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Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War

Bremmer, J.N.

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HEROES, RITUALS AND THE TROJAN WAR

1. (Problem) – Where our ancestors could believe in the historical reality of the Trojan War, our generation has grown more sceptical. It is indeed very difficult to disagree with Moses Finley¹ when he concludes his analysis of that great war with: « We certainly do not try to write medieval French history from the *Song of Roland* or medieval German history from the *Nibelungenlied*. Why should we make an exception of Homer's Trojan War? » But if so, the question of Homer's material becomes the more urgent. Where did he and his predecessors find their inspiration?² The aim of this article is not to provide the final answer to this question (if that were possible anyway) but to contribute towards a solution of this problem by studying the nature of some important heroes involved in that war.

2. (Method) – Every analysis presupposes certain conceptual tools. I take it that after the work of H. Jeanmaire³, Angelo Brelich, and Walter Burkert the reader is acquainted with institutions as initiation, rites of passage and men's societies but I may shortly explain the idea of liminality. When Van Gennep⁴ published his classical study of the rites of passage, he mainly concentrated on the rites of separation and reintegration, but the period of transition hardly received his attention. This transitional period between the

I am deeply indebted to Professor W. J. Verdenius for friendly assistance, to R. H. Bremmer, F. Graf and Th. Korteweg for reading and improving the manuscript, and to I. Wierenga for his correction of the English text.

Only quoted with the name of the author will be:

H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, Berlin 1902; A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, Roma 1969; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, RGVV 32, Berlin/New York 1972; V. Propp, *Le radici storiche dei racconti di fate*, 1946¹, Torino 1972; K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 Vols., Basel/Stuttgart 1976.

¹ M. I. Finley, *Aspects of Antiquity*, Harmondsworth 1972, 31-42; see also F. Hampl, *Geschichte als kritische Wissenschaft II*, Darmstadt 1975, 61-99.

² For the present state of the question: A. Heubeck, *Die Homerische Frage*, Darmstadt 1974, 153-177.

³ H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes*, Lille 1939.

⁴ A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*, Paris 1909.

old and the new situation has recently been brilliantly analysed by Victor Turner⁵ who showed that the liminal period, as he calls this period of transition, is characterised by a confusion or reversal of status and a series of reversals such as differences in hairstyle, clothing, behaviour and place of habitation. Such liminal situations occur not only during the major events of the life-cycle, birth, maturity, marriage, parenthood and death, but also during all kind of transitional stages such as the change from Old to New Year, from peace to war, from impurity to purity and the movement from one territory to another. In our study we will utilise Turner's analysis by showing that a number of heroes of the Trojan War are characterised in their tradition as being in such a transitional state.

Every analysis also presupposes certain « rules of the game », certain principles which are consciously or, more often, unconsciously applied. Besides the normal rules that are valid for every historian, we single out some rules that are relevant to the subject of analysing Greek mythology:

The point of departure of an analysis must always be that the story is not a « tale told by an idiot ». It is, consequently, not enough to catalogue the single motifs and look only for parallels of them but we must look for the internal coherence of the different motifs and take into consideration the possibility of an underlying pattern or structure.

An explanation should not ignore important details as is usually done by those scholars⁶ who want to retain the Trojan War but have no place for Achilles and the other heroes.

Myth, legend and fairy-tale are not concepts which are mutually exclusive but they can contain the same motifs⁷. It is therefore a case of explaining *obscurum per obscurius* when the one is explained only in terms of the other.

The most economical explanation is the best (Ockham's razor).

⁵ V. W. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, London 1967, 93-111; id., *The Ritual Process*, Harmondsworth 1974²; id., in B. A. Babcock (ed.), *The Reversible World*, London 1978, 276-296.

⁶ See the discussion, with bibliography, by H. Geiss, *Troja – Streit ohne Ende*, *Klio* 57 1975, 260-267.

⁷ Cp. J. de Vries, *Betrachtungen zum Märchen, besonders in seinem Verhältnis zu Heldensage und Mythos*, FFC 150, Helsinki 1954; id., *Märchen, Mythos und Mythenmärchen*, in K. Ranke (ed), *Intern. Kongr. der Volkserzählforscher in Kiel und Kopenhagen 1959, Vorträge und Referate*, Berlin 1961, 464-69; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie*, Berlin 1959, 171-183; Propp, *passim*; Hampl (n. 1), 1-60 and H. Bausinger/K. Ranke, *Archaische Züge, Enzyklopädie des Märchens I*, Berlin 1977, 733-43.

3. (Heroes) – The subject of our article will be on the Greek side Odysseus and those heroes whose presence and help were a *conditio sine qua non* for the fall of Troy: Achilles, Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos and Philoctetes⁸. On the Trojan side we concentrate on Hector, the mightiest hero of the Trojans.

4. (Achilles⁹) – According to legend, the Greeks knowing that Troy could not be taken without Achilles fetched him from the isle of Scyros where he was staying at the court of Lycomedes, dressed up as a girl¹⁰. As early as 1897 this disguise was recognised by E. Crawley¹¹ as a typical feature of the rite of passage from boyhood to adulthood, an interpretation which has generally since been accepted¹². For our purpose we deduce from this interpretation that Achilles' arrival at Troy fell in the ephebic period of his life.

5. (Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos) – When Achilles' son Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos was only a boy, he was fetched from the isle of Scyros (*Od.* XI, 508) where he was being educated, in the typical Indo-European manner¹³, by his mother's father¹⁴. This boyhood must have been a clear characteristic of Pyrrhos, for the Greeks considered him to be the inventor of the *pyrrhiche*¹⁵, the armed dance of the boys (Strabo 10, 3, 8; Athen. 14, 630D).

Achilles' son received his name Neoptolemos from his tutor Phoenix (Paus. 10, 26, 4), but formerly he was called Pyrrhos. This change of name has been interpreted by Marie Delcourt¹⁶ as belonging

⁸ Achilles: Apollod. 3, 13, 8; Schol. B. in *Il.* 19, 326. Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos: Soph. *Ph.* 113ff, 347ff; Apollod. *Ep.* 5, 11; Philostr. *Jun. Imag.* 18, 3. Philoctetes: *Ilias Parva*, p. 106 Allen; Soph. *Ph.* 604ff; *Ov. Met.* 13, 320; Schol. *Pind. P.* 1, 100.

⁹ In a forthcoming article, of which I read a version at the conference of the IAHR at Lancaster 1975, I will discuss in detail the initiatory strata of the traditions concerning Achilles, Heracles and Theseus. In this discussion I also elaborate the archer theme and the sexual activities of the young men.

¹⁰ Apollod. 3, 13, 8; Schol. *Il.* XIX 332; *Ov. Met.* 13, 162ff; *Hyg. fab.* 96. The theme was very popular in the arts, see F. Baratte, *Un sarcophage d'Achille inédit*, MEFRA 86 1974, 773-812; D. Kemp-Lindemann, *Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischer und römischer Kunst*, Frankfurt/M 1975, 39-60.

¹¹ E. Crawley, *Achilles and Scyros*, CQ 7 1893, 243-246.

¹² Some recent examples: Jeanmaire (n. 3), 354f; L. Gernet, *Droit et société dans la Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1955, 21; M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite*, Paris 1958, 5-27; A. Brelich, *Gli eroi Greci*, Roma 1959, 242; P. Vidal-Naquet, *PCPhS* 14 1968, 59; J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en grèce ancienne*, Paris 1974, 39; G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths*, Harmondsworth 1974, 198; W. Burkert, *RM* 118 1975, 19.

¹³ J. Bremmer, *Avunculate and Fosterage*, *J. Indo-Eur. Stud.* 4 1976, 65-78.

¹⁴ *Il.* XIX 326f; Soph. *Ph.* 239-44; Strabo 9, 5, 16; Apollod. *Ep.* 5, 11.

¹⁵ *Arch. fr.* 304 West; *Luc. Salt.* 9; *EM* 699, 1.

¹⁶ M. Delcourt, *Pyrrhos et Pyrrha*, Paris 1965, 34.

to the rites of initiation; rightly so¹⁷, since a change of name can be traced for a number of heroes and always in their youth. Jason received his name from his tutor Cheiron (Pind. *N.* 4, 119) whom he left at the age of twenty (*ibidem*, 104). There existed a tradition according to which Theseus had received his name after having been acknowledged as a son by his father Aegeus (Plut. *Thes.* 4, 1) when he was a *meirakion*¹⁸ "lad" (*ibidem*, 6). Achilles was called Ligyron before Cheiron gave him the name Achilles (Apollod. 3, 13, 6). Bellerophon used to be called Hipponoos (Schol. *Il.* VI 155; Schol. Lyc. 17). Paris' name was Alexandros when he was a *neariskos* "young man"¹⁹, and it should be noted that his education, as told by Apollodorus (3, 12, 5), strongly resembles the initiatory education of Cyrus²⁰. Heracles (cp. n. 9) was first called Alcaeus, Alcides or Neilos. Such a change of name could be acted out very seriously. Among the Sara²¹ the returning novices had to be introduced to their parents after having received a new name since their parents were supposed not to know them anymore. In Western Europe a change of name in an initiatory context is testified in the legend of Cúchulainn²² and in the ceremonies of the guilds²³. Moreover, a

¹⁷ The in itself not improbable view that Pyrrhos and Neoptolemos originally were different characters and only later 'unified' does not influence the fact that here the change of name has been fitted into an initiatory pattern.

¹⁸ The Greek word corresponds with the Indo-Iranian terms *marya-*, *mairya-*, *marīka* (*maryaka*), *mērak*, the termini technici for the members of the men's societies, cp. G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran*, Köln/Opladen 1969, 83. Paus. 6, 23, 8 mentions an Aphrodite Philomeirax near a gymnasium in Elis.

¹⁹ Apollod. 3, 12, 5 ἔτρεφεν ὀνομάσας Πάριον : γενόμενος δὲ νεανίσκος καὶ πολλῶν διαφέρων κάλλει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος προσωνομάσθη, ληστὰς ἀμυνόμενος καὶ τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἀλεξήσας; Ennius fr. 20 Joc. *quapropter Parim pastores nunc Alexandrum vocant*; Ov. *Her.* 16,361f *paene puer caesis abducta armenta recepi/hostibus et causam nominis inde tuli*. When in the recently published hypothesis of Euripides Alexandros seems to be renamed Paris in stead of the other way round, this must be due to the succinct character of the hypothesis and should not be interpreted as a different tradition, *contra* R. A. Coles, *A new Oxyrrhynchus Papyrus: the Hypothesis of Euripides' Alexandros*, London 1974, 17f.

²⁰ Cp. A. Alföldi, *Königsweibe und Männerbund bei den Achämeniden*, Schweiz. Arch. f. Vkd. 47 1951, 11-16; G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros und Romulus*, Meisenheim 1964; id., *Aussetzung*, *Enzyklopädie* (n. 7), 1048-65.

²¹ R. Jaulin, *La mort Sara*, Paris 1967, 115.

²² Significantly at the house of a smith, cp. A./B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, London 1973², 247. Finn was first called Damne: K. Meyer, *Macgnimartha Find*, *Rev. Celtique* 5 1881/3 195-204, 201 c. 18.

²³ H. Grotefend, *Die Handwerksnamen*, *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine* 1911, 81-98. For guilds and Hansa as deriving from ancient men's societies, see E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* I, Paris 1969, 70-79.

change of name as rite of passage is well known from the monastic world²⁴.

The ephebic character of Neoptolemos does not only explain his localisation in Epirus (§ 10), but also his « manches herben und fast rohen Charakterzugs »²⁵, since the dark side of the behaviour of the young men and their terrorising activities have been well brought out by O. Höfler²⁶, S. Wikander²⁷, G. Widengren²⁸ and H.G. Wackernagel²⁹.

Finally, the ephebic nature of Neoptolemos cannot be separated from the Pyrrhos who was killed in Delphi, in the realm of Apollo³⁰. Burkert³¹ has pointed out how this killing happened in the way of the men's societies and how « wolfish » the killers behaved. It can hardly be accidental that this murder – a reflection of an ancient initiation ritual? – was thought to have occurred in the realm of Apollo. What Burkert³² states regarding the relation between the ephebic god Apollo and Achilles must also apply to the relation between the god and Achilles' son: « Der Heros als umdunkeltes Spiegelbild des Gottes in der unauf löslichen Polarität des Opfers ».

