NOTES AND REFERENCES

Pronunciation of Greek Words. The simple vowels a e i o are pronounced as in Italian; y is equivalent to French u. Of the diphthongs, ou is equivalent to Italian u; in the others, each component vowel has its proper value (a+i, e+u, etc.). Ch is guttural; g is always hard. In a few of the more familiar names, such as Æschylus, Hecuba, Thucydides, the Latin spelling has been used in deference to the English convention. The accents mark the intonation of the voice, which rises with the acute accent (') and first rises and then falls with the circumflex ('). Diphthongs carry the accent-sign on the second vowel. In pronouncing Greek most English scholars ignore the accent.

INTRODUCTION

1 (p. i). Thuc. i. 6. 6.
3 (p. 3). Pickard-Cambridge DTC 159.
4 (p. 4). This should be remembered in connection with the theory, propounded by Perry in his CS, that ancient Egypt is the centre from which human culture has radiated all over the world. He finds the origin of Egyptian culture in the unique conditions of the Nile Valley, but recently evidence has been adduced to show that the distinctive institutions of the primitive Egyptians were evolved before they entered the Nile Valley: Wainwright SRE 8f.
5 (p. 4). Ferguson EHCS 257.

CHAPTER I

1 (p. 11). Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg MCSISP 16. For the sake of simplicity I have omitted their grade of Dependent Hunters, which is not necessary for my argument. The general scheme adopted by these writers is in some respects over-simplified, and their data are incomplete, but the results are of great value. They have been applied, again with important results, by Diamond in his PL. The current views of totemism are summarised and discussed by Van Gennep in his EAPT. On mixed farming, see Childe MMH 85, Heichelheim WA 48f.

2 (p. 11). It is important to observe that the totemic taboo is directed primarily against eating the totem species, not against killing it, and in some tribes the distinction is clearly drawn: Spencer and Gillen NTCA 149, 202, Elkin in O 3. 257f. Conversely, a man who catches the totem species of another clan is expected to refrain from eating it until he has obtained permission to do so from members of that clan: NTCA 159, 323. On the distribution of totemism, see Lowe PS 131. He ignores the question of Indo-European
totemism, which Frazer discusses, though very inadequately (TE 4. 13). On Semitic and Chinese totemism, see Robertson Smith RS, Granet CC 180.

3 (p. 12). Of more than 200 Australian totems enumerated by Spencer and Gillen, over 150 are edible plants or animals: NTCA 768, cf. Elkin in O 3. 282. The development of totemism beyond these limits is correlated with developments in the organization of the totemic tribe. In some Australian tribes, notably those of S.E. Queensland, the totem-species are distributed among the exogamous groups according to their mutual affinities: trees belong to the same moiety as the birds that nest in them, water to the same moiety as water-fowl and fish. See Kelly in O 5. 465, and cf. Radcliffe-Brown, ib. 1. 63: "Just as each human being has his own place in the social structure, so each of the important natural species is allotted its place as belonging to a particular moiety, section or clan." The world of nature is reduced to order by reflecting on it the system imposed by nature on society.

4 (p. 12). Instances of totem centres at breeding places of the species are given in the authorities cited by Frazer T 59, 62, 69, 70, 99, 185, 189, 204, 298, cf. Spencer and Gillen NTCA 147, 288, 296. Of many increase ceremonies, we are expressly told that they took place annually at the beginning of the breeding season of the species: Frazer T 72, 78, 195. It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that the example of wallabies, which I have used in this and the following paragraphs, has been chosen for the sake of illustration only, and is not intended to imply that this particular species, which cannot be hunted without skilful spearmanship, goes back to the initial stage of totemism. The specialised diet characteristic of that stage must have consisted of such species as witchetty-grubs, beetle-grubs, molluscs, etc.


