," (id. p.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 -Schliessen der Erde." It marks a cycle at any rate.

2. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus, p.241, n.10

3. Ovid., Fast., III, 525 ff

4. Id., I, 532-2 ... annosque precantur. Quot sument crateras, ea numerumque bibunt.

5. Altheim, op.cit., pp. 93-93; 110: the feriae semantivae for the goddess, and her identification with the mundus Cereris (id., 115), are sufficient evidence for a strictly seasonal or yearly side to her nature.

6. As life-cycle and year-goddess Anna has been treated at length by Harrison, Themis, pp.197 ff.

"also um die Zeit des ersten Vollmonds im neuen Frühling."¹

The booths were made in the most convenient fashion of green boughs or by making a tent out of a framework of sticks with garments thrown over it.² Strictly practical, the whole business of the booths presents to Fowler an unsolved ritual problem.³ But the problem is not why the people built booths; Ovid tells us that (*Fast.*, III, 531): Sole tamen vineque 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."⁴ 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, Falilia and Neptunalia were celebrated with booths.⁵ 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,⁶ in fact, is not

1. L. Preller, Römische Mythologie (2te. Aufl.; Berlin, 1865), p.304

2. *Ov. Fast.*, III, 531-30: Sub Iove pars durat; pauci tentoria ponunt:
Hunt quibus e ramis frondes facta casa est;
Pars ibi pro rigidis calames statuere columnis,
Desuper extentas imponere togas.

3. W.W. Fowler, Religious Experience of the Roman People

Appendix I, pp. 474-5

4. T. G. Pinches, in Hastings, Engl., I, 12

5. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p.226

6. Kannhardt, Wald- und Feldkulte (2.Aufl. Berlin, 1904), I: 187; 315; 334-5

L. Deubner, in Neue Jahrb., XXVII (1911), 322-3; Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p.143; for Neptunalia see note 1 on next page.

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,¹ and that it was celebrated with booths.² 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,³ 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.⁴ It resembled the great ludi so closely, according to the same writer, that it may easily have been identified with the Saturnalia.⁵ 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, dass eine Art von Jahrmarkt, wie wir uns der Neptunalia denken, der altrömischen Religion angehören konnte?"⁶ 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 panegyria is simply "fair".

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

2. Festus (ed. Lindsay), p. 519: Umbrae vacabantur Neptunaliis caesa fronde pro tabernaculis.

3. huic mercatores caesa de linteis faciunt ... antea in portico Agrippiana sigillaria proponebantur. Schol. Juv., VI, 154 cited by St. Weinstock, RE 16:2, 2523

4. Weinstock, RE 25:21-2, on the original nature of the feast.

5. Id., 2523

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 and the ludi Romani, and ^{for} the ludi Apollinares, were markets held.¹ 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,² 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 exulum Iovis,³ as well as by an equorum probatio,⁴ 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.⁵

1. Friedländer, in Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw., III, 483; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p.454

2. Discussed by Dölger, Antike und Christentum, I, 152

3. Friedländer, loc. cit.; Wissowa, loc. cit.

4. Cic., de Rep., II, 14, on merchants coming to the games in Numa'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 so durchaus nahrungslos war wie Rom ... dort war jede freie

Industrie unmöglich." The same writer holds, id., I, 45, that Rome owed its first importance to its place as a "Handelstadt", which Ihne, "Entstehung des Tribunats", Rh.Mus., N.F. XXI (1846), 162-3 calls "vieler nicht als ein Hirgespinst."

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.¹ 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 sitenagain, 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 Gode 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 þuðir wherever the domhringur are to be found.² The chiefs' booths were the largest, and some of them would hold hundreds of guests or retainers,³ the All-Thing being a federal meeting. And every Thing had its market.⁴ 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).⁵

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 Gallie Abbot Melittus in which he recommends that quia boves solent in sacrificio

1. Thus Robertson Smith in Religion of the Semites, cited by Fowler, Relig.

Expos., p.467.

2. T.Niedner, Islands Kallir, pp.45-47; for the archaeological evidence,

1. Erlingsson, Ruins of the Saga Time (London, 1899), pp.70 ff

3. Egil's Saga, cited by Du Chaillu, Vik.Ng., I: 522; Hermann, Island, I:303

4. Niedner, Grasli., p.47

5. Du Chaillu, Grasli., I: 520

daemones multos occidere, debet iis etiam hac in re aliqua solemnitas in-
mutari: ut die dedicationis, vel natalicii sanctorum martyrum quorum illis
reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quae ex fanis
commutatae sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis convivii sollem-
nitatem celebrent ... et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occident, etc.¹

32 The mention of dedications and birthdays is helpful, as is a further re-
mark by Gregory that the people should now give their thanks to God as the
giver of all abundance,¹ 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.² 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,³ to which
place, as air photographs have revealed, an extensive system of roads con-
ducted the visitors,⁴ and have been reasonably interpreted as evidence for
the economic importance of the place in pre-historic times.⁵

1. Nigne, PL, v.77, 1215-6

2. Mannhardt, W.L.R., I: 187; 315

3. E. Barclay, Stonehenge and its Earth-Works (London, 1895), pp.74-95;
Carl Schuchardt, Altdeutsch (Leipzig:de Gruyter, 1935), p.81: "Neben
den Gräbern, die stattliche Megal-bauten 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.

4. T.D. Kendrick, Archaeology in England and Wales (London: Methuen, 1932),
p.21, citing Frankfurter Komm. d. dt. Arch. Inst. 1931, pp.60-68

5. G.H. Dawson, The Age of the Gods (London: Murray, 1928) p. 224f

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.¹ But the best known of all fairs are the Irish, and they are not at all to be separated from the New Year's gatherings for religious games and feasts.² The fair was held in recent times in Telltown (Taltin), 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.³ 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,⁴ 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."⁵ This is an attempt to account for the institution of the year-feast, a part of which in Ireland was the summoning and examination of the smiths.⁶ Artisans, roads, booths, vows, feasting, all fit into the picture.

1. Geoffrey, II, 14

2. H. Altevogt, The Circle and the Cross (London: Macmillan, 1930), II, 19-20

3. Jubainville, Ir. Mythol. Cycle, p. 78

4., Strabo, IV, 11, 3, and H.L. Jones' note on it in the Loeb ed., II, 220-1

5. Athen. IV, 34 (150)

6. Jubainville, op. cit., pp. 100-101; 174-5. The examination was conducted by Lug, the same for whom the Gallic Lugdunum is named.

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.¹ 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."² It has been demonstrated more than once that the Feast of the Tabernacles was the year-festival of the Hebrews, the Hag-JHW,³ which may have been responsible for the invention of the calendar, since it called for the observation both of lunar and of solar cycles.⁴ It was the law in Israel that none could celebrate the year-feast at home, but all had to migrate.⁵ And not only the Jews but all the world was threatened "with the punishment of all nations that came not up to keep the feast of the tabernacles,"⁶ 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.⁷

In the Has Shamra ritual the goddess "discovered the field of El, and

1. Fowler, Relig. Exper., p.475

2. cf. Talmud, Sukkah, I, 2b

3. A. Breck-Utne, "Zu dem ursprünglichen Passahopfer", ANW, XXXI (1934), p.274 f; Gaster, in Studia Mitt., XII, 128ff

4. Prysbyllec, Unser Kalender, p.21, cf. 9, 11

5. Deut., XVI, 5: "Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within thy gates." cf. Robertson Smith, Relig. of the Semites, pp. 172-3

6. Isch., XIV, 16 ff, the plague upon all who do not "go up from year to year to worship the King ... and to keep the feast of the tabernacles."

7. Isch., XIV, 14

entered the raftered pavilion;" where it seems very probable that the pavilion in question is a booth.¹

Of the feast at Abraham's Oak Sosenen reports that "both buyers and sellers resort thither on account of the fair."² He speaks also of the extreme morality of the Christians, maintained in spite of the fact that the *akryai* were close together, and that the people slept *travais*,³ and further obliges us with the reason for the *akryai*, namely that the place was open country with no buildings but those around the oak, which had been Abraham's.⁴

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.⁵ In order to be called a true *hadij* the pilgrim to Meccah must have camped with the whole multitude in the Arafat plain.⁶ Everywhere a camp is made in the carrying out of the ritual a market is formally established,⁷ the "Hadj-jaarmarkten" having been the opening event of the festival in pre-Islamic times.⁸ In the carpet-bags of the pilgrim "besides his provision, is commonly some merchandise for the holy fair at Mecca,"⁹ in spite of the length and difficulty of the journey.

1. Barton, in *AOSJ* LV (1935), 41 renders *grs alk* "the palace of the King", but Gaster *Stud. e. Natl.* XII (1936), 147, vii.1.22, keeps to the root meaning, Heb. *qeresh*, "Beard, Beards." Weinstock, *RMA Mitt.* v.47, p.104, finds that *Tabernaculum* originally meant "Brotterhütte", a booth hastily constructed of boards (id., p.105 f) and cloth (p.109, cf. *Ov. Fast.*, III, 830; cf. *Tabernacula* = "Booths" in the Vulgate.

2. Sosenen II, 4, in *Higne RQ.* v.67, 941

3. *Leg. cit.*, *RQ.* 67, 944

4. Sosenen-Hurgonje, in *Lehrb. der Religionsgesch.*, I: 653

5. Sosenen-Hurgonje, *Mekkanische Feest.* pp.128-9

6. *Idem.* p.150

7. *Idem.* p.129

8. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta.* I: 60

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.¹ Reeds huts "of a ritual significance" are a constantly recurring theme on the archaic Sumerian seals,² and may be regarded as booths, as may the "bent tree" motif in the Sargonid seals.³ 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 Asvamedha 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.⁴

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."⁵ 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

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.

2. L. Legrain, Ur, Archaic Seal-Impressions, pp.

3. W.H. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia (Washington, 1910), pp. 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 (Glessen,), Taf. 46, nos. 153, 156, 157; Taf. 55, no. 213; he is the sun-god trying to enter the booth (cf. Ward)

4. Dumont, L'Asvamedha, pp. 12, 70, 84

5. Weigall, Pharaohs, I: 22, who places it in the oldest Egyptian calendar.

of feasters in their booths beside the Nile has been preserved.¹ 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.²

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.³ Merchants, artificers and prostitutes held forth at the King's mound in Lydia,⁴ and the economic significance of the shrine at Ephesus was no less.⁵

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.⁶ This may well be a year-fire,⁷ but the hut was more than merely ritual, for at the near-by village of Tithorea where

a hut-burning rite was also celebrated, we are told specifically: τῇ δὲ ἐπι-
ούσῃ σκηναὶ οἱ καπηλεύοντες ποιοῦνται καλὰ μὲν τε καὶ ἄλλης
ὕλης αὐτοσχέδιον. τῇ τελευταίᾳ δὲ τῶν τριῶν...πιπράσκοντες κτλ.⁸

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

1. The "coliche Messieni", R. Cagnat & V. Chapet, Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine

(Paris, 1880-83), IV: 200, fig. 183

2. Such is the interpretation of Erman, Aegypten, pp. 587-590

3. Lucian; Dea Syr., 10

4. Herodot., I, 93; it was a great cult center.

5. Acts, XIII, 24 ff

6. Plut., Qu. Gr., no. 12, discussed by Halliday in his ed., pp. 67-71.

7. Nilsson, G. R., pp. 154-9

8. Pausan., I, 32, 14

green boughs "in plain sight" above the theater of Dionysus, and there he reclined drinking through the festival with his friends, *συνθροισμένων ἐπὶ τὴν θῆραν τῶν Πανελληνίων*.¹ The custom was not new to Athens, for at the Thesmophoria, the Athenians would set up booths on the Pnyx, a custom of immense antiquity as was that festival as a whole.² It will not be necessary to cite other Greek booth-festivals,³ though it should be noted that the nine-day Karneia was a booth celebration⁴ and that it corresponded to the Metageitnion, which as the name implies called for attendance of various communities.⁵

Turning to Italy we find in the region of the Cisalpine Gauls on the main road of the territory a place called *Μακεοὶ Κάμποι, ὅπου πανηγυρὶς συντελεῖται κατ' ἔτος*.⁶ 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.)⁷: "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."⁷

1. Athen., IV, 148

2. Nilsson, *G.F.*, 319, citing Fraser on Aristoph., *Thesm.*, 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).

3. e.g., the booth of Orestes at Troizen, Pausan., II, 31, 6

4. Athen., IV, 141 e, gives the reason for the booths in their name.

This is discussed as a year-festival in Mannhardt, *N.F.*, II: 255

5. Nilsson, *G.F.*, p.118

6. Strabo, V, 11, 1 (216)

7. T. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus* (London, 1886), pp.363, Cass. III, 51

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.¹ 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.² The "processional-roads" leading to Stonehenge monuments and Cursus all run directly to the sites of pre-historic settlements or to main arteries.³ We can only assume that these and like processional-roads elsewhere⁴ 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.⁵ The important thing to note is that these roads converged on the central ^{um} ~~opida~~ of each region, which was also a cult-place.⁵ 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

1. De Chaillu, *Vik. Age*, I, 294 ff. The Flateyjarbok, I, 579-580, tells how

King Eric came to the feast at Upsala in two wagons.

2. F. Copel, "Frühgeschichtliche Strassen in der Senne", *Mannus* (1934)¹, 90

Map on pp. 46-47.

3. *RE*, s. v. P.

4. Schuchardt, *Altgerm.*, p. 81, on the Carnac road-system. 5. A. Grenier,

a cult center.¹ 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."² 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.³

Cassius 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 bivis et in trivis, etc.⁴ Carrying on at cross-roads is forbidden in the Indiculus of 743,⁵ and was one of the commonest offences of the Germans against whom that document was directed.⁶ 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.

"Les Voies Romaines en Gaule", Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist., LIII (1936), 16ff

1. J. Harrison, "The Pillar and the Maiden", Cl. Assn. Proc., 1908, pp. 66ff, 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.
2. Geoff., II, 17
3. Hartwell Jones, quoted by L.D. Agate, Hastings Encl., I: 20
4. Cassius, Chron. Rom., III, 1, in FHR, IV; 20
5. Mansi, XII
6. Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p. 50, meetings at crossways were in order especially on Midwinter Night, as with the Slavs, A. Brückner, Lehrh. d. Ex., II: 518, who, if such a session were neglected, expected "Miswachs und Viehsuchen" for the coming year.

The oldest roads in the East were those leading to the great shrine-cities such as Ur.¹ One came to the seat of the Persian King along the Royal road.² 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 peoples to the New Year's festival,³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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."⁶ The first highways of Palestine⁷ as of Asia Minor⁸ led to the shrines. The oldest constitution of Sparta provides that "the king alone gives decisions about public ways."⁹ Even so it was the King in Britain who gave the right of sanctuary to roads leading to temples.¹⁰

1. W. Crooke, in Hastings Encycl., X: 12; L. Legrain, Ur, Archaic Seal Impressions (Univ. Penna., 1935), p.7: "The trading roads round Ur had been open and busy centuries prior to the establishment of an aeneolithic culture of the al 'Ubaid type..."

2. See Macan's ed. of Herodot., II, App. xiii

3. Ramont, L'Asmavedha, pp. 354-5

4. A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Pilgrim's Way", Jnl. Bihar & Orissa, XXXII(1937),

5. C. Schuchardt, Altseuropa, pp.

6. Sir A. Evans, The Palace of Minos (London, 1928), II: 61f; 578; 580ff

7. Is. XXXV, 8; LXII, 10; I Sam. VI, 12 etc., Gen. XIX, 2; Joshua the
year-king (Zech. III) was the builder of roads, Talmud, ed. Gold-
schmidt, II: 78 (Erubin, II, 4)

8. A.B. Cook, Zeus (Cambr., 1925), II: 588, citing Sir Chas. Fellows.

9. Herodot., VI, 57

10. Geoff., II, 17

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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.¹ There is nothing in the nature of a sacred road itself to make it sacred: it is simply a road to cult/^aplace.²

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 incanite romani fori, sub aede Saturni where stood the Milliarium Aureum, marking the end of all the roads of the Empire.³ That milestone was set up by Augustus upon his assuming the cura viarum.⁴ That act was of a piece with another of the same Emperor, namely his commandeering of the primitive festivals of the Lares comitales, so arranging "dass jede Strassenecke zu einer Stätte der Kaiserkultes wird."⁵ 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 ancestor, 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.⁶

1. In Aeschyl., Eumen., 8ff., the road is made specially for Apollo

2. cf. the description of the Sacred Way to Eleusis, in AJA XLII (1938)¹, 137

3. Plut., Galla. c.24; Pliny, NH. III, 64; Tac. Hist., I, 27, etc.; all cited by S.B. Platner, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London: Milford, 1929), p. 342.

4. Dio, 54, 8; Platner, loc. cit.

5. G. Wissowa, Ges. Abh., p. 197

6. Idem., pp. 198-202

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 the 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 *patra* which mark the event as chthonian,¹ all betook themselves to the sanctuary of Diana on the slope of the Aventine,² the commune Latinorum Dianae templum.³ 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*.⁴ In the prayer of the ludi Saeculares it was prayed utique semper Latini optemperassit, which Prof. Diehl renders, "es möge der Latiner immerdar betnüssig sein,"⁵ whence it is sufficiently clear that the event was a federal celebration.

1. E. Diehl, *Rh. Mus.*, v.83 (1934), 164ff; 354-5

2. *Ios.*, II, 5

3. Varro, *LL*, V, 43; the abundant evidence for its federal nature given in Platner, *Top. Dict.*, 149f. Diana's title of *Trivia* marks her, in my opinion as a goddess of general festivals, held at places where roads converged.

4. *Ios.*, *leg. alt.*.

5. Diehl., *gr. alt.*, pp. 357 ff; cf. the last line in the extract in *Ios.*, II, 6

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Everyone who went thus up to the precinct of Diana took with him ἀγῶνες
αἴτων καὶ νηίδας καὶ κύματα, and spent the night in a solemn festival
ταῖς Μοῖραις.¹ After mentioning other events of the celebration which
followed on other days, our authority states that the said first-fruits
τῶ ὄψῳ παντὶ διαρέμονται, as well as to those who
officiated at the spectacles.¹ Of which Blumenthal: "Die Leute haben die
primitiae selbst gebracht. Und jetzt heisst es auf einmal, sie wurden
unter sie verteilt Das ist unsinnig."² It is indeed, unless one con-
siders the larger aspects of the saecular festival. Piganiol would justify
Zosimus' description by Christian parallels,³ allowing himself a liberty
of time and space such as the present writer deems indispensable to the in-
terpretation of an rite which bears any signs of being primitive. But
the essential features of the cult at Rome must be considered before ran-
ging 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.
Cass. Domitianus, and cos. XIII ind(is) saec (ularibus) a populo frak (es)
acc(omit).⁴ Two other coins show that Emperor and Augustus as Xviri at
their respective Saecular Games giving suffimenta to the people,⁵ of whom
we are told by the Acta Severiana that populus meant everyone, men, women
and children.⁶

1. Zos., II, 5

2. F. Blumenthal, "Ludi Saeculares",

"Klio. XV(1917-18), 232

3. Piganiol, Joux Romains, pp. 95 ff

4. F. Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften (Berlin, 1913), VIII: 596

5. Idem, pp. 594-5

6. Idem, p. 595, cit. Livy, XXII, 10, 8

Mommsen regards the redistribution of the first-fruits to the people as a corruption of the text, since it furnishes an apparent contradiction.¹ But one cannot but ask: who supplied all the animals that were sacrificed for the occasion?² 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.³ 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?⁴ At the death of P. Licinius Crassus, Pontifex Max., funeris causa visceratio data et ... ludi funebri per triduum facti, post ludos epulum: in quo cum toto foro strata triclinia essent, tempestas ... coegit plerumque tabernacula statuere in foro.⁵ 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

1. Mommsen, opacit., p.596

2. Hes., II, 6, ll. 7 ff, quoting the Sibylline oracle.

2. Festus, ed.L., p.479; the resemblance being in their chthonian nature, cf. Muhl, opacit.

4. Plut., Qu. Rom., no.4

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.

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.¹ 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 Iudi Tauri in view of the tradition that it was the women who were poisoned by the latter while at the Iudi Saeculares the suffimenta were given to all but *μάλιστα δὲ θυλατέρησι*.²

The Sibylline commands: *πάντες δ' ἐξ οἴκοιο φέρειν ὅσα νομίξειν ἐπὶ θέμῃς ἱητοῖσιν ἀπαρχαμένοις νεότοιο, κτλ.*³

The first-fruits are for a feast. They are to be deposited at the altars where the great multitude, the *πανπληθὺς ἄνθρωποις*, is to pass days and nights in mixed solemnity and joy.⁴ 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 Iudi Saeculares brought food offerings, and probable that they all received gifts of food (meat).⁵

Another funeral feast throws light on the nature of the contributions and distributions. At the funeral of the popular Q. Fab. Rullianus, ac-

1. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. pp. 399; 390

2. Zos., II, 2, 1.26, from the oracle.

3. Id., 1.27 f; on the offerings as first-fruits, Mommsen, Ges. Schr., VIII, 596

4. Il. 30 ff: τὰ δὲ πάντα τελευταυμένα κείσθαι, ὅθεν... ἐδεικνύσιν, κτλ

5. On the Saeculares as a primitive Bosphonia, Diehl, Ep. Mus., v. 83, p. 267

The animals slain with the archaic halter colonus were predicivae, "solche die verschert wurden", i.e. consumed at a banquet.

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According 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 a viscerationem.¹ 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, *ὅπότεν μὲν ἴσθις ἱερὸν* *ἀνδράπονον βασιλῆς*², 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.³ 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 present 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.⁴ 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.

1. Victor, Vit. Illust., c.32

2. Ses., II, 6, the opening line of the oracle

3. Stat., Sily., I, vi

4. Ch. Diehl, "La Societe Byzantine a l'epoque des Comenes", Byz.Hist., 42
- Sud-Ost de l'Europe, VI (1929), 342-3

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The contributions to the year-feast were not exclusively the duty of communities as a whole,¹ 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 gegessen geht aus vielen stellen hervor."² But what a man contributed to the feast was not what he took. He took his food from the hand of the priests, the Hofgodi, who ruled the feast and the distributions with a firm hand.³ 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.⁴ All did not give the same, but all received the same, namely an abundance. A penalty went with failure to eat meal of broth and fish at Midwinter.⁵ 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.⁶ Everyone was forced to eat all he could, and strangers in the land were not exempted from participation in the feast with the rest,⁶ in the Midwinter rites. Moreover the Midwinter bear "for a good year and peace" had to be all consumed to the last drop.⁷ Significantly enough, St. Boniface protested to Pope Zacharius against singling the Germans out for censure

1. As Harnsen, R.G., I, 39, would imply: "Zu den Opferschmausen hatte jede teilnehmende Gemeinde nach festem Satz ein gewisses and Vieh, Milch und Käse zu liefern, u. dagegen v.d. Opferbraten ein Stück zu empfangen."

2. Grimm, Alt. Myth., I: 43

3. St. Olaf, 115; 123, in Du Chaillu, Vik. Ann. I: 354, 347

4. Nilsson, in Lehrb. d. Religionsgesch., II: 291

5. Grimm, SSat., I: 169

6. Hermann, Alt. Kulturb., p. 15

7. Hermann, Alt. Myth., p. 507

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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.¹

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.² The booths were the scene of such reciprocal hospitality.³ 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."⁴ 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."⁵ 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. by For the common sacrificial meals contributions in kind were collected with 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, 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

1. Herrmann, Altst. Kulturb. p.13; Mansi, XII, an.742

2. Herrmann, Nord. Mythol. p.505

3. Niedner, Islands Kultur p.47

4. St. Olaf, c.151, cit. Du Chaillu, Vik. Age, I: 346

5. Hak. Adalst. (Hkr.), c.16, in Du Chaillu, I: 345

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partake of the meal thus provided was a "Gild".¹

This reciprocity and equality was not observed simply for its own sake. The gode presided at the sacrificial feast on his throne.² For the gode, as Herrmann concludes his treatment of him, was simply "eine Abzweigung der Königsgewalt,"³ for "die Häuptlinge und Könige verbanden mit ihrer weltlichen Macht auch die religiösen Funktionen, wie dieselbe Einheit der Gewalten auch in die Hand des einfachen Hausvaters gegeben war."⁴ 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."⁵ 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.⁶ Father, priest and king are offices united in one person -- a true priest-king. The "good king" was the one who gave many gifts.⁷ 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 priest and king, there was one world-king to grant the ^{common} wishes 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.⁸

Gregory described the feast of the Britons as a feast of abundance.⁹

1. Herrmann, Altde. Kulturb., p.20; Nord. Mythol., pp.199f; 353 (citing various sagas). cf. L.Weigand, Dt. Wörterb., 5.ed. (1909), I:662-3, on "Gelage".