6. (Philoctetes) – A much more complicated case is the one of Philoctetes. The legend is well known³³. The Thessalian prince

²⁴ See the brief but excellent discussion of the 'rite de passage' elements during the novitiate period by R. Molitor, *Symbolische Grablegung bei der Ordensprofess*, Benedikt. Monatss. 6 1924, 54-57. The Greek monks often choose a name starting with the same letter as their old name, cp. J. F. Boissonnade, *Anecdota nova*, Paris 1844, 24; Anal. Boll. 14 1895, 153 n. 4.

²⁵ *Roscher's Lex.* III 1, 172.

²⁶ O. Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen I*, Frankfurt/M 1934, 22ff, 178ff.

²⁷ S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund*, Diss. Lund 1938, 64, 95.

²⁸ G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, Uppsala 1938, 311ff; id. (n. 7), 605f.

²⁹ H. G. Wackernagel, *Altes Volkstum der Schweiz*, Basel 1956, 303.

³⁰ Pind. *Pai.* 6, 116-20, N. 7, 40-47 and Schol. 58, 62; Eur. *Andr.* 49-55, 1122-57; Eur. *Or.* 1654-57; Soph. 'Hermione', 141-143 Pearson; Burkert 136 n. 12 gives full bibliography.

³¹ Burkert, *Gnomon* 38 1966, 440.

³² Burkert, *RM* 118 1975, 19.

³³ Sources: L. A. Milani, *Il mito di Filottete nella letteratura classica e nell'arte figurata*, Firenze 1879; C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* III 2¹, Berlin 1923, 1207-17. Philoctetes was a popular subject for tragedy and treated by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, cp. W. M. Calder, *Die Technik der Sophokleischen Komposition im "Philoctetes"*, in E. C. Welskopf (ed), *Hellenische Poleis* III, Berlin 1973, 1382-88. Especially valuable for our subject, because of their discussion of Philoctetes and Neoptolemos, are J.-P. Vernant/P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en grèce ancienne*, Paris 1973, 159-184 and C. Fuqua, *Studies in the Use of Myth in Sophocles' "Philoctetes" and the "Orestes" of Euripides*, *Traditio* 32 1976, 30-95.

Philoctetes was with the other Greeks on his way to Troy when he was bitten on his foot by a snake. Because of the unbearable smell of the wound he was left all alone with his bow on the isle of Lemnos for nine years. In the tenth year Odysseus and Diomedes fetched him because it was prophesied that Troy could not be taken without him. After his arrival at the battlefield he killed Paris who was then the great hero of the Trojans.

We take as a point of departure for our analysis the bad smell, which we will discuss separately from the wound in the foot, since, as Luc Brisson observed, it is a « mécanisme propre à tout récit » that it « projette la simultanéité dans la succession » and « transforme la relation en causalité »³⁴. In Greece the bad smell undeniably belonged to the liminal period. The women of Lemnos kept their men away from them by means of a terrible smell one day in the year (sources: Burkert 212 n3) just as the Athenian ladies did during the Skira festival (Philochoros *FGH* 328 F89). The bad smell does not mean that normal people smelled nicely; that was reserved for the gods³⁵. This suggests the following scheme as regards the place of smell in Greek life. Liminal man (= non-man): normal man: god = bad smell: no smell: nice smell; man as the mediator between non-man and the gods.

The wound in the foot links up with the theme of the wound in the leg, a recurrent feature in stories with a special pattern. In the Grimm fairy-tale *Goldener* (KHM 136), of which Höfler³⁶ has demonstrated the initiatory pattern, the hero is wounded in his leg, a wound by which he is recognised and which establishes his identity. Similarly, in the Normandian legend *Robert le Diable*, of which Höfler³⁷ also demonstrated the initiatory structure, the hero is recognised by a wound he had received in his thigh³⁸. Odysseus, whose adventures contain a clear initiatory pattern (§ 7), had a scar above the knee, surely the thigh (*Od.* 19, 450). Heracles (cp. n. 9) was reputed to have been bitten in the leg during his visit in the

³⁴ L. Brisson, *Le mythe de Tirésias*, EPRO 55, Leiden 1976, 33.

³⁵ H. Cer. 277f; h. Merc. 231; Hes. *fr.* 140; Theognis 9; A. PV. 115; Eur. *Hipp.* 1391. E. Lohmeyer, *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch*, SB Heidelberg, 1919; W. Déonna, ΕΥΩΔΙΑ. *Croyances antiques et modernes: l'odeur suave des dieux et des élus*, Genava 17 1939, 167-263. A lovely smell is a standard element of the heavenly garden in visions, cp. E. Benz, *Die Vision*, Stuttgart 1969, 371-377.

³⁶ O. Höfler, *Germanisches Sakralkönigtum* I, Tübingen/München/Köln 1952, 205-213.

³⁷ Höfler, *ibidem*, 243-47.

³⁸ E. Löseth (ed), *Robert le Diable*, Paris 1903, l. 3485: *car (la lance) Robert feri en la quisse.*

underworld³⁹ and in Tegea there was a statue of him showing a wound in his thigh (Paus. 8, 53, 9). Athena, the goddess par excellence to be associated with the young men, had a statue in Teuthis with a wound in the thigh which was bound with a crimson bandage (Paus. 8, 28, 6). Elsewhere the marking of the leg is connected with Apollo, the god closely associated with initiation⁴⁰. Each of the Seleucids, who considered themselves to be descendants of Apollo⁴¹, had a birthmark on the thigh (Justinus 15, 4, 3-9). The Ethiopians were reputed to tattoo an image of Apollo on the knee-pan of their children (Lydus, *Mens.* 4, 53). The most famous case is Pythagoras who was reputed to have a golden thigh on which an image of Apollo was imprinted (Schol. Luc. 124, 6f Rabe). Burkert⁴² connects this thigh with the marking in the cult of the Great Mother (EM s. v. Γάλλος) and interprets the wound as a sign of initiation, but nowhere do we find that the followers of the Great Mother were marked in their leg. The connection with Apollo and the recurrent featuring of the wounded leg in stories with an initiatory pattern show that Burkert is right in his interpretation of Pythagoras' wound as a sign of initiation; it is the reflection of an ancient, probably Indo-European, practice of marking⁴³ the leg of the passant from boyhood to adulthood.

It has been observed repeatedly that the wounds inflicted on the novices were sometimes a sign of death⁴⁴. The wounds in the leg may well have had this meaning in Greece, too. Although no longer apparent in our tradition, the wound in the foot must have been symbolic of death in the legend of Oidipous since in non-Greek versions of the legend the wound in the foot is replaced by a symbolic beheading or a simulated gastrotomy. This example is very valuable since Oidipous' education, as Propp has brilliantly demonstrated, shows a clear initiatory pattern⁴⁵. Myth could also

³⁹ Burkert (n. 42), 160.

⁴⁰ See F. Graf, *Nord-Ionische Kulte*, forthcoming.

⁴¹ For the connection of Apollo and the Seleucids, see L. Robert, in *Laodicée du Lycos*, Québec/Paris 1969, 295; F. Kolb, *ZPE* 15 1974, 261-264.

⁴² W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge Mass. 1972, 159f.

⁴³ Cp. Höfler (n. 36), 212 n. 470 on the wounds in the leg of Goldener and Robert le Diable: "Ein alter 'Merkungs' Brauch?" The 'rite de passage' character of the wound is also noted by K. Spiess, *Ferse, Abschlagen der*, in L. Mackensen, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* II, Berlin 1939/40, 92-104. Was it purely a matter of convenience that the nobles (§ 7) marked their horses on the thigh (Schol. Arist. N. 1226; Schol. Luc. 152 Rabe)?

⁴⁴ Brelich 80 n. 85 (with bibliography); Propp 148f; M. Eliade, *Australian Religions*, Ithaca/London 1973, 90f.

⁴⁵ V. Propp, *Edipo alla luce del folclore*, Torino 1975, 85-137; the wound in the foot: 102f.

speak of a real death. Adonis was fatally wounded in the thigh (Bio *Epit. Adon.* 7), Cheiron around the knee (Apollod. 2, 5, 4), Achilles in the heel (Hyg. *fab.* 107), and in the medieval *exempla*, of which J. C. Schmitt⁴⁶ (§ 14) has recently shown the initiatory pattern, the young men were killed by fire starting in their feet and thighs. The wounding of the heel as a symbol of killing may also be assumed in the case of the Austrian Lutzelfrau – a figure akin to Percht⁴⁷ and always enacted by young men – who about Christmas time goes round threatening to cut off the heels of naughty children⁴⁸. This threat runs parallel with the threat of cutting off the head and the threat of gastrotoomy.

When a hero is said to be wounded in the leg during his visit to the underworld as in the case of Heracles, this seems to be a later development of the close connection between wound and death. This connection is frequent in a type of folktale, especially found in Central-Europe, where the hero just escapes the slamming door of the underworld or a magic mountain (obviously a replacement) but loses his heel(s) in the process⁴⁹. The connection of the slamming doors and the loss of the heel(s) seems to be a later development⁵⁰, so what we really have is the connection of the wounded heel and the underworld. This ritual scenario was strong enough to pass into history. In Paros Miltiades was fatally injured in the thigh or, as others said, in the knee when he entered the precinct of Demeter Thesmophoros⁵¹. The significant point is that this Demeter in Paros belonged to the *chthonian* gods (Herodot. 6, 134).

The origin of the idea of wounding the thigh or knee must be looked for in the world of the hunters. From such far away

⁴⁶ J. C. Schmitt, "Jeunes" et danse des chevaux de bois, le folklore méridional dans la littérature des "exempla" (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles), in *La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIII^e siècle à la moitié du XIV^e siècle* = Cahiers de Fanjeaux 11 1976, 127-158. In tales of the Middle Ages the wound in the leg was a frequently occurring phenomenon and in medieval plays the loser was often hurt in his leg or started to limp, see F. Socolicek, *Der Hinkende im brauchtümlichen Spiel*, in *Festschrift Otto Höfler I*, Wien 1968, 423-432.

⁴⁷ On Percht: V. Waschnitius, *Holda und verwandte Gestalten*, Wien 1914; L. Schmidt, *Berchtengestalten im Burgenland*, Burgenländische Heimatblätter 13 1951, 129-161; R. Bleichsteiner, *Berchtengestalten im Mittelalten*, Arch. f. Völkerkunde 8 1953, 58-75; L. Schmidt, *Berchtenmasken in Österreich*, Wien 1972; Meuli I, 102-114.

⁴⁸ Cp. A. Haberlandt, Mitt. Antrop. Ges. Wien 83 1953/54, 196-99; L. Kretzenbacher, *Santa Lucia und die Lutzelfrau*, München 1959, 60-65.

⁴⁹ Many examples in P. Sartori, Zs. Ver. f. Vkd. 4 1894, 416f; A. H. Krappe, *Balor with the Evil Eye*, New York 1927, 106-13; Spiess (n. 43).

⁵⁰ Sartori, o.c., 417; Krappe, o.c., 11f.

⁵¹ For the typical 'Cycladic' character of this cult, see F. Salviat, BCH 83 1959, 382-90.

parts of the world as the Red Indians, the Bushmen and the Laotian Kouï, Frazer⁵² has collected evidence that hunters cut out a piece or removed a sinew from their game's thigh or hamstrung it. In all these cases the practice is connected with the idea of laming the game or the hunter.

The origin of wounding the heel similarly lies in the world of the hunters. Bela Gunda⁵³ has shown that the Eurasian hunters caught their game by cutting the Achilles' heel so that they could not run away. The same hunting method is testified by Strabo (16, 4, 10) for the Elephantophagoi and by Diodorus (3, 26, 2) for the Elephantomachoi. Nor can we separate from this hunting method the cutting of the sinews of Zeus' hands and feet by Typhon (Apollod. 1, 6, 3), the hamstringing of the smith Wayland in the Icelandic Völundarkviða (17, pr. 1) and the Lord's command to Joshua to hough the horses of his opponents (Joshua 11, 6)⁵⁴. It seems then that the wounding of the leg was originally a symbolic laming to contrast the novices with the adult hunters for whom running was of such great importance.