6 (p. 13). The Arunta tell of a fish man fishing in a pool for the fish on which he lived, of a beetle-grub man who fed on beetle grubs, and an opossum man who carried the moon as a lantern to help him catch opossums: Spencer and Gillen NTNTA 208, NTCA 321, A 331–52. The Kaitish tell of a grass-seed man who fed on grass seed, and of an edible bulb which formed the staple diet of the woman whose totem it was: NTCA 321, 394, 405. A clan of S.W. Australia explained the origin of its totem, the opossum, by saying that opossum was formerly its principal article of food (Grey VDSWA 4); and the Karadjeri tell of a married couple who fed exclusively on fish until they found it disagreed with them, when they advised people not to live on fish alone: Piddington in O 2. 380. Even more explicit is a tradition of the Unmatjera tribe. In former days there were some beetle-grub men who lived on beetle grubs, because at that time there was nothing in the country at all except beetle grubs and a little white bird. One day the men reflected that if they went on eating beetle grubs the supply might fail. Nevertheless, they persisted, with the result that one of them fell sick and died: Spencer and Gillen NTCA 324. The reason for the presence of the little white bird, which belonged to the species known to the natives as thippa-thippa, is evidently that it acts as a guide to them in their search for grubs: see Frazer TE 1. 256.

7 (p. 14). On the rise of ancestor worship, see the authorities cited by Landtmann OISC 125. The "primitive horde," which corresponds to
Howitt’s “undivided commune” and Morgan’s “consanguineous family,” may be defined as a small, self-contained, undifferentiated, nomadic band of food-gatherers—probably not more than two or three dozen individuals: see Hobhouse 46.

8 (p. 15). Cf. Spencer and Gillen NTCA 327: “The fundamental idea common to all the tribes is that men of any totemic group are responsible for the maintenance of the supply of the animal or plant which gives its name to the group, and that the one object of increasing the number of the totemic animal or plant is simply that of increasing the general food-supply.” Instruction of youth: Spencer and Gillen NTCA 328f, Landtman OISC 21, 31, Webster PSS 27, 32, 60, 140.

9 (p. 15). Hartland PP 1. 256.

10 (p. 15). Hobhouse etc. MCSISP 150f.

11 (p. 15). Division of labour in hunting tribes: Malinowski FAA 275f; Bancroft, NRPSNA i. 66, 131, 186, 196, 218, 242, 261-5, 340, Heichelheim WA i. 14. The need for the men to travel unencumbered except for their weapons explains why the women carry the baggage: Basedow AA 112, Landtman OISC 115.


13 (p. 16). Howitt NTSEA 119, 142. The typical Australian tribe is divided at the present day into local groups or “hordes.” In the great majority these local groups are patrilineal, and so are the totemic clans—that is to say, each local group consists of the men born in it, all belonging to the same clan, together with the women who have married into it from other clans. But in a number of tribes, while the local group is patrilineal, the clan is matrilineal. This means that the members of each clan are scattered in different groups all over the tribal territory. Yet, as we have already seen, the clan was originally concentrated at a particular locality, and the matrilineal clans cannot be regarded as a development of the patrilineal, because as such they are impossible to explain. It seems probable, therefore, that originally both the local group and the clan were matrilineal, being in fact identical. Subsequently, owing to the decline in the status of women and in the economic functions of the clan, there emerged patrilocal groups independent of the clans, which were still matrilineal, and, finally, in the stage reached by the majority of tribes to-day, the identity of local group and clan was restored by introducing patrilineal descent into the clan. The evidence on this subject is collected by Radcliffe-Brown in O 1.

14 (p. 16). Recent development of exogamy in Australia: Frazer T 5.

15 (p. 16). Spencer and Gillen A 491: “In the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes, in which descent is counted in the male line, a man continues as it were to pay a kind of tribute to his wife’s group. . . . This is further the one important feature, so far as the Arunta are concerned, which appears to indicate in any way a former condition in which a man owed allegiance to the group of his wife.” There is, however, strong evidence to show that among the Arunta the relations of the sexes have changed; for they assert that women formerly took part in ceremonies which they are now forbidden even to witness: A 150, cf. 167, 328, 340, 346. Among the Kurnai, if a man killed five opossums, he had to give two to his wife’s
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parents and two to her brothers; if he killed one sloth-bear, he had to give it to his wife’s parents; if two, he had to give the other to his own parents; if three, two to his wife’s parents and one to his own, keeping only the liver for his wife and himself: Howitt NTSEA 756–64. Cf. Rivers ETS 5. 148, Eggan SANAI 215. The evidence for matrilocal marriage and matrilineal descent is collected by Briffault M 1. 268–430.

16 (p. 16). Yukumbil: Radcliffe-Brown in JRAI 53. 403.