2. Herrmann, H.M., p.528 ; Nidner, Isl.Kultur. p.47

3. Herrmann, H.M., p.528

4. Idem. p. 352; see esp.V. Grönbach, in Lehrg. d. Bg., II: 568 ff

5. Herrmann, H.M., pp. 466-7

6. Idem. pp. 466; 525; the king was sacrificed for a good year, p.467

7. Beowulf, ll. 4-10

8. This subject is fully treated by Grönbach, op.cit., pp.555-576

9. Nicene. Eccl. v.77. 1215-16

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The necessity of eating was as conspicuous in the Celtic as in the German cult. It was the year-feast of Calibain which assured all participants of immortality.¹ Strabo² and Diodorus³ both mention the cult of hospitality at 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 *Θεοφιλῆς*.³ The Celts would feast sitting in a circle with the chieftain in the middle, "like the leader of a chorus",⁴ an arrangement which easily recalls the Table Round of Celtic lore: a yearly gathering for the taking of vows and for initiations.⁵ The great chief Lovernius, he who gave the year-feast of the booths,⁶ "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."⁷ A bard hailed him as a benefactor of the human race,⁷ and indeed he was following the kingly model. Bran, the personification of Celtic kingship,⁸ "did what the men of Byrgwin held best, giving food and drink to everyone who came, and no door was shut against them,"⁹ from which appears that with the King all men held open house. When Arthur became king he "abided by

1. Jubainville, *Irish Cycle*, pp.174-5

2. Athen., VI, 49 (246)

3. Diodorus, V, 34

4. Athen., IV, 37 (152)

5. L. v. Schroeder, "Wurzel der Sage vom heiligen Gral". *Wien. Akad. Denks.* v. 156, 2 Abh. (1910), 94-95

A.H. Krappe, "Who was the Grene Knight?" *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 206-216

Mary Williams, "An Early Welsh Ritual Poem", *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 43-44

6. *Sueton.* p.

7. Athen., IV, 37 (152)

8. Jubainville, *op.cit.*, p.84; cf. Hecateus, in Diod., II, 47

9. Geoffrey, III, 7

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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 knights that came to him."¹ 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".² 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."³ The King, killed by his son, lived on as the god of Death, the year-god⁴ at whose monument the people would assemble to make their bloody sacrifices and to ask for corn and milk for the year.⁵ 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 *fines* and corresponding family-groups among the people of the *sidhe*, when all these groups are brought together at the places of the tombs.⁶ It was for a good year and peace that they drank and feasted and sacrificed their first-born.⁷ The King was priest,⁸ god on earth⁸, the intermediary through whom, and also by whom, prosperity and fertility were to be obtained.⁹

1. Geoff., IX, 1

2. Jubainville, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5

3. H. Hubert, *MHR*, LXX (1914), 11 ff

4. Jubainville, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220

5. Especially Cann Cruach, cf. Life of Patrick, in *MHR*, V², 143-4; Jubainville, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff

6. Hubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff, and *MHR*, v. 71 (1915), 229 ff

7. Jubainville, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff

8. Tac., *Hist.*, II, 61 (a god); Strabo XII, 5, 2; cf. Livy, V, 34

9. Cic. *De Divin.*, I, 15; II, 34

Helbold laments that the Rugians have preserved their year-cult intact by transferring it to St. Vitus, at whose great assembly and market flamines summi (s. Viti) non minus quam regem venerantur.¹ 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 Mediziner) wollen an Frauen, Männern und Vieh," plainly an abuse of the office of collecting for the sacrifice.² 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.² Another writer of the time says that the Slavs ad immolandum demoniis nefanda properarent sacrificia, cibisque ex ipsis potibusque simul inguarentur.³ It was customary for them to gorge on first-fruits at harvest time,⁴ and they were devoted to guests and strangers.⁵ A year-feast was observed for the dead by all his descendants,⁶ and everyone was under the religious obligation to serve the King.⁷ Equality and reciprocity prevailed to such a degree that Procopius thought the Slavs were communists.⁸ Among all the varying names of Slavic gods Prof. Brückner detects simply variations on the theme of the old "Hauptgott", Dasbog, whose name consists of das "gib" und hag "Habe", the name being "ein imperativisches Kompositum" which Brückner renders "Spende habe".⁹ It is to him that "Zins und Opfer

1. Helbold, I, 16, FHR, IV, 42-43

2. Ibn Rusta, II, in FHR, V, 94

3. Christianus, Vit. S. Wenceslai, VI, in FHR, V, 7

4. Beowulf, XIV, in FHR, IV, 49, cf. 50, 7, 11, 44, 81

5. Helbold, I, 64, in FHR, V, 45; Ibn Rusta, loc. cit.

6. Ibn Rusta, in FHR, V, 93; it was held at the tumulus.

7. Geograph. Anonym. Pers., in FHR, V, 95

8. Procop., Mal. Goth., III, 14

9. Brückner, in Jahrb. f. Sl. Fr., II: 510-511

(zumal das Erntedankopfer) geweiht sind," in return for which year-offerings he gives fertility to the land.¹

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."² It was a family feast but open to all the world,² and everyone had to partake of it, individually (every person must consume a piece of meat at least as large as an olive says the Talmud)³, and collectively.⁴ All contributed to the feast of the Lord, and in fact every meal was such a feast.⁵ It was from the table of the giver of abundance that all were fed.⁶ This

1. Brückner, op.cit., p.511

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, Joma, I, 1).

3. Talmud (ed. Goldschmidt), II, 647 (Pesahim, VIII, iii)

4. Zech., XIV, 16-21; cf. Thackeray, Septuag., pp.64-67; Wensinck, in Agg.Or., I, 163

5. Robertson Smith, Rel.Sem., p.201: "There is no real difference between the table and the altar." cf. id., 200, 204, 210

6. "Gott ladet ein, denn sein ist das Haus, sein ist auch die Gabe." Wellhausen, Prosl., p.71

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.¹ The hand of the priest, originally simply the server-out of the portions, turned a merry feasting "with tables greenning with good things" into the ritually formal sacrifice of the "Priesterkodex".² The partaking of a 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."³ The Levite, the stranger, the fatherless and the widow must share in the feast, and none must lack.⁴ Which means that there must be a redistribution of the meat in the Lord's storehouse.⁴ 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."⁵ 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} court" and "not used by each man to make a private religious feast for himself and his family."⁶ 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

1. Wellhausen, Proleg., p. 71, states the principle, "Kein Opfer ohne Mahl und kein Mahl ohne Opfer."

2. Wellhausen, GRS., pp. 77-81 has described the process; also pp. 71-72

3. Robertson Smith, Rel. Semit., p. 254

4. Lev., XII, 7; Lech., IX, 17

5. II Sam., VI, 19

6. Wellhausen, GRS., p. 248

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public one. Certainly the devoting of tithes to the royal sacrifice which was also the public sacrifice and "Opfermahlzeit"¹ 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 sergers.¹

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."² 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."³ 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 nature.⁴

1. The King does the serving himself and they assist. The royal and the menial are combined in Melchisedek: when Abraham brought tithes to him "Melchisedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was 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 of. Wellhausen, ProL., pp. 88, cf. I Sam., II, 36 and Julian. Imp., Epist.

2. Neh., VIII, 12

Chila no. xxiii

3. Neh., VIII, 10

4. In theory thithing 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." Robt. Smith, ES, p. 250

but are given an interpretation which shows that man 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.¹ The reward from bringing "all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house"² 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.³ As the Davidic King at the feast was 'the heir'⁴ 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 impiety."⁵

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 wild oxen in his honor.⁶ All the gods and the ancestors attend the feast where, "by a gamut of economic-religious rites the corporate life ... is thought to be replenished."⁷ Here again public and private cult are the same in the year-festival of the rebirth of the race.

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" called for a general distribution. It may

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

2. Malachi, III, 10-11

3. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 79 ff; 107 ff

4. Joseph., Rel. Ant., II, 1

5. EASTER, Stud. o Natl., XII (1934), 128; 130

6. Ibid., pp. 130f; the same in Carney, AOS I v.

7. Robertson Smith, Rel. Ant., p. 80 (Speaking of Mecca)

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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.¹ 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 of kinsman, who has sacrificed according to his ability."² 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 circles³ such circles were not identical with families, always containing guests, for there was no private or family slaughter.⁴ 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."⁵ Moreover at no time does anyone slaughter "bless fuer sich; kein Gedanke an Fleischverkauf."⁶

The Gilgamesh Epic tells that when Utnapishtim was building his ark he slaughtered great quantities of cattle and sheeps 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."⁷ 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

1. Doughty, Arabia Deserta, I, 452

2. Idem, p. 451

3. Salmond, ed. Goldsch., II, 634 (Pesachim VIII, 111): Feasting groups must sit with their backs to each other.

4. Robertson Smith, Rel. Sem., p. 261

5. Wellhausen, Reste Arab. Heidentums, p. 118

6. Idem, p. 119

7. Cited by H. Simons, Bab. Mythol., p. 18

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Woolley 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."¹ 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."² 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: *σπουδῇ δὲ γέλωτι* *μεμνηθῶν*, as the 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,³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵

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,

1. T.L. Woolley, Ur, Royal Cemeteries (Univ. of Penn., 1934), I: 332; L.

Legrain, Archaeic Seal-Impressions, p.4 (Woolley's note)

2. Zes., II, 6, 1.34

3. Frankfort, in Irak, I, 21

4. A.J. Wensinck, in Acta Orient., I, 166 ff

5. H. Basset, Mille et un Contes, etc., I: 85 f: for the survival of the festival at Erech, Zimmern, Bab. Neuja., p.23

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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.¹ 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."² 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.³ 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 view 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."⁴ The greatest of these holidays was, the king's birthday, when the fuksa, or "complete" banquet was given; "on that day alone," says Herodotus, "the king gives presents to the Persians."⁵ 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 could honor the king with presents,

1. Story of the Magic Horse, incip., in 1001 Nig., ed. Land, III: 150

2. Athen., IV, 145d, trs. C.B. Gulick, p. 143

3. Athen., IV, 145, e, f

4. Athen., IV, 145 b

5. Herodot., II, 120, and in Athen., IV, 145 b

but to those who were not rich the king should give presents."¹ 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 god² as well as a father, the representative of Gaya Maretan, the first man, father of the race and king of the Golden Age.³ Herodotus and Strabo tell us that the Persians would carry off every bit of the sacrificial meat for home consumption,⁴ 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?⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷

1. Athen., IV, 151 d, citing Gnessipus the Athenian.

2. Supra. p.

3. A. J. Carnoy, in AOSI, XXVI (1917), 316

4. Herodot., I, 132; Strabo, XV, 13 (732)

5. Strabo, XVI, 2, 39 (762); Philo, de.spec.leg., III, 18, 100

6. Herodot., I, 126

7. Dan., IV, 21-22 (interpreting the dream): "It is thou, O king!" To which the prophet adds a logical conclusion: "Wherefore, O king, break off thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor." (v.27). Which strongly reminds me of the "excellent custom" cited by Gnessipus, who calls it as well *ἀρχαῖος*.

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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.¹

The King in India had "the duty to supply a means of life for all the people. He is the sarvabhaṣaka, 'accomplisher of everything,' upon whom the people live, unaiṣanti, the tree of life, the farmer's rain-cloud, 'a god among men, 'a great divinity'; his form is human but himself divine."² All his virtue culminates in the activities of the Asvamedha, "the king of sacrifices", to ensure sovereignty to the king and fecundity to the land.³ He has five forms, Fire, Sun, Death, the god of Wealth, and the god of Judgment.⁴ 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 dependent on him are the people's virtue and prosperity."⁵ One would expect the Asvamedha 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,⁶ 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.⁷ But the highly ritualized giving accrued to the benefit of the priests (who seem to have interposed themselves between

1. Edv. Leumann, in Lehrb.d. Ek., II: 245

2. E. Washburn Hopkins, "The Divinity of Kings", AORJ, LI (1931), 312

3. Albright, "AORJ", LIV (1934), 109

4. Hopkins, loc. cit.

5. Quoted from two Indian sources by Hopkins, p.311, cf. p.309

6. Dumont, L'Asvamedha, p.317

7. Id., p. 306

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 signifie tout."¹ On each of the three days of the festival he gave away one-third of his property to the priests as a salary;² On the third day each of the four high-priests received one of his four wives or their attendants,³ and after sharing a meal with the King also accepted from him one-hundred years of life.⁴ Thus in giving the King completely spent himself, for he was God and ancestor: "C'est, mystere ineffable, Prajapati lui-meme qui s'immole a soi-meme."⁵

From the earliest times the heads of the Egyptians nomos had two sources of income, public and private. The latter was "from the house of his father", while the former was payed 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.⁶ 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.⁷ Through him furthermore, the due contributions went to the King of all the land, who was directly responsible for the prosperity of it.

1. Dumont, *L'Asvamedha*, p.15

2. *Idem*, p.117, including "a l'exception de la terre meme, des hommes qui l'habitent, et de ce qui est la propriete des brahmanes, tous les biens du pays qu'il a conquis." There were vast payments in cattle and gold (p.118)

3. *Idem*, p. viii

4. *Id.*, p. 15

5. *Id.*, p. vi

6. Erman, *Aegypten*, pp.104-5, the portion he kept from the offerings was his own, but all

7. Erman, *loc.cit.* (the inscription of Amen)

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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."¹ At this feast of abundance everyone ate to repletion.² 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 geants noirs d'Homere, et leur table des dieux."³ 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.⁴ 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 pulse to all, both strangers and citizens."⁵ On the income side we are told that "the Cretans ... sent a first-fruit of men to Delphi,"⁶ 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 (Il., XXIII, 55-56), Athenaeus observes, "Man alone progresses from primitive violence to fair play. Hence only man's food can be dais

1. Hambly, *Afr. Anthro.*, p. 549

2. *Ibid.*, cf. *SHRA*, p.

3. Victor Berard, "La Table des Dieux", *RHR*, XCVII (1928), 3

4. *Ibid.*, p. 5

5. *Plut.*, *Qu. Gr.*, no. 12

6. *Plut.*, *Qu. Gr.*, no. 35

and his meira is what is for everybody."¹ 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."² 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.³ "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.⁴ "An equal portion of the food on hand is served to each person."⁴ At Lampsacus, where the gods themselves used to hold the midnight banquet of the Great Goddess,⁵ "the local fisher-folk", according to Polyaenus, "would call upon passers-by to stop awhile and eat and drink with them" at their rites beside the water.⁶ 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.⁷ 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 brath he was given, and his hearty appetite was

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, 140ff

2. Athen., IV, 138 f

3. Athen., IV, 143 b,c

5. Lactant., Div. Inst., I, 21

6. Polyaen., Strat., VI, 24

7. J. Harrison, Themis, pp. 133-157; 260-326

admired."¹ 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.² Which reminds one of the Sosipolis ox and the Bouphonia, year-rites performed at harvest-time, when all had to partake of the meat of the sacrificed beast.³ Likewise, all had to eat the panispermia,⁴ and it was the 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.⁵ From the Arcadian banquets everyone carried away crumbs -- for Hekate, it was explained.⁶

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.⁷ The feasts of the gods were eranoi.⁸ At Naucratis anyone who chose 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.⁹ At the year-feast however, everyone had to be present and a rigid equality was observed in the distribution of the banquet.¹⁰ 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."¹¹ Individuals and the state are both givers and receivers.

1. Athen., IV, 148v9

2. Apollod., III, 11, 2

3. Nilsson, G.F., pp. 14 ff; Harrison, Themis, pp. 320 ff

4. Nilsson, G.F., pp. 202 f; and Lehrs, d. Nel.gesch., II: 291-2 (animals), 298 (the dead).

5. Athen., IV, 149 c

6. Athen., IV, 149c

7. On the Bouphonia as communal year-feast, Harrison, Themis, pp. 142ff

The "public oxen" of Zeus Sosipolis, Polieus, etc., Nilsson, G.F., 23ff

8. Themis, p. 244

9. Athen., IV, 150a

10. Athen., IV, 149 e, f

11. Athen., IV, 143 a, b

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 bought by purchase in the market."¹ 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 rush or laurel leaves, so that they may be able to gulp down their epaikla after dinner."² 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.³ We have seen that the poor could contribute a Bous Hebdembs made out of meal to the year-feast elsewhere.⁴

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 Hercules that Lysias divided the wealth of the rich among the poor, "killing many of those who refused to contribute."⁵ 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

1. Athen., IV, 141 e

2. Athen., IV, 140 c

3. Athen., IV, 141 a

4. Supra, p. 38

5. Athen., V, 215 b. However violent or unjust, the confiscations and re-distributions of the time were formal acts, cf. Polyb., XV, 21; XXIV, 7; XXXII, 5, etc.

was not *συνμοτικός* or *κοινός*, taking no pleasure in public feasts.¹ 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 *spaiklon*, 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,² may be identified with the "second tables" which, as Prof. Cornford has pointed out, everywhere characterize the Year-Feast of the earliest times.³ The Arcadians took crumbs from their common meals "for Hekate".⁴ 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."⁵ 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

1. Dio Chrys., *Orat.*, XXXVIII, 1

2. The name itself suggests *ἐπιχορηγήματα τοῦ συντεταγμένου τοῖς ἀδελταῖς ἀκλίου* 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 ... after wards" each is given a cup and a cake. It was to the *spaiklon* that all contributed alike (*id.* IV, 140 f, 141 c). "The doles given to messmates after dinner" were called *spaihia* by the Spartans (IV, 140 c).

3. Cornford, in *Themis*, pp. 250-1

4. Athen., IV, 149 c; cf. C.B. Gulick's note on the passage

5. Schol. Aristoph., cited by M. Morin, "Histoire Critique de la Pauvrete", in *Memoires de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, IV(1746), 303

of the remnants of the Lord's supper.¹ 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.² This was not charity but the hospitality of the feast.

The Spartan Hyacinthia³ like the Athenian Metageitnia⁴ 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 their servants.⁵ 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.⁵

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

1. Eragrius, IV, 36; Cedrenus, I, pp. 686-8 (ed. Bekker)

2. Pigniol, *Jeux Romains*, pp. 93-96, shows that such was the original treatment of the *δῶρα*, 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 serve the priests" (Jul. Imp., *Epist.*, XIII, 430 A.D.) on the Jewish and Christian example.

3. Athen., IV, 139f

4. When the Athenians would throw open their doors, *εὐκόλως καὶ ἡραρῶς*, to all (Plut., *de Exil.*, 601b); the Metageitnia is treated in its archaic aspects by L. Radermacher, "Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus dem Gebiete der Antike", *Wien. Akad. Sitzungsber.*, v. 187 (1908), 11-13

5. Athen., *leg. att.*, it was a three-day festival of the dead; no one was absent; choruses, etc., for its antiquity, Nilsson, *G.F.*, pp. 130-1

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with the significant title of *στεφανηφόρος*, confiscated and distributed the wealth, he first dressed himself in kingly robes.¹ 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.²

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 bread portions were called "*πολιτικούς*".³ 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 Artabanus, 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 the grove a marble statue with the inscription *Ἀεταβάνης αἰωνιὰ μνήμη*⁴ Time and place show this happened at the great year-festival of the place

1. Athen., V, 215 b. He wore a gold crown for the occasion.

2. Anaxandrides, frag. 41 in Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, II

3. Malal., *Chron.*, XII, p.269 (ed. Dindorff)

4. Malal., loc.cit ; Chron. Pasch., Migne, *Pat.*, v.92, p.641 (Olymp. coxii). The latter source describes his motive as *φιλότιμος*

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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 Oroistus, 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."¹ 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."²

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 Artabanes. 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.³

In the case of Greece as of other lands, the writer has confined him-

1. W. Buckler, "A Charitable Foundation of A.D. 237", *Jal. Hel. Stud.* LVII¹ (1937), 1-10. the donor received a statue in exchange; statue + feast = cult.
2. Pausan., IV, 32, 2. The crystallizing 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 63*; *Hieronym., Epist., XXII, 16 & 32*. Just as in Rome, *infra*, p.

3. *Supra*, p.

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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 the 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.

Traces of an old Roman spaiκlon 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.¹

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, id ob meritum, received a cult; a flamine Quirinali sacrificium ei publice fit et dies e nomine eius in fastos additus.²

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.³ 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.⁴

The giver, in death a hero, is in life a king. At Gabii Sextus Tarquin upon becoming king "destroyed the more influential citizens and and distributed their wealth among the populace,"⁵ an enthronement gift made possible by the dual prerogative of the king to take and to give out. By that prerogative Spurius Maelius at the end of the 4th century B.C. thought

1. Seneca, Epist., I, 77

2. Gellius, Noct. Attic., VII, 7, 1: Victor, Vir. Illust., c. 15

3. Pliny, NH. XVIII, 111, 4

4. S. Gell, Social Life, p. 230, for like cases, Schmidt, RgVY. VII: 30f, 44ff

5. S. Gell, Social Life, VII, 10

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to establish a claim to the crown.¹ 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.² 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 status outside the Trigemina gate by popular contribution.³ That the giver was divus 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.⁴ It was more than sheer corruption that led Caesar to spread 22,000 tables in the Forum to celebrate his consulship,⁵ 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.⁶ 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.

1. Scaur., VII, 20

2. Mommsen (in Hermes, V (1871), 257ff) 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, Röm. Gesch., III: 152-4

3. Pliny, NH, XVIII, 4

4. Ad. Schmidt, "Geburtstag", RM.V.V., VII (1909), 37, finds not one case of a college celebrating a birthday "aus freien Stücken."

5. Plut., Caes.

6. Plut., Crassus, c.29

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 nec municipali ambitione sed in sordida mercede.¹ 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.² 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 prosperity³ suffered a corresponding humiliation when the grain failed.⁴ 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.⁵ Who wanted to be the first man in Rome had to furnish grain at his own expense and even the tight-fisted August never thought of evading this responsibility.⁶ The Emperor was the impartial giver, observing a strict equality

1. Tac., Ann., IV, 62

2. Cic., ad Atticum, I, 16, 12; cf. M. Gelzer, Nobilität der römischen Republik (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 101 ff

3. Stat., Silv., I, vi ; Mamert., Paneg. Jul., 25, the Emperor is the creator of wealth and honor; so also Soss., V, 17, and Pliny's idea of . Pliny, Paneg., V, 2; VI, 1: Imperator et pater generis humani, etc. Cassiod., VI, 4; IX, 17; XII, 11 (on reciprocity of the giver and the people). Thus the Emperor was acclaimed: Pertinax imperator securi viximus ... patri omnium bonorum. Fausta omnia optamus et precamur (Paul. Diam., I,). Corripus, Justin., IV, 165ff 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), 234, 281; E. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship", in Yale Cl. St., I, 58ff; CChr. Schoener, "Ueber Titularen der römischen Kaiser", Acta Seminar. Philol. Erlangen, II (1881), 449ff, esp. 471ff

4. Suet., Claud., c. 18

5. Plut., Galba, 16; Suet., Tib., c. 37

6. V. Gardthausen, Augustus und seine Zeit (Leipzig, 1891f), I², 528

for which he was hailed as dominus aequum et bonum.¹ Like praise was accorded the magistrate in republican times who observed a strict impartiality in the distribution of grain at the ludi Plebei.² The institution of "portiones," with double portions for magistrates,³ 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 plebei in the provinces was based in the first instance on the amount contributed by their members to the common meal.⁴

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,⁵ 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 place where the crowd was to gather, and spend the night there," so that all the people could come and greet him with the least possible trouble.⁶ When Heliogabius vulgum ad bibendum invitavit et ipse cum populo ... bibit,⁷ he was not orientalizing, for Claudius the zealous anti-

1. Suet., Aug., c.53

2. Livy, XXXI, 4

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

4. O. Teller, 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 communis in which firma devotio societate (de Off., I, 17, 56)

5. Suet., Tib., c.37

6. Dio, LVII, 11

7. Hist. Aug., Heliog., c.21

quarian did the same, even going so far as to play the part of head-bwaiter and, bustling about with a display of unwonted buffoonery, address them as "my masters".¹ 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.² Whatever the meaning of the names may be,³ the fact that a gentile 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 gentile cult was the earlier,⁴ 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 gentile and the public cult as the same event.