There are many tales of births from *male* thighs and knees in Indo-European, Semitic and other cultures⁵⁵. In Greece the theme is well illustrated by the birth of Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus (Eur. *Bacc.* 286-297 and J. Roux *a.l.*). It could be suggested that these tales are relevant for the explanation of the wounds in the leg. Since, however, the heel is never mentioned in this context, we have not taken them into consideration.

The wound of Philoctetes did not heal on Lemnos. The detail is not unimportant: in this way Philoctetes is separated on the one hand from the non-wounded, the non-initiated, and on the other hand from the scarred, those who have already passed their initiatory period⁵⁶.

Philoctetes had to stay nine years on Lemnos and could leave the island only in the tenth. This period of time seems significant.

⁵² J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild* II, London 1913³, 264-67.

⁵³ B. Gunda, *Das Abhauen der Achillessehne der Tiere in der eurasischen Jagdkultur*, Zs. f. Ethnologie 70 1938, 454-456.

⁵⁴ Note also Genesis 49, 6; II Sam. 8, 4. Among the ancient Arabs: J. Wellhausen, *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897², 181.

⁵⁵ W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London 1903², 38; id., *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London 1894², 380f; H. Stieglecker, "Zeugen", "Wissen" und "Knie" im Semitischen und Indogermanischen, *Anthropos* 22 1927, 1000-03; W. Déonna, *Le genou, siège de force et de vie et sa protection magique*, *RA* 13 1939, 224-235; Burkert, *Griechische Religion* etc., Stuttgart 1977, 257.

⁵⁶ The initiatory value of the non-healing wound was already argued by I. I. Tolstoj, *Neudačnoe vračevanie (Antičnaja parallel' k russkoi skazke)*, *Iazyk i literatura* 8 1932, 245-265; Propp, 156f.

In primitive Arcadia it was told how the Olympian victor Demarchos was changed into a wolf and became human again after nine years⁵⁷. And the author Euanthes relates how in an Arcadian family – obviously his own (Burkert 102) – once in a while a boy was selected, taken to a lake where he undressed, swam across the lake and disappeared into the wilderness where he lived on as a wolf. If he had not become a cannibal (§ 7), he could become human again in the ninth year. This nine-year period is illuminatingly compared by Burkert (151) with the nine-year period Odysseus had to stay away before he could return home in the tenth (§ 7).

Philoctetes' stay was imagined to be in complete isolation from civilisation. His weapon, the bow, was rated an inferior one which a normal Greek would consider to be below his dignity (cp. n. 9). He had to live by hunting, an activity which for the Greeks had an ideological aspect. In a number of myths it is made clear that the hunt preceded agriculture⁶⁰. As the coming of agriculture – on a mythological level sometimes represented by the arrival of Demeter⁶¹ – constituted the beginnings of civilisation, the hunter, consequently, must have been considered as someone outside civilisation. This is also attested by Greek vocabulary which closely associates "hunt" and "non-cultivated area"⁶². Finally, the hunt is characterised by the absence of force and the presence of *dolos* "ruse"⁶³, a theme which we will encounter repeatedly (§ 7, 11, 12).

Lemnos was an island which fell outside Greek civilisation. According to Greek tradition the Etruscans had lived on it (Philochoros *FGH* 328 F100). Its inhabitants, the Sintians, were reputed to be magicians (Eratosthenes *FGH* 242 F41), the makers of the first weapons and inventors of the robberbands (Anacreon *fr.* 504

⁵⁷ Paus. 8, 2, 6. Olympic Victor: Paus. 6, 8, 2 = L. Moretti, *Olympionikai*, Roma 1957, no. 359.

⁵⁸ The difference of one year is not significant, cp O. Weinreich, *Ausgewählte Schriften* II, Amsterdam 1973, 437 on the for myth and folklore important numbers which "in den Formen n, n-1 und n+1 auftreten können"; similarly, with other examples of 9 = 9-1, W. Schultz, *Gesetze der Zahlenverschiebung im mythenhaltiger Überlieferung*, Mitt. Anthropol. Ges. Wien 30 1910, 101-150.

⁵⁹ Euanthes *FGH* 320; Aug. *Civ.* 18, 17.

⁶⁰ The myths are discussed by G. Piccaluga, *Minutal*, Roma 1974, 77-94. See also M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort*, Paris 1977, 64-77.

⁶¹ Cp. F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens*, RGVV 33, Berlin/New York 1974, 160-63.

⁶² Cp. P. Chantraine, *Études sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris 1956, 40-65 on the connection between ἄγρᾱ and ἄγρῶς.

⁶³ For the contrast force-ruse, see M. Detienne/J.-P. Vernant, *Les ruses de l'intelligence*, Paris 1974, 52 n. 2. For *dolos* and hunt, *ibidem*, 52-54.

Page; Philochoros F101). The islanders spoke a non-Greek language⁶⁴ and were called by Homer (*Od.* 8, 294) *agriophonoi* "with rough voice". It is therefore understandable that Sophocles (*Ph.* 144), in spite of all historical reality, can call the island an *eschatia* "the incultivated area beyond the valleys"⁶⁵.

So far then we have found the following reversals:

<i>positive</i>		<i>negative</i>
scarified/non-wounded	×	wounded
good smell	×	bad smell
with status	×	without status
culture	×	nature
agriculture	×	hunt
hoplite	×	archer
Greek	×	non-Greek

From this survey it becomes clear that Philoctetes is characterised by a series of reversals which locate him in the liminal period. When we now try to reach a conclusion of our analysis, the outcome can hardly be surprising. In the tale of the prince who, marked by a wound, is left alone for nine years, a period characterised by a series of reversals, on a place outside Greek civilisation and who then returns to the civilised world where he defeats the great enemy, we unmistakably recognise an initiatory pattern^{65a}. Such a solution takes into account all the details of the legend and therefore fully answers our « rules of the game ».

7. (Odysseus) – Odysseus' figure has recently been much clarified by Walter Burkert (148-152) who has pointed out the presence of the werewolf scheme, but there is still room for some supplementary remarks.

The description of Odysseus' youth (*Od.* 19, 390-466) is full of initiatory motifs⁶⁶. Here, we have the stay at Autolykos (the

⁶⁴ It remains obscure why exactly on Lemnos this non-Greek language lasted so long although also in Asia Minor non-Greek linguistic enclaves lasted well into the Byzantine Age, cp. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* II, Tübingen 1928, 238-248; P. Charanis, *DOP* 13 1959, 25f and *DOP* 29 1975, 9 n. 36.

⁶⁵ Cp. L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta* II, Amsterdam 1969, 820-22; D. M. Lewis, in M. I. Finley (ed), *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce*, Paris/Den Haag 1973, 210-12.

^{65a} For a very similar analysis, see now M. Massenzio, *Anomalie della persona, segregazione e attitudini magiche. Appunti per una lettura del "Filottete" di Sofocle*, in P. Xella (ed), *Magia*, Roma 1976, 177-195.

⁶⁶ Although none has been recognised by A. Köhnken, *Die Narbe des Odysseus*, *AA* 22 1976, 101-114.

wolf!), his mother's father (§ 5), who gave him his name, a typical initiatory theme⁶⁷, and where he received the scar in his thigh (§ 6). According to Homer the scar was received during a boar-hunt. Evidently, this is another case of a relation transformed into a causality (§ 6). During his stay Odysseus will have received the scar and participated in a boar-hunt, two events which the poet has combined. The boar hunt was a common heroic ordeal⁶⁸ which in Alexander's time still had initiatory value in Macedonia since a man could only recline at dinner, i.e. have the status of an adult, when he had speared a boar without a hunting-net (Hegesandros *apud* Athen. 1, 18A).

During Odysseus' wanderings, a theme we will discuss later (§ 10), a stay with Polyphemos the Cyclops⁶⁹ finds place, a stay already interpreted as belonging to the initiatory period by Gabriel Germain⁷⁰. Polyphemos is a typical counterpart of civilised man through his behaviour and physical appearance. In later Greek tradition the Cyclops appear as smiths (Hes. *Tb.* 141) which must mean that a pre-historic image is replaced by the representation of the marginal men of the early Iron Age⁷¹. During his stay with the Cyclops cannibalistic activities take place in which, it is true, Odysseus does not participate but this seems to be a more "civilised" tradition since in a number of parallel versions the hero is actually forced to participate in those cannibalistic activities⁷². Here, we are once more reminded of the Arcadian boy (§ 6) who had to spend eight years in the wilderness. Our sources tell us that the boy would become human only if he had not eaten human flesh. Is this not rather odd? As if eating human flesh was the normal thing to do! No, it must have been that in an older, less "civili-

⁶⁷ See Propp (n. 45), 112f.

⁶⁸ H. Beck, *Das Ebersignum im Germanischen*, Berlin 1965, 154-176.

⁶⁹ Cp. O. Hackman, *Die Polyphemosage in der Volksüberlieferung*, Helsinki 1904; D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford 1955, 1-20; id., *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey*, Cambridge Mass. 1973, 27f; Meuli II 637-649; L. Röhrich, *Märchen und Sage*, Freiburg/B. 1976, 234-251 (on the medieval versions, with extensive bibliography).

⁷⁰ G. Germain, *Genèse de l'Odyssee*, Paris 1954, 55-129.

⁷¹ On the ambiguous position of the smith: M. Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, New York 1971²; A. Margarido/E. Germain-Wasserman, *Du mythe et de la pratique du forgeron en Afrique noire*, Diogenes 78 1972, 91-122; E. Marold, *Die Gestalt des Schmiedes in der Volkssage*, in L. Röhrich (ed), *Probleme der Sagenforschung*, Freiburg/B 1973, 100-11; K. Hauck, *Wielands Hort. Die sozialgeschichtliche Stellung des Schmiedes etc.*, Stockholm 1977.

⁷² Burkert 151; Röhrich (n. 69). For the opposition civilisation/cannibalism, see A. J. Festugière, *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique*, Paris 1972, 146-49; P. Vidal-Naquet, in Finley (n. 65), 272, 279f; Detienne (n. 60), 133-60.

sed", version the novice could only become human again if he really had tasted human flesh⁷³. It is cannibalism that belongs to the initiation time, not its absence. The feature of cannibalism during initiation and by secret societies is well known. Its presence in Greece may still be surprising, however. Yet, cannibalism and necrophagy, its alternative, are well established for the Indo-European werewolves too. The Iranian members of the men's societies, the « two-pawed wolves »⁷⁴ (!) were accused of living on corpses⁷⁵. Mircea Eliade⁷⁶ has suggested that this accusation was a kind of stereotype used by Zarathustran polemicists, but similar accusations were levelled against the worshippers of Siva, the *agorapanthis*⁷⁷. Also in Western-Europe the *wargus* "werewolf"⁷⁸ was associated with cannibalism and necrophagy⁷⁹. The latter activity is alluded to in John Ford's *Lover's Melancholy* (Act III – sc. 3) where Rhetias says: « Bow-wow! Wow-wow! The moon's eclipsed; I'll to the church-yard and sup ... »⁸⁰. Necrophagy was still in full force in the last century for the novices of the Kwakiutl secret societies and was reputed to be somewhat easier than cannibalism⁸¹.

⁷³ As is suggested by Widengren (n. 7), 166.

⁷⁴ Wikander (n. 27), 64ff; Widengren (n. 28), 328ff, 344.

⁷⁵ Widengren (n. 28), 331ff.

⁷⁶ M. Eliade, *Zalmoxis, the vanishing God*, Chicago/London 1972, 8.

⁷⁷ Widengren (n. 28), 335.

⁷⁸ *Wargus*: M. R. Gerstein, *Germanic Warg: the Outlaw as Werwolf*, in G. J. Larson (ed), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity*, Berkeley/L.A./London 1974, 131-56; M. Jacoby, *Wargus, vargr 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf'*, Uppsala 1974; id., *Nordische Ortsnamen mit varg-'Wolf' 'Verbrecher' und ulv-'Wolf'*, Beiträge z. Namenf. 11 1976, 425-436. *Werewolf*: W. Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, Stuttgart 1862; S. Battaglia, *La coscienza letteraria del Medioevo*, Napoli 1965, 361-89 (on the werewolf-motif in Maria di Francia's *Bisclavret*); L. Kretzenbacher, *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volkesdichtung* (München 1968); M. Ullman, *Der Werwolf. Ein griechisches Sagenmotiv in arabischer Verkleidung*, WZKM 68 1976, 171-184. *Warriors and lycanthropy*: G. Müller, *Studien zu den theriophoren Personennamen der Germanen*, Köln/Wien 1970, 178-186; Eliade (n. 76), 1-20; B. Lincoln, *Homeric λύσσα: "wolfish Rage"*, IF 80 1975, 98-105. On the difference in ideas about the wolf in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Gh. Ortalli, *Natura, storia e mitografia del lupo nel Medioevo*, La Cultura 11 1973, 257-311.