17 (p. 17). The endogamy of the primitive horde is still remembered in tradition; for in the ancestral legends of the Arunta the intermarriage of members of the same totem is represented as having been the normal practice: Spencer and Gillen A 331–52, NTCA 393f. This is a further indication that totemism originated in pre-tribal society, because the structure of the tribe is based on exogamy. Morgan explained the development of exogamy by the progressive limitation of inbreeding, which he assumed to be injurious, and this is one of the few of his conclusions to commend themselves to bourgeois writers. It is also one of the most questionable. It seems to have little or no support in modern genetics, and it does not explain the facts; for one of the striking things about the rule of exogamy in its simplest form is that, while in certain directions it prohibits the intermarriage of kindred to an infinitely remote degree, in other directions it permits marriage between first cousins and even between parents and children. The genetical evidence is discussed at length by Briffault (M 1. 204–40), who in other respects is one of Morgan’s strongest supporters, mercilessly exposing the theoretical fallacies of his “orthodox” opponents and assembling in his favour a mass of concrete data far more comprehensive and cogent than they have ever adduced against him. Briffault himself, who recognises that the totem-species was originally the staple diet, though without explaining the taboo, accounts for exogamy on the hypothesis that the matriarchal constitution of the primitive group, determined by biological factors and necessary for its survival, could only be preserved by systematically expelling the grown males. But there is no reason why these conditions should have resulted in more than a peripheral existence on the part of the males, such as he notes among some of the anthropoids (1. 179); and, if the females were strong enough to expel the males, it is not clear why they should not have been strong enough to control them. Moreover, his hypothesis does not square with the evidence of the classificatory system, which points to an original state of endogamy. This seems to me one of the weak points in what must be regarded as the most important theoretical contribution to social anthropology since the beginning of the century.

18 (p. 17). The percentages for slavery among modern tribes are computed by Hobhouse etc. MCSISP 236 a follows: Lower Hunters 2, Higher Hunters 32, First Agricultural 33, Second Agricultural 46, Third Agricultural 78. As they remark: “Ignoring the pastoral peoples, for whom the numbers are too small to be of any value, we find that the practice of killing some or all of the vanquished predominates and is nearly constant till we reach the highest agricultural stage, where it drops by 50 per cent,” and “the drop in the practice of killing prisoners in Agricultural III is the reverse side of the equally sudden rise in the practice of enslavement.” Cf. Plekhanov FPM 35.

19 (p. 17). The position of the elder in the lower hunting tribes is well illustrated by the Punans of Borneo, described by Hose and McDougall PTB 2. 182.

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20 (p. 18). Prayer and propitiation: Rivers HMS 2. 405, cf. Spencer and Gillen A 146, NTCA 491, Howitt NTSEA 500. The first stage in the evolution of an anthropomorphous god may be studied in Howitt's account of the sky-spirit Biamban, who was simply a projection of the natives' idea of a headman: Howitt NTSEA 506, cf. Moret et Davy CE 133.

21 (p. 18). Royal totems: Moret et Davy CE 143f. Tribalisation of clan-cults: Durkheim FEVR 406. Gods evolved out of totems: Frazer TE 1. 81, 2. 139, 151, 166, cf. 2. 18. Of course, it is not to be understood that every particular case of the association of a god with an animal is a direct totemic survival, but merely that the principle underlying such associations is derived from totemism.


23 (p. 19). Erechtheidai: Eur. Ion 20—9, 1421—31, Paus. 1. 24. 7, Hyg. Astr. 2. 13. In the historical period the clan had disappeared, and the name was used, like Kekropidai, of the Athenian people.

24 (p. 19). Totem marked on the person: Frazer TE 1. 196, 2. 28, 37, 3. 353. A Maenad on an Attic kylix has the figure of a fawn tattooed on her right arm: Harrison T 132. The Spartoi of Thebes had two emblems, a snake and a spear. The latter was traditionally explained as a birthmark (Arist. Poet. 1454b. 22, Dio Chr. 1. 1493, Hyg. Fab. 72, Plut. M. 563b) but in reality it was probably a totemic tattoo: Harrison T 435. See further Cook Z. 2. 122.