1. Suet., Claud., c.21, see below, p.

2. Marquardt, Staatsverw., III: 149-150; the common feast in Varro, LL. VI 54.

3. Schwegler, RM. Gesch., IV: 370-1, 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 ceterum dapem, which may well recall a second-table. cf. De-Marchi, Culte Privato, II: 3-5; F. Kuenser, "Die römischen Vestalinnen", in Philologus, XCII (1937), 88 (55).

4. De-Marchi, op.cit., II: 5-7, cit. Livy, I, 7: familiae ... ea loca incolant. All that is known about the Pinarii, Kuenser finds (op.cit.) is that they were a family of pre-Roman antiquity, held the priesthood of Vesta, and that their children are concerned in legends about immoral conduct.

THE COMMON MEAL IN ROME:- In Rome during the games everyone ate with their doors open.¹ 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."² Significantly enough, the law of Fannius specifically limited expenditure for such hospitality to the Roman and Plebeian Games and to the Saturnalia, "and certain other days."³ The good old Roman hospitality seems to have definite connection with the year-rite.⁴

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,⁵ etc. Hensen 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.⁶ Persaeus says that at the Spartan feast the poor man presents a laurel leaf ὅπως ἔχῃσι τὰ ἐπαίχλα κάρτειν μετὰ σείπνου, since the epaiklon is either a barley cake soaked with oil or barley meal mixed with oil.⁷ 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.

1. Livy, XXV, 12; cf. Gell., II, 24; Val. Max., II, 5, 6; Tac., An., IV, 63
cf. atria nobilium valvis celebrantur sportis of Ovid

2. Gellius, Nest. Attic., II, 24

3. Gellius, leg. att., cf. supra, p.

4. Cic., de Off., II, 16, 55; Tac., An.

5. Hensen, Acta Frat. Arv., p. 11

6. Idem, p. 14, quoting Cato, R.R., 12

7. Athen., IV, 140 f & 4

When M. Flavius gave a visperatio for the Romans at the funeral of his mother some believed it was a case of per species honorandae parentis, meritum mercedem populo solutum.¹ 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 to 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 the streets by the people of Pol-lentia 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.² Pliny recounts how the celebrants of coming-of-age and marriage ceremonies "are accustomed to invite to the party the entire senate of the city and even many of the common people, and to give to each guest one or two pennies."³ One rich woman was forced by the excessive demands of her townspeople upon her generosity to flee to another city to get married.⁴ So much was a funeral everyman's affair that the populace could simply take over the whole ritual, paying where necessary the entire expense.⁵ 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

1. Livy, VIII, 22

2. V. Duruy, Rev. Hist., I (1876), 349.

3. Pliny, Epist., X, 117

4. Apul., Apolog., cited by Duruy, op. cit., p. 348

5. Joh. Kirchmann, De Funeribus Romanorum (Lübeck, 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 visperationes -- at any rate it is a public cult. Herodot., I, 216; IV, 26; cf. Apollod., I, 6, 5; III, 14, 8; Pausan., VIII, 37, 5; I, 4, 6; W. Kroll, in Wiener Studien, LV (1937), 168-172; S. Thompson, Index V3c.1

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if nothing else was an act of recognition,¹ and Lares and family cult were localized at, of all places for private cults, the crossroads!² 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 the 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, lantia, munera, tessera and client may be detected the customs of the primitive pilgrimage to Rome.

The sum of Sulla at the funeral of his father gave the people free shows, banquets, baths and oil.³ 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.⁴ 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

1. Kirchmann, *De Funerib.*, p.277 ff; one is reminded of the graves that line the Via Appia, etc.

2. Whatever might be the mystic symbol of crossroads, the primary and essential nature of *compita* and *trivia* was that of a public place.

3. Dio, XXXIII, 51

4. T. Mommsen, "Das röm. Gastrecht u. die röm. Clientel, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, I (1859) pp. 342, 370

long journey.¹ At Rome the lautia was the special official gift to strangers: dantur locatis hospitii gratia.² The word itself, lautia = lavatio has something to do with bathing,³ 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.⁴ Its regular meaning comes to be simply popularum magnificentia.⁵ 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 the 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.⁶ 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 sacri- ficuli⁷ -- neither may we regard the custom as late, since its meaning was

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, Minotaur, Philistines and Greeks (N.Y.: Knopf, 1930), pp.98-99; cf. also the foot-bathing practice of Sciron of Corinth, Apollod., Myth., 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

2. Festus, ed. Linds., p.60

3. Discussed by Mommsen, loc.cit., and Röm.Forsch., I:344-5: "das sog. Badegeräth, - das heisst alle Ausrüstung, welche der Gast braucht um den Badekessel zu erwärmen und sich die Speisen zu bereiten."

4. Plut., Qu.Rom., no. 43

5. Thesaur. Ling. Lat.

6. Plut., loc.cit., suggests the custom be suited to Saturn the wanderer, as one rejoicing in hospitality.

7. Festus, 290, cit. Platner, Roman Dict., pp.456-7

entirely lost in Plutarch's time.

The gift of vinegar and oil, which was granted to strangers in Greece as well,¹ 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, oenagium, oeniarium, 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.² 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 an original distribution of food; it was a "Zehrpfennig".³ It was also a duty, sometimes, in fact, an onus.⁴ A duty to whom? To the dead, according to Tertullian: the duty of giving spectacles for them.⁵ 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

1. Mommsen, RM. Forsch., I: 345, citing Athen., IV, 74, in Delos & Magnesia

2. Thesaur.

3. Mommsen, op.cit., I: 345-6; Marquardt, Staatsverw., III: 494

4. B. Kibler, in RE 16:1, 645

5. Tertullian, de spect., c.12: officium ... mortuis hec spectacula facere se veteres arbitrantur.

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given by magistrates on assuming an office in return for the authority (the divinity) which had been accorded them by the people.¹ 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 hostia 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.² Though on etymological grounds Mommsen later recanted,³ 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.⁴

TESSERAE:- The Roman tesserae furnish an eloquent commentary on the nature of the year-festival and on its universality. It is at

1. On the coincidence of birthdays, official birthdays, and personal cult, W. Schmidt, "Geburtstag", BzV. VII (1909), 30f; 44-45; 58ff

2. Mommsen, in Hist. Ztschr., I: 343

3. Mommsen, Röm. Forsch., I: 326ff, 347, n.44

4. Idem, p.347, visitors to the games had a special favored section of the grand-stand, next to that of the Senators.

feasts and games that the tesserae were regularly employed.¹ It is natural to see in their use a device for regulating mass distributions of any kind,¹ but such a use does not explain their fundamental nature. The oldest form of tesserae were the tesserae hospitales, tokens or letters formally

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 as effectively: they were filled to capacity, and Friedländer, 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.

exchanged by parties sharing an agreement of hospitium, of mutual friendship and hospitality.¹ 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 hospitalem.² 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?³--- of the house. The use of tesserae in private relationships as well as public⁴ raises the question of priority which can be best answered by con-

And why should people come in the middle of the night to get places, gratuita in circos loca (Suet., Calig., c.26), 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, Suet., Calig., c18

1. Mommsen, Röm. Forsch., I: 338-343

2. Id., p.338, the process is described in Plautus, Poenulus, 5,1,25; 5,2,87; 5,2,89

3. Plut., Qu. Rom., n.64: *ἕκαστον δὲ τῆς (every) τέρπης*

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; 72 ff

sideration 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 state¹ identified the holder as one who had entered a contract of hospitality. Some tesserae, such as the military² and "gladiatorial"³ 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 the 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 antiquity.³ At the death of Augustus gold rings were replaced by iron.⁴ The gold ring was the special sign of power and authority.⁵ 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.⁶ Just so, when Minos lost his seal-ring he lost his kingdom, which Theseus obtained when he found the same ring.⁷ 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.⁸ O. Weber in 1920

1. The state kept a list of incisi who were eligible to receive bounties, and the possession of a tessera identified the holder as an incisus. K. Regling, RE 5A:1, 852
2. For military tesserae, Regling, op.cit., 851; Rostovzeff, Eleitesserae, pp. 2-3 refers the "gladiatorial" tesserae year incubation practices.
3. J. Heckenbach, De Nuditate Sacra (RevV, vol. IX, 1911), 194ff
4. Suet., Aug., c. 100
5. J. E. Sandys, Companion to Lat. Stud. (Cambridge, 1910), p. 584, no. 863
6. Hist. Aug., Hadrian, XXVI, 7
7. Pausan., I, 17, 3
8. Herodot., I, 195

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 ältesten Zeit kennen und gebrauchen."¹ 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."² 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.³ 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,"⁴ 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,"⁵ 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."⁶ What should be especially noted is that "In the XIIIth dynasty

1. Otto Weber, Altorientalische Siegelbilder (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920) in Der Alte Orient, XVII-XVIII, 5-6

2. Idem, p. 1

3. Id., p. 16

4. Id., p. 4

5. Sir W.M. F. Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, etc., (London: Univ. College, 1917), p. 12

6. Idem, pp. 2-3, it was "a symbol and guarantee of his (the Creator's) assistance to the deceased."

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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."¹ 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."²

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.³ It was also a sign of membership, marking a common interest or

1. Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders, pp.2-3

2. Wm. H. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia (Washington, 1909), p.1

3. Ward, loc.cit., Weber, Spiegelbilder, p.1: "Das Siegel besweckt die unanfechtbare, weil gesetzlich anerkannt Legitimation seines besitzers." According to Evans, P.M., III, 144, the Minoan seal was a peculiarity 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. Eliasson Smith, Evil 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. Woolley, in Lagrain, Archaic Seal-Expressions, p.8. The Minoan signet-ring originated from a bead seal, Evans, P.M., III, 139f. 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 lupina 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

enterprise whether of a secular or of a religious nature.¹

As Mommsen has seen in the German seals and coats-of-arms an institution identical with that of the first Roman tesserae,² 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."³

An enlightening passage on the seal, an object of considerable mystical importance in the Early Christian 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,⁴ a rebirth, are accompanied by the giving of a seal. The new life is the reward of "overcoming".⁵

1. cf. F.J. Dölger on the "Sprache als religiöse Brandmarkung" in Antike und Christentum, I: 73

2. Mommsen, Röm. Forsch., I: 338-9

3. Wooley, in Legrain, 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

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.

5. When Alexander overcame the powers of the underworld and emerged to the light the pieces of wood and stone which he had commanded his men each to pick up became shining jewels and gold, Psudocallisth., II, 41; the thing which drew the hero into the underworld according to this tale was the desire for pearls. When he takes black stones from the river of life they become white, cf. E.W. Budge, Alexander (London: Oxf., 1933) p. 100, Joshua, IV, 2 ff;

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.¹ It was a reed or laurel leaf which admitted the poor to the feasts in the Peloponnesus; it was the *καλαμος* 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.² Prof. Bonner sees in this *καλαμος* "perhaps a batten consisting of a joint or two of reed, and carried in the hand," its purpose being to serve as "a mere arbitrary symbol,"³ 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.⁴ Though there is reason in Xenophon's words for believing that the reed as a symbol was not arbitrary,⁵ 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

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1. Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, pp.3-6, following Hippirecht.
 2. Xenoph., *Hellenica*, II, 1, 1-4
 3. C. Bonner, "Notes on a Certain Use of the Reed", *APA*, XXXIX (1908), 36
 4. Bonner, *op.cit.*, pp.36-38
 5. The innocent victim was killed not simply because he had a reed, but *ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε*. 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; Secret., VII, 13, the Jewish conspiracy at Alexandria.

panes laureati 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 ἐδίδονταν, ἅπερ ἐκάλουν στῆνα, εἰς πρῆν δαίμονός τινος αὐτῷ προσφορευμένης, ἥτις ἐφορός ἐστὶ τῶν νικῶν.
This, as Peter observes,¹ 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..² 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".³ Reed and arrow were seals in the North, where each man had his mark cut on such wooden "lots", as they were called, which were used among other things in assigning places at the feasts.⁴

Another form of token is described by the word tessera itself, coming from τέτταρες and signifying "dice".⁵ 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).⁶ The practice is found at the primitive dicing shrines, where the devotee would draw the dice and learn

1. Lydus, de Mens., IV, 4, cit. R. Peter, in Roscher, Lex., II¹, 227
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
3. Herodot., IV, 81, everyone in the kingdom assembled by compulsion.
4. Du Chaillu, Vik. Age., I: 350, citing Hallfredar Sg. and Jomsvikingsaga.
5. Rostovzeff, Elektesserae, p. 1; Mommsen, Röm. Forsch., I: 342; in RE 5A: L, 581
6. Mommsen, op.cit., p. 341; Rostovzeff, loc.cit.

the meaning of the figure on each dice by comparing it with a like figure on tablets in the shrine.¹ Such was the shrine of Heracles by the river Buraicus. Another was at Nemea: "Over against the sanctuary of Nemean Zeus," writes Pausanias, "is a temple of Tyche; it must be very old if it be true that in this temple Palamedes dedicated the dice which he had invented."² Throughout Greece the primitive system of divination by lots and dice prevailed in the earliest times at the oracular shrines of the Earth-Mother.³ 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.⁴ 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 has found most surprising in view of the fact that the peninsula, like Greece, betrays in historic times "nur sehr geringe Spuren von Astragalantik."⁵ What could have happened to one of the most universal and persistent of all customs? Ehrenberg supplies, while he ignores, the solution of the problem when he points out that

1. Pausan., VII, 25, 6

2. Pausan., II, 20, 3;

3. E. Rohde, Psyche (London: Kegan Paul, 1925), p.290, divination by manti-
ke "was a late-coming innovation in the Apolline cult."

4. Macrobian., Sat., I, 10; as a year rite, K.Schwenck, Rh.Mus., NF XIII(1867)9130-1

5. V. Ehrenberg, RE XIII2, 1485, citing Messia, Monum.Antich., XVIII, 646ff;
XIX, 149

representations of knuckle-bones and of boys playing dice occur frequently on coins found in Mediterranean lands from Cyprus to Sicily.¹ 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.

These tesserae which were distributed at the Saturnalia looked so much like coins that they were called numismata.² 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 rich and poor both gave and received these coins.³ It was also the time for distributing tesserae, most of which are actually dated January.⁴ 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.⁵ At the time of initiation and marriage one would invite the entire town to his house and give each guest a penny or two;⁶ it was also required of everyone who came of age to contribute a coin to a common chest reserved for such contributions.⁷ Moreover, every coin was issued by a distribution, since it had to bear the signet, the seal of the magistrate who issued it.⁸ The single coin

1. Ehrenberg, RE XIII:": 1459

2. Rostovzeff, Blattesserae, p.41; Mart., XII, 62, 9-12

3. Rostovzeff, op.cit., pp.115-6

4. Idem, p.99, the college of Aediles at Hygiea distributed only tesserae.

5. Mommsen, RM.Forsch. 1:345

6. Pliny, Natist. X, 117

7. Such contributions were also required at birth and death, Kirchmann, Flur. 701

8. P. Gardner, Types of Greek Coins II, 53 (cit. Oxford Diet. Art. "Symbol")

"The symbol ... is a copy or replica of the signet of the magistrate who is responsible for the coin."

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.¹

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 Aeca Larentia. Rostovzeff found the lascivia numismata "für die Moral der römischen Kaiserzeit ... höchst bezeichnend," as symbols of degeneracy and decline.² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ This last practice obtained, says Herodotus, also among the Venetians.⁶ 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 but on the yearly feature of the rite by Herodotus: κατὰ καῖμας ἐκάστας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτους ἐκάστων...

1. Συγκ. p. 60 ; Rostovzeff, Εκτενέστερα, p. 116, believes the Imperial ἀντίδοτον consisted of old Janus-coins.
2. Rostovzeff, op. cit., p. 69
3. Herodot., II, 126
4. Herodot., I, 198, cf. Strabo, XI, 8, 4, on Persian hierodules as a New Year's rite.
5. Herodot., I, 198
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

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 back-ground for the lascivia nominata 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.¹ Italy also had its dicing oracles and the Fortuna who presided over them was no importation: she was "uritalisch".² 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 Filaia=Fortuna Primigenia.³ We pass over the great importance of this place in the Roman year-festival,⁴ as we do over the nature of Fortuna as presiding goddess of the games: Murcia=Venus the eldest deity of the Circus,⁵ to consider further the nature of the tes-

1. Plut. Qu. Gr., no.9; at Olympia the "Mother of Truth", Pind., Ol. VIII, 1ff, cf. L. Wengger, "Die Seher von Olympia", ABW. XVIII (1915), 53ff; 112; for this goddess as an original Tyche, F. Altheim, Terra Mater, pp. 40-41 Tyche at Nemea, Pausan., II, 20, 3;

2. V. Ehrenberg, RE. XIII:": 1455

3. "... a name which indicates the impersonal character of this divine force and its almost autochthonous origin", M. Radin, Stud. Onom. Saly. Riquenone, II:26; Ehrenberg, loc. cit.; Cic., de Div., II, xv, 48

4. i.e., as headquarters of the Year-King; below, p. 204ff

5. The whole valley which the Circus occupied was originally the vallis Murciae Serv., Agg., VIII, 636, and the central shrine, at the altar of Censura, the Ara Venus also bore her name (cf. Platner, Top. Rom., p. 348) She was often identified with Venus, Tertullian, de Spect., c.8: Murciae enim deam amoris volunt..., and the Venus Obscurens 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, Top. Rom., 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., c.8). Servius, Agg., I, 750 identifies Equestris Venus, Myrten, Salacia, with the Great Mother. On her great antiquity, Mielenz, in RE. 16: 1, 450

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~~serve~~ 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.¹ The pebbles in the urn were divining pebbles. Pebbles in an urn were also lots,² lots being simply a form of divination. In the North the box-twigs used for divination (whence "Bachstabe") were also the seals of individuals and by them the victim for the year-sacrifice was marked out.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ The principal object of the Slavic temples and of the gathering at them

1. Frazer on Apol. III, x, 2cf. Suet., Tib., c.14; Pliny, Ep., VIII, 8, 2

2. For the various meanings of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma$ 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, 41, 1

3. Du Chaillu, Vik. Age., I: 350ff; Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p.631 ff: the King at Midwinter would shake the lots to find out how many years he would live. Both these authorities cite many cases.

4. Talmud, (ed. Goldschmidt) II: 854 (Jom., 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 Urin and Thummim as stones, H.R. Hall, Ancient History of the Near East (London: Methuen, 1936), p.

5. Hamblly, African Anthropology, I: 402

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was divination.¹ Divination is the dominant theme in the New Year's gatherings of the East which "vor allem ... als Fest der Zukunftsbestimmung für das bevorstehende neue Jahr galt."² 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.³

At Rome the Saturnalia was the one time of year when one could dice openly, neq̄ timet aedilem mote spectare fritillo.⁴ It was at the New Year that the strenae, verbenae felices, figured in the anni novi auspicia.⁵ It was then that people would exchange the Janus-coins and the best things to eat, coin and cibus being the same thing,⁶ and the round Janus-"Year-cakes", called Janual, Vota, Omina, Strena,⁷ 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.⁸ 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 sorte, which according to Ehrenberg

1. Thietmar, Chron., VI, 22; Homiliarium Opatoviz, in HR, IV:21 on sortes and caracteres. Herbord., II, 33: lignae calculationes, HR, IV, 27, 41, 43f esp. Helmsold, I, 52

2. H. Zimmern, Relig. Neu, p. 4

3. Zimmern, op. cit., p. 17; Jeremias, in Lehrb. d. Religionsgesch., I: 505

4. Martial, XIV, 1, 3; cf. IV, 17, 4; Suet., Aug., c. 71; discussed by Conway, Ancient It. and Mod. Relig., p. 123

5. Symmach., Relat. 15, 1, cited by R. Peter, Roscher Lex. II¹, 227

6. For this identification, O. Toller, De Spectaculis, etc., pp. 77-78

7. Nuth, Janua, p. 92; Plut., Qu. Rom., no. 41, identifies Janus-coin and Saturn.

8. Thus Hist. Aug., Elegab., c. 21; 22

goes far towards proving the "uritalisch" origin of the institution,¹ is from sortes, "set in rows" -- "ursprünglich das -- etwa auf einer Schnur -- aufgereihte, d.s. Lostäfelchen."² So the original sortes were little tablets strung on a string, and they were lots. The string is the key to Martial's haec linea dives cessat.³ Abundance come 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,³ 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?⁴ It was the sewer. The common words for distribution, σπένδειν, spargere, emphasize the act of throwing. Was the sparsio a sowing of grain,

1. Ehrenberg, RE, XIII:2: 3459; the Italian oracle were first given but on such little wooden tablets. cf. Rostovzeff, Eleitesserae, pp. 2-3 on the "gladiatorial" tesserae, perforated "zum Aufhängen".

2. Martial, VIII, 78, 7-8

3. O quantum negoti et sudoris indagatoribus Criticis facessit haec 'linea'! Thus Farnabius, in his note on Martial, leg. cit., in his ed. of same.

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: Methuen, 1922), pp. 36-40). In the one place where the ancient seal has survived in use it is called γὰλοπρῆτα "milk stone", or γὰλοπρῆταις, "milk makers", the most coveted seals being those of a milk-white hue, Evans, Scripta Minora (Oxford, 1909), I.

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a falling of rain, or of manna from heaven? That it had such an implication follows from the close association of sparsiones with Ceres,¹ but it was something more specific as a part of the year-festival; it was the act of the saculum the sowing of the human race.

When Deucalion and his wife wished to people the world Jupiter re-
sponsum ei per sortem indicavit what was to be done: they were each to
toss stones, and the stones would become men and women.² 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.³ 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 As-
vamedha. There is a feast given by the King to his high priests, the
brahmandana, a meal of rice, of which the Vedas say "brahmandana (rice)
est semence, et l'or est semence," the latter remark referring to the gift
of the King after the meal of a piece of gold to each of the participants.

1. Cases 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 re-
vived an ancient custom and delighted the jaded Roman taste by tossing
vegetables and fruit to the actors, Plut., Cato Min., c.46
2. Nigid.Figul., frg.99 (Schel. ad Germanicum, p.85, 13ff; p.154, 1ff) ex-
plaining the common idea that human beings come from stones.
3. The custom was observed by the Kings of Armenia in the Golden Age, Z.C.
Boysajian, 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. 413-418

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each gold piece weighing 100 grains "because the life of man is 100 years."¹ Each of the King's wives ties 101 gold beads to the Asvamedha horse,² and when the animal is led to be married to the Queen these women throw rice over it.³ 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 dato publici introierunt et libellos receperunt et ante ianua[m] deae Diae adsteterunt ... et de Saturnaliis primis illum mag[istru]m creaverunt.⁴ After thus proclaiming the year-king, having brought their first-fruits and participated in a re-distribution,⁵ the people depart and the college holds a feast, Post epulas sportulas acceperunt singul[i] praes[entes] denarios centenos.⁶ The sportula which follows the Arval feasts is mentioned again and again, and it is always stated to be 100 denarii.⁷ 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 strana, which easily became identified with the coin, e.g. the "etrennes" which the French King gave at New Year's.⁸ On the same occasion on which the people received

1. Dumont, ed., L'Asvamedha, pp. 111; 15

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.