⁷⁹ R. Leubuscher, *Über die Wehrwölfe und Thierverwandlungen im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1850; Hertz (78), 104ff; Gerstein (n. 78); Jacoby 1974 (n. 78), 22-27. See also N. Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, London 1975, for the frequent accusations of cannibalism against witches. In tracing the history of this accusation Cohn neglects the werewolf tradition.

⁸⁰ See also John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, Act V sc. 2 and F. L. Lucas, *John Webster, the Duchess of Malfi*, London 1958², 198f for the sources of that passage.

⁸¹ F. Boas, *The social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, Washington 1897, 440f.

Burkert (129f, 149) has compared Odysseus' escape from the Cyclops' grotto under a ram with a report about visitors, dressed in sheep-skins, to the hole of Cheiron. The parallel is even more precise than Burkert suggests. Herakleides (2, 8) tells us: « At the very top of the mountain (i.e. Pelion) is the so-called Cheiron grotto and a sanctuary of Zeus Aktaios. Hereto ascend, at the times of the rise of Sirius, the time of the greatest heat, τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, chosen by the priest, girdled with new, thrice-shorn, sheep-skins ». What do these Greek words exactly mean? Burkert (129) and F. Pfister⁸² respectively translate with « die angesehensten Bürger, die in die Blüte ihrer Jahre stehen » and « die angesehensten und in kräftigem Alter stehenden Bürger » but Müller (FHG II 262) with « nobilissimi quique e civitatis incolis et iuvenes » and G. Germain⁸³, taking καὶ as explanatory, with « des jeunes hommes de familles notables »⁸⁴. The latter translation seems the most preferable since ἡλικία is a typical word for an age-group, most frequently « les jeunes hommes d'âge militaire en raison de l'importance de cette classe d'âge »⁸⁵. This translation fits in best, too, with the fact that the grotto was called after Cheiron, the Greek initiator par excellence⁸⁶. That initiation belongs to the élite only is a recurrent feature of Greek rituals which have been interpreted as initiatory or deriving from initiatory rituals such as the Athenian Arrephoria⁸⁷ and Oschophoria⁸⁸, the Corinthian Akraia⁸⁹, the Delphian Septerion⁹⁰ and the case of the Locrian Maidens⁹¹.

A part of Odysseus' wanderings which does not need much elucidation is his journey to the Beyond (*Od.* 11). Such a journey

⁸² F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides*, Wien 1951, 89.

⁸³ Germain (n. 70), 90.

⁸⁴ For the explanatory (specifying) force of καὶ (not discussed by Denniston), see W. J. Verdenius, *Mnem.* 9 1956, 249, 11 1958, 194 and 21 1968, 146.

⁸⁵ Chantraine (n. 62), 159; id., *Dict. Etymol. s. v. ἡλικία* comparing Hesych. s. v. βαλκυιώτης · συνέφηβος. Κρήτες.

⁸⁶ Cp. H. Jeanmaire, *Chiron*, *AiPhO* 9 1949, 255-65.

⁸⁷ Harpocration s. v. Ἀρρηφορεῖν · δι'εὐγένειαν; *Anecd. Bekk.* I 202, 3 and *EM* 149, 20 κατ'εὐγένειαν. Cp. W. Burkert, *Kekropidensage und Arrephoria*, *Hermes* 94 1966, 1-25; Brelich 229-38; P. Vidal-Naquet, in J. Le Goff/P. Nora, *Faire de l'histoire* 3, Paris 1974, 154, 154; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, 141-43 characteristically neither discusses nor mentions these interpretations.

⁸⁸ Hesych. s. v. Ὀσχοφόρια · παῖδες εὐγενεῖς, cp. Brelich 444f.

⁸⁹ Kreophylos *FGH* 417 F3 ἐπτὰ κούρους καὶ ἐπτὰ κούρας τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων ἀνδρῶν, cp. A. Brelich, *I figli di Medeia*, *SMSR* 30 1959, 213-54; Brelich 355-65.

⁹⁰ *Ael. VH.* 3. 1 παῖδας εὐγενεῖς, cp. Brelich 387-438.

⁹¹ *Polyb.* 12. 5. 6f, cp. F. Graf, *Die Lokrischen Mädchen*, *SSR* 2 1978.

was an ordeal well known from shamanistic initiations and puberty rites all over the world and is extensively discussed by Mircea Eliade⁹².

Odysseus returned home as a beggar, a typical case of a status reversal, as is his wearing of the *pilos* "felt cap". Burkert (150) observes that the *pilos* is worn too by Hephaistos, the Kabeiroi and the Dioskouroi, and wonders if Odysseus belongs to the circle of the Kabeiroi mysteries. For such a connection no evidence exists, a reason why we offer a different explanation.

Felt is a very cheap material⁹³ and the felt cap⁹⁴ was basically the hat of the lower classes (Daremborg-Saglio *s.v.*). From a methodical point of view any discussion should start here and then proceed to its more specific use. As such the felt cap was naturally worn by the metal workers (Daremborg-Saglio II, fig. 937, 942, 955) which explains Hephaistos and the Kabeiroi. Worn by a prince, it consequently denotes a status reversal. The felt cap may well once have been a regular feature of the novices, who as we have seen (*supra*) always belong to the social élite, since we have an illustration of Theseus lifting the rock under which the *gnorismata* were hidden whereby his father Aegeus holds the sword and instead of the normal sandals⁹⁵, a *pilos*⁹⁶. Because Theseus lifted the rock at the age of sixteen (Paus. 1, 27, 8), the felt cap is clearly associated with his entry into the initiatory period. The Dioskouroi, too, are noble young men.

The felt cap is perhaps even an Indo-European inheritance since we find this hat as the headgear of the members of the Indo-

⁹² M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, New York 1958; id., *Shamanism*, London 1964, *passim*.

⁹³ Cp. B. Laufer, *The Early History of Felt*, Am. Anthropol. 32 1930, 1-18. Illustrative for the low standing of felt and the felt-cap are also the entries of *Filz* and related words, and *Spitzhut* in Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. The symbolism of felt is studied by L. Olschki, *The Myth of Felt*, Berkeley/L. A. 1949, and Dante "Poeta Veltro", Florence 1953.

⁹⁴ The best discussion of the felt cap is the entry in Daremborg-Saglio. Still useful is the discussion by the prolific Jesuit Th. Raynaud, *Tractatus de pileo, caeteris capitis tegminibus* etc, Lyon 1655 = *Opera* XII, Lyon 1665, 581-640. The book was reprinted under the pseudonym Anselmus Solerius in Amsterdam 1671 and, finally, under the author's own name in J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* VI, Utrecht/Leiden 1697, 1212-1310.

⁹⁵ All sources: C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Theseus lifting the Rock and a Cup near the Pithos Painter*, JHS 91 1971, 94-109.

⁹⁶ A. D. Trendall/A. Cambitoglie, *Apulian Red-figured Vase Painters of the Plain Style*, 1961, 20 = A. D. Trendall/T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London 1971, 73, pl. III, 3.3.

Iranian men's societies⁹⁷, the Kouretes⁹⁸, young Roman aristocrats⁹⁹, Lacedaemonian (Thuc. 4, 34), Oscan¹⁰⁰, Scythian¹⁰¹ and Anglo-Saxon¹⁰² warriors. Besides, they were still worn by the Dacian (D.C. 68, 9, 1) and (still?) in the sixteenth century by Russian nobles¹⁰³, both groups having war as their main profession. And it did not escape the great Renaissance military historian Paolo Giovio that in the battle of Marignano¹⁰⁵ (1515) the young Swiss soldiers, whose behaviour and place in society were strongly resembling those of novices (Wackernagel, n29, *passim*), wore felt caps which were decorated with feathers, headgear which also has been testified for the ancient Lycian warriors (Herodot. 7, 92).

We notice here a close remembrance between warriors and novices. This is not surprising. G. Duby¹⁰⁶ has called the *jeunesse* "l'organe d'agression". The same function was assigned to the young men of the African Lugbara¹⁰⁷ and Masai (Schurtz 129), the American Cheyennes (Schurtz 156) and the Caucasian Kubatschi¹⁰⁸ and, perhaps, occupied by the youths of the Parthians and ancient Turks¹⁰⁹. In these cases there has evidently been a development of that age-

⁹⁷ G. Widengren, *Harlekintracht und Mönchskutte, Clownhut und Derwischmütze*, *Orientalia Suecana* 2 1953, 41-111.

⁹⁸ O. Walter, *Κορητικὴ τριὰς*, *Österr. Jahresh.* 31 1939, 53-80.

⁹⁹ M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* I, Cambridge 1974, no. 346¹ and 480²⁰⁻²². The hats are worn by the noble *desultores*, see A. Alföldi, in *Gestalt und Geschichte. Festschrift Karl Schefold*, Bern 1967, 23-26.

¹⁰⁰ H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien*, Tübingen 1966, T. 102f, 105; A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*, Oxford 1967, 329, no. 761.

¹⁰¹ G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée* I, Paris 1974², 445.

¹⁰² C. A. Ashdown, *British Costume during XIX Centuries*, London 1910, 13.

¹⁰³ Cp. S. de Herberstain, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, Basel 1556², 55 *Vestes oblongas, pileos albos apicatos ex lana coacta, qua panulas barbaricas confectas videmus, solidosque ex officina gestant* (i.e. the nobles). Herberstain stayed more than half a year in Moscow in 1526, see his autobiography in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* I, Wien 1855 67-396, 273-75.

¹⁰⁴ P. Jovius, *Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus*, Venice 1552, 246 *audacissimorum iuvenum globus... neque alio felicitis audaciae insigni a ceteris perditii dignosuntur, quam candissimis pennarum manipulis, quos more ducum e pileis speciosa luxurie defluentes in tergum vertunt*. On Giovio: F. Chabod, *Scritti sul Rinascimento*, Torino 1967, 241-67.

¹⁰⁵ Cp. E. Usteri, *Marignano. Die Schicksalsjahre 1515/16 im Blickfeld der historischen Quellen*, Zürich 1974.

¹⁰⁶ G. Duby, *Hommes et structures du moyen âge*, Paris 1973, 216.

¹⁰⁷ G. Balandier, *Anthropo-logiques*, Paris 1974, 92.

¹⁰⁸ R. Bleichsteiner, *Masken- und Fastnachtsbräuche bei den Völkern des Kaukasus*, *Österr. Zs. f. Vkd.* 55 1952, Kongressheft, 59.

¹⁰⁹ Cp. K. V. Trever, *Drevneiranskii termin "Parna"*, *Izvestija Akademia Nauk SSR, Ser. Hist. Filos.* 4 1947, 73-84.

group which was the most energetic and the most powerful, and which often had a big say in the running of the tribal affairs, a position which the same age-group most likely once occupied in ancient Rome ¹¹⁰.

Odysseus returned ¹¹¹ on the day of the new moon (*Od.* 14, 162; 19, 307), a special moment which signified the end of the liminal period, the end of the chaos and the arrival of ordered civilisation ¹¹². The ideological value of the new moon appears from the nick-name *proselenoi* ¹¹³ "people from before the moon" for the Arcadians who were considered to be very primitive people as appears also from their other nick-name *balanephagoi* ¹¹⁴ "acorn-eaters", i.e. eaters of the food of the pre-cereal agriculture era ¹¹⁵, cereal agriculture in the eyes of the Greeks being associated with the arrival of civilisation (§ 6).