26 (p. 20). Attic clan-emblems: Seltman AHC 24, 30, 49. The headquarters of a horse, which may have belonged to the Phaidai (AHC 37)—an emblem described by Seltman as extraordinary—were evidently a "split" totem due to segmentation of the clan: Frazer TE 1. 10, 58, 77, 2. 397, 520, 536, 3. 100, 4. 175.


28 (p. 21). Cattle used for milk: Robertson Smith RS 269.


30 (p. 21). Initiation: see Chapter VII. Group-marriage: see Chapter II.

31 (p. 21). Robertson Smith RS 406.

32 (p. 22). Secret sodalities: see Chapter VII.

33 (p. 22). Ritual of the god-king: Hooke MR, Wainwright SRE.

CHAPTER II


3 (p. 25). Classificatory system: see further Appendix I and II. The distribution of the dual organisation (moieties) is world-wide (Rivers HMS 2. 500, SO 205, Morgan AS 79—83, 162—3, Eggan
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SANAI 268, 287, Frazer TE 1. 256–71, 314–514, 2. 274, 3. 33, 90, 119, 121, 125, 131, 266, 280, etc.), and so is that of cross-cousin marriage (Briffault M 1. 569–84). Yet, dismissing the explanation of the classificatory system on the basis of exogamous moieties, S. Tax (in Eggan SANAI 279) asserts that “the distribution of moieties is comparatively limited.” What is his standard of comparison? Similarly, cross-cousin marriage has been described by Kroeber (in JRAI 39. 82) as “utterly opposed to the basic principles of almost all [American] Indian society.” Cross-cousin marriage has been recorded of the Western Tinehns, Hopis, Arawaks, Naskapis, Cree, Ojibwas, and other tribes of North, South and Central America (Briffault M 1. 572, Eggan SANAI 95).

4 (p. 26). Howitt NTSEA 173, Spencer and Gillen NTCA 73. 95, Rivers SO 175; Thomas KMA 110, Malinowski FAA 108, Kroeber in JRAI 39. 77, Lowie PS 57, Radcliffe-Brown in O 1. 34, 202, 322, 426; Briffault M 1. 614. None of those who claim to have overthrown Morgan’s theory of group marriage has put anything constructive in its place, and some have affirmed the impossibility of doing so. Thus, Goldenweiser (in JAFL 29. 179) argued that the resemblances between totemic institutions in different parts of the world are the result not of common origin or of parallel development but of what he called “convergent evolution.” The differences are primary, the resemblances secondary; the diversity is fundamental, the unity superficial. Subsequently, he modified this view to the extent of admitting a fundamental correlation between totemism and the clan-system, thereby incurring the disapproval of Lowie, who, after rejecting Goldenweiser’s second thoughts, sums up his own position by announcing that he is “not convinced that all the acumen and erudition lavished on the subject has established the reality of the totemic phenomenon” (PS 137). This is indeed a triumph of bourgeois agnosticism: the problem is solved by denying its existence. To Lowie, Morgan’s belief in social progress, culminating in his memorable forecast of the socialist revolution, “was a natural accompaniment of the belief in historical laws, especially when tinged with the evolutionary optimism of the seventies of the last century” (PS 427). That is true, in the sense that Morgan’s work was a product of the rise of American capitalism; but it is equally true that Lowie’s disbelief in social progress, expressed in his concluding aphorisms about “that planless hodge-podge, that thing of shreds and patches called civilisation” is a product of capitalism in the last stages of decay.

5 (p. 27). Morgan AS 481; see Appendix II.

6 (p. 27). Evolution of the phratry: Morgan AS 171, Frazer TE 3. 41.

7 (p. 27). The Latin curia was regularly equated by Greek writers with phratria. The Irish evidence is abundant and would repay scientific analysis: Joyce SHAI 1. 166, Hubert GDC 198.


11 (p. 29). Position of women in Crete: Hall CGBA 272, Glotz CE 142. Minoan mother-goddess: Glotz CE 161, 239, 266, Hall CGBA 275, Childe DEC 25, Evans PM 1. 151, 495. While the Minoan male costume is quite
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different from the Mycenean, the Minoan female costume was taken over entirely by the Mycenean women (Glotz CE 73, 76). This means that the dominant element in Mycenean culture was transmitted largely through the women.