3. Idem, p. 291, cf. the throwing of meal at the Saturnalia to give "Zeugungskraft," Lehmann, Lehrb. der RG., I: 36.

4. Hensen, Acta Frat. Arv., p. 27

5. Hensen, op. cit., pp. 31-32, in which one gives with one hand and takes with the other.

6. Id., p. 27

7. Id., pp. 13, 26, 27, 45-46: on this occasion the giver is formally wished many years of life, e.g. sugest tibi Jupiter annos, etc.

8. L. Deubner, in Lehrb. d. RG., II: 421-2

libelles et rones laureatos per public(um) partiti sunt.¹

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.² Gaius would throw gold and silver to the crowd from the palace roof.³ On Easter day behold the Empress Irene riding forth in a golden chariot drawn by a white quadriga, scattering gifts abroad to the people.⁴ The Babylonian Ninurta, preeminently the Year-King,⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷ Dionysus who came after him performed the same office.⁸ To avoid orientalizing, we should refer to the Gallic Luernius, the giver of the great year-

1. Hansen, op.cit., p.26

2. Herodian, V, 6, 9

3. Jos., Ant.Jud., XIX, 1, 11

4. Theophan., Chron., anno 791

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 fertiliser 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 legend and that in the act of giving his New Year's gifts, Weber, Babyl. Myth., p.16

6. Frankfort, op.cit., p.27; Jeremias, Lehrb.d. BA., I: 543

7. Hyginus, Fab., cxlvii

8. Bied., I, 15, 14ff. cf. A.B. Cook, Zeus (Cambridge, 1925), I:214

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feast, who rode through the fields scattering gold abroad for the people to pick up, from what motive was disputed by the ancients.¹ We also read in Republican Rome of Tuditanus nempe ille, qui cum palla et oethurais nuce-
mas repule de rostris spargere solebat.² And there is the old Roman spargo,
marita, nuce.³ which clearly shows the fertility nature of the sparsio, the scattering of nuts being likewise a feature of the Saturnalia⁴ and Cerealia.⁵ It should be noted too in passing that the bread of year-feasts in the North was used in divination⁶ and was thought of as money.⁶

The Mirabilia Romae speaks of a gate in Rome called the Arch of the Golden Bread.⁷ Under Augustus the distribution of tesserae took place at the porticus Minucia which housed shrines and before which games were given and the acts of the magistrates enacted.⁸ Some believe this was the original place of the distributions, though Rostovseff is inclined to doubt it.⁹ But that the gate as such has a significance as a place of distribution appears from various considerations. Thus at Scipio's funeral ad portam Capenam malum prosequitis funus de iase. Livy records.¹⁰ At Delphi it was at the door of the palace that the King sat to distribute his year-gift to all comers,¹¹ and when the people came to share the

1. Strabo, IV, 2, 3; Athen., IV, 152; cf. Holde of the North, who scatters gifts from her golden car at New Year's

2. Cic., Phil., III, vi, 16

3. Verg., Ecloga VIII, 30, cf. Festus, ed. L., pp.178-179

4. Martial, V, xxx, 8, cf. Preller, Röm. Mythol., p.415

5. Preller, op.cit., p.436. Thus Festus, p. ; Nuces mitti in Cerealiis

6. Council, Auxerre, 578 a.d., in Mansi, IX, 912; Herrmann, Altst.Kult., pp.24 ff

7. Mirabil. Rom., I, 4

8. O. Richter, Topographie der Stadt Rom (München, 1901), p.195

9. Rostovseff, Altitesserae, pp.15-16

10. Livy, XXXVIII,

11. Plut., Qu.Gr., no.12, discussed by Halliday in his ed., p.72 f

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the feast of the Arval Brethren it was at the gate of the *Dea Dia* that they hailed the victorious year-king.¹ It is at the gate in coming out that the King is first hailed by the multitude at the Babylonian New Year.² 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.³

Cassiodorus admonished the Emperor that "the King should sow his gifts broadcast, as the sower his seeds."⁴ With such majestic impartiality *iam telluris linea pluebant*⁵ at the Emperor's birthday, as bounteous as rain.⁶ Everyone received something⁶ but no one knew before hand what it would be -- the *sparsiones* are a grab-bag, they are literally *series*, "dice", a man's lot or fortune for the year, his share in a feast

1. They repeat the shout *fero Mars! limen sali, sta berber!* Hansen, *Acta Inst. Arv.*, pp. 26-27

2. Zimmern, *Babyl. Neu.*, p. 18; the gate is a constant motif in the Sumerian seals, representing in fact "the first attempt at a ritual scene", Woolley 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.

3. Varro, *LL*, V, 47; Festus, 290; Symmach., *Relat.*, XV, 1; Suet., *Calig.*, c. 42: *Edixit et strenas ineunte anno se recepturum stetitque in vestibulo aedium Kl. Ian. ad captandas stipes, quas plenis ante eum manibus 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., *Qu. Gr.*, nos. 42, 43; cf. Suet., *Claud.*, c. 21

4. Cassiod., *Var.*, III, 20

5. Statius, *Silvae*, I, vi, 9ff, emphasizing the great abundance of everything.

6. Suet., *Domit.*, c. 4; Symmach., *Epist.*, IX, 153, wealthy senators take it hard if they fail to receive their *sportulae*.

of abundance.¹ 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 Rostovseff puts it, the tesserae missiles of the games were "eine Art Lotterie und die Marken dienten als Lotteriebilletts," such being the nomismata of Martial (I, 2, 26; VIII, 78, 9).² 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.³

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,⁴ marriage⁵ and death.⁶ To the latter those who came made the usual contribution of a coin, and it is in these ritual "Pfennigcollecten" that Mommsen sees so much of Roman bribery and corruption take its rise.⁷ The Fortuna of the dice and the Circus⁸ was likewise the sponsor of birth-

1. The element of chance is seen in the regulation that people had to catch their contribution to the feast in Sparta, Athen., IV, 141d, 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; Friedländer, 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. Semita. p. 343 emphasizes the scramble for meat as a necessary part of the oldest Semitic sacrifice as described by Nilus. Athen., IV, 35^a describes the Thracians as throwing the portions at their feasts.

2. Rostovseff, Blattesserae, p. 56

3. H. Dessau, Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924-30), I: 339

4. Pliny, Epist., X, 117; on the occasions for spectacles, feasts, and distributions, O. Teller, de Spectaculis, etc., pp. 1-23, the same occasions call for any or all of the three forms of celebration.

5. Supra, p. 92

6. Kirchmann, de Funeribus, on Libitina

7. Mommsen, de Collegiis et Sodalitibus, p. 55; R.G., I, 787

8. Belgw, pp. 201ff

day and initiation rites of individuals and corporations.¹ On the occasions which lent themselves to distributions the line between public and private cult disappeared; the strenae were given in their proper time ²⁵

τιμὴν δαίμωνος τιμῶς .²

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 clientela, 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 was applied. Both these things have been thoroughly investigated, and we shall do no more than to reconcile Walde's interpretation of the name with Mommsen's of the status of client.

At the feast of the loaves and fishes Jesus "commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the green grass."² 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."³ The year-feast is a lectisternium.⁴ At the revived feast of the Jews "all the congregation of them ... made booths and sat under the booths."

1. W. Otto, RE, VII, 32-33

2. Lyons, de Mens., IV, 4

3. Math., XIV, 19 (grass); Mark, VI, 39 (green grass); Luke, IX, 15; Jahn, VI, 10

4. On the Iovis Epula as lectisternia, Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 425; 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

seats." ¹ To be sure, what else was one to do? As natural as the act of

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. Odys., III, 38) in which the arrangement in companies of nine recalls the year-feast) and suggests on the strength of Athen., IV, 145c; II, 48d, 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, Abnenbild 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 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.

1. Neh., VIII, 17

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."¹ The chamber of the Babylonian temple wherein the god was entertained contained a table and a couch.² 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.³ 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.⁴ In Crete the house in which strangers were feasted was called the *καλὴν τῆρεν*,⁵ while the natives of a place shared the public meals *καθήμενοι*,⁶ 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 himself in a reclining posture" had a claim upon the hospitality of the people.⁷ In celebrating the *panegyris* at Naucratis the people "after reclining arise again and join in

1. Gaster, *Studia Materiali*, XII (1936), 139 frg. 1. 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..."

2. Herodot.,

3. Athen., IV, 152f-153a, the food was *κατακλινεῖν* by the King to the guests.

4. Athen., IV, 145c

5. Athen., IV, 143c

6. Athen., IV, 143e, the specific statement implies that reclining at meals was common, cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* p.47

7. Athen., IV, 138f

libations and prayers. After that they recline and all receive a pint of wine."¹ 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."² The cliché Mosconi shows the people of Egypt reclining in their booths for the festival by the Nile.³ When St. Patrick came to Tara in die Pascae he found a great feast in progress, recumbentibus regibus et principibus et magis apud Loiquire, festus enim dies maximus apud eos erat.⁴ The German "Eolse" shows the same tradition.⁵

In Rome for the feast of Anna Perenna plebs venit ac viridest passim disiecta per herbas potat et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.⁶ Part of the ritual of the Liberalia, for Ceres who was also the Mother Goddess,⁷ was in publico discumbere.⁸ At the Arval feast for the Dea Dia ... reverser in aedem in mensa sacrum fecerunt o(l)lis et ante aedem in cespite promag(ister) et flamen sacr(um) fecer(unt).⁹ which Wissowa interprets: "dann nehmen sie im Tempel auf einem Opfertische unverständliche Handlungen vor, während der Magister und der Flamen auf dem Rasen irgend einen heiligen Gebrauch vollziehen."¹⁰ Since the Arval sacrifices are all concluded in the directions with the refrain ex sacrificio evulati sunt.¹¹ it is not

1. Athen., IV, 149 e

2. Athen., IV, 148 c

3. Cagnat & Chapot, *Manuel*, II:

4. St. Patrick, *Confess.*, II, in *FHR*, V², 150

5. *How the people*

6. Ovid., *Fast.*, III, 523 ff

7. For Anna Perenna as an indigitation of Ceres, Altheim, *Terra Mater*, pp. 93 ff

8. Tertullian, *de Spect.*

9. Hensen, *Act. Frat. Arv.*, p. 26

10. Wissowa, *RE*, II, 1476

11. Hensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.

too much to assume that the saera at the tables included eating. The Ar-
val brethren took their ritual meals discumbentes when they were ad magis-
trum.¹ As to what takes place on the grass, Hansen suggests a libation
of milk or a feast held by the two magistrates apart from the society with
the people.² However one looks at it, the doings on the grass and the feast-
ing 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 Saturnaliens primis ad Saturnalia secunda at the gate, and received
their libelles.³

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 empha-
sis on them. Thus both client and guest have a claim on the protection
of the host,⁴ but while the guest needs such protection during his stay
in Rome, and profits by it, the client's very existence depends upon it.⁵
Though inclined to treat the two forms of hospitality as things differing
in kind, Mommsen still admits that "ehemals Gäste und Klienten zusammen-

1. Hansen, Act. Inst. Arv., pp.12, 25

2. Hansen, op.cit., pp.30-31

3. Hansen, op.cit., pp.26-27

4. It was as a visitor to the harvest feast that Ruth claimed the hospi-
tality 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 ritu-
al of the year-drama, W.E. Staples, "The Book of Ruth", Am. Jnl. Sem.
Lang. & Lit., LIII (1937), 145-158

gefasst worden sind als die Personen in der Treue des Hausherrn."¹ This conclusion we see no reason to dispute.² In view of the dearth of records on the earlier nature of the clientel,³ the writer feels justified in giving considerable weight to the mere name cliens, and rejecting the discredited clivere, to follow Walde in his not yet disproven derivation of the word from clino, "to lean, recline".⁴ 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 anlehnende."⁵ He does not interpret the derivation, as did the clivere 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,⁶ 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

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1. Mommsen, Hist.Ztschr., I: 563-4; Röm. Forsch., I: 379 ff
 2. It is accepted by A. v. Premerstein, RE, IV, 23, 26
 3. Premerstein, op.cit., 25, the records of the oldest clientel "nur sehr später Zeit ... auch nicht selten durch einseitige Parteinahme betrübt."
 4. Alois Walde, Vergl. Wörterbuch der Indogerm. Sprachen (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1930), I: 490; and Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1906); the clivere derivation is accepted by Mommsen and may be found in A. Fick, Vergl. Wörterb. d. Indogerm. Sprachen (Göttingen, 1876), II: 71
 5. Walde, loc. cit.
 6. O. Weiss, Language and Character of the Roman People (London, 1909), pp.5ff

year-feast of the Arval brethren.¹

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,² 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.

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. Civil-
li, Les Prêtres Danseurs de Rome (Paris: Guethner, 1913), p.121

2. This goes for games as well as for feasts, e.g. Suet., Claud., c.11
Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverw., III: 469f

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.¹ The main events were ball-games,² 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".³ 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.⁴ The horse-fight (*hestathing*) was also an important part of the games, a bloody business.⁵ It should be noted that the principal sacrificial animal throughout the North was the horse, and its flesh was the "*Hauptteil des Festschmauses*".⁶ The horse was the inspired animal for prophecy and divination, whether alive or dead.⁷ From none of the games in the North is the element of chance absent. The circular enclosures where combats took place were holy ground;⁸ the duel was ordeal and divination, the King wrestles to establish his authority,⁹ the world itself begins and ends with a ritual combat, "Loki's duel."¹⁰ The combat in the North is duel, ordeal and divination whether kings and champions or entire nations are engaged.¹¹ It is less a test of skill and strength than the searching of fate for the coming year which

1. Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p.504, citing *Eyrb.S.*, 43

2. *Jænsat.*, Lindroth, *Iceland* (Princ'tn, '37), pp.123-4

3. Lindroth, *op.cit.*, p.120

4. Herrmann, *Iceland*, I, 231ff, citing *Ind.*, III, 8

5. Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age*, I: 357-361

6. Wiedner, *Islands Kultur*, p.46; Olaus Magnus describes

7. Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, pp.461ff; Grimm, *N. Mythol.*, I: 621-9

8. Herrmann, *op.cit.*, pp.484-5; Du Chaillu, *op.cit.*, I: 543-4

9. Herrmann, *op.cit.*, p.342; Du Chaillu, I: 546 ff

10. Herrmann, pp. 414 ff

11. *Jænsat.*, pp. 480, 484-5.

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.¹

All over the North on Christmas night the "Stephansritt" was held.² Staffan rides his horse to the water before sun-up and then the animal is sacrificed.² For the enthronement of the King and the sacrifice of the year (til ârbôtar) as for funerals a horse was beheaded.³ 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.⁴ Not only the King has his bride at the year-rites throughout Scandinavian lands, but everyone for the occasion chooses a May-bride for himself⁵ -- the year-rite never loses its 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,⁶ 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.⁷ In the interests

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

2. S. Nitzen, *Beiträge zur arieh. Religionsgeschichte* (Kristiania, 1917),

II: 21 ff

3. Grimm, *Dt. Mythol.*, I: 28-29

4. Mannhardt, *Wald- u. Feld-Kulte*, I: 391-396, 341 ff

5. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 501

6. Grimm, *op. cit.*, II: 724-9

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, *Mythol.*, II: 735, on "Winter" fighting with torches.

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 tener": the index of prosperity is the spring, not the rain gauge.¹ The end of the whole year-rite in Germanic countries is the "rechtliche Besitznahme" of the King,² accompanied by the usually feasting and gaiety, called a "Nachbarstrunk" in one of the most authentically archaic instances.³

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 antiquis mos,⁴ the antiquity of which is attested by the Cursus at Stonehenge.⁵ 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.⁶ Two brothers, Rerex and Porrex,⁷ Fer and Fergnia,⁸ Sinorix and Sinatos⁹ duel for the bride. Or else it is two nations which fight is out at the New Year,¹⁰ the classic case being

1. Grimm, Dt. Mythol., I: 333

2. Mannhardt, Wald- u. Feldkultus, I: 392-3; 341-406

3. L. Badermacher, "Beitr. zur Volkskunde" Wien. Akad. Sitzber., v. 187, 3. Abh. (1918), 13

4. Mansi, XII, 400 (747 A.D.)

5. Of the games at Stonehenge "unter ihnen kann sich das Wagenrennen schon befinden haben", Schuchardt, Alteuropa, p. 81, cf. the chariots on the Scandinavian rocks, Bohuslän, etc.

6. Supra, p. 12f

7. Geoffrey, II, 16; they fought for the kingdom

8. Jubainville, Reu. Cste., pp. 19-20, they were twins

9. Polyanus, VIII, 39

10. Supra, p. 12f

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the battle of Mag-Tured between the Fomorians the the Tuatha De Danann, the "Bad People" and the "Good People", led by their respective god-kings, Tethre, King of the Dead and In Dag-de, "the Good God",¹ 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.² 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.³ The Celtic captives of Hannibal drew lots for the privilege of duelling to the death for prizes set by the king.⁴ The Celtic feasts seem regularly to have broken up with a fight.⁵

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.⁶ This typical year-tale, recalling the dice-game of Hercules for Acca Larentia (the Northern chess-game was played with dice)⁷ presents the issue of the year-combat as a con-

1. Jubainville, *op.cit.*, pp.72 ff; 79-109

2. J.A. MacCulloch, *Lehrb. d. EG.*, II: 608

3. After single challenges had been exchanged between the Tuatha De Danann 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 between two companies of 300 was regarded as final, Jubainville, *op.cit.*, pp.89-93

4. Polyb., III, 62, 5ff

5. Pseudo-Dionysius, in Athen., VI, 246c,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, IX, 108, in *FHR.* V², 191

6. Jubainville, *op.cit.*, pp.176-7

7. Du Chaillu, *Vik. Age.* II: 353

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 grail¹ fails to be obtained.¹ The Grail, which Prof. Schroeder found not mentioned by a single Christian writer,² replaces the Celtic Goddess, who is before all things a spring-goddess,³ and is the "Lady" of chivalry.⁴ Mary Williams has found her as Gwenhwyvar in the year-drama, to be "a green or blue water-horse."⁵ The Celtic Epona is the horse-goddess and at the same time one of the Matres, Mother-goddesses of streams and fertility.⁶ The year-rite of the Illyrian Celts was the sacrifice of horse "to Saturn" by drowning it in a stream.⁷ Water and a good year are inseparable concepts; the mysterious visitor who challenges the King at midnight on the

1. M. Williams, in Speculum, XIII (1938), 50-51

2. von Schroeder, Wien. Akad. Sitzber., CLXVI, 3. Abh., pp. 65ff

"die Befreiung der Wasserströme". The horse motif is very prominent.

3. Albert Dufourcq

REPR. IV(1899), 254

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 Rithne Dagda prince of the T. De Danann went to the castle of the underworld and laid siege to it, whereupon he became a swan, Jubainville, 189f of. Melwas as Orpheus, A.H. Krapp, "Diarmuid" etc. Folklore, v47(1936), 347-361

5. M. Williams, op.cit., p. 47

6. MacCulloch, Lehrb. d. RL., II: 606, 618, the nature of Epona is too well known to need discussion.

7. Serv., ad Georg., I. 12 ... unde Illyricos quatenus ritu sacrorum equum selere aquis immergere; hoc autem ideo, quod Saturnus uicinis et frigoris deus sit.

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turn of the year is Death not in the abstract, but drought and plague.¹ 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.² 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 Belg and King of the Dead, was held to be the inventor of chariot-racing)³ hardie contests,⁴ armed combats or games of chance, the purpose was to establish the authority of the winner for the year.⁵

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1. Alex. H. Krapp, 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. of 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, Iydd. The people of Massalia, note Gallorum, in time of drought and plague would sacrifice a mockingling, Scholar-Juvon, I, 44, in JHR, V¹, 60, ad locum., id., p. 53, Serv. ad Aem., III, 57. The Beltane fires were for "the cattle against the diseases of each year," Cormac, cit., JHR, V³, 247
 2. Juhainville, Dr. Crail, p. 84, Brennos, Brian, etc., is the incarnation of the victorious year-king.
 3. Idem, p. 76-77, at Teltown, to modern times the scene of the great horse-fair. On the Celtic horse in divination, Migne, PL, XXII, 2339, JHR, V², 154
 4. Scholar-Juvon, I, 44, at the Ara Maxima in Lyons (in JHR, V¹, 60-69), this was the most popular form of contest in Wales, the Histedd.
 5. St. Patrick won many kinds of contest, always at the year-feast, and so established his authority, JHR, V², 140ff, 149, 150, 154f, 158, 160, etc.

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The Slavic year-festival was marked by ludi¹ and divination.² Divination for the year was by black and white lots, drawn by priests, whose power to perform that office gave them in places an influence surpassing that of the kings.³ To the central shrine came the people de omnibus Sclavorum provinciis, where was sacrificed in peculium honoris annuatim hominem ... quem sors acceptaverit.⁴ The most solemn mode of divination was by a horse: colligitur populus, voluntas deorum de immolatione sorte inquiriter, ponitur lancea, calcit equus.⁵ The way the horse stepped determined before everything prosperity or failure in war, for in hoc equo ... Svantovitus ... adversum sacrorum suorum hostes bella gerere credebatur.⁶ Svantovit is the god of the Slavs, whose office fluctuates between war and the household.⁷ In the midst of Lent cum rithmis et ludis superstitionis ymages in figura mortis ad flumen deferunt ... cum impetu submergunt, ... asserentes quod mors eis ultra nocere non debeat tanquam ab ipsorum terminis sit consummata et totaliter exterminata.⁸ Here is the year-combat with Death, who is given the usual water-treatment.⁹ The essential elements in the Slavic funeral

1. Ekbo, III, 1, in FHR, IV, 35; Concil. Prag., FHR, IV, 64, 67-68, 70, 77
2. Idem, and Helmold, I, 52; 83, Thietmar, VI, 22; also FHR, IV, 21, 27, 43, 64,
3. Helmold, I, 6, cf. Brückner, Lehrb. d. RG. II: 513
4. Helmold, I, 52
5. Chron. Liven., in Grimm, Pt. Mythol., II: 629; Thietmar, VI, 22; Monach. Priefling., in FHR, IV, 41; Saxo XIV, 564, in FHR, IV, 51; Brückner, loc. cit.
6. Saxo, loc. cit.
7. Brückner, op. cit., II: 510f, 513, 518
8. Concil. Prag., in FHR, IV, 63-64
9. Procop., Bell. Goth., III, 14: *ἐβουσι μὲν τοὶ καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νῦμφας ... καὶ βούουσι αὐτοῖς ἅπανι, τὰς τε μαντείας ἐν ταῖς ταῖς ἐν ταῖς βουταῖς ποιοῦνται.*

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of the earliest times were the strava, "Totenmahl", Jordanis: ingens convessatio, and the trizna, "Kampfspiele, mit Preisen aus der Habe des Verstorbenen."¹ Since the Slavic year-rites were attended by the dead,² 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 demoniac, cosmic and chaotic powers."³ 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."⁴ 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

1. Brückner, Lehrb.d. BG., II:518

2. Idem, p.515; Sermones Polonici, in FRH, IV, 70

3. A.J. Wensinck, "The Semitic New Year and the Origin of Eschatology", Acta Orientalia, I (1922), 159

4. E. Gaster, "The Battle of the Rain and the Sea, an Ancient Semitic Nature-Myth", Iraq, IV¹ (1937), 21; and G. Barton, AOSJ, XLVI (1932),

and the River from the seat of his dominion! Charge onward at a gallop!¹... Is Yahweh wrath against the rivers? ... That thou ridest upon thy horses, and upon thy chariots in triumph."² No one can deny that the fragment deals with a contest, that one of the contestants is a king, and the 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,³ and in still another it is El who is overcome by the great adversary Moth, which has been rendered Moth, "Death"⁴ or "Drought."⁵ Moth taunts the sister of El with the words, "At my pleasure the earth has become a wilderness which will continually devour the field."⁶ But Anath slays Moth and El is brought to life again, passing through a sevenfold barrier to the underworld.⁷ 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."⁸ The King fights

1. Gaster, Iraq, IV¹(1937), 31

2. Id., p.26

3. T.Gaster, "The Harrowing of Baal, a Poem fr.R.S." Acta Orientalia, XVI¹ (1937), 40f; Ginsberg recalls, p.43, that Adonis in some legends is killed by demons of the desert while hunting.