The emergence of ordered life is also symbolised in another way. Burkert (149f) has compared the arrival on a raft by Dardanus, the founder of Troy, in the Troad with Odysseus' departure from Calypso's island Ogygia on a raft, (*Od.* 7, 264). Ogygia's name cannot be separated from the name of Ogygos, the primeval king of Boeotia, who gave his name to the oldest Greek Flood, the Ogygian Flood ¹¹⁶. The departure on a raft thus designates Odysseus as a survivor of the Flood. The connection of Flood and initiation has recently been analysed by Ph. Borgeaud ¹¹⁷ who has pointed out that in Greek tradition – he discusses the cases of Zeus, Lycaon and Theseus – the survivor of a great catastrophe becomes, as a King, the founder of the cultural order and his initiation, during which all his companions are set apart or killed, serves as the model for future initiations with the difference that the survival only concerned the king. This observation of Borgeaud gives us consequently the clue to a part of the tradition not yet explained before:

¹¹⁰ E. Benveniste, *Pubes et publicus*, RPh 81 1955, 7-10; J.-P. Morel, *Pubes praesenti in contione, omni populo*, REL 42 1964, 375-88.

¹¹¹ For other 'rite de passage' moments in Odysseus' return, see C. P. Segal, *Transition and Ritual in Odysseus Return*, PP 22 1967, 321-342.

¹¹² For the close connection between moon and initiation, see M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1953², 158f.

¹¹³ Hippys FGH 554 F7; Eudoxos fr. 315 Lasserre; Schol. Arist. N. 397; Call. fr. 191 Pfeiffer; Schol. Lyc. 482; EM 690, 11.

¹¹⁴ Herod. 1, 66; Paus. 8, 1, 6; Galen. VI, 621; Schol. Lyc. 482.

¹¹⁵ Acorns belonged to the food of the Persian novices (Strabo 15, 3, 18).

¹¹⁶ Ogygos: Corinna fr. 671 Page. Ogygian Flood: Schol. Plat. *Tim.* 22A; Varro *apud* Cens. 21, 1; Jacoby on Philochoros FGH 328 F92; Nonnos D. 3, 204-08; Africanus *apud* Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 10, 10, 9.

¹¹⁷ Ph. Borgeaud, *The open Entrance to the closed Palace of the King: the Greek Labyrinth in Context*, Hist. of. Rel. 14 1974, 1-27.

the lonely arrival on Ithaca of Odysseus and the gradual disappearance of his companions.

The connection between the restoration of the cultural order and initiation is too well known to need any further discussion¹¹⁸. Especially important in Greek tradition is the case of Lycaon because we find here, too, the complex of initiation and the Flood. This complex may well be very old since we find a similar one among the Mandan Sioux Indians¹¹⁹ of whose initiation festival, the O-Kee-Pa, the famous painter of the Red Indians, George Catlin¹²⁰, has given a fascinating description. The ceremony was opened by the arrival in the village of a man with a « robe of four white wolf skins falling back over his shoulders » and « on his head he had a splendid head-dress made of two ravens' skin ». When asked who he was, « he replied by relating the sad catastrophe which had happened on the earth's surface by the overflowing of the waters, saying that 'he was the only person saved from the universal calamity; that he landed his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he now resides; that he had come to open the *medicine-lodge* (i.e. a kind of Mandan's men's house), which must needs receive a present of some edged-tool from the owner of every wigwam, that it may be sacrificed to the water; for he says 'if this is not done, there will be another Flood, and no one will be saved, as it was with such tools that the big canoe was made' ». At the end of the ceremonies the young men had to undergo their notorious tortures¹²¹.

¹¹⁸ See the examples by V. Lanternari, *La grande Festa*, Bari 1976², 102-06 (Fiji), 114f (New Ireland), 121 (New Guinea), 162 (Fireland) and 168 (Kwakiutl). Jaulin (n. 21), 122 was told that initiation preceded the foundation of the tribe.

¹¹⁹ There is a beautiful picture of a Mandan Indian in H. Läng, *Indianer waren meine Freunde. Leben und Werk Carl Bodmers 1809-1893*, Bern/Stuttgart 1976, 80. The tribe was as good as wiped out by a small-pox epidemic a couple of years after Catlin's visit.

¹²⁰ G. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Conditions of North American Indians*, London 1844¹, rep. New York 1973, I, 158-177. Note that the illustrations of the first edition are clearer than those of the reprint. There is also an elaborate description in A. W. Bowers, *Mandan social and ceremonial Organization*, Chicago 1950, 111-163. On Catlin: J. C. Ewers, *George Catlin, Painter of Indians and the West*, Annual Report of the Smiths. Institute 1955, Washington 1956, 483-528; H. Hartmann, *George Catlin und Baldin Möllhausen*, Berlin 1963, 11-45.

¹²¹ The ceremonial tortures Catlin described were so incredible that he was accused of a fake. For that reason he published in 1867 a separate edition of the O-Kee-Pa description with corroborative statements of other witnesses and some supplementary material which was left out in the first edition because of its supposed indecent character, see J. C. Ewers, *O-Kee-Pa. A religious Ceremony and other Customs of the Mandans by George Catlin*, New Haven/London 1967. The method of torturing is put in a wider cultural context by W. C. Macleod, *Hook-Swinging in the Old World and in America*, *Anthropos* 26 1931, 551-61.

We have already interpreted or will interpret later some themes of Odysseus' life as belonging to the initiatory period such as his nine-year (§ 6) wandering (§ 10) and his skill as an archer¹²² (cp. n 9). His "Don Juan" activities with Calypso and Circe, too, belong to the initiatory period, since heavy sexual involvement was a characteristic trait of the young men (cp. n 9) and is also testified for the Iranian *mairya*¹²³, the Celtic *fiana*¹²⁴ and the Swedish werewolves¹²⁵. Finally, if any Greek figure was renowned for his cunning (§ 6, 11, 12), it was Odysseus.

What conclusion can we draw? It will be clear that we recognise an evident case of royal initiation in the tale of the prince, who has to leave home, wanders around, is present at cannibalistic activities, visits the underworld, has a wound in the thigh, is an archer, is sexually very active, returns as a beggar, restores the cultural order as a symbolic survivor of the Flood and finally becomes king¹²⁶. In this way all the different motifs which, taken separately, may of course occur in different contexts, are explained by one hermeneutic key which is, from a methodic point of view, to be preferred to all kinds of supposed influences.

8. (Kouretes) – Before we come to Hector we shall first have to discuss, by way of a détour, the reason of which will later become clear, some other Greek figures, amongst others the Kouretes, i.e. the mythical Kouretes since in historical times groups of Kouretes also existed¹²⁷. Although the two groups are strongly related, the case of the historical Kouretes constitutes a problem, the discussion of which would carry us too far.

In the *Iliad* (XIX 193, 248) the Kouretes still figure as young men but they are already called gods by Hesiod (*fr.* 123, 3 M.-W.). In the story about Meleagros and the Calydonian hunt they are mentioned as a more or less ethnic group (*Il.* IX 529-99). From this story we gather, e.g., that the Kouretes were hunters (cp. § 6) but we must leave the problem of their geographical location aside till our discussion of Hector (§ 10).

¹²² Odysseus' skill as an archer appears from his shooting through twelve axes (*Od.* 21).

¹²³ Wikander (n. 27), 84f.

¹²⁴ Rees (n. 22), 65.

¹²⁵ B. Almqvist, *Norrön Niddiktning*, I, Uppsala 1965, 41 and n. 14.

¹²⁶ For initiation preceding inthronisation: Ad. E. Jensen, *Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern*, Stuttgart 1933, 87, 103; J. Vansina, *Africa* 25 1955, 152.

¹²⁷ See, for the time being, S. Luria, *Kureten, Molpen, Aisymneten*, AAH 11 1963, 31-36.

The Kouretes are described as dancers (Hes. *fr.* 123, 3 M.-W.). They seem to have been especially dancers of the *pyrrhiche* since this dance was supposed to have been invented by, besides Pyrrhos (§ 5), Pyrrhichos, one of the Kouretes (Ephoros *FGH* 70 F 149). Dances constituted a very important part of the initiatory education (Brelich 32), as is illustrated, *unum pro multis*, by the following example of the Nilotic Schilluk¹²⁸: «Hat der Junge getanzt (i.e. the initiatory dances), das heisst: ist er von anderen in den Reihen der Tänzer wirklich gesehen worden, so gilt er als gross, volljährig und Krieger. Darum ist auch in allen Verhandlungen die erste Frage, ob der Junge getanzt hat oder nicht, und je nach der Antwort fällt das Urteil härter oder gelinder aus. Vor dem Tanze wird dem Jungen jede Tat verziehen, und werden seine Stellvertreter dafür verantwortlich gemacht, nach dem Tanze fällt die Schuld auf ihn selbst». This connection of the dance with the age-group of the young still occurred in Western-Europe in historical times. In Montailou dancing was the special activity of the age-group of twenty-five¹²⁹, the sworddances are first and mainly testified for the groups of young men in the town and country-side, and the journeymen of the guilds¹³⁰ (cp. n 23) and, more in general, the dances were organised by the *Knabenschaften* of the villages¹³¹.

In Crete the Kouretes were connected with the promotion of fertility as appears from the famous hymn of Palaekastro (*Ins. Cret.* III II 2). A similar connection has been attested for the groups of young men in many countries¹³².

The Kouretes had a special haircut. The local Euboean historian Archemachos¹³³ relates that the Kouretes had their hair short at the front and long at the back. Felix Jacoby (*a.l.*) explained this haircut as deriving from a popular etymology caused by Homer's description of the Abantes as «wearing their hair long at the back (*Il.* II 542). In view of the etymologising activities of the Hellenistic historians this is a reasonable explanation but it has escaped Jacoby that the special haircut was already mentioned by

¹²⁸ W. Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, Mödling/Wien 1925, 287.

¹²⁹ E. Le Roy Ladourie, *Montailou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324*, Paris 1975, 397f.

¹³⁰ R. Wolfram, *Schwertanz und Männerbund* 1-3, Kassel 1936/8; N. Humburg, *Städtisches Fastnachtsbrauchstum in West- und Ostfalen*, Münster 1976, 93-105.

¹³¹ Meuli's statement (I, 134) that the *Knabenschaften* organised the dances "beim Verschwinden der Masken" is neither supported by the ethnological evidence nor by his own references.

¹³² Höfler (n.26), 286-291; Wikander (n.27), 75.

¹³³ Archemachos *FGH* 424 F9 = Strabo 10, 3, 6 Ἀρχέμαχος δὲ Εὐβοεὺς φήσιν... ὑπισθεν κομῶντας γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν κείρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ Κουρήτας ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς κληθῆναι κτλ.

Aeschylus in a way which makes his explanation less probable. Aeschylus¹³⁴ described the Kouretes as having a *plokamos*, a hairstyle explained by Eustathius¹³⁵ as being a *skollus* which implies exactly the hairstyle of short at the front and long at the back (§ 9). A distinguishing hairstyle is not only attested for primitive initiations (Brelich 71f) but also for the young men of Egypt¹³⁶ and the Indo-European peoples. In ancient Iran the young warrior, the *mairya*, was characterised by the partition of the hair onto his back and the young warrior of ancient India, the *marya*, by his plaits¹³⁷; and Tacitus (*Germ.* 38) tells of the Germanic Suebi: *insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepius accidit, imitatione rarum et intra iuventae spatium.*

In the same fragment of Aeschylus (n 133) the Kouretes are compared to girls. Strabo (10, 3, 8), too, mentions the fact that according to some historians they wore feminine clothes. This may well be just an etymological explanation. At the other hand, could not the reason for this particular etymology be the tradition that there was indeed something "girlish" about the Kouretes as implied by Aeschylus?

As with Philoctetes we have found here a number of oppositions:

<i>positive</i>		<i>negative</i>
agriculture	×	hunt
permanent hairstyle	×	temporary hairstyle
man	×	woman (?)
culture	×	nature (§ 10)

Since the Kouretes are young men and clearly designated as a liminal group, the conclusion suggests itself that they are the mythical reflection of groups of young warriors in the transitional state from boyhood to adulthood. In the *Iliad* the Kouretes belong to an older stratum than the heroes since they are already imagined to be some kind of ethnic group (cp. supra). Again, our

¹³⁴ A. fr. 620 Mette χλιδῶν τε πλόκαμος ὥστε παρθένους ἀβραῖς · ὄθεν καλεῖν Κουρήτα λαὸν ἤνεσαν.

¹³⁵ Eust. 1528 Σημεῖωσαι δὲ ὅτι εἰ καὶ ταυτὸν ποτε πλόκαμος καὶ πλοκαμῖς ἀλλ' οἱ παλαιοὶ, καὶ κόσμον γυναικείου τὴν πλοκαμίδα εἶναι δηλοῦσιν. ἦν καὶ κορυφαίαν φασίν, ἠγουν κορυφήν. τὴν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ σκόλλυν καὶ κρέκαν μετὰ τοῦ ᾤ ἢ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ν. κείται γοῦν ἐν ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ, ταῦτα.