14 (p. 30). Hesych. s. vv. év, ἄνορ.
16 (p. 31). Ridgeway EAG 2. 14, 18.
17 (p. 31). Spencer and Gillen A 52, 490, NTNTA 36, NTCA 73, Howitt NTSEA 756, Bancroft NRPSNA 1. 118, 417, 506, Malinowski FAA 283, Rivers SO 108, Williamson SPSCP 3. 235, Hobhouse etc. MCSISP 244, Landman OISC 7. It seems probable that the English kind, Greek γενναῖος, Latin generosus, Irish cinéalta, all of which are derived from tribal relationships, connoted originally communal customs of this kind. In Samoa the word for generous is (or was) mata-āinga, literally gentem reverens: Williamson 3. 236.
18 (p. 31). Collective hunting of certain animals was general throughout N.W. Queensland: Roth ESNWQA 96, 100, cf. Mathew TRTQ 87.
19 (p. 31). On primitive inheritance in general see Fallaize in Hastings 7. 295. One of the commonest methods of evading the rule that property reverts at death to the kin is the practice of bestowing it before death on one's children: Frazer TE 2. 195, 3. 174, 245, 4. 131, 290.
20 (p. 31). Tribal co-operation: Morgen AS 95, Spencer and Gillen NTCA 164, Frazer TE 1. 75, 3. 275, Landman OISC 70.
22 (p. 32). Heichelheim WA 1. 47.
27 (p. 34). The vendetta: Glotz SF 271.
28 (p. 34). Prosecution and defence: Calhoun GCL 64.
29 (p. 34). Prosecution initiated by victim's kinsmen: Dem. 43. 57.
30 (p. 34). Labour-service for homicide: Pherecydes ap. Eur. ALC. 1 sch., Apollod. 2. 6. 2, 3. 4. 2. The word point is commonly connected with tímē (Boisacq 801, Glotz SF 105) but it seems worth pointing out that the series pointé-pénos-pēnes corresponds to the series mōira-mēros-mēros.
31 (p. 34). Chadwick HA 346, 359, Grönbech CT 1. 35.
32 (p. 35). Grönbech CT 1. 283.
33 (p. 35). Adoption of the homicide: Grönbech CT 1. 343, 2. 99.
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37 (p. 36). Rhadamanthys: Plat. Ll. 748 B-D. Aristotle (Pol. 2. 10. 2. 1271b) says that the Dorian settlers in Crete adopted the constitution of the earlier inhabitants, who continued to be governed by the laws of Minos.