4. A.R. Johnson, in The Labyrinth (ed. S.H. Hooks), pp.91-92, 94-95, does not mention drought.

5. Gaster, op.cit., p.25, and Stude Matl., X (1934), 152 on "the pruning of Moth".

6. G. Barton, AOB, LII (1932), 225

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.

8. Ginsberg, "Ba'al and 'Anat", Orientalia, VII (1938), 10

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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,¹ and is further characterized by the presence of the dead "on the eve of the old New Year" at a great feast.² The Poem of Anean 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.³

The Moth of the Ras Shamra tablets has been compared with the MWT of Psalm lxviii 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.⁴ 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,⁵ and 2) that part of the ritual was a combat. The element of divination was not absent: the choosing of the scape-goat⁶ and the privilege of dicing at the Chanukka⁷ are examples. No

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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 (1937), 42
 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
 3. T. Gaster, Iraq, IV¹, 25
 4. Johnson, in The Labyrinth (ed. S.H. Hooke), pp. 90-92
 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."
 6. Lev., XVI, 8, there are two goats and lots of box-wood are drawn for them.
 7. Wensinck, Act. Or., I (1922), 184, notes the parallel of the Saturnalia.

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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.¹ In this "the essential factor is Jahweh's power over the cosmic Sea which forms the riverhead."² The Mishna says that "at the Feast of the Tabernacles the fate of the world is decided with regard to water,"³ and the penalty for all who do not come to this feast is drought and plague.⁴ The triumphal procession starts from a spring,⁵ and the triumph song was sung "in the places of drawing water."⁶ The connection between a good year and water -- ground water rather than rain⁷ -- need not be demonstrated. The degradation of the King at the instance of

1. Psalm xxix, 10f, discussed by Thackeray, Septuagint, p.47

2. A.R. Johnson, op.cit., p.86, citing Ps. xlv1,5; lxxv, 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; Jona, VIII, 2

3. Rosh Hashshana, I, 2, cited by Wensinck, op.cit., 182, n.1

4. Zech., XIV, 16-17, cf. Thackeray, op.cit., pp.

5. Johnson, op.cit., p.90, citing Ps. lxxviii, 25-26

6. Jud., V, 11. Sir Arthur Evans feels that the Sisera story, especially with regard to the window (vv. 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 midst of the temple in the house of Ydad, god of the sea," etc., which seems to be a cause of disaster, Barton, AOSJ, LV, (1935), 44, 46-48 etc.

7. Robertson Smith, Rel. Smitt., pp.98, 100, 110ff, 104ffn.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."

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Satan, and his final victory and reinstatement as described in Zechariah need no commentary.¹

The year-festival at Mecca is marked by various sorts of contests. There is the running from 'Arafah to Musdalifah which has to be carried out with all possible speed and noise,² the stoning of the devils at Mina,³ and the sa'y, or seven-lap race between Safa and Marwah.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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

1. Zech., III, 1, 3-5, 9; after the issue is settled: "Even he shall build the temple of the Lord; 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.

2. Snouck-Hurgronje, Mekkaansche Feest, p. 166; Juynboll, in Hastings Encl., X, 10, says this race "seems to have a ritual meaning".

3. S.-Hurgronje, op.cit., p. 166f : The tradition is that "onder die steenhoepen bedolven waren." There is a full but not final treatment of the subject by Houtsma, in Kon. Ak. Wetens., VI, 187ff

4. S.-Hurgronje, op.cit., p. 166 f

5. R. Basset, Mille et un Contes, etc., I, 207

6. I. Friedländer, "Zur Gesch. der Chadirlegende, ", AW. XIII (1910), 92-161 compares Chadir with water- and year-gods everywhere.

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was his element.¹

The year-drama has been longest known for what it was in Babylonia.² 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,³ is "vor allem ... das Fest der Zukunftsbestimmung" for the year.⁴ Accordingly the King shakes dice at New Year, just as the gods do at the creation of the world.⁵ 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.⁶ In the Sargonic seals it is a seven-headed flaming dragon with which the god contests,⁷ 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.⁸

But the quick, complete and unqualified victory of the god, consis-

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 "Seedmon 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)

2. A. Jeremias, on "Isdubar", in Roscher, Lex. II¹, 773ff

3. Zimmern, Babyl. Neujahrsfest, pp.3-4

4. Ibid., p.4

5. Ibid., pp.17-18, Hebo writes the results on a tablet.

6. Ibid., pp. 8-9

7. H. Frankfort, Iraq, I (1934), 8ff; Pl. I, a

8. Zimmern, op.cit., pp.25-26

tent with certain political developments,¹ 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."² 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."³

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."⁴ Rescued by the goddess in her celebrated descent to the underworld,⁵ Bel rises again to be hailed by all the people in a song of

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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 Ann., I:335-342, cf. 342-351
 2. Frankfort, Iraq, I, 22
 3. Frankfort, op.cit., p.17, summa, p.
 4. Frankfort, p.22; Zimmern, Babyl. Neujahr., pp.13-15
 5. A. Jeremias, in Roascher, Lex.,
Eath. Schmidt., AOS, XLVI (1926), 161; Zimmern, Bab. Neujahr., p.15

triumph, the "Weltschöpfungslied", as he passes through the sacred gate.¹ Triumph and creation come together as the festival culminates in the marriage of the Year-King and the Goddess.¹ 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"² the fields are inundated: "Like fat, like fat rich cream, Nintu, the mother of the land brought forth."³ In the Sumerian New Year's rite "man also results from a union between the water-gods."⁴ The creation is further thought of as a victory over chaos: during the time that the true King is in the underworld an impostor 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.⁵

1. Zimmern, op.cit., p.15, the song, 'Einst als droben' Zimmern calls a "Neujahrsfestlied". It declares the cosmic nature of the combat.

2. J.D.Prince, "The So-called Epic of Paradise", AOSJ, XXXVI(1916), 95ff;

3. M. Jastrow, "Sumerian & Akkadian Views of Beginnings", AOSJ, v.36(1917), 291-3

4. Ibid., p.300

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., Wensinck, 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. 76ff

of. W. Meissner, in AOSJ, XLV (1925), 284-6. on H. Gunkel, Der arische Weltkönig u. Heiland (Halle: Niemeyer, 1923)

The Asvamedha, 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,¹ was a victory festival, "to ensure the king victory and sovereignty, but also to ensure fecundity to the land."² 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 Asmavedha.³ At the year-rite proper the horse is hailed as "le vrai seigneur, le roi, le meurtrier de Vṛtra, tu es la force bien-faisante!" For "Vṛtra est le mal."⁴ 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.⁵ The Vedas recount that in the beginning there existed only Mr̥tyu, Death, and Āsanāyā, Famine; death sang and as he sang the water was born, the water being the arka, the triumph-song, which is the asvamedha.⁶ As the slayer of Vṛtra the King is Indra,⁷ which he may only be when he is victorious,⁸ and only the victorious King may

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

2. Ibid., p.109

3. Dumont, L'Asvamedha, pp.111-1v; 38; xi

4. Ibid., pp.19-20

5. Ibid., pp. 27

6. Ibid., pp. 5-7; with the water was brought forth the seed of the year, the year not having existed before, p.6

7. Ibid., p. xi; Albright, op.cit., p.112

8. E.W. Hopkins, AOSJ, LI: 312-313

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offer the Asmavedha.¹ 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 asvamedha having been for Varuna as "dieu et seigneur des eaux,"² and representing "the fecundizing inundation of the river" in India as in Babylonia.³ The fasting and privation which the King must undergo during the sacrifice⁴ recall the bonds which Varuna must break⁵ and the hundred-year concealment of Yima,⁶ 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.⁷ The King rides to the great sacrifice on his war-chariot with his bow in his hand, is sacrificed as the horse,⁸ and resurrected at the marriage.⁹ On the last day of the sacrifice there is a song praising the King as the

1. Dumont, op.cit., p.1

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. AOSJ, XLV (1923)

3. Albright, op.cit., p.127

4. Dumont, p. 18

5. Guntert, op.cit. pp. 286 ff

6. Jastrow, in AOSJ, XXXVI: 318

7. Dumont, pp. xli; xv; vii

8. In killing the horse he sacrifices himself, Dumont, pp.101; 183ff; 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.

Great God, after which all depart to their homes.¹

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.² The combat for the kingdom and the queen is the most familiar feature of Persian stories:³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ These horses were the rival elements of fire and water of which all things were made,⁶ 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.⁷ 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.⁸ The contest has been identified with the Vrtra combat in India.⁹ When access to the lake is won it over-

1. Dumont, L'Asvamedha, viii

2. Schaefer, Studien zum antiken Synkretismus (ed. Reitzenstein & Schaefer, Leipzig: Teubner, 1926), pp.225ff

3. The Shah Nahmeh is full of such stories

4. "The Story of the Magic Horse", in 1001-and-One Nights (ed. Lane), II: 150-187

5. Dio Chrysostom, Orat., 36, 42-45, ed. Bude, IV: 16-18

6. Vitruv., VIII, Intd.

7. Dio Chrys., IV, 48-49: 53

8. Lehmann, Lehrb. d. RG., II: 227-8; for a description of the rain-pond A.J. Carney, "Iranian Views of Origins", AOS, XXXVI (1917), 301-2

9. Lehmann, op.cit., p.226

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flows and the glory which is in the lake escapes to the King of Iran, bringing him fertility, wealth and fame.¹ 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."² The horses who struggled for mastery of the age were represented to Dio as yoked to a chariot,³ and the sacred team and chariot are conspicuous objects in the Persian cult.⁴

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,⁵ 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.⁶ He was the impostor, the temporarily victorious Lord of Misrule, and with his overthrow the rightful king comes into his own and the world-order is established.⁷ The great prototype of the true king taking possession is Cyrus.⁸ To become King of Persia one had to enter into the temple of Anahita, the Mother Goddess whose main spheres were water and war,⁹ and to don the robe of

1. Lehmann, Lehrb. d. RG., II: 216, 227

2. Yasht 19, cited by Lehmann, p. 216

3. Dio Chrys., XXXVI, 42 ff, 39f

4. Herodot., VII, 40; 55; Xenoph., Inst. Cyr., VIII, 3, 11-12; Curt.Ruf., Hist. Alex., III, 3, 11;

5. Meissner, "Entstehung des Purimfestes", Ztschr.d.dt.Morgenl.Ges., L (1896), 297f cited by F. Cumont, Rev. Philol., XXI (1897), 150

6. Dio Chrys., Orat., IV, 66-67

7. Wensinck, Acta Orient., I, 183-7

8. H. Gressman, Der Ursprung d. israelit.-jüd. Eschatologie (Götting, 1905) pp. 307ff

9. Strabo, XV, 3, 14-15; XII, 3, 37; Max Sauer, Rassen und Religionen im alten Vorderasien (Heidelberg: Winter, 1930), Bk. II, Pt. III, "Anahita" a very full treatment.

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Cyrus and eat certain condiments, whereby he became the god-king.¹

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.² 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.³ A newly-found account of the combat at Abydos on the first day of spring shows the King fighting for the god: "Pharaoh ... fells 'Apep for thee, (as) he cuts up the Ill-Disposed One for thee ... even as he fells all thy foes for thee daily."⁴ Osiris himself who is here being rescued is in the earliest records the dead king, personified

1. Plut., ARTAXERXES, c.3

2. Herodot., II, 63 ; for the combat motif, H. Grossmann, Zur Aufarbeitung des Osiris (Bd.23, Heft.3, of Alt.Ori., 1923), pp.31-33

3. The rite is thus summarized by C.H. Deedes, in The Labyrinth (ed. S.

H. Hoeks), pp.22-23, largely from the Ramessum Papyrus "the contents of which date from the first dynasty." A like account may be found

in Erman, Ägypten, p.318, who says that such a dramatization was characteristic of all Egyptian festivals.

4. R.O. Faulkner, "The Bremer-Rhind Papyrus", Jnl.Eg. Arch., XXXII (1937), 157

by Thoth, to whom the people pray to bring about the rise of the Nile, that being his principal function.¹ The combat does not have to be with sticks and stones, and there are records in which it takes the various ritual forms.² The coronation of the Pharaoh, "culminating in the sacred marriage", followed the pattern of the Osiris ritual.³

Osiris as Thoth, "the personification of dead kingship", is the moon in earliest Egypt.⁴ The ancestor-king of the Africans is likewise the moon, and his death assures water.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷

1. Etienne Drioton, "Le Roi defunt, Thoth et la Crue du Nil", Et. Relig. I²(1933), 39ff

2. Greenmann, op.cit., passim

3. C.H. Doides, op.cit., p.24; the marriage in the Osiris cult is given special treatment by G.D. Hornblower, "Osiris and his Rites", BMJ. LXVII (Nov., 1937), 157ff, 176

4. Drioton, loc.cit.

5. Frobenius, Erithraea, p.229, and Kulturgeschichte Afrikas (Wien: Phaidon, 1933), pp. 160ff

6. Frobenius, Kulturgesch. Afr., p.162

7. Frobenius, Erithraea, p.202

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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 Organisation ausgehen konnte."¹ The factions are called "the Men of the City of Hatti" and "the Men of the City of Masa". 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."²

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".³ On the Lasalı 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.⁴ That

1. L. Badermacher, Wien. Akad. Sitzungsber., v.187³ (1918), 14-15

2. K. Ziegler, "Das Spiegelmotiv im Gorgomythos", ARW. XXIV (1926), 9-12

A. Lesky, "Ein ritueller Scheinkampf bei den Hethitern", ARW. XXIV, 79

3. Lucian, Dea Syr., c. 49 ; of the visiting gods in Babylon and elsewhere Wansink, ActaOr., I (1922), 177: "We cannot get rid of the idea that

4. the gods themselves celebrate their own birth at this great feast of creation." cf. Lucian, ib., c. 7

4. The Lasalı Kaya marriage has been discussed with some freedom by Elderkin, "The Marriage of Zeus and Hera and its Symbol", AJA. XLI (1937), 426

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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,¹ there the fertility rites of Dionysus were practiced to procure prosperity for the year, etc.² -- 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.³ The combat motif is to be seen in the ceremonies of the Galli, in which the defeated year-god is glorified; *τῶνονταί τε τοὺς πῆχας καὶ τοῖσι νύτοισι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῷπτονται.* (*Dea Syr.*, c.50)

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 Septerion" 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.⁴ The Septerion 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.⁵ The "Carrying out of Death"⁶ the visit to the underworld⁷ 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 names of Python and Apollo into the

1. Lucian, *Dea Syr.*, c.12-13, it was the shrine of Deucalion, father of the *γένεας τοῦ δευτέρου*, where the re-people of the world began.

2. *Ib.*, c. 16-17

3. *Ib.*, c. 42

4. Plut., *Qu. Gra.*, no. 12

5. *Idem*, cf. Halliday's note in his ed., pp. 67-70

6. The Charila festival, Plut., *loc.cit.*, cf. Harrison, *Themis*, p.416

7. Halliday, *op.cit.*, p.71; a favorite theme with Harrison, *Themis*, pp:416-423

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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 *μῖνυμα στρατιωτικῆς ἀφαικῆς*, 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.¹ 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 aussiehenden Heere voranschreitend wie der Leithammel der Herde."² As "Leithammel" the god fits into an 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.³ Nilsson follows Wide in comparing the Staphylodromos with those harvest races of which Mannhardt has collected so many examples in the North of Europe.⁴ There are two ways of explaining what happened in the Greek year-combats; one may treat them as their own ex-

1. Athen., IV, 141 e,f; Nilsson, G.F., p.123

2. Nilsson, loc. cit..

3. It was distinctly a form of divination for the year; if the victim was caught *δραβόν τι προσδοκῶντι κατὰ τὰ ἐπιχώρια τῆ πόλεως*.

if not it was a bad sign, Bekk. anecd., I: 306, 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.

4. Nilsson, op.cit., p.121

cause 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,¹ 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: *ἐὺν διενάστατο Τιμᾶς.*² Whatever the place or time of the 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."³ The Subject of the agon is the succession of one life-cycle to another; "Muttererbe, Vätermord, Sphinxstung" occur together in a single complex, the year-drama.⁴

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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.
 2. Hes., Theog., 881, in Preller, Griechische Mythologie (Berlin, 1860), I: 49. The battle lasted ten annæaterids, and ended with the confinement of the Titans to the depths, ib., p. 48, Hes., Theog., 501ff, 617ff.
 3. Rohde, Psyche, p. 17.
 4. Weinreich, on C. Robert's "Oedipus", in ARW, XXIII (1925), 143-4. Carney 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 an 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.

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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 enamoured.¹ 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.² As typical knight-errant he has been compared with Heracles,³ who won brides and kingdoms by wrestling with kings,⁴ running foot-races,⁵ or winning other forms of contest⁶, including games of pure chance.⁷ The mythical fight for the kingdom between Proteus and Acrisius⁸ is matched by the supposedly historical one between Mopsus and Amphilo-ohus.⁹ 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.¹⁰ The year-combat is not so abstract a thing

1. Apollod., III, 15, 8; II, 4, 7

2. Pausan., I, 17, 4

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.

4. Pausan., IV, 36, 3; V, 7, 4; cf. III, 18, 16; VI, 19, 12; IX, 11, 6; III, 16, 4, etc.

5. Pausan., V, 7, 4

6. Thus the archery contest, Schol. Euryp. Hippol., 545, and the eating contest, Pausan., V, 5, 4; Apollod., II, 5, 9; II, 7, 6

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. Polyaen., I, 6

8. Pausan., II, 25, 6

9. Strabo, XIV, 5, 16

10. J.H. Rose, "Explanation of Ritual Combats" . *Folklore*, XXXVI (1925), 322-331

as a mere imitation of the elements, though the victorious king was the guarantor of a good year, his particular enemy in the combat being drought or flood.¹

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.² Endymion set his 50 sons to run a race for the kingdom at Olympia,³ as Danaus had suitors run a race for his 50 daughters.⁴ The 50 daughters, the 50 weeks of the year,⁵ mark the contest as a year-rite, and Cornford cannot be far from the truth in regarding the Olympic Games as "originally and essentially a New Year's festival -- the inauguration of a 'Year'."⁶ Whether the contest to choose the King of the year was originally a foot-race, as Cornford avers,⁷ the idea of combat

1. In time of drought the Aeginetians 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 cled are associated in rites having to do with the transmission of the land from one ruler 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 Hercules, Schol. Ap. Rhod., II, 1248
cf. Apollod., II, 5, 9; II, 7, 6.

2. Pausan., VI, 21, 7-11

3. Pausan., V, 1, 2-3

4. Pausan., III, 12, 2, cf. the race for Penelope, ib., 13, 4

5. Athen., II, 57 e, f; XIII, 556 f

6. Cornford, in Themis, p. 216

7. Ibid., pp. 235-242; he holds, p. 234, that an original flight and pursuit as at the Karneia "degenerate into a mere athletic competition. Mittem has recently expressed the opinion that the festivals of Greece seem

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.¹ In the Lake Tritonis rite she was the object of an actual combat of the girls.²

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 the Agon is the contest of the "Year" against its enemy, Light against Darkness, Summer against Winter,³ and, it might be added, water against drought, or death.⁴ The goat

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

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.

2. Herodot., IV, 180

3. G. Murray, "Ritual Forms in Greek Tragedy", in Themis, pp.341-363

4. Prof. Murray, ib., p.340, cites Hippolytus as the best example of an "Eniautos-Daimon" for whom a ritual annual lamentation was practised. 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 "ἑρπὶς λόγος bei Gottheiten des Wassers", L. Radermacher, Hippolytos und Thetis (Wien, 1916, being v.182, Abh. 3, in Wien. Akad. Sitzber.).

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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.¹

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 Paenonians 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.² 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,³ in which he clashes with Usener's seasonal-combat theory.⁴ 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.⁵

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", 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

2. Herodot., V, 1

3. Nilsson, G.F., pp. 402-8

4. H. Usener, "Heilige Handlung: Caterva", ARW, VII (1904), 297-313

5. Which explains the military nature of the Karnais, Supra, p. 145

Malalas, Chron., VII, ed. Dindorf, pp. 173-4, has described (from what source is unknown) how all the people of the land would come to Olympia for the ἐτήσιον (εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα) of Oenomaus; they divided in two hosts, the messenei and the paralioi, 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."

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.¹ These are the elements of his mid-winter year-festival.² 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.³

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 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.

1. Preller, Gr. Mythol., I: 519ff; W. Otto, Dionysos (Frankfort, 1933) pp. 141ff

2. Nilsson, G.R., pp. 280 ff

3. S. Angus The Mystery-religions and Christianity (London: J. Murray, 1925), pp. 43-47; 51-52; 58ff; 81f; 94ff, etc., combat is always the theme.

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 Subura¹ and may well recall the time when those two districts were separate communities.² 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,³ and an episode of yet another, the contest of chariots in the Circus.⁴ 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 pagana-lia, 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 Wissowa⁵ who, noting that in Cicero these two groups are

1. Festus, ed. Lindsay, pp.190, 191

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 Tuscians 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 as natural as between members of one community.

3. Dio, XLIII, 24, 4

4. The horse had to be from the winning team, Plut., Qu. Rom., no.97; Festus, loc.cit.

5. Wissowa, Ges. Abhandlungen, pp. 236-7

always mentioned along with the collegia of the compitalia, assumes that they kept their identity as such right through republican times.¹ 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.² Now the two colleges of Salii at Rome were the Palatini and the Collini, the latter known also as the Agonales or Agonenses.³ The Salii engaged in a year-combat, whatever may have been the purport of it,⁴ and the connection between the Agonales and the December Agonalia⁵ 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.⁶

1. Wissowa, Abh., pp.238-9

2. Festus, ed.L., p.458

3. Dion. Hal., II, 70; Varro, LL, VI, 14, cited by Cirilli, Prêtres Danseurs, pp.31-32, who discusses reasons given to explain the dualism.

4. Cirilli, op.cit., pp.137-148; J.G. Fraser, G.B., II, 157-182, discussed by Fowler, Rom. Fest., pp.39-43

5. At the Agonalia rex hostiam immolabat. Festus, p.9, who further derives the name Agonensis from the agantum of the rite. The rex in question has been held to be the rex sacrificulus whom the Salii expelled from the city.

6. Cirilli, op.cit., p.147: "Il s'agit pour eux de livrer bataille aux esprits nuisibles, aux ennemis de la cite, du peuple, des troupeaux."

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An immemorial rivalry existed between the Palatine and the Aventine.¹ This feud was inherited from the kings Cacus and Evander, the "Badman" and the "Goodman".² When Hercules came to Rome he took up the cause against Cacus, god of death and fire³ (the unfailing adversaries in the year-combat), when he took over the charge of the Ara Maxima, to which the tithes of war as well as of the fields were brought for the year-feast.⁴

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.⁵ The very essence of the nature of the year-god Janus is a dualism and a conflict.⁶ The need-fires lit for his festival⁷ recall the fires of the Palilia, another year-rite, which the ancients represented as a conflict between fire and water.⁸

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.⁹ Even the Roman boxers fought in two companies.¹⁰ A important event-

1. Schwegler, Röm. Gesch., IV, 374-5

2. Preller, Röm. Mythol., pp. 335, 647-8; Schwegler, loc. cit.

3. Virgil, Aen., VIII, 190 ff, Preller, loc. cit.

4. Supra, p. ; the former possessor of the altar, Semo Sancus was pre-eminently a god of combat, always at war with the powers of darkness, cf. Schwegler, op. cit., IV, 385

5. Plut., Romulus, c. 9, 10, cf. R. Harris, Pious who is also Zeus (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 61 ff

6. Supra, p. 8

7. Ovid., Fast., III, 143; Macrobi., Sat., I, 12, 6; Huth, Janus, pp. 70 ff

8. Ovid., Fast., IV, 794 ff

9. Dion. Hal., II, 71

10. H. Usener, Kleine Schriften (Leipzig, 1894), IV, 435, and ARW. VII: 297 ff

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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.¹ Of the great variety of combats between man and beasts in the arena nothing need be said, since they were not necessarily part of the great festival. To complete 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.²

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.