¹³⁶ V. von Gonzenbach, *Untersuchungen zu den Knabenweihen im Isiskult der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1957.

¹³⁷ Widengren (n. 18), 19.

interpretation has shown that the tradition contained a coherent structure and it is further strengthened by the observation of Louis Gernet¹³⁸ that the *megaron* of the historical Kouretes in Messene (Paus. 4, 31, 9) strongly reminds of the *lesche* "men's house"¹³⁹.

9. (Theseus/Athenian ephebes) – Exactly the same hairstyle we found for the Kouretes has been testified for Theseus who in his youth went to Delphi (Apollo!) to sacrifice from his hair. Plutarch tells us that he cut off only his hair at the front,¹⁴⁰ just as the Abantes (§ 8) who had, according to Plutarch (*ibidem*), not been instructed by the Arabs and neither imitated the Mysians. This must mean that it was told that this hairstyle occurred among the Arabs and the Mysians (§ 10). This particular hairstyle was called the *Theseis* (Plutarch, *ibidem*)¹⁴¹.

On Theseus we can be brief. Since the researches of Jeanmaire (n 3) it may be considered proved that Theseus embodied the ephebic nature. This conclusion does not of course exhaust his tradition in which different layers can be found but his youthful exploits in particular show a clear initiatory pattern.

The *Theseis* was the hairstyle of the Athenian ephebes and was also known as *skollus* (§ 8 on Kouretes). Pamphilus (*apud* Athen. 11, 494f) mentions that the ephebes offered a cup to Heracles before their *skollus* was cut off. The appearance of the *skollus* must have looked like a kind of top since Eustathius (cp. n 135) mentions that the *plokamos* and *skollus* were also called *koryphè* or *koryphaia* "head, top, summit" and *kerke* "top", and a mountain between Arcadia and Elis was called Skollis (Strabo 8, 3, 10). Another name for the *skollus* seems to have been *konnos*¹⁴² which is encountered in names as Konnoon, Konnos and Konnēs¹⁴³.

10. (Hector) – Now, at last, the long *détour* we made before analysing Hector can be justified. Exactly the same hairstyle we have found for the Kouretes, Theseus and the Athenian ephebes

¹³⁸ L. Gernet/A. Boulanger, *Le génie grec dans la religion*, Paris 1970², 72.

¹³⁹ Men's house: S. E. Peal, *The Communal Barracks of Primitive Races*, J. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, part II, 61 1893, 246-69; Schurtz 202-217; V. Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul*, Oxford 1947, 269-319.

¹⁴⁰ Plut. *Thes.* 5 ἐκέλευτο (i.e. Theseus) δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ πρόσθεν μόνον.

¹⁴¹ Sources: H. Herter, RE Supp. XIII 1973, 1059.

¹⁴² Hesych. s.v. κοννοφορῶν · σκόλλων φορῶν; id., s.v. ἰέρωμα · τὸν κόννον Λάκωνες, ὃν τινες μαλλῶν <ῆ> σκόλλων.

¹⁴³ Cp. F. Bechtel, *Die einstämmigen männlichen Personennamen des Griechischen, die aus Spitznamen hervorgegangen sind*, Abh. Ak. Gött., Berlin 1898, 80; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, 268 and especially N. Firatli/L. Robert, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine*, Paris 1964, 168.

and exactly the same hairstyle of which we have shown that it was typical for the young men in their initiatory period, was also called *Hektoreios komè* "Hectorean hairstyle" and connected with Hector¹⁴⁴. The tradition can be traced back to the poet Anaxilas¹⁴⁵ in the middle of the fourth century but must be older than that since the poet evidently considers the expression as something familiar although the hairstyle does not occur in the *Iliad*. From this hairstyle we deduce that Hector, at least in part of the tradition, just like Achilles, was designated as an epebe.

The name Hector repeatedly occurs in the Linear-B tablets¹⁴⁶ which makes it probable, as Albrecht Dihle¹⁴⁷ has argued, that Hector belonged to the older layers of the mythical tradition¹⁴⁸. The fact that certain epithets – χαλκοκορυστής, ἔβριμος, κορθαίολος – are restricted to Hector only points in the same direction. His grave and cult at Thebes (Paus. 9, 18, 15; Lycophron 1189-1213) also may well indicate an independent tradition of a local hero-cult. With the transference of the tradition of the War (whatever that tradition originally may have been) to Asia Minor, the figure of Hector will have received new outlines just as the Homeric Achilles, too, will have been different from the pre-Homeric tradition.

As regards Achilles, his initiatory tradition of Scyros has come to us from much later times than the *Iliad*, just as some initiatory details of Theseus are known only from Plutarch. There is therefore no reason – given the most likely assumption that Hector belonged to the pre-Homeric tradition – why details of Hector's life which do not occur in the *Iliad* should not have existed in the time of Lycophron.

At this point we can finally return to the problem of the Kouretes as an ethnic group and the origin of the *Theseis*. The "Hectorean hairstyle" could be found according to Hesychius (*s.v.*

¹⁴⁴ Hector and 'Hectorean hairstyle': DServius on Aen. 2, 277 *non sine ratione etiam hoc de crinibus dolet Aeneas, quia illis maxime Hector commendabatur, adeo ut etiam tonsura ab eo nomen acceperit, sicut Graeci poetae docent*. Timaeus FGH 566 F54 Τίμαιος δὲ τὴν κουρὰν ταύτην (i. e. the 'Hectorean hairstyle') προσεστάλθαι μὲν δεῖν περὶ τὸ μέτωπον λέγει, τῷ δὲ τραχήλῳ περικεχῶσθαι; Schol. Lyc. 1133 Ἐκτόρειος κόμη λέγεται ἢ τὰ ὀπίσω καθεμμένα ἔχουσα, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθε κεκαρμένα... The evidence on the 'Hectorean hairstyle' has first been published by R. G. Austin, CQ 22 1972, 199. The link between the *Theseis* and the 'Hectorean hairstyle' is also made by J. Boardman, CQ 23 1973, 196.

¹⁴⁵ Anaxilas *fr.* 53 Kock τὴν Ἐκτόρειον τὴν ἐπίμερον κόμην.

¹⁴⁶ J. Chadwick, Glotta 41 1964, 197.

¹⁴⁷ A. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme*, Opladen 1970, 131f, whom I follow in this paragraph.

¹⁴⁸ A pre-Homeric origin for Hector is convincingly argued by F. M. Combellack, *Homer and Hector*, AJPh 65 1944, 209-243; similarly Hampl (n. 1), 64.

Hektoreioi komai) among the Daunians and Paucetians, peoples living in Southern Italy. The *Theseis* was, as we have seen, ascribed to the Arabs and Mysians. The only characteristic all these peoples have in common is the fact that they are living at the margin of the Greek world. This must imply that the bearers of this special haircut were not supposed to live in the civilised world but at its margin. The occurrence of the Kouretes in Aetolia, Acarnania, and Euboea¹⁴⁹ can be explained similarly. From the point of view of Thessaly and Boeotia where we must look for the origin of the epic cycle, since from these areas Achilles, Pyrrhos, Philoctetes and the *pyrrhiche*¹⁵⁰ came, these parts of Greece were lying at their margin and it is understandable that the legend that the Kouretes were living in Acarnania arose only when the Greeks occupied Aetolia where the Kouretes obviously were not to be found. As such it is significant that the Kouretes were supposed to live in Pleuron (Strabo 10, 3, 6): they literally lived at the « side ». The marginal function of Euboea also appears in another Greek myth. In Plataia it was told that Hera once in anger withdrew from Zeus to hide in Euboea (Paus. 9, 3, 1).

It is well known that initiation normally takes place outside civilisation (Brellich 29-31). This stay can assume different forms. One of them is confinement to a foreign country as in the case of Philoctetes¹⁵¹. Another form is the obligation to roam around, a wandering of which the duration was not fixed. The novices of the Babinga from Gabon had to wander around for five days¹⁵², the WaRega from Zaire for fifteen days¹⁵³, the Nilotic Schilluk through the whole of the country¹⁵⁴ and the Australian Wihumkan for two years¹⁵⁵.

This wandering can also be found among the Indo-European peoples. Widengren¹⁵⁶ has repeatedly discussed the wandering of the Iranian young men. The ancient Irish had in the *fiana* their

¹⁴⁹ Sources: Roscher's Lexicon, s. v. Kouretes.

¹⁵⁰ The suffix *-ichos* points towards Boeotia and the Dorian areas as has often been seen, cp., more recently, G. Neumann, *De nominibus Boeotorum propriis* Diss. Königsbergen 1908; K. Latte, *De saltationibus Graecorum*, RGVV 13, Giessen 1913, 105-11; E. Locher, *Glotta* 22 1934, 55-60; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 1960, 238.

¹⁵¹ Brellich 67 n.51: "un motivo piuttosto raro (o per lo meno raramente osservato)".

¹⁵² W. Dupré, *Ann. Lat.* 26 1962, 114.

¹⁵³ C. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, Bruxelles 1909, 165.

¹⁵⁴ Hofmayr (n.128), 286f.

¹⁵⁵ U. Mc. Connel, *Oceania* 4 1933/4, 337.

¹⁵⁶ Widengren (n.97), 59-6; id. (n. 18), 86-92; id., in A. Dietrich, *Synkretismus im Syrisch-Persischen*, Abh. Ak. Gött., Göttingen 1975, 61f.

groups of roving young men¹⁵⁷ and to me it seems almost beyond doubt that the Arthurian knights' errands must be explained from a similar tradition. The wandering must have been part, too, of the ancient Germanic education since it was customary¹⁵⁸ in the early Middle Ages that the *iuvenes*, the sons of nobility (!), were roaming through the country¹⁵⁹. These *iuvenes* showed all the characteristics of an age-group in the liminal period between youth and adulthood. Not only were they wandering away from home, but they also were notorious for their lawless behaviour and their free morals. The educational character of their *jeunesse* period appears from the fact that, at least in the early times of this period, they were accompanied by a mentor¹⁶⁰. The wandering round was not restricted to nobility, however. We can hardly separate from the initiatory tradition either the obligatory wandering of the journeymen of the guilds when they were learning their trade¹⁶¹.

We meet with a different development of the traditional stay outside the home civilisation in Athens where in historical times the young boys had to patrol the frontiers, from which activity they were called *peripoloi* "they who move around"¹⁶². A similar development occurred in Central-Asia where the youths of the Turkmens, Uzbeks and Kirghisians were charged with the task of guarding the frontiers¹⁶³. In all these cases we can still discern the same pattern: the place of the young men is not inside but outside or at the margin of the community.

We have seen that the period of Odysseus' life which was the subject of such a popular poem as the *Odyssee*, wholly circled round

¹⁵⁷ Rees (n. 22), 62-69.

¹⁵⁸ Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici pii imperatoris* (MG SS 119), c. 46 *sicut moris talibus est*.

¹⁵⁹ See U. Helfenstein, *Beiträge zur Problematik der Lebensalter in der mittleren Geschichte*, Diss. Zürich 1952, 41-81; Duby (n. 106); M.-L. Chênerie, "Ces curieux chevaliers tournoyeurs" des *fabliaux aux romans*, *Romania* 97 1976, 327-368. It is the great merit of Helfenstein to have first noted the initiatory character of the behaviour of the young men but he does, like Wackernagel (n. 29) sometimes, try too much to press his material into the direction of groups of organised young men. The interesting fact is rather that, although the official initiation gradually disappeared, the place of the young men in society and their behaviour did not change.

¹⁶⁰ G. Duby, *Les "jeunes" dans la société aristocratique dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII^e siècle*, *Annales ESC* 19 1964, 835-846 = Duby (n. 106), 213-225.

¹⁶¹ I do not know of any modern study on this subject but some material can be found in R. Wissel, *Das alten Handwerks Recht und Gewohnheit* I, Berlin 1929; W. Krebs, *Alte Handwerksbräuche*, Basel 1933.

¹⁶² Aristot. *Athen.* 42; IG II² 1006, 1011, 1028; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 1955, 283-292; P. Vidal-Naquet, *The black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia*, *PCPhS* 14 1968, 49-64 (= *Annales ESC* 23 1968, 947-64).