CHAPTER III

The general evidence relating to land tenure among modern tribes has been analysed by Hobhouse, etc., whose conclusions are as follows (MCSISP 253): “We may express the whole tendency best by saying that the communal principle predominates in the lower stages of culture and retains a small predominance among the pastoral peoples, and that private ownership tends to increase in the higher agricultural stages, but partly in association with the communal principle, partly by dependence on the chief, or in some instances by something in the nature of feudal tenure. We seem in fact to get something of that ambiguity as between signorial and popular ownership that we find at the beginning of our own history. Over and over again, at the stage in which barbarism is beginning to pass into civilisation, the communal, individual, and signorial principles are found interwoven... and it seems to be the next stage upward in civilisation which gives its preponderance to the lord.” On the Homeric evidence, see Esmein in RHDFE, 14. 821, Pohlmann GSFS 1. 12, Guiraud PFG 36, Ridgeway in JHS 6. 327, Glotz SF 5, TGA 35, Toutain EA 12. In Greece, as elsewhere, the transition must have been a gradual and complex process, varying from district to district and from class to class. If we remember that, we shall avoid the mistake made by Toutain in assuming that, if property is not common, it must be private. There are several well-recognised gradations—tribal ownership, gentile ownership, family ownership, ownership vested in the head of the family—and it is only when the land has become alienable that we have full private ownership. What we want is a comparative study of land tenure on the lines of Diamond’s PL, but meanwhile it is impossible to acquiesce in Adcock’s statement in CAH 4. 42: “The Greeks had long outlived the stage, if it ever existed, when property had been held in common by the clan and private ownership was unknown.” Are we to understand that private ownership may be as old as the enclosure of the Garden of Eden? About the year 580 B.C. the islands of Lipara were colonised from Rhodes and Knidos. The account which follows is from Diodorus (5. 9): “Being well received at Lipara, the settlers were induced to share the land with the natives, who were the surviving descendants of Aiolos, about five hundred in all. In course of time, owing to the depredations of Tuscan pirates, they built a fleet and divided their occupations, some of them continuing the collective tillage of the soil, others being organised for defence against the pirates. They held property in common and ate at common meals. After
leading this communa life for some time, they divided Lipara itself, where the city was, but continued to cultivate the other islands collectively; and eventually they divided all the islands for periods of twenty years, reallotting them at the end of each." The reference to common meals shows that the organisation was tribal (see p. 70), and the rest of the account reveals three successive stages in the transition from common to private property: (1) collective cultivation of all the arable land; (2) division of the land in the vicinity of the polis; (3) division of all the land and periodical re-distribution. That seems plain enough. This evidence is ignored by Adcock, ignored by Toutain. Bury mentions it, but hastens to add that the original system was subsequently modified and treats the whole thing as though it were an isolated "communist experiment" (HG 297). Guiraud mentions it, too, but sets it aside with a piece of casuistry: these settlers, he says, were pirates themselves, and therefore their institutions are devoid of political or social significance (PFG 13). Being no better than robbers abroad, they had naturally failed to develop at home that sense of private property which is the hallmark of civilisation. Even more incorrigible, and with less excuse, were the Vaccei of Spain, also described by Diodorus, who not only reallocated the land every year, each receiving his share of the fruits, which were common property, but punished appropriation with death (5. 34); and the Germans described by Tacitus (G. 26), who exchanged their fields every year, the common land remaining over (see Marx-Engels B 236); and the common people of Peru, who worked the land on the basis of family holdings subject to annual reallocation (Prescott CP 29); and the people of Mexico, where the land was the common property of the clan (calpulli) and allotted to individuals on condition that they cultivated and improved it (Bancroft NRPSNA 2, 226). Similarly, in the English strip-system, "the common meadow-land was divided up by lot, pegged out, and distributed among the owners of the strips" (Hammond VL 4), and the Celtic run-rig system, which survived in Devon and Cornwall, involved periodical re-distribution of the soil (Vinogradoff OHJ 309, Hubert GDC 216, Joyce SHAI 1, 168). On the significance of this evidence for the interpretation of Hom. II. 18. 541f see Ridgeway in JHS 6, 327f and Seebohm SGTS 104. Further study along these lines would probably show that the whole complex of institutions and ideas centred in the Greek klēros was a heritage from common Indo-European; but, if it is to be productive, such a study must be undertaken by scholars who, like Morgan, believe that "a mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind."


3 (p. 37). II. 12. 421. Modern commentators: Glotz TGA 9, Guiraud PFG 38. It is true, as Toutain observes (EA 15), that Hes. Op. 37f points to individual ownership, which was doubtless developing rapidly by the time of Hesiod; but, as Seebohm remarked (SGTS 123), the case of Hesiod and his brother, sons of an immigrant, cannot be assumed to be typical.

4 (p. 37). It is of course possible that the men were dividing the land in order to appropriate it, but that only implies that the land had previously been common. Nilsson remarks on this passage (HM 242): "It is uncertain whether the word eπτυξινος means 'communal'; it may signify simply 'common,' viz. of disputed ownership, and the quarrel may be one of the quarrels concerning boundaries common among farmers." One would like to know (1) what is the difference between "communal" and "common,"
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and (2) by what mental process "common" comes to mean "of disputed ownership."

6 (p. 38). Boisacq 469. Ridgeway 330. Similarly, the Irish crann "lot" is identical with crann "tree." Another synonym of motra is pbtmos, that which falls (pπτει) to one's lot, cf. Latin casus.
7 (p. 38). Hdt. 5. 57, cf. 4. 145. With motra as applied to land may be compared ḍemos, properly a "division" (dato) either of the land or of the people, i.e. either the land occupied by the clan or the clan itself (see p. 206). That is why so many Attic ḍemoi bear the names of clans. The Arabic ḥayy was similarly applied both to the tribe and to the land belonging to it: Robertson Smith KMEA 39.

9 (p. 39). Pind. O. 7. 74, Hom. Il. 2. 654, 668; Cornford RP 15.