1. "Les deux chœurs décrivaient, en dansant, des cercles tour à tour fermés et ouverts (CIL. II, 3853)... se croisant dans leur parcours et en tournant en sens inverse l'une de l'autre" (Plut., Num., c.13), Cyril-ll, op.cit., p.99, cf. this with Verg., Aen., VI, 550ff

2. Friedländer, Sittengesch. Roms, 8. Aufl., II: 337-347

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.¹ But the

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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: 45ff, while both preserved the original ritual, the triumph of the Circus thus becoming a "Triumphprozession ohne triumph", Röm. 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: 485, 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 römischen Triumphs", Hermes, XLIV (1909), 229-230. On one thing all are agreed: that originally there was but one triumph. For 500 years, says Hissen, Römisches Staatsrecht, p. 125, "man triumphtierte auf dem Capitol oder man triumphtierte überhaupt nicht ... man zog zurück zu den Göttern von denen man ausging, um ihnen Dank für die Hilfe zu bringen." So Laquer, op. cit., p. 225

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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.¹ 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?²

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.³ The games held there were preceded by auspices, for they were held outside the city.⁴ The war was ended on the Capitol, and then followed another going forth, another taking of auspices, another combat and another victory!⁵ The triumph is not only a returning from war but it is likewise a going out to war;⁶

1. See note on preceding page

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.

3. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., pp. 127, 452; Mommsen, Röm. Forsch., II: 45-46: "Sicherlich wird ehemals der Triumphalzug des Siegers nach dem Capitol und der Zug desselben vom Capitol zu dem Spielplatz ein unsertrennlich es Ganges gebildet haben." Which does not explain why a double Ganges.

4. Festus, ed. L., p. 296

5. Auspices are not the ending but the beginning of an enterprise, Livy, I, 36, 6

6. The original triumph was the latter, according to Radin, in Stud. Salvatore Riccobono, II: 25, citing Livy, XXIV, 39, 9

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 Mommensen would bring the victory celebration to its final close was also the very place from which the triumph to the Capitol took its start.¹ One left the field of battle and presently 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.² In speaking of the pompa of the Circus, Tertullian declares, etsi unam tensem trahat, Jovis tamen plaustrum est.³ Servius defines Currus as per esse cum 'Thense' qua decorum simulacra portantur.⁴ 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,⁵ among the founder's relics, having been placed there, it was said, by Romulus himself.⁶ Another parallel

1. Cagnat, art. in Dancemb., Dict., V: 488

2. Suet., Vesp., c.5, it was a sure portent of future rule.

3. Tertullian, de Spect., c.7

4. Serv., Aen., I, 17

5. J. Carcopino, Vergile et les Origines d'Ostie (Paris: Bocard, 1919), pp. 99 ff; 670-1; he was also war-god and constantly associated with Mars, Wissowa, in Roscher, Lex., VI: 340 ff

6. Dion. Hal., II, 54, 2, in Platner, Top. Dict., p.583

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is the war-chariot of Juno, kept in the shrine with her arms¹ and appearing in the Campus Martius on the occasion of games.² The sacred quadriga was a fixture of the Capitol, upon which the prosperity of the city depended.³ 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,⁴ and of his successors to the supreme authority. It has recently been pointed out by Deubner that the triumphal car was copied from the royal chariot, which beget 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,⁶ 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

1. Verg., Aen., I, 16-17; Ov., Fast., VI, 46

2. To the distress of H. Jordan, "Bedenken über curia, curulis u. curulis, curritis, Hermes, VIII (1874), p.200

3. Plut., Publicola, c.13; Aust., Die Religion der Römer (Münster, 1899), pp. 49-55

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.

5. L Deubner, "Die Tracht des röm. Triumphators", Hermes LXIX (1934), 320

6. The formal monument to every triumphator was a quadriga, Pliny, NH, XXXIV, 19, 14

the kingship could have a triumph, hold the maiora auspicia, or conduct the Great Games.¹ 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.² The simulacra are surely not invented by the poet for the purpose of contrast with real and solid gains, but must refer to the regular ritual victory following the ritual combat.³

1. Laqueur, in Hermes, XLIV: 229;

2. Pliny, Paneg., XVI, 3

3. Every Greek city would fete victors returning from the games, as from war, with a true military triumph, Vitruv., IX, Intd. Evidence for the actual participation of the chariot or 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.

It is not necessary to settle the much-disputed question of whether the triumphator was the incarnation of Jupiter O.M. or not¹ in order to place him in the year-rite, for his "Vorbild ... ist natürlich der Rex."² Only one man could triumph at one time, even when the highest power was shared by consuls,³ and, since the triumphator had to hold the imperium as well as the auspicium, in Imperial times only the Emperor could triumph.⁴ 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.⁵

1. The controversy has been fully outlined by Deubner in Hermes, LXIX (1934), 316 ff.
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
3. Cagnat, in Daremb., Dict., V: 488
4. Ibid., p.491; Laqueur, Hermes, XLIV, 226 ff
5. Hermann Nesselhauf, "Die feldherrlichen Gewalt der römischen Kaisers", Klio, XXX (1937), 313ff. 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 "funktionale 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.29f

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.¹ 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 mere head or one of the factions" (*στρατιάς*) and uttered any shouts that he saw other people wished him to utter."² This was more than a whim of the Emperor, who took seriously the old practices ex antiquitate repetita.³ Caius 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.³

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.⁴ The purpose of these insignia Deubner would explain on magical grounds, as certainly they do not suggest the sprightly practical: ivory sceptre,

1. cf. M. Büdinger, "Die Römische Spiele und der Patriarchat", Wiener Abad. Sitzungsber., v.123³ (1891), 41

2. Dio, LXI, 31, 7; Suet., Claud., c.21

3. Below, p.188

4. Deubner, Hermes, LXIX (1934), 319-320

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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.¹ We are asked further to regard the red face of the triumphator as exerting a positive influence, it is "blühend, strahlend," etc.² 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.³ 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.⁴ The Sphinx, a divine king, was known as Rhodopis in classical times, its face being painted with a bright red lacquer traces of which were visible as late as the 14th century A.D.⁵ The scarlet hair of the murdered Nisus was matched by the golden one of the likewise murdered Pterelaus.⁶ Red, as Eva Wunderlich has shown is preeminently the color of death.⁷ To match the red face of the Sphinx Egypt has pre-

1. Deubner, *op.cit.*, p.322; description of the triumphator in Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, 2.ed., p.205

2. Deubner, *op.cit.*, p.321

3. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, I: 61-62

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.

5. Weigall, *Hist. of the Pharaohs*, I: 177

6. Apollod., III, 15, 8; II, 4, 7

7. E. Wunderlich, "Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe, etc." *BZw.*, XI(1925), 1ff; F. von Duhn, "Rot und tot", *AW.*, IX (1906), 1ff

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dressed 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.¹ The latter were brought out for the Roman funeral processions which resembled nothing so closely as a regular triumph.² 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.³ 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.⁴ Both these people also went to war in red.⁵ When Augustus died gold rings were changed for iron,⁶ and the Roman triumphator wore an iron ring, too.⁷ It is not necessary for

1. Bethe, Ahnenbild, p.8

2. Marquardt, A. Man, Das Privatleben der Römer (2.ed. Leipzig, 1886), I: 351-354

3. Ibid., pp.354-7

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 or red earth, F. von Duhn, "Rot und tot", ANW. IX (1906), 2-7. Other cases of red burial are cited by Ernst Sauter, Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod (Leipzig, 1911), 191ff. It is important to note that the dead in red burial are all or partly painted, cf. Serv., Aen. III, 67

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

6. Suet., Aug., c. 100

7. Heckenbach, BzV. IX (1910), 94

the writer to deal extensively with a theme which has been so thoroughly worked out as "Rot und tot"¹ 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.² 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 sepulchres" 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.³ Red is the color of death in opposition to white: at the triumph of Aemilius Paulus the soldiers all wore red, the people white.⁴ At the beginning of a war the Roman Consul would put on a purple trabea and open the double doors;⁵ red is here the badge of authority in war.⁶

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), 525ff, and other items in the bibliography on the subject in Huth, Janus, pp. 58-59, n. 277

2. Cagnat, in Daremb., Dict., V: 490

3. Plut., Aristid., c. 21

4. Livy, XLV, 39; cf. Appian, B.C., V, 13, 128

5. Verg., Aen., VII, 607ff

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 Neophim ... unto the Hollow men ... harness horses ... ascend the chariots," etc., in which war and the underworld are the motifs, Saster, Stud. e Natl. XIII (1937), pp. 37-40

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It so happens that the colors of the year-combat at Rome were red and white. The Salii¹ and the mounted juventus² appeared in those colors, which also served to designate the original factions of the Circus.³ The date and origin of the latter practice is unknown.⁴ The custom was for team, chariot and driver to be decked in these colors,⁴ 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.⁵ The famous prophecy of Merlin, beginning Vas rubee draconi, was inspired by the sight of the Red dragon and the White fighting in the pool.⁶ St. Patrick dispelled the three-days darkness caused by the King's daughters, Ethne Alba et Fedelm Rufe who met him at the spring.⁷ A lengthy demonstration is not necessary of the

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1. They Salii wore Xalhai mteai alateiai, along with short scarlet tunics. This seems to be of Etruscan origin, like the toga praetexta and the laticlave. Cirilli, Prætres Danseurs, pp. 94; 82-83.
 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.
 3. Pollack, RE, VI, 1954; Saglio, Daromb., Dict., I², 1198-9.
 4. Pollack, loc. cit., will admit only that it was "gewiss schon frühzeitig".
 5. D. Mackenzie, The Migration of Symbols (London, 1926), pp.
 6. Geoff., VII, 3, cf. J. Hammer, "A Commentary on the Prophetia Merlini," Speculum, X (1935), 6.
 7. Life of Patrick, FHR, V², 144-5; 153.

constant association of the two colors in European year-rites.¹

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,² between the red torches and the milk ponds in Egypt,³ as between the red and the white kingdoms.⁴ The Vrtra contest appears as the fight with Orthros, the red hell-hound, or with Hydra the water-monster.⁵ in Greece as in the Asvamedha.⁶ We have noted

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.

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, 11)

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

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

5. Schweitzer, op.cit., p.234; the red dog of Heracles, p.217

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, "Dahors l'homme, Dahors le chien!"

that the Vrata 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.¹ 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.²

We pass over examples from the Far East³ and Africa⁴ to indicate

1. Supra, pp. 142f

2. Xenoph., Instit. Cyr., VIII, 3, 11-12

3. Carl Hentze, Symboles Lunaires, p. 164 makes much of the rivalry depicted on 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 Religionsgesch., I: 216. cf. R.S. Britton, in Harvard Jnl. As. Stud. v: II: 1, on the colors of divination.

4. When the famous African hero Rande 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, Erythræa, pp. 157 ff

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 red¹ while the return or rather the rebirth into a new life was accompanied by the donning of white robes.² The other form is the tug-of-war between the Erythraeans and the Chians.³

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 Latini⁴ 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,⁵ and was further the garment of Picus, equum domitor and ancestor-king of the Romans.⁶ 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.

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

2. The initiate declares that he has "fulfilled his red and bleeding feasts ... robed in pure white I have borne me clean..." in a frg. from Euripides' "Cretans", cited in Harrison, Themis, p.51. The donning of white to signify liberation from death, sink etc., is a familiar practice, e.g. the case of Gelasius, Migne PG, v.92, 684-8

3. Pausan., VII, 5, 3, the name "Chians" being derived, Pausan. says, VII, 4, 6, from "snow". With the floating of the image as yr.rite cf. Lucian, Dea Syr., c.7, and the hair ropes, Farnell, Gk. Hero Cults, pp.

4. Discussed by Cirilli, Prætres Danseurs, pp.82-83

5. Wissowa, RE, II, 1477

6. Verg., Aen., VII, 612; the same garment worn by Flamen Dialis and Flamen Martialis. Serv., Aen., III, 190 cf. Cirilli, loc.cit.

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,"¹ 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."² 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.³ Who held authority participated in that triumph, whether the King or the whole body of Patres who were his successors.⁴ Since

1. Mommsen, Röm. Staater., I: 44

2. Id., 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

3. On the bestowing of the title by acclamation, Johannes Stroux, "Die Antike", XIII (1937), 199ff; 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 Tibullus, I, 7, 5-6 (1913), but rejected by Radin, op.cit., p.26, n.5

4. M. Bédinger, in Wien. Akad. Sitzber., v.123³ (1891), 40, citing Dion.

Hal., VII, 72: οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐξουσίαν.

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the records are virtually silent on the subject of the Roman kingship,¹ 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.² To mark the beginning of a war the Consul opened a gate and through it in all probability the army marched forth,³ as through it they returned in triumph.³ In both cases a sort of "rite de passage" is implied,⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ Hence an important part of

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."

2. Livy, I, 19

3. Verg., Aen., VII, 601ff; 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", Röm. Mitt., XXXVI (1921), 14ff. The main thing however is, as Wissowa states, p.105, "von Haus aus war es ein Tor, und diente als Durchgang."

4. Deubner, Lehrb. der RG., II, 426

5. Cagnat, in Daremb., Dict., V, 488

6. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr., I, 97, 103

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the year-rite was the greeting at the gate: the index pacis bellique was the gate of the temple of Janus the year-god.¹

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.² The bestowing of the Imperium by the army in the field needs no discussion;³ 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 εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ μόνον ἄξιον ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ρώμης.⁴ 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.⁵ The routed Pompey was shown the same courtesy by the people of Larissa.⁶ Whole cities poured forth to hail the victorious Scipio.⁷ 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

1. Livy, I, 19: Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem pacis bellique, fecit (Numa); apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clangus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret.

2. See the discussion by Stroux, Die Antike, XIII (1937), 205-6

3. A. Rosenberg, RE, 9:1, 1140

4. Joseph., Bell. Jud., VII, 69, 71.

5. Plut. Fab. Max., c. 18

6. Val. Max., IV, 5, 3

7. Livy, XXX, 45

of such obsequiousness, but upon discovering that it was not for him.¹

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.² 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."³ The Christians adopted the practice, preserving intact the double sense of kingship and victory.⁴ Since we have noted

1. Julian, Misopog., 358 ff;

2. Zimmern, Rel. Neu., pp.18-22, p.19 on the King as starter.

3. Talmud, ed. Goldschmidt, I: 213

4. "Behold they 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. Dölger, Antike und Christentum,

I: 23 ff

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the the Davidic King was a year-king and the rites in which he appears New Year's rites,¹ 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,"² etc. as a true ritual acclamation.

"When King Attalus and the Roman ambassador came up from the 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."³ 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} of the consulship.⁴ 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."⁵ 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

1. Supra, p.135

2. Cantic., III, 10-11, including a description of the red chariot.

3. Polyb., XVI, 25

4. Cic., Pro Murena, xxxiii

5. Id., xxxiv

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giver.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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 πλὴθὺς ἄνευσα μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ κρότου καὶ εὐφροσύνης accompanied him to his house.⁴ 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-

1. Sine eos, qui omnia a nobis sperant, habere ipsos quoque aliquid quod nobis tribuere possint ... suffragium, Cic., Pro Muren., xxxiv

2. Cic., loc.cit.; he emphasizes the great antiquity of the arrangement.

3. Mommsen, Röm. 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.

4. Dion. Hal., IV, 37

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ference was at all times a usurpation."¹ 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 salutations² 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 "revolutionäre Leibwachen" which made social stability impossible.³

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.⁴ 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,⁵ and the reader will recognize that all three have the common main feature of acting in triumphal rites.

1. Radin, op.cit., p.30

2. e.g. Cic., Fl. 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 thyrsos and salutations are essence of Roman life.

3. Gelzer, Nobilität der r. Rep., p.60

4. Friedländer, Sittengesch. II, 299

5. F.B. Perarrinus, "De Veterum Acclamationibus et Plausu", in Graevius, Thesaur., VI, 134 ff

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The Emperor speaking on the rostrum was in a position to receive acclamation. It was in a kind of conversation with Servius that the people expressed their faith in him. It was at the Lupercalia pro regis that Caesar was offered the kingly crown¹ 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.¹ By the universal will Augustus was declared Pater Patriae, first of all by the Plebs and after that by the Senate, neque decreto neque acclamatione but by a speaker, who announced: senatus te consentiens cum populo R. consulat patriae patrem.² 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.³ This is particularly enlightening since the acclamation

1. Suet., Caes., c.79

2. Suet., Aug., c.58

3. 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

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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 senator together cried: Et Traianus 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 iube, milites pugnent: dixerunt tricies,¹ 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, first of the Secutors" six hundred times was simply carrying a familiar practice to an undue degree.² 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,³ 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 very few themes, although

1. Hist. Aux., Tacitus, c.4-5

2. Dio, lxxii, p.1221; cf. Gibbon's comment, Decl. & Fall., ch. IV, I:147-8 (1845 ed.)

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.

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.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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 *ὡς περ χορὸς εἰς ἀμοιβαία συνηκροτούμενος*, when he gave them the signal by waving his toga.⁴ He was following the custom of the games,⁵ where the Romans recited long sentences in unison to the Emperor long before existence of the better-known repartees between the ruler and

1. See the description in W.G. Holmes, The Age of Justinian and Theodora (London, 1905), I: 102

2. Theophan., anno 524, ed. Niebuhr, I: 279-281

3. Supra, p.

4. Plut., Pompey, c.48

5. cf. Dio, 62, 20: at Caesar's funeral Antony was a choregos, and the lamentations were chanted by all the demos, "like the chorus in a play", carrying on a musical dialogue with Antony, Appian, B.C., II, 20, 146

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people in the Hippodrome.¹ The old Roman occentatio, a public denunciation chanted clare et cum quodam canore² by groups of people and perhaps taken up by the whole market-place or street³ provides a venerable native background for the public recitations of the Romans, Usener seeing in it a primitive "Volksjustiz".⁴ The flagitatio was the same sort of thing, but sung in antiphonary fashion after a regular set pattern, closely resembling the "Wechselgesang der militärischen Spottlieder."⁴ 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?⁵ Yet when we hear of acclamation it is always for a triumph.⁶ 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."⁷ This public acclaim made the king. By it Saul was "turned into another man",⁸ and when it was refused him upon his failure to gain victory he was not longer recognized as king.⁹ 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 étaient habituels entre le prince et ses sujets,"¹⁰ and one

1. Thus Dio, 78, 10

2. Festus, ed. L., pp. 190, 192

3. Malim isti modi amicos foris occensos quam foris, Plaut., Pseud., 1145, cf. H. Usener, "Italische Volksjustiz", in Rh. Mus., LVI and Kl. Schr., IV, p. 367

4. Usener, op. cit., p. 379, cit. Livy, IV, 53, 11; Pliny, NH., XIX, 144

5. Joh. Schmidt, RE, I, 150, makes a highly rationalized attempt to explain the origin of the acclamatio with the Senate.

6. Schmidt, op. cit., 145 ff. for the talassio see below, p. 201f.

7. I Sam., X, 24

8. I Sam., X, 6; VIII, 19

9. Id., XI, 12

10. C. Diehl, "

in Byzantion, I (1924), 210

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.¹ The Emperor wishing to punish a rebellious monk summoned all the people to a silentium in the Hippodrome. Emperor: "God has heard my prayers!" People: "When has he not?" Emp.: "God has delivered the 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.² 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 antiphonary chanting of the throng in the theater, i.e. in true ritual fashion,³ and in a manner which very strongly suggests the October-horse.⁴

The opposition of people and Emperor at the games, where indeed the former often displayed a freedom which the Senate dared not,⁵

1. Just., Nov. de Just. coll., II, tit. I, vii, 2: Cum nec differant ab alterutro sacerdotum et imperium. cf. N. Jorga, Vie Byzantine

I: 93: "... au fond, l'Empire et le sacerdoce, les 'choses sacrées' et les 'choses communes et publiques,' font le même ensemble."

2. Steph. Diac. Op., Migne, PG, v.100, 1136

3. Dio, LXXIII, 13, A.D. 169

4. Mommsen has observed that the fixing of heads on public buildings by Caesar was in the same manner.

5. Thus Dio, LXIII, 20; LXXIX, 20; LXXIV, 13; on the well-known license of the people at the games, Friedländer, Sittengesch., II.

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suggests the relationship of chorus and leader, as has been noted. In this regard it should be noted that acclamations like eccentationes were chanted rather than spoken,¹ 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.² In places the year-combat survives to this day as a combat-song,³ and Pausanias says that the Pythian games themselves were originally a singing contest.⁴ In the East⁵ as in the North⁶ the same records to which we have previously refer make specific references to choral singing at the year-festival as one of its principal features. Both com-

1. Thus Aristaenetus, Epist., I, 26: populus interea rectus, ac mirabundus adstat, et voces melodici respondet. When the Emperor enters the Circus omnes ... canunt, Coripp., Justin., 345ff. 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.

2. G. Murray, in Themis, p.363; H. Usener, ARW, VII (1904), 313

31 Usener, op.cit., pp.307 f

4. Pausan., X, 7, 2

5. The whole Babylonian year-procession was accompanied by the singing of appropriate hymns, Zimmern, Bab.Neu., pp.15ff; since much of the religious literature of the East is contained in hymns in which the triumph motif is prominent discussion is impossible.

6. The Islandic twistingur 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 chorus of the year-festival, and the Cloveshoe decree, Mansi, XII, 400 gives a good description of the Easter-singing from which the rots is derived.

bat and victory are represented in chants or hymns. When the Emperor enters the Circus,

Huc omnes populi, pueri iuvenesque senesque
dant acmine plausus vox omnibus una,
mens eadem: nomen populis placet omnibus unum
.....
"Tu vincas, Justine," canunt ingensque tumultus
crescit, etc.¹

"Tu vincas", is the proper greeting. The common acclamation for the hero going into battle is Feliciter,² the political salutation which covers the walls of Pompeii, and shows the complete identity of politics, games, factions and possibly collegiae.³ The factional watch-word, Nika (cf. the famous Nika riots between the factions of Cp. and the Empire)⁴ was very early the rallying-cry of the church, in which the ideas of struggle and victory were greatly stressed.⁵

Besides victory another thing is stressed in the acclamations, namely length of life. "God save the king" (cf. Salva Roma, Salva Patria, Salvus est Germanicus⁶) is usually given a more specific form: De nostris

1. Coripp., Justin., 345ff

2. Ferrarius, op.cit., 178-179

3. CHL IV, p. 241, references under "felix".

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", Rev. Zeitschr., XXXVII(1938), 94ff

5. Dölger, Antike u. Christentum, I: 26; A. v Harnack,

6. Suet., Calig., c.6; the felicity of the chorus depends on that of the hero (cf. J. Värtheim, Aeschylus' Schutzflehende (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 the pax Romana, H. Fuhs, "Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt", Neue Philol. Unters., III (1926), 115

annis tibi Jupiter augeat annos.¹ or Augeat imperium nostri Ducis. augeat annos.² The Christian bishops would hail the Emperors in the same way: Multos annos Augustis. Patriarchis multos annos.³ In the Christian community where, as Ignatius avers, the Bishop was king,⁴ the synods continued conscientiously to observe the technique of the old senatorial acclamation both in approving elections and in confirming policies and doctrines,⁵ while the ultimate source of episcopal power was the congregation which announced its will by acclamation.⁶ 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' twenty times, 'Well deserving, well worthy!' five times, 'He is worthy and just!' six times," and so ad infinitum.⁷ 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 iustus, bonus ductor, bonus Imperator, dii te servant, etc.,⁸ and it will appear that

1. Tertullian, Apolog., c.35

2. Ovid., Fast., I, 2

3. Ferrarius, op.cit., 43, who refers to huiusmodi alia pene innumera, quae extant passim in Synodorum Actis.

4. Ignat., ad Smyrnaeos, ix

5. Ferrarius, op.cit., 135ff, 148-159; all of Bk. iv on eccl. acclamation.

6. Augustine, Epist., cxxv and cxxvi, justifying and acknowledging the de facto authority of the Hipponeuse mob.

7. Augustine, Epist., cxxiii

8. Ferrarius, col., 130

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popular and senatorial, pagan and Christian acclamation are the same thing.¹ The one and the other bestow authority, ask for many years, proclaim the proven worth of the candidate.² 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.³ 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",⁴ and further recall that Glandius himself conscientiously played στράτης.⁵

1. The members of a Synod passed their decrees by chanting together, Omnes, omnes: placent omnia: dignum est: iustum est: fiat! fiat! and the like, Ferrarius, op.cit., col. 121ff, 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., cccxiii, 3f.
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.
3. Suet., Aug., c. 45, cf. Usener, ARW, VII (1904), 297ff
4. Usener, op.cit., p. 302
5. Supra, pp. 182

The triumph got its name, according to Varro, from the cry io tri-
umphe of the soldiers as they accompanied the victorious Imperator to
the Capitol.¹ 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.²
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,³ still ad-
mits that it has all the signs of being both archaic and native to
Rome.⁴

1. Varro, LL. VI, 68: sic triumphare appellatum, quod cum imperatore mili-
tes redeuntes clamitant per urbem in Capitolium eunti '(i-o-trumphe':
id a Βεΐαμβω ac graeco Liberi cognomento potest dictum. The Lat.
triumphus is held actually to come from Βεΐαμβω by way of the
Etruscans, vid., Walde, Etymol. Wb. d. Indogerm. Spr., I: 793, 795;
Roscher, Lex. I¹, 1188f; cf. Waser, in RE, V, 1203ff

2. Dion. Hal., VII, 72, ed. Ribbeck, p.96

3. On Dionysius' inferiority-complex which kept him alert for signs of
Greek origins for Roman institutions, Büdinger, Wien. Akad. Sitzb., CXXIII³
(1891), 37f

4. Dion. Hal. op. cit., pp. 95-96 (Ribbeck): ἀλλ' οὐτὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν Βεΐαμβων
εἰσοδοί, καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ ἐπιχώριον οὖσαν Πρωμαίους
τὴν κερτομὸν καὶ τὰ τυφινὴν παιδίαν.