¹⁶³ Bleichsteiner (n. 108), 73.

his initiatory period. After his return the legend practically ignores him. Now Odysseus' original home must have been in Arcadia (Burkert 151). When he eventually ends up as king of Ithaca, an island at the border of the Greek continent, the conclusion presents itself that this geographical location is due to his being primarily a marginal person¹⁶⁴. Ithaca, Euboea, Scyros and Crete: all of them must have been at one time the geographical horizon of the Greeks and therefore the obvious place to localise the novices (Kouretes, Achilles, Odysseus) or the process of initiation (Theseus). The same line of thought must have been responsible for the location of Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos in Epirus, North of the Greek border.

11. (Troy/Wooden Horse) – One of the curious aspects of the expedition to Troy is the fatal way the expedition influenced the life of the participants. Some heroes died during the siege as, e.g., Hector, Paris, Ajax and Achilles; some soon afterwards as Agamemnon, Ajax the son of Oileus and Pyrrhos. Others could not return home immediately (if ever), and had to wander a long time as Aeneas and Odysseus. For all of them the stay at Troy was the pivotal point in their life.

The name Troy occurs in Celtic, Germanic and Finno-Ugrian countries where it designates a kind of labyrinth laid out in stones or pebbles. These labyrinths are, however, not always called Troy. In Finland they were named Nineveh, Jericho or Lisbon, and in Russia Babylon¹⁶⁵. These labyrinths have been compared with the famous Tragliatella vase (about 600 BC) on which "Truia" is inscribed next to a labyrinth¹⁶⁶. The suggestion is of course very attractive – and the conclusion has indeed been drawn¹⁶⁷ – that all these cases point to a mutual connection. Since labyrinths are typical liminal places, such a conclusion would well have suited the facts we have found so far and the (admittedly meagre) indications we have actually seem to point to a connection between these labyrinths and the groups of young men¹⁶⁸ but the chronological

¹⁶⁴ Eduard Meyer, *Hermes* 30 1895, 269f already suggested that Ithaca at one time was considered to be the edge of the world.

¹⁶⁵ Cp. E. Krauss, *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* etc., Glogau 1893; W. Hunke, *Die Trojaburgen und ihre Bedeutung*, Diss München 1941 (typewritten), especially valuable for its historical material and illustrations; J. de Vries, *Untersuchung über das Hüpfspiel, Kinderspiel, Kulttanz*, FFC 173, Helsinki 1957, 50-83; E. Mehl, *RE Supp.* 8 1958, 888-905; O. Höfler, *Siegfried, Arminius und die Symbolik*, Heidelberg 1961, 77-89; E. Mehl, *Der Ausweg aus dem Labyrinth*, in *Festschrift Leopold Schmidt*, Wien 1972, 402-418.

¹⁶⁶ See the pictures in G. Gigliolo, *Studi Etruschi* 3 1929, 111-159.

¹⁶⁷ Höfler (n. 165); J.-P. Guépin, *The tragic Paradox*, Amsterdam 1968, 135f.

¹⁶⁸ Hunke (n. 165), 83-105.

distance between the seventh-century vase and the oldest known examples of the *Trojaburgen*, the Swedish Troyobodhe (1307) and Thrögiaborgh (1447), is really too great to warrant such a conclusion.

Yet, it will have been noticed that Greek Troy, too, looks like a typical marginal place. As Ithaca, Euboea, Scyros and Crete, it lies beyond the water and when Helen is supposed to have been taken away to Troy and Egypt (Stesichorus *fr.* 92 Page; Herodot. 2, 115), the thought suggests itself that, like Egypt¹⁶⁹, Troy was indeed just a place beyond the border of civilisation.

The burning of the citadel of Troy has been compared by Usener¹⁷⁰ with the setting on fire of the construction which looked like a palace at the Delphian Septerion (§ 12). It may be relevant here to observe that the storming of a castle was a traditional part of the liminal period in the year, especially the periods around Christmas and New Year, and Carnival. Such a storming was the prerogative of the young men (!) and has been testified for the Alsace¹⁷¹, Switzerland¹⁷², Germany and Austria¹⁷³, and the Caucasus¹⁷⁴. In the Hansa (cp. n 23) colony in Norwegian Bergen this storming happened in a specific initiatory context¹⁷⁵.

Troy fell through a ruse, a theme we have noted several times in the life of the novices. The ruse itself, the Wooden Horse, has up till now remained an enigma. Already in Antiquity people were puzzled and offered rationalistic interpretations. Pliny (*NH* 7, 202) thought of the Horse as a battering-ram, a suggestion Gilbert Murray¹⁷⁶ hardly improved upon. Not much better is the suggestion of F. Schachermeyr¹⁷⁷, to mention only the most imaginative one of the modern suggestions, that the horse symbolised an earth-

¹⁶⁹ Cp. Guépin (n. 167), 126-128.

¹⁷⁰ H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* IV, Leipzig/Berlin 1913, 452f.

¹⁷¹ E. L. Rochholz, *Tell und Gessler in Sage und Geschichte*, Heilbronn 1877, 6.

¹⁷² Wackernagel (n. 29), 26f; id., *Basler Zs. f. Gesch. und Altertumskunde* 62 1962, 30, 38; in Bern 13-4-1550: "Am 13ten April macht man ein papierenes Schloss auf dem Kilchenfeld, und zogen die jungen Gesellen (!) aus mit spiesen und stürmten es", from an ancient Swiss chronicle quoted by L. Zehnder, *Volkskundliches in der älteren schweizerischen Chronistik*, Basel 1976, 312.

¹⁷³ R. Siemens, *Germanengut im Zunftbrauch*, Berlin 1942, 42; N. Grass, *Das Widum- und Kloster-'Stürmen' sowie verwandte Faschingsbräuche in Süddeutschland und der Schweiz*, *Zs. Savigny Stft., Kan. Abt.* 40 1954, 159-200.

¹⁷⁴ Bleichsteiner (n. 108), 26-28.

¹⁷⁵ J. Harttung, *Die Spiele der Deutschen in Bergen*, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 1877, 89-114; K. Koppman, *ibidem*, 140-143.

¹⁷⁶ G. Murray, *Euripides: The Trojan Women*, Oxford 1905, 86.

¹⁷⁷ F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des Griechischen Götterglaubens*, München 1950, 189f.

quake. Such explanations are obviously reductionist¹⁷⁸ since they either explain away the horse as a horse or the warriors and therefore must be rejected. Yet, there is in my opinion a solution which does not explain away these features and, moreover, fits in with the drift of our argument.

In a fine analysis J.-C. Schmitt (n 46) has recently drawn attention to three medieval *exempla* – I include the most detailed ones in an appendix – in which he could distinguish an initiatory pattern with the following motifs: 1. The time is Whitsuntide, the typical time of the *iuvenes*. 2. The actors are the *iuvenes*. 3. It is night. 4. They pass the graveyard, the area of the dead. 5. They are on, or in, an auxiliary animal, the horse. 6. They are masked. 7. They are wounded on typical places such as the feet and the thighs. 8. They are 'devoured' by a dark place. The whole episode pictures, as Schmitt acutely argues, the transition to the age-group of the *jeunesse*.

In this legendary story there is one point of great interest. The young men enter into a wooden horse: « *cum ... dictus iuvenis in equo ligneo intraret* » (see appendix). These wooden horses, English "Hobby-Horse" and French "cheval-jupon", were and in some places still are, a characteristic feature of the mascarades in the whole of Europe and they even occur in Central-Asia. These mascarades are and were the prerogative of the groups of young men and the members of the guild¹⁷⁹ (cp. n 23). The horses were not only formed by one man alone but there are descriptions of single horses with eight feet, that means to say horses constituted by four men¹⁸⁰.

It seems to me that here we have found the origin of the Wooden Horse. It is in these mascarades that we find a wooden horse with men and already the oldest tradition about the horse insists that it was made of wood¹⁸¹. In the medieval *exempla* we have an initiatory context and our argument indicates that the

¹⁷⁸ As was my own *Athena and the Trojan Horse*, Museum Africum 1 1972, 4-8.

¹⁷⁹ Cp. A. van Gennep, *Le cheval-jupon*, Cahiers d'ethnographie folklorique 1 1945, whose documentation on Southern-Europe and Central-Asia is deficient; Bleichsteiner (n. 108), 56, 62-67f; L. Kretzenbacher, "Rusa" und "Gambela" als Equiden-Masken der Slowenen, *Lares* 31 1965, 49-74; V. Alford, *Some other Hobby Horses*, *Folklore* 78 1967, 207-211; R. Wildhaber (ed), *Masken und Maskenbrauchtum aus Ost- und Südosteuropa*, Basel 1968, *passim*.

¹⁸⁰ R. Wolfram, *Robin-Hood und Hobby Horse*, *Wiener Prähist. Zs.* 19 1932, 357-374.

¹⁸¹ *Od.* 4, 272 and 8, 492f. This has been insufficiently taken into account by G. M. A. Hanfman, *HSCP* 63 1958, 65-88 ("The Ring of Gyges and the Trojan Horse"); W. J. Abaew, *Le cheval de Troie. Parallèles Caucasiens*, *Annales ESC* 18 1963, 1041-1070.

heroes of the Trojan War also have to be understood in that context. It is significant that the other horse that carried more people than normal, the horse Bayart of the four Haymon's children, also figures at the time of passage from childhood to *jeunesse*¹⁸². The wooden horses were not unknown to the Greeks as Dumézil¹⁸³ has shown in his classic study of the Centaurs and related figures. And precisely those Centaurs figure, witness Cheiron (n 86), in an initiatory context in ancient Greece¹⁸⁴.

12. (Festivals) – Our dossier, however, is not yet finished. The fall of Troy was associated with various festivals in the Greek world. Do they perhaps support our argument? Here, we move onto slippery ground. Greek heortology is a subject on which opinions are likely to differ widely and the danger of choosing an interpretation which is in line with what one should like to be seen demonstrated is obvious. Besides, it would exceed the limitations of an article to discuss all the facets of every festival in great detail. Yet, even in a limited compass some facts are evident and some conclusions can be drawn.

At the Septerion¹⁸⁵ festival in Delphi a noble boy whose parents were still alive¹⁸⁶ had to set fire to a structure resembling a king's palace during the night and then to flee to Tempe for purification. His flight is described as a wandering(!), during which a servitude (a case of status reversal) took place, after which he triumphantly returned. This structure – leaving of the community, wandering, servitude and return – has been interpreted by Brelich (387-438) as an initiation ritual¹⁸⁷. Such a reinterpretation was not uncommon – Theseus' initiatory trip to Crete was imagined to be caused

¹⁸² See the study by A. Guerreau, announced by Schmitt (n. 46), 31.

¹⁸³ G. Dumézil, *Le problème des centaures*, Paris 1929; Burkert (n. 55), 269.

¹⁸⁴ After I had written this passage, inspired by Schmitt's (n. 46) article, I noticed that Hunke (n. 165, 144f) had suggested the same solution basing himself on an initiation ceremony of the guilds with a horse-mascarade... The 'rite de passage' character of the entry into the horse appears in Greek tradition also in the story of Gyges (Plato *Resp.* 359C/60B), see W. Fauth, *RM* 113 1970, 1-42; Burkert 180. The 'initiatory' rôle of the horse is extensively discussed by Propp 265-304.

¹⁸⁵ Sources: Plut. *def. or.* 417E-418D, *quaest. Gr.* 293C, *mus.* 1163A; Ephoros *FGH* 70 F31b; Theopompos *FGH* 117 F80; Call. *fr.* 86-89 and 194, 34-36. Usener (n. 170), 317-328; Jeanmaire (n. 3), 387-411; Brelich 387-438 and Burkert 144-147.

¹⁸⁶ For the *pais amphithales*: G. v. d. Leeuw, *Virginibus Puerisque. A study on the Service of Children in Worship*, Med. Kon. Ned. Ak. Wet., Amsterdam 1938; the considerable epigraphical evidence has been collected by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12 1960, 560; *Opera Minora Selecta* (n. 65) I, 633-643 and III, 1628; with Jeanne Robert, *REG* 1964, 245, no. 563.