12. (p. 39). Hom. II. 15. 185–204. Pindar's version of the myth connotes the distribution of land among tribes—that is clear from its context. In Homer, however, we are told that Olympus and the Earth were not distributed but held by the brothers in common (193). This shows that the myth is regarded in the light of succession to a deceased father's property, the real estate (the house and the land) being held jointly, while the personal estate was divided by lot; and the implication that the land was not divided is further evidence that in the Homeric poems, apart from the tēmenos and the eschatēi, individual ownership of land is not recognised.

14 (p. 39). Apollod. 2. 8. 4. The question of the historical authenticity of this tradition does not affect its value as evidence of primitive custom.

18 (p. 40). Lesbos: Thuc. 3. 50. Thus, at 6. 9. 26f Pindar is describing himself as a priest of the Charites tilling his tēmenos; cf. Plut. M. 993d.

19 (p. 40). From Il. 22. 489 and Od. 7. 149–50 it appears that these gifts of land were bestowed for life only.


21 (p. 41). Hom. Od. 11. 533, Il. 15. 189, 195, cf. Hes. Th. 202. The words motra, geras, timē are all synonymous in this connection—hence the use of motra in the sense of "honour" or "esteem." The primitive meaning of timē appears to have been the reward, in the form of a geras or lāchos, which each of the tribesmen received at the distribution of the products of their labour. The term geras is used in the same way, but, since it has also yielded geraioi "old", it may have connoted originally those special rights in the distribution of food which are universally enjoyed by the elders, who cannot hunt for themselves, in the early stages of tribal society: Westermarck ODMI 2. 319.

22 (p. 41). Dasmos: Il. 1. 166. Tēmenos "set apart" (exaireton): Pind. O. 9. 26,
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23 (p. 41). Hom. Il. 1. 123.
24 (p. 41) Il. 9. 330, 367.
26 (p. 41). Hdt. 7. 144.
31 (p. 42). On the communal feasts of ancient Greece see Fustel de Coulanges CA 3. 179, and cf. Nilsson HGR 255. Guiraud, having dismissed the evidence for common ownership in early Greece, derives the communal feasts from the idea that the gods of the city must eat with the citizens just as the spirits of the dead must eat with the family (PFG 15); but, as Robertson Smith has explained (RS 282), the reason why the god eats with the citizens is that he was originally the ancestor of a tribe or clan—that is, a ‘kinsman, and, as such, entitled to eat with the rest of his kin.
33 (p. 42). Royal honours: Nilsson HM 219, Morgan AS 246. Among the Germans, the kingship was more highly developed in the warlike than in the sedentary tribes: Chadwick HA 367.
34 (p. 42). The lot was democratic (Hdt. 1. 80, Arist. Pol. 6. 2. 1317b); it was employed in connection with colonial emigration (Hdt. 4. 153), in determining priority of approach to the Delphic Oracle (Æsch. Eum. 32), and possibly for election to the chieftaincy of Attic clans (Toepffer AG 21, 125). It is still used by fishermen in Ireland and elsewhere to divide the catch.
37 (p. 43). Morgan AS 232. Cf. Diamond PL 241f: “The earliest rules of inheritance arise simply from the fact that the property of the group remains in the group. . . . In the Third Agricultural grade the spread of patrilocal marriage and the weakening of the clan begin to concentrate in the person of the head of the family the control over the members and the property held by them. . . . In systems where the eldest surviving brother succeeds to the property of the family, with a duty to support the members, he maintains the daughters and receives the bride-price in respect of them. In other cases the bride-price usually goes to the sons who ‘keep’ their sisters. . . . The clan disappears and a narrowed family group emerges as the basic social and economic unit.”
38 (p. 43). Testamentary disposition: Diamond PL 249; see p. 201.
39 (p. 44). Hes. Th. 73, 112, 383–403, 883, Æsch. P.V. 244. This legend is
clearly related to the myth and ritual of the god-king in Egypt and Babylonia: Hooke MR. 1–14.


41 (p. 44). Hesych. s. vv., Toepffer AG. There were a number of craft-clans in Sparta: Hdt. 6.60.

42 (p. 44). Hdt. 7. 134, cf. Rose PCG 217. The development of hereditary crafts seems to have been a factor in the decline of matrilineal succession and descent, cf. Landman OISC 83.

43 (p. 45). Gardner in CAH 3. 585