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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.¹ 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,² 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,³ and the like, do not agree with the Patri-
cian doctrine that omnia a nobis sperant.⁴ 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 Aevuls acclaimed the Emperor on his birthday they were following the example primarily of the Senate.⁵ The acclamatio of the schools, where one would expect it to appear at farthest remove from a year-rite, was most commonly *Oeios*, recognizing something of the divine in the professor,⁶ a spirit that filled him as victory did the triumphator with divinity. Not rarely Emperors were acclaimed as gods, specifically as Dionysus, Apollo, Hercules, the victorious ones,⁷ quite in keeping with the divinity which the triumphator had never lost from the earliest times.

1. For a general treatment of the pilgrims songs as antiphonal, A.K. Coomaraswamy. "The Pilgrim's Way", Jnl. Bihar & Orissa, XXIII(1937), 457ff

2. Dio., 74,13; 79,20; other instances of chanting in unison, Tac. Ann., 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.

3. Paulus Diacon., Miscell. Hist., x, Ferrarius, in Graevius Thesaur., VI,45

4. Cic., Pro Murena, xxxiv

5. J. Schmidt, RE, I, 150, his defense of the Senate is very awkward.

6. Ferrarius, op.cit., col.108-9

7. Ib., col. 109

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The scurrilous remarks addressed to the Triumphator are regarded as charms against the evil influences which he in his divine position is particularly exposed.¹ Such they may well be; noise, laughter and obscenity could be the means by which umbræ silentæ and taciti manes were "beschämt" or "erschreckt"² though such an effect would seem largely to be cancelled in the case of ghosts loving both noise and obscenity,³ and there would be also a contradiction in the fact that the Triumphator was necessarily entirely victorious at the time of his triumph,⁴ and having obtained divinity could regard the issue with the powers of death as definitely settled.⁵ The same contradiction may be seen in the philosophic Respice post te; hominem memento te⁶ addressed to one wear-

1. Hans Deubner, Hermes, XLIX (1934), ; Preller, Röm. Mythol.,² p.205
Radin, op.cit., pp.37-38

2. F. Altheim, Terra Mater, pp.146; 141

3. A. von Domaszewski, ARW, I (1907), 15, discusses obscenity as the very means by which the spirits are summoned to human aid, cf. O. Kern, RE, VII¹, 1229. So Altheim, op.cit., p.63: "Dass auch sonst Toten- und Unterweltsgöttheiten 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.

4. Cagnat, in Daremb., Dict., V, 486

5. Wissowa, Rel.H.Kult., p.127, the triumph as thanksgiving for final victory.

6. Tertullian, Apolog., c. Zenar., VII, 21 (Dind., II, 150)

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ing the very robe of Juppiter O.M.¹ 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.² 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.³ Pliny attributes to the fascinus as an apotropaic charm the purpose plainly served by the bell,-- the Circus chariots bore bells for protection⁴-- but that the former object was more than a symbol of modesty (of all things) is as evident from its very nature as is ^amore 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)⁵ would supply the readiest explanation for the phallus, but not the most obvious, to the moralizing observer. If humility could be so perfectly ex-

1. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p.127; this does not necessarily mean that he was Juppiter O.M., but it does mean that both he and Juppiter were victorious kings, cf. supra, p.

2. Pliny, NH, XXVIII, 4, 7

3. Zonar., VII, 21, ed. Dindorff, II, p.150

4. Friedländer, Sittengesch., II: 351 (8.ed)

5. Dio, XLIII, 21; LX, 23

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pressed by other means, why the particular emphasis on sex? Was "In
Triumpha!" 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 distingui-
shed men, ~~ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑλπίδας καὶ τὰς κτήσεις~~ ¹ -- they belong to the pompa
as such, not as a deliberate attempt to rebuke or protect a victori-
ous general.

When an unpopular consul was celebrating a victory his soldiers
alternis inconditi versus militari licentia iactati, in which antiphon-
al all the people joined and cum vocibus militum certaret.² This Usener
identifies with the "Alte puerliche satura,"³ the Pescennine verses
in which opprobria rustica was expressed, versibus alternis,⁴ and which
was very specially reserved for wedding processions.⁵ The obscenity

1. Dion. Hal., VII, 72, p.96

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 prope
sollennis militum lascivia.

3. Usener, Kl. Schr., IV :379

4. Pescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem

Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

Libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos

Insit amabiliter, etc., Hor., Ep., II, 1, 145ff

5. Marquardt, Mau, Privatleben der R., p.54

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.¹ 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).² In representations of the god he retains the staff but has exchanged the key for a patera.³ If Janus, the most notable of key-gods⁴ thus loses that badge it is no wonder that his successors do not bear it: the sceptre as a royal symbol was "aus dem römischen Gemeinwesen der historischen Zeit verbannt."⁴ In ritual use alone it survived, wherein, quite significantly, "der Gebrauch dieses Stabes beschränkt sich auf den Tag des Triumphs."⁵ 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.⁶ Both key and staff are signs of the highest authority

1. W. Mannhardt, "Die Lupercalien", in Mythol. Forsch. (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 115-123

2. Roscher, in Lex., II¹, 42

3. W. Köhler, "Die Schlüssel des Petrus", ARW. VIII (1904-5), 224-5

4. Mommsen, R. Staatsr., I: 424

5. Ibid., p. 425, it was used on absolutely no other occasion

6. V. Bassanoff, "Le Guerrier de Capistrano et les Origines de l'Imperium",

Rev. Arch., X (1937), 68

in heaven and earth.¹ 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.² As he stands with staff and key Janus appears as ἀνοίξις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, before a house in which are seen the four seasons and to which a boy bears a full cornucopia,³ a vivid representation of the "good year" through the offices of the ancestor-god, named "Con-sivium" a propagine generis humani.⁴

A form of acclamatio is the talassio of the Roman deductio, the marriage procession, accompanied by the same antiphonal mockery that marked the triumph.⁵ On that occasion the groom carries a torch not of pine, as the rest of the company do, but of spina alba,⁶ the same wood as the virga of Janus.⁷ The talassio marks a particular kind of wedding: we have seen that the year-combat everywhere has the bride

1. Köhler, op.cit., pp.215 ff; cf. the ὀνηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς of Homer.

2. Roscher, Lex., II¹, 29; Köhler, op.cit., pp.221-2; it is the symbol of more than the mere authority of the house, cf. Roscher, II¹, 1214, where Eros is called τῆς Ἀφροδίτας φιλάτων θαλάμων κλεψιδούχος. For this fundamental aspect of the key, Köhler, op.cit., p.230ff. Most of the Kleiduchoi have a cosmic significance in Drexler's account, in Roscher, Lex., II¹, 1214-1219.

3. Roscher, Lex., II¹, 38; the title is from Suidas, the picture from a coin of Commodus.

4. Macrobi., I, 9, 16.

5. Marquardt, Man. 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.

6. Marquardt, Man. op.cit., p.55.

7. Roscher, Lex., II¹, 42.

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bride as a prize, and the talassio accompanies and indeed signifies a bride-stealing¹ and is accompanied itself by antiphonal opprobria of the Fescinnine verses.² The military acclamation feliciter was a common greeting at betrothals.³ 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.⁴ 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 a marriage it is right to consider whether or not a bride exists.

Flora, whose particular interest was the prosperity of the fields,⁵ had a festival which adjoined that of the Bona Dea on May 1.⁶ Her fertilizing activity had special reference to water.⁷ At the Floralia omnia semina super populum spargebant,⁸ the most literal instance one could ask for of the sparsiones as an actual sowing of

1. Marbach, RE, IV A: 2, 2065

2. Marquardt, Mau, op.cit., p.54

3. Ferrarius, in Graevius, Thesaur., VI:176-179

4. Marquardt, Mau, op.cit., pp.42-43

5. Ovid., Fast., V, 261ff: ... semper oportere placari ut fruges cum arboribus aut vitibus bene prospereque florescerent.

6. Altheim, Terra Mater, pp.134-5

7. She appears with Fons in rites propter sterilitatem frugum, Hensen, Act.Frat.Arv., p.146, and Altheim, pp.133-4. cf. Vitruv., I, 2, 5

8. Schol. Pers., V, 177 in Altheim, op.cit., p.136

seed. The resemblance of this practice to the *Χώρα Παντοκρίας* 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.¹ Her festival is closely bound up with the killing of the red-dog at the Robigalia,² which is consistent with her championing of the moist element,³ and introduces an element of combat.³ But it is for a particular kind of combat that the Floralia is particularly interesting. At that time meretrices ... armis certabant gladiatoris atque pugnabant.⁴ The female sham-battles were native to Rome and "den Römern der historischen Zeit längst völlig unverständlich geworden."⁵ 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.⁶ 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 *καλλιστειαν* in which the rivalry of the two choruses, alternating praise and disparagement of the candidates, reminds one strongly of the Song of

1. Altheim, Terra Mater, pp.135-138

2. Varro, R.R., I,1,6: quarto Robigum ac Floram ... neque rubro 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 (Aspin, G.Fraiofi, 1924)pp.67-68; 76,n.3 after Conway.

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."

4. Schol. Juv., VI, 250, cit., Altheim, op.cit., p.139

5. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p.184

6. Lactant., Inst. Christ., I, 20, 10; Tertullian, de Spect., c.17

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.¹ 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.² It is not necessary to go into the "fairest in 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,³ of which custom it is not too much to see an indication in the magnanimous behavior of Flora herself who quum magnas opes ex arte meretricia quaesivisset, willed it all to the people, setting aside a sum for the celebration of her birthday.⁴

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.⁵ The same nudity and scurrility as at the Floralia

1. Bowra, Gk. Lyric Poetry, pp. 44 ff., cf. Preller, Gr. Myth., I, 134; II: 413, n. 4

2. Herodot., IV, 180; on this bride as the "queen" of Dionysus the year-king, cf. Rostovseff, Mythic Italy, pp. 87ff

3. Herodot., I, 196

4. Lactant., Inst. Christ., I, 20, 5; Gellius, VII, 7, 1

5. K. Schwenk, "Hercules und Acca Larentia", Rh. Mus., N.F. XXII (1867), 129-131

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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.¹ 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,² in the latter case at least the competitors were following the example of the goddess herself as in Italy.³ 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 die Stelle besuchen, ihren Beitrag leisten müssen."⁴ 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,⁴ it is sufficiently plain that it belongs specifically to the year-rite as we have described it so far.

1. Altheim, op.cit., pp. 98f, 135; Ov., Fast., III, 647f

2. In Arcadia the rite for Demeter is actually called ἀγὼν καλλίας, Preller, Gr. Myth., I: 608, n. 2, citing Athen., XIII, 90

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.

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." Leistner, Sphinx, II, 298 "Kornmutter als 'Hure'". Pausan., VIII, 8, 7

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.¹ At these first games the io talassio cry was thought to have been invented.² It was at the games that the Sabine youth in turn carried off some courtesans, an act resulting like the other in a fight.³

The games at which the Sabine maidens were robbed were Neptuno Equestri solennes, though called the Consualia.⁴ In the libris sacerdotum populi Romani Neptune has Salacia as his female companion.⁵

1. Livy, I, 9; Plut. Romulus, c.14; Tertull. de Spect., c.5; Dion.

Hal., II, 31; Ovid., Fast., III, 199ff; cf. Varro, LL, VI, 20

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.

3. Zonar., VII, 16; Livy

4. Livy, I, 9: ludos ... Neptuno Equestri solennes: Consualia vocat.

5. Gellius, XIII, 23, 2. Nadernacher, 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 ius primæ noctæ. Ninck has further shown that Ninck as denoting both water deity and bride proves that "die Quelle ist also Schwanger und gebiert aus ihrem Schoosse das Wasser," Darum sind die Nymphen auch Hochzeitgöttinnen;" M. Ninck, "Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten", Philologus, Suppl. band XIV, Heft 11 (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1921), p.13

It is quite possible that the goddess, whose name was given to Venus, quae proprie meretricum dea appellata est a veteribus,¹ was both water deity and "salax".¹ Acca Larentia guarded a spring to which Hercules gained access by violence,² an alternative to dicing for the winning of a bride.²

Flora's temple at the Circus Maximus³ was matched by the much older shrine of Murcia, the ara vetus,⁴ ~~right at the metas Murciae~~.⁵ 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.⁶ Though Murcia's true significance is lost, the nature of her successors is an indication that her patronage of meretrices⁷ was essential to her nature. Near her shrine stood the Venus Obsequens Aedes,⁸ while the Circus structure itself served as a brothel.⁹ The dedication day of the Venus-temple was the

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1. Serv., Aen., V, 724. Fowler, Rom.Fest., p.186 is for the "Salax" interpretation, which Witte, RE 1A: 2, 1618-9, 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., II, 26 reports that Neptune had two concubines, Venilia and Salacia, the incoming and the outgoing wave.
 2. See Schwegler, Rom.Gesch., IV, 375; a complete parallel to Acca in this capacity is Mother Red-Cap in the North, Grimm, Dt.Mythol., II, cf. Harris, Pious, pp.45 ff, and Siduri of the Babylonian year-rite, W.E. Leonard, Gilgamesh (N.Y.:Viking, 1934), p.46, Gilgamesh: "What ails thee, that thou lockest thy gate, etc.? I will crash the door, I will break the lock," etc. The hero is seeking water.
 3. Wissowa, R. u. K., p.197
 4. Pliny, NH. XV, 121
 5. Tertull., de Spect., c.8, cf. Platner, Top. Diet., p.348
 6. Serv., Aen., I, 720
 7. Supra, p. : Roscher, Lex., II, 3231-3
 8. Idem, cf. Pausan., V, 15, 3, for the Mistresses at Olympia.

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Vinalia Rustica, closely associated with the Portunalia on one hand¹ and the Consualia on the other.² The festival was marked by an "Auf-treten der meretrices"³ which makes it parallel to the Flora festival,³ 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 Maunus was found guilty of wine drinking the enraged monarch beat her to death with a myrtle switch.⁴ On the Venus festival the women of Rome would bathe in the men's bath wearing crowns of myrtle.⁵ 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 triumph⁶ and the patron of the first rustic games.⁷ Whatever the true explanation, it appears

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1. Vin.rust., Aug.19, Portunalia, Aug.17, Volturnalia, Aug.,27, the latter two for the Tiber, for their connection, Domaszewski, ARW,X(1907),334
 2. Consualia, Oct.21, Domaszewski, op.cit.,pp.334-5; G. Wlasowa, Ges.Abh., pp. 154-174, cf. Oct.15 Oct. Equus, Oct.13, Fontinalia.
 3. Altheim, Terra Mater, p.144

4. Mannhardt, Mythol. Forsch., pp.115-123, cf. Lactant., Div.Inst.,I, 22, 11

5. Lydus, De Mens., IV, 45, cf. the throwing of crowns at the Fontinalia:
in fontes coronas iacunt et puteos coronant, Varro, LL., VI, 22

6. Macrob., Sat., I, 19, in which triumph, Martem ac Liberum unum eundemque deum esse voluerunt. Certe Romani utrumque patris appellatione venerantur. alterum Liberum patrem, alterum Marspatrem..., supra, p.83

7. Tertull., de Spect., c.5: ... promiscue ludi Liberalia vocarentur...
Libero enim a rusticis primo fiebant ob beneficium etc.

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 euripo¹ with the same lion, flowing jar, and mural crown, marking her as urbium conditrix, as distinguish the Queen of Heaven and "Hilferin bei Dürre"² in so many other places.² 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.³ 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.⁴ The Venus Victrix of Sulla and Caesar.

1. Tertull., de Spect., c.8

2. Dölger, Antike und Christentum, I:92-107; Rapp, in Roscher, Lex. II¹, 1667-8

3. Augustine, De civitate Dei, II, 26, quoted by Dölger, op.cit., pp.102-3, it was a "Festzug der Buhldirnen" for the Virgin goddess.

4. Fortuna had a temple in the Campus Martius. Drexler, in Roscher, Lex., I², 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. IV, 145ff 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. & K., pp.258

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has her nearest proto-type not as Keune would have it in Aphrodite,¹ but in the venerable Fortuna Primigenia. She was "Natur- und Schicksalsgöttin von allgemeiner Bedeutung, welche für die Mutter des Jupiter und Juno galt,"² which is to say, the Mother Goddess. Her appearance as daughter of Jupiter -- "Primigenia," whose shrine stood by his³ -- 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.⁴ 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 oracle⁵ -- one of the oldest shrines in Italy, incidentally, and in the time of Cicero frequented only by the common people.⁶ 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

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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.*, 115ff., even though age remains unknown, cf. Plut., *Qu. Rom.*, no. 74
 2. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, p. 561
 3. Drexler, in Preller, *Lex.*, I, 1542-3
 4. *Ib.*, 1545
 5. *Idem.*, and Preller, *op. cit.*, p. 562
 6. *Supra.* p. 105 f.

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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.¹ The victorious Sulla, whose well-known Venus was clothed with the trappings of Tyche-Fortuna,² splendidly restored the Fortuna temple at Praeneste.³ At the beginning of every year Domitian would visit the goddess to receive the fortunes of the year.⁴ An inscription calls the goddess Fortuna Praenestina Augustorum nostrorum.⁵ 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.⁶ Galba held a monthly supplicatio and an annual pervigilium for her,⁷ the personal Fortuna being a deity of considerable importance to the Emperors in general.⁸ All but Tiberius, who tried actually to put an end to the goddess at Praeneste:⁹ again we see the indication of the kingly tradition, to which Tiberius was of

1. Livy, XLV, 44, in Roscher, Lex., I², 1545

2. Keune, in Roscher, Lex., VI, 193

3. Pliny, NH, XXXVI, 189, in Roscher, Lex., I², 1545

4. Suet., Domit., c.15, in Roscher, loc.cit., also citing a case of Alex. Severus, from Hist. Aug., Alex.Sev., c.4

5. C.I.L.? III, 1421, in Lex., idem.

6. Roscher, Lex., I, 1524

6. Suet., Galba, c.4; 18, Lex., 1523-4

7. Lex., I, 1523, "Dem allgemeinen Glauben folgend..."

9. Suet., Tib., c.63; ibid., 1545

all the Emperors least hospitable.¹

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.¹ The goddess was the beginning and the end of the triumphal procession. It was her oracle that promised the victory. The Venus who supplanted Fortuna² 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 Schicksalsgöttin" at Praeneste, over an oracle of lots and dice.³ 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

1. This interpretation combines those of Laquer, and Radin and the instances cited on the preceding page.

2. cf. W. Fowler, Rom. Fest., pp. 68-69

3. Weniger, "Die Seher von Olympia", ARW. XVIII (1915), 67-68

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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 congregation¹ engaged in wantonness and drinking, distributions,² 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.³

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1. It is important to note that it was the Plebeian women who bathed at the Festival of Fortuna and Verus, Lydus, Mens., IV, 45; it is the Plebs who venit et discumbit. Ov. Fast., III, 523ff; that the Flofalia was a Pleb celebration, cf. Pignaniol, Jour. 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. Pignaniol, op. cit., 85ff
 2. Not only Flora but Anna Perenna "distributed": Ov. Fast., III, 662ff: Fingebat ... liba ... atque ita per populum fumentia mense solebat dividere ... cf. Altheim, T.M., 97-98
 3. On the spring- and earth-goddesses which are the brides of the year-god Janus, Roscher, Lex., I¹, 41;

The oldest and once the only Icelandic Thing-stead was the place of the All-thing by the river Öxará where it ran into the sea. The popular and ancient¹ tradition of its founding recounts that the King of Norway gave a silver axe to an Icelfander so that the latter could slay the Giantess Jora who, once the axe was buried in her body, threw herself into the river. The Icelfander was instructed to name the river after her and to found the great Thingstead on its banks.² A sacred spring hard by the Dom-ring was a fixture of nearly every Thing-stead,³ 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.⁴ Into this fountain at the festival a man was thrown, bearing with him good wishes for the year; if he was drowned without ado the people rejoiced in the good omen.⁵ The fountains at the other Northern shrines were put to the same use,⁶ receiving sacrifices and offerings of all sorts.

1. Its antiquity has been treated by P. Herrmann, Island, I: 302-3

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.

3. Herrmann, op.cit., p.515

4. Adam Brem., in Mon.Ger.Hist., SS, VII, plus the sagas furnish the picture in Herrmann, Nord.Mythol., 592

5. Such waters "werden wiederholt in den Sagas erwähnt," Herrmann, Altgerm. Priesterwesen, p.57

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The great federal festival of eight German tribes was the taking of Nerthus for her yearly bath, after which her servants were drowned.¹ 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."² She is thus the year-goddess as well as a water and fertility deity.³ When Death loses the year-combat among the Germans he is dumped into the stream.⁴ It is at the Winter⁴ and the Summer⁵ 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.⁶ The year-rite is a gather-

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1. Tac., Ger., c.40, the rite took place at a secreto lacu; her name identifies the goddess with Njörd, hence Frey, of which Grönbech, 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:157ff on the Isis of Tac., Ger., 9, and her "Wagenschiff".
 2. Grimm, op.cit., I: 166ff; she is identical with Perahtha or Berchta, ib., p.169, who also observes "zwischen weinachten 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.
 3. Grimm, op.cit., II: 726ff, "wir tragen den Tod ins Wasser..."
 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 has italicized emphasize the identity of the 2 great year-festivals.
 5. The great time of pilgrimages, Winter being a more difficult time, cf. Herrmann, Nord. Mythol., p.503
 6. Herrmann, Altger. Priesterwesen, pp.56-57 cf. Quickborn, Jungbrunn, Heilbronn, Heiligenbronn, Wihborn, etc.

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by the waters of life and of death,¹ the flowing waters worship-
ped at their source, upon which (rather than upon rain, even in this
part of the world) the prosperity of the year- depends.²

The main ritual of the people who assembled at the lake which
became St. Hilary's in Gaul consisted of feasting 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.³

Lyons, headquarters of the game-god Lug and meeting-place for all
Gaul, was the city ἐν τῇ συνβολῇ τῶν ποταμῶν.⁴ Celtic
and Germanic cult practices overlap in the Rhine, into whose waters
every child had to be plunged in order to be born;⁵ the life-cycle
must begin and end at the water. This is clearly seen at the Brit-
ish shrine of Biffons, where the King was buried under the river
and at which spot the year was formerly initiated.⁶ Lug's festival
in Ireland took place properly at Tailtu, at the spot where the
divine ancestor King Dagda held forth in his tumulus with his queen

1.K. Weinhold, "Die Verehrung der Quellen in Deutschland", Abh.d.