¹⁸⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Leipzig 1906, 157 already noted that the purification explanation was a later reinterpretation.

by the need of a purification for the murder of Minos' son Androgeos – and could easily take place when the initiatory rites had lost their educational content because the period of purification is also a liminal period (§ 2) and thus can show characteristics of an initiation ritual. In the proper purification ritual, however, there is no liminal period outside the civilised world, neither is a big enemy defeated. Where the initiation often implied a “death” and “rebirth”, the accompanying myth spoke of a real death, and in this way it can be understood that with the gradual disappearance of initiation rituals in large parts of Greece – a process of which the exact reasons are still unclear but which can hardly be separated from the growing urbanisation with its accompanying curtailing of the nobility's prerogatives – the ritual became reinterpreted as a purification for murder¹⁸⁸.

The nightly attack was called the Doloneia and the (often too) imaginative Hermann Usener¹⁸⁹, in one of his last and perhaps boldest studies, did not fail to see the resemblance with the Doloneia of the *Iliad* (book X). Usener pointed to the existence of a Delphian month Ilaios which he connected with Troy's other name Ilion and concluded that in this month the Doloneia was remembered. Usener's suggestion is highly attractive but has to remain a hypothesis as the final proof has not been brought forward.

The Doloneia of the *Iliad* is an episode in the Trojan War, also discussed in the *Rhesus*¹⁹⁰, in which, during a nightly raid, Odysseus and Diomedes captured the Trojan spy Dolon. The episode becomes perspicuous, as Louis Gernet¹⁹¹ has shown, against the background of an initiation ritual and must have been the transposition of an ancient ritual into epic song. In support of his explanation Gernet pointed to the mentioning of head-hunting¹⁹² (*Rhesus* 219f), the wearing of a wolfskin (*Il* X 334; *Rhesus* 208-15) and the name Dolon “cunning” hardly a proper name as he observed and reminding us again of the theme of the ruse which we encountered again and again with the novices. We may add that Dolon was an archer (*Il* X 459, cp. n 9).

Troy's fall was remembered at the Spartan Karneia (Schol. Theocr. 5,83b, d) as already appears from a fragment of Alcman (52

¹⁸⁸ See the methodological reflections by A. Brelich (n. 89). Other examples of such a reinterpretation in Graf (n. 91).

¹⁸⁹ Usener (n. 170), 447-467.

¹⁹⁰ For a comparison of the *Doloneia* and the *Rhesus*: W. Ritchie, *The authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides*, Cambridge 1964, 64-78; B. Fenik, “*Iliad* X” and the “*Rhesus*”. *The Myth*, Bruxelles 1964; Dihle (n. 147), 34-44.

¹⁹¹ L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la grèce antique*, Paris 1968, 154-171.

¹⁹² Headhunting and initiation: Schurtz 99.

Page, so Burkert 178). The Karneia was a full moon festival (Eur. *Alc.* 449) of the phratries (Demetrius of Scepsis *apud* Athen. 4, 141 e) and organised by the unmarried, i.e. young men (Hes. *s. v. karneatai*). Brelich (148-53) has analysed the few data and concluded that the Karneia seemed to be the festival that closed off the Spartan *agoge*, that means to say the transition to adulthood. Along a different line of thought the same conclusion has recently been arrived at by J. W. Fitton¹⁹³. During the festival a race took place of *staphylo-dromoi* "runners with grapes". Now the adult men in Crete were called *dromeus* "runner" (*Ins. Cret.* I XVI 5, 44; IV 72 I, 41f etc.), the Cretan ephebes *apodromoi* "they who do not run" (Eust. 1592, 58) and the leaving of the group of novices, the *agela* "herd", for the world of the adults *egdramein* "to run off" (*Ins. Cret.* I XVI 5, 21). The conclusion lies at hand, and is indeed drawn by Fitton, that the Karneia was at least partly concerned with the emergence of the young men as adults.

A different case is presented by the third and last Greek festival with which the sack of Troy was associated: the Athenian Skira (Clemens *Strom.* 1, 104). Here, no connection with the age-group of the young is apparent.

Finally, although not connected with the sack of Troy, mention must be made of the Roman *lusus Troiae*. This was a play for the noble (!) Roman boys on the verge of taking the *toga virilis* and which contained a clear initiatory substratum as Giulia Piccaluga¹⁹⁴ has shown. The interesting fact is that here, too, we find the name of Troy associated with the age-group we have so often encountered in our argument.

13. (Conclusion) – In our analysis we have shown that the traditions about Achilles, Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos, Philoctetes, Odysseus, Paris and Hector designate their protagonists as young men in the transition from boyhood to adulthood. Moreover, we found that the Trojan war was associated with three Greek festivals of which two circled round young men of the same age-group. The suggestion presents itself therefore that the origin of the complex of the Trojan War is for an important part to be looked for in ancient rituals of initiation.

Since we have seen that the traditions about the protagonists

¹⁹³ J. W. Fitton, *Glotta* 53 1975, 235.

¹⁹⁴ G. Piccaluga, *Elementi spettacolari nei rituali festivi romani*, Roma 1965, 135-147 with all sources. The initiatory content had already been indicated by Hünke (n. 176), 130-132. Piccaluga's analysis has escaped K.-W. Weeber, *Troiae lusus—Alter und Entstehung eines Reiterspiels*, *Anc. Soc.* 5 1974, 171-196 and W. W. Briggs, *Augustan Athletics and the Games of Aeneid V*, *Stadion* 1 1976, 267-283.

display the same structure, the most plausible inference is that the one initiatory structure attracted the other one¹⁹⁵. Even as late as the sixth century, the initiatory myth and ritual of the Locrian Maidens could be incorporated into the Trojan Cycle¹⁹⁶. In a similar way the Doloneia will have been attracted.

Our conclusion bears exclusively – a fact we cannot stress too strongly – on the primitive ritual background of the heroic myths, not on the poetic creation out of them. In the course of time the poets welded the different myths into one great coherent complex. They could expand some motifs, reduce others or change them altogether¹⁹⁷. They could add figures from other cycles¹⁹⁸ or insert mythical ancestors for noble families¹⁹⁹. To elucidate this process was not the aim of our paper.

Finally, the connection of poetry and the world of the novices may seem surprising. Yet, the Arcadian boys (once the whole of Greece?) practiced songs in which their national heroes were celebrated (Polyb. 4, 20, 8). The Persian novices rehearsed in their songs the deeds of the bravest men (Strabo 13, 3, 18). The rituals round the young men gave rise to the ballads of Robin Hood²⁰⁰ and the songs about Wilhelm Tell²⁰¹. The French *chansons de geste* must be assigned to the world of the *jeunesse*²⁰². It can therefore hardly be a coincidence that these songs reflect in some way the life and ideology of the world in which they were practiced and sung, and often must have originated. Nevertheless, there still remains something of a paradox in the fact that one of the finest fruits of Greek civilisation found its origin precisely in the world of those whose place was in the margin of that civilisation.

¹⁹⁵ I hope to show elsewhere that this similarity of structure may well account, too, for the inclusion of the myths of Iphigeneia and Helen.

¹⁹⁶ See Graf (n 91).

¹⁹⁷ See the perceptive remarks by C. S. Mundy, *The Cyclops in Turkish Tradition: a Study in Folktale Transmission*, in Ranke (n. 7), 229-234.

¹⁹⁸ As, e. g., Diomedes, see H. Erbse, RM 104 1961, 186; Heubeck (n. 2), 165.

¹⁹⁹ Aeneas: L. Malten, *Aineias*, ARW 20 1931, 33-39; F. Jacoby, *Kleine philologische Schriften* I, Berlin 1961, 45-47. Glaukos: L. Malten, *Homer und Lykischen Fürsten*, Hermes 79 1944, 1-12.

²⁰⁰ See Wolfram (n. 180).

²⁰¹ See Wackernagel (n. 29), 246; id., Schweizer Vkd. 47 1957, 93-96; id., Basler Zs. f. Gesch. und Altertumskunde 62 1962, 30-32.

²⁰² G. Duby (n. 160), 221-223; J. Flori, Romania 96 1975, 308f.

14. (Appendix) – In this appendix I print the text of the two most detailed *exempla* which have been discussed by Schmitt (n. 46):

[E-1] *Accidit in dyocesi Elnensi, quod, cum quidam predicator in terra illa predicasset et multum choreas inbibuisset fieri in ecclesiis et vigiliis sanctorum, cum in quadam parrochia quidam iuvenes consuevisent venire et super equum ligneum ascendere, et larvati et parati choreas ducere, in vigilia festivitatis illius ecclesie, in ecclesia et per cimiterium, cum, propter verba illius predicatoris et inbibicionem sui sacerdotis, dimissis choreis, vigilarent homines in ecclesia in oracione, venit quidam iuvenis ad socium suum, invitans cum ad solitum ludum. Cum autem ille ludum respueret, dicens hoc esse inbibitum a dicto predicatoris et sacerdote, armavit se alius, dicens quod maledictus esset qui propter eorum inbibiciones solitum ludum dimitteret. Cum autem in ecclesia, ubi agebant homines vigiliis in pace et oracione, dictus iuvenis in equo ligneo intraret, in ipso introitu ecclesie, ignis arripuit eum per pedes et combussit eum totum et equum suum. Nullus qui esset in ecclesia illa, nec consanguineus nec amicus, potuit aliquod apponere consilium quin combureretur ibi: unde tandem omnes, divino iudicio perterriti, ecclesiam dimiserunt solam, confugientes ad domum sacerdotis; qui, cum surrexisset et ad ecclesiam venisset, invenit dictum iuvenem jam fere exustum totum, de cuius corpore tanta exibat flamma, quod videbatur exire par fenestras pinnaculi ecclesie. Hoc in ipsa parrochia audivi, cito post hoc, ab ipso capellano et parentibus dicti iuvenis et ab aliis parrochianis.*

[E-2] *Item in eadem dyocesi, eodem tempore, accidit quod, cum ivissent multi ad cuiusdam sancti vigiliis et peregrinacionem, et contra consimilem inbibicionem quidam tota nocte choreas ducerent per cimiterium, cum in mane in quadam capella convenissent, in aurora, ad missam audiendam, cum sacerdos incepisset Gloria in excelsis, factum est tantum tonitruum et terre motus, quod visum fuit sacerdoti quod de genibus suis tangeret super altare. Nullus respondit ei; ipse, ut mihi dixit, credidit quod sensum ibi amisisset; nisi columba alba ante cum alas expandens eum confortasset. Fulgur, intrans ecclesiam, illos qui duces et capita in chorea illa fuerant, alios fetore occidit, aliorum braccia,²⁰³ aliorum crura fregit,*

²⁰³ Why the arms? Would it be too bold to suggest that this is in memory of the mutilation of the finger, one of the most common mutilations of the rites of passage and puberty rites? See J. C. van Eerde, *Vingermutilatie in centraal Nieuw-Quinea*, Tijdschr. Kon. Ned. Aardr. Gen. 28 1911, 49-65; J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* III (London 1919), 198-231; S. Lagercrantz, *Fingerverstümmelungen und ihre Ausbreitung in Afrika*, Zs. f. Ethnol. 67 1935, 129-157; J. Söderström, *Die rituellen Fingerverstümmelungen in der Südsee und in Australien*, *ibidem*, 70 1938, 24-47. Interesting are the examples from Europe: W. Déonna, *Les mains mutilées de la grotte de Cargas*, *L'Anthropologie* 24 1913, 587; M. Pancritius, *Anthropos* 27 1932, 746-748; Spiess (n 43), 99; Propp 146-151.

alios aliter diversimode afflixit. Hec duo exempla audiui temporibus et locis quo acciderunt, a multis qui interfuerunt, eciam juratis.

Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht
Instituut voor Geschiedenis

JAN BREMMER

In Greece the loss of a finger was ascribed to Orestes (Paus. 8, 34, 2 and Frazer *a. l.*) of whose tradition I hope to demonstrate the initiatory layer elsewhere. Note that in many versions of the Polyphemus tale the hero loses a finger, see Hackman (n. 69), *passim* and Röhrich (n. 69). Add the Irish version in J. Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, Boston 1890, 141f in which Finn loses the first joint of the little finger, typical for this kind of mutilation, at the age of fifteen (!).

During the initiation ceremonies of the guilds (n. 23) tooth-extracting, another very common form of initiatory mutilation, was practiced, see Siemens (n. 173), 66.