Kön.Ak. d.Wiss.. Berlin, anno (1898), pp.17, 23ff, springs as the
passages to the world of the dead; 26ff, as the source of all birth.

2. Grimm, Dt.Mythol., I:321, 333; cf. Supra, p. 29 ; Mansi, XII, 375-6

3. Greg, Tours, Lib. in Confess. Glor., c.2, in Migne, PL, LXXI, 850-1
Quartem autem die ... anticipabat eos tempestas ... et in tantum
imber ingens ... ut vix se quisquam eorum putabat evadere.

4. Strabo, IV, 3, 2; cf. Chartres at the confluence of three streams.

5. Anthol.Graec., IX, 25 (III, 1), FHR, V¹, 7f; Greg.Naz., in FHR, V, 103;
Libanius, de Rheno, ib., p.105; cf. ib., p.182

6. Geoffrey, II, 14

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Boand, the water-goddess who brought forth the river Boyne.¹ From the hero-graves of Ireland gushed springs of water,² 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,³ though he did find a large hoard of gold and silver offerings which had been thrown into the spring.³ 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.⁴ The year-assemblies both of Wales⁵ and of

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.157ff, 164; on Boand and the Boyne, W. Stokes, "Boand", in Rev. Celt., XV (1894), 315ff

2. Jubainville, op.cit., p.51 (Loch Annin), 16-17 (Loch Rudraige), 143;

3. Book of Armagh, in FHR, V², 154

4. L.D. Agate, in Hastings 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."

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 Eisteddfod recorded (Eisteddfod is Gorsedd or year-assembly -- Thing) was on the banks of the Conway and marked by a swimming contest, R. Williams, art.

'Eisteddfod, in Encl. Brit., ed. xi

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Scotland¹ 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.² 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,³ intercourse between the people of the island and mortals being a feature of every year-festival.³

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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.
 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, V², 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."
 3. Jubainville, op.cit., pp.57, 164, 64-65, 117ff, 48f, 16, etc.

The cult of fountains and grove was of foremost importance to the Slavs.¹ 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,² 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. Rethre, the sedes ydolatri-ae of the Retharii, was undique lacu profundo inclusa.³ The festival of the year⁴ and pro pestilentia⁵ were the main occasions for universal gatherings at the fountains, the motives combining in the throwing of death into the river.⁶ The goddess figured conspicuously in the fountain-cult.⁷

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

2. In Gaul "des genies des eaux ... constituaient la religion du peuple," Albert Dufourcq, in RHR, IV (1899), 254, while among Germanic peoples "Heilig, geweiht und heilbringend waren alle Quellen", Herrmann, Altgerm. Priestwesen, pp.56-57

3. Adam Brem., II, 21; one of the main Slavic cult places was Stettin, where the most celebrated object was the querous ingens ... et fons

subter eam, Herbard, 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. Rügen, Helmold, I, 6

4. FHR, IV, 8-9; 64; 77; Brückner, op.cit., p.515; Cosmas, III, 1, in FHR, IV,

5. 20 gives an excellent description of the rites at the fontes at Pentecost

5. FHR, IV, 23, citing a Homily

6. In medio quadagesimae, FHR, IV, 64

7. FHR, IV, 57, Diana's iuxta ripam Albise fluminis templum. ib., 58: Mercurium et Veneram colunt ... iuxta fontes; Bruckner, p.516, the earliest Slavic female deities were the bergynje: "Uferinnen".

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."¹ Springs were sacred in their own right from the earliest times,² 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."³ 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.⁴ 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..."⁵ Aphaca as the source of the Adonis River was the scene of one of the best-known of all year-cults.⁶ In its time Beersheba was the one place to

1. Robertson Smith, Rel. Semit., p.170

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.

3. Smith, op.cit., pp.172-3

4. Supra, pp.17, 48, 67, etc.

5. Sozomen., II, 4

6. G. Barton, in AOSJ, LII (1932), 229; discusses Aphek; cf. Lucian, Dea Syr., c.6 for description of the rite.

which every man in the south had to resort for "the yearly sacrifice and his vow".¹ Wellhausen has noted its exact resemblance to Mamre in other respects.² Jerusalem later became the place for the New Year's celebration,³ and was likewise essentially a water-shrine.⁴ So were Shiloh,⁵ Hiesapolis,⁶ Mecca,⁷ and the place of the Ras Sham-

1. Shiloh and Beersheba were the proper places for the great pilgrimage before the days of Jerusalem, Wellhausen, Prolegomena, pp.21ff cf. J.R. Peters, in Stud. in the Hist. of Relig., p.236

2. Wellhausen, op.cit., pp.31 ff

3. A.R. Johnson, in The Labyrinth, pp.73 ff; Nath. Schmidt, AOSJ, XLVI (192), 163

4. Thackeray, 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,3; V, 4-5; Is., XXXIII, 21; Zach., XIII, 1; cf. John,V,4. On the water-rites at the Booths, Thackeray, op.cit., pp.62-63

5. Kohler, in Jewish Encycl., art. "Shiloh", as a place of rock-cut tombs and pools.

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, Des 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.

7. "In der Ka'ba zu Mekka wird der Ghabghab Brunnen genannt," even though there is no water in it. Hard by is the Zemsem well into which offerings are tossed, Wellhausen, Reste.Ar.Held., p.103; cf. Snouck-Hurgronje, Mekkaansche Feest, pp.

ra drama.¹ 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.²

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,³ the Classical world⁴ and the North.⁵ 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."⁶ The gift of the Mother-goddess

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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.
 2. R.A.S. Macalister, A Century of Excavation in Palestine (London: Relig. Tract Soc., '25), pp.271ff; Wellhausen, Beste Ar.Heidentums, pp.101ff; Karge, Rephaim, pp.
 3. H. Gressmann, Tod u. Auferstehung des Osiris, p.12
 4. Zimmern, Babyl. Neu., p.20; Nilsson, G.F., pp.268ff
 5. A. Norden, Felsbilder (Hagen: Polkwang, 1923), pp.27-29, after Almgren. cf. supra, p.
 - 6.
 6. T.C. Pinches, in Hastings Encycl., X, 12-13; Namma was the Euphrates, "apparently a holy river", and also the name of a town.

is long life,¹ as well as life itself, which she brings forth at New Year's with the inundation of the land.² The center of the land in Babylonia as in Jerusalem was the temple; "the naive temple-centred 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."³ This was the cosmic river-head: the world is created "with the foundation of Eridu on the apsu or primeval fresh-water in the midst of the sea" where stands the temple.⁴ Surely this is

1. E.J. Sudd, et al., Br. Royal Inscriptions (Univ. Penn., 1928), nos. 1, 71, cf. 7, 14, 16, 19, 26, 34, 49, 52, etc.

2. Supra, p.

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 idea 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;

4. Burrows, Labyrinth, pp. 49 ff; Johnson, ib., 85-86; Thackeray, 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.

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 Asvamedha in India.¹ It had to take place by the water, both for the bathing, the best-known feature of Indian pilgrimages,² and for the ritual, for the sacred horse "est ne des eaux",³ wages the combat with Vrtra at the pond,⁴ is elaborately drenched at the fountain,⁴ goes down into the water drawing the sacred chariot immediately before his sacrifice,⁵ and ultimately triumphs bringing the waters of inundation.⁶ Likewise the prosperity of the Persian kingdom was secured by the Vrtra combat,⁷ taking place at the heavenly rain-pond from which despite its name the waters of the underworld are supplied,⁸ and for which

1. W. Albright and P. Dumont, AOSJ, LIV (1934), 127 ; supra, p. 140

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. Crooke, in Hastings Encycl., X, 24-25

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.

4. Ibid., pp. xv, 252-3; 26-27

5. Ibid., pp. iv, 251, 291, 152

6. Ibid., pp. 5, supra, p. ; Gunttert, AOSJ, XLV (1925), 283ff

7. Supra, p. 46

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. Carney, AOSJ, XXXVI (1917), 301-2

the goddess, she of the chariot, is ultimately responsible.¹

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 "Daivoa" at the place of the great assembly. The Daivoa is "Das Wasser der Herkunft. Aus dem Daivoa stammt alle Kenntnis 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."² Whether or not one accepts Frobenius' projection of the rites and legends of the Daivoa into the year-cult of the Egyptian kings,³ it cannot be denied that the river was a fundamental element in the Egyptian festivals.⁴ 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,⁵ the place of the assembly is marked by a deep lake -- bottomless in fact,⁶ and the principal shrine of the

1. "All water continuously flows from the source Ardvī Sura Anahita," to the various lakes, through golden channels, Carnoy, op.cit., p.301; cf. Herodot., I, 107

2. Frobenius, Erythraea, p.160, 149-160; 195-6; Kulturgesch. Afrikas, pp.147-153; 259ff

3. Frobenius, Eg. Afr., pp.150-3

4. Strabo, XVII, 1,14; Plut., Antony, c.69-71; Supra, ; the Osiris rites must take place "am breiten Strom ... der oft ein "Meer" genannt wird", Gressmann, Tod u. Auferstehung des Osiris, p.4 & passim.

5. Herodot.,

6. F.B. De la Roque, "Le Lac sacré de Tod", Chroniques d'Égypte, XXIV (1937), 157ff; it was not a mere pond but a deep pit, the waters of which rose and fell with the Nile; every temple had one.

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.¹ Moreover the Apis bull, the complete exemplification of the world cycle, either in the rising and falling of the Nile or in heavenly motions,² was watered not at the Nile but at a sacred fount,³ and was likewise slain at the end of a certain period by being plunged into such a fountain.⁴ 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.⁵ There was the Omphalos, the center of the earth and its link with the underworld.⁶

1. Described by A. Weigall, Hist. of the Pharaohs, I: 266

2. Aelian, De Nat. Animal., XI, 10... τὴν αἰνῶδον τὴν τοῦ Νείλου ἐπαρξάσαν
σημεῖα φασὶ καὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σχῆμα... καὶ τὸ μηχανοειδὲς τῆς στελέ-
νης κατηγορεῖ σχῆμα τῷ συνιέντι σημεῖον ἄλλο, etc.

3. Plut. De Isid. et Osir., c.5, citing rationalized explanations given for the custom.

4. Pliny, NH., VII, 46: Non fas est eum certis vitas excedere annos. mer-
sumque in sacerdotum fonte necant quassituri lucrum aliis, quem sub-
stituant... cf. Ammian., XXII, 14

5. At Delphi "une source sacrée jaillit dans l'adyton même, comme dans les autres sanctuaires oraculaires d'Apollon. P. Arandry, "Eschyle la Purification d'Oreste." in Rev. Arch., XI (1936), 22; cf. Preller, Gk. Myth., I: 562

6. L.B. Holland, "Mantic Mechanism at Delphi", AJA. XXXVII (1933), 214

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The prophetic powers attributed to the Alpheus in Pindar,¹ and its association with the "stream of Castalia"² 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 *πυμάσας πόρον Ἀλφειῶν*.³ The original attraction to Olympia was not the games, but the oracle of the Earth Goddess, the Mother of Truth,⁴ at her fountain shrine.⁴ The opening words of the Olympian odes declare the primacy of water to all things: *Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ* 5

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.⁶ 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 as elsewhere at places of water.

1. Pind., *Ol.* VI, 58

2. *Ol.*, VII, 15; IX, 15-16

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, 66; *Nem.*, I, 1; VI, 18

4. *Ol.*, VIII, 1ff;

5. *Ol.*, I, 1; R. Vallois, "Origine des jeux olympiques", *Rev. Ét. Anc.* XXI (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. Poseidon, by the games.

6. For games by the water. Fougeres, in Daremb. *Dict.*, II, 1695: Some of the principal Greek oracular waters are cited by Nilsson, *G.R.*, p. 430f, n. 3.

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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 marvellous 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.¹ 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.²

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.³ 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,"⁴ as a true native Italic goddess.⁴ It was at her shrine in Lavinium that all the Latins gathered.⁵ But for the year-rite by the water the most significant

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. Dölger, *IXΘΥΣ der heilige Fisch* (Münster; Aschenbach, 1922), I, pt. III, 425-470

2. Hodgkin, *Letters of Cassiodorus* (London, 1886), p.383

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.

4. Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult.*, pp.288-292; Keune, in Roscher, *Lex.*, VI, 184-5 193ff;

5. Keune, *op.cit.*, col. 184, citing Strabo, V, 232: οὗ πανηγυρεῖσονται Λατίνοι.

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.¹ 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.² It was the scene of the first great year-celebration, according to Macrobius', 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.³

The Sabine Victory was identical with Vacuna, the "mütterliche Göttin der Flur, welche wie Venus aus dem Feuchten schuf," but for all that was also a Victoria.⁴ At her shrine near Reate the Sabines gathered for their national sacrificial feast.⁵ It was a very damp place, where the river Avers ran into lake Velinus.⁶ 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.⁷ The waters of the lake were of immense depth.⁷ "We vene-

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

2. Pliny, NH., II, 95; III, 12; XXXI, 2, 6; Seneca, Qu.Nat., III, 25, 6 in Preller, op.cit., p.361

3. Macrobius, Sat., I, 7.

4. Latte, Roscher, Lex., VI, 294-5, citing CIL, 14, 3485, Preller, op.cit.

5. Preller, loc.cit.; Ovid., Fast., V, 299

6. Pliny, NH., III, 12, 17, Preller, p.360 describes it as too wet.

7. Dion. Hal., I, 15

rate with awe rivers bursting from the earth, vast cavities and very deep lakes."¹ 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?² Anciently only those authorized to perform the sacrifices on the island were allowed to approach the water, and they only once a year.³

When the Romans assembled for year-rites they too met beside the water. The founding-celebration of the Lupercalia centered at the water-shrines⁴ of the ancestor-king Faunus,⁵ who as "Repräsentant des

1. Seneca, Epist., I, 41

2. Pliny, NH, II, 95;

3. Dion. Hal., I, 15

4. Of the shrine of Faunus, Dion. Hal., I, 32, 5: ἐπὶ λαὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰόφῳ μέγα... κρηνίδες ὑπὸ ταῖς πέτραις ἐμβύθιοι... Ῥωμαῖοι θύουσιν... μετὰ χειμερινῆς τροπᾶς, οὐδὲν τῶν τότε γινομένων μετακινούντες.

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

5. Wissowa, -loc.cit.; as "Stammgott" he is closely associated with Mars, Wissowa, in Roscher, Lex., I², 5454-5; his festival has all the marks of the "saecular" festival, the emphasis on the "begetting" of men, Mannhardt, Mythol. Forsch., pp.82ff, and animals (Wissowa, R.u.K., p.212: "Gott der animalischen Befruchtung") as on the expulsion of Pest and murrain (Mannhardt, p.83; Lex., 1457; sham-battles and races (Mannhardt, pp.76ff); oracles (Lex., 1456; R.u.K., p.212), etc.

Gaues", as "Landeskönig und als Stifter religiöser Satzungen", represents the public cult of the "vorstädtlichen und vorstaatlichen Kultur".¹ In view of De-Marchi's principle that drought and plague were the forces which produced general cooperation in the pastoral society,² 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.³

When the Plebs went forth and built their booths for Anna Perenna it was beside the water.⁴ The year-goddess is a water-goddess,⁵ and nowhere more plainly so than in the Circus, where in the form of Cybele⁶ she praesidet Euripo.⁷ The Euripus itself is more than a vague indication that the games were purposely held by the water.

1. Wissowa, in Roscher, Lex., II², 1455, citing, Hor., carmin., III, 18, 12

2. De-Marchi, Culto Privato, I: 13ff; supra, p.

3. Mannhardt, Mythol. Forsch., pp. 83ff; Wissowa, op. cit., 1458

4. Supra, p. 41

5. As "Spenderinnen des irdischen Nasses für die Frucht der Felder," the Nymphs are associated with Anna Perenna, Demeter, etc., Altheim, T.M., pp. 91ff; Ceres, Tellus, Maia, belong to the aquae salubres, ib., 120ff. Flora and Fons come together in the Arval cult, ib., pp. 133f; Fortuna, whose symbol was the rudder as well as the cornucopia, combines therein the fertility and water-motifs, Roscher, Lex., II², 1503ff; cf. Anna as the Bride of the river, Altheim, T.M., pp. 98ff

6. A. Rapp, in Roscher, Lex., II¹, 1667-8 ; this goddess as water-bringer in time of drought has been fully treated by Dölger, Ant. u. Christ., I: 92-106

7. Tertull., de Spect., c. ; cf. the bath of the Mag. Mat. on Mar. 27

The Euripus was a stream of water which flowed around the center or down the side-lines of the Roman and other circuses.¹ It was fed by the fons Camenarum, the original and principal sacred fountain of Rome.² The Campus was the place where the sacred Petronia Amnis joined

1. Caesar dug a trench for the water around the Circus, Pliny., NH.

XXXVI, 15; cf. Suet., Caes., c.39, of which Niebuhr, Vortrage über römische Altertümer (Berlin, 1858), p.456 observes: "Er concentrierte 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 Gnomon, 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.84ff, has expanded. Cassiod., Var., III, 51 describes the Euripus as a symbol of the sea, in which swim the seven dolphin 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.

2. See all three plans in H. Kiepert et Ch. Huelsen, Formae Urbis Romae (Berlin, 1896)

the Tiber.¹ It was often flooded,² and "contained several swamps or ponds, as well as streams, the largest of which, the Petronia Amnis ... flowed from the Catifons into the largest swamp, the palus Caprae or Capreae."³ It lay right along the Tiber and was called the "Campus Tiberinus" as well as "Martius".⁴ 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 triumphant return.⁵ 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?"⁶

The Acta ludorum saecularium states that the rites took place ad Tiberim and in Campo:⁷ the Sibylline prescription is: *ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ παρὰ Συμφείδος ἀγχιετονίδου σπηυὶ ὀτεινότερα*.⁸ Whether the narrowness in question refers to the river or the Campus is a disputed question,⁹ 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 Ἀγίου πεδίου καὶ ὁ καὶ*

1. Platner, Top. Dict., p.389

2. Festus, ed.L., p.117; it was on a bend in the river, Isid., Etymol. XVIII, 27, 3

3. Platner, op. cit., p.92

4. Ib., loc. cit.

5. On the coincidence of these events, L. Deabner, Neue Jahrb., XXVII (1911), 326

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

7. Acta, ll. 90, 108, 115, 134, 157, Mommsen, Ges. Schr., VIII: 572ff, 596-9

8. Zos., II, 6

9. Mommsen, op. cit., 596f; Boyance, in Melanges, XLII (1925), 140ff

ἀρεῖται τόπος εἰς Ἰουλιανὸν ἱππὸν ¹

that being the place of the Tarentum.¹ 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 Cons², it is certain that its situation right on the river was of significance in the celebration of the ludi saeculares.³ Likewise, whether or not one chooses to regard the Ara Cons⁴ as a mundus, an entrance to the lower world,⁴ the Campus presents a water-entrance to the upper world in the Caprene Palus, where Romulus, the first king and founder ascended to heaven.⁵ Apart from the Campus was the Lacus Curtius into which the Romans of old would throw their first-fruit offerings,⁶ a true mundus, as was the grave of Romulus in the Comitium.⁷ The picture of all the people coming to one spot once a year to throw things (originally fruits, etc., later coins)⁸ into a particular water⁸ is not, we trust the reader will acknowledge, with-

1. Zos., II, 2

2. S. Weinstock, "Ludi Tarentini und ludi saeculares". Glotia, XXI (1932), 40

3. Val. Max., II, 4, 5, the legend that the ludi saeculares were established when penae quo saecrum some children were healed during a pestilence at the hot-springs ad rimam Tiberis, at which spot an ara Diti patri Proserpinaeque was found twenty feet under ground. It was dug up, like the Ara Cons⁴, for subsequent celebrations of the games, cf. Zos., II, 2

4. Pignaniol, Journ., pp. 1ff; 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 Fecilia, in Ges. Abhandlungen, pp. 156ff, definitely connected it, on the basis of the three-day interval be-

tween the December Consualia and Opalia.

5. Livy, I, 16, 1; Solin., I, 20, etc., in Platner, Top. Diet., p.98.
According to S. Weinstock, "Templum", Röm. Mitt., XLV (1930), 118,
there is no necessary connection between mundus and "Städtegründ-
ung". The same writer does believe that the throwing of a handful
of soil into the mundus was an "Akt des Synoikismos".. That act ap-
pears 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.
6. Suet., Aug., c.57: Omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto
pro salute eius (Augusti) stipem facebant, item Kal. Ian. strenam
in Capitolio ... dedicabat, etc. On the dona et fruges, Livy, VII, 6.
7. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., pp.234-5, compares them; cf. Kobbert, RE,
I A, 576
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, 74ff, 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.

out parallel.

The close association of the Pontinalia¹ and the Volcanalia² with the original games is an argument for deliberate choosing of a watery place for the event. Both Fons³ and Vulcan⁴ are very old gods, the latter being intimately connected with the Tiber.⁵ Their companions Flora⁶ and Maia⁷ 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,"⁸ and there is no reason for viewing this element of the year-festival as secondary. If anything, it is the horse-races which are

1. S. Eitrem, Beitr., 20ff; cf. Wissowa, Ges. Abh., 156ff

2. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p.229; J. Carcopino, Vergile et les Origines d'Ostie, pp. 74ff; 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

3. Fowler, Rom. Fest., pp.240-1

4. Rose, op.cit., p.63; Carcopino, op.cit., pp.119ff, as founder-god, 122ff

5. He was Thybris, Carcopino, pp. 564f

J. Toutain, "Sur un Rite curieux de Vulcan", RHR, v.103 (1931), 136

6. Altheim, T.M., pp. 133ff; Henzen, Act. Arv. Arv., p.146

7. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., pp. 229ff; Rose, op.cit., pp.56, 63 gives an odd explanation of the pair.

8. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p.224

a later development, they being subject to continual changes and variations, such as the water-rites were not.¹ Possibly identical² with the temple of Juturna, a goddess intimately connected with the triumph and the games,³ wife of the year-king Janus and mother of Fons,⁴ is that of the Nymphs, in Campo.⁵ These were appealed to, Wissowa suggests, at the Volcanalia, when according to Cicero the Romans observed the cult of certain unnamed goddesses who incendiis subveniunt.⁶

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1. On the introduction of the biga, triga, quadriga, etc. see the works of Panvinus 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. 173ff, while Deubner held that the Equirria was "ursprünglich nur ein Rennen, nicht ein Wettrennen" (and that after a discourse on psychology!), Röm. Mitt., XXVII (1911), 326
 2. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 223
 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
 4. Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult., p. 107
 5. Ibid., p. 223
 6. Idem, citing Cic., de Har. Resp., c. 57: cf. supra, p.

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Further evidence that water is fundamental to the games may be found in the aqueous nature of Neptune and the ancestor Picus,¹ both gods of the Circus. Mars himself, so intimately bound to Cossus,² was an old Italic stream-god,³ 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 horses themselves as water-creatures.⁴ 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.⁵

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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: 638ff, cf. Rendel Harris, Picus who is also Zeus, pp.
 2. Supra, p. 6f, Preller, Röm. Mythol., p. 421
 3. Whatmough, Foundations of Roman Italy, pp.
 4. L. Malten, "Das Pferd im antiken Totenglauben", Röm. Mitt., XXIX (1914) 185f; P. Stengel, Opferbräuche der Griechen (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 155-162; Whatmough, op. cit., p. 171; Rathmann, RE, 19: 57-58; Bern. Schweizer, Herakles, pp. ; J.v. Negelein, Das Pferd im arischen Altertum (Königsberg, 1903), pp. 70ff
 5. Eitrem, Beiträge zur gr. Religionsgesch., II: 19ff; the October-horse rite is but a single day removed from the Fontinalia, cf. Altheim, T.M., p. 121

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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 gifts 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

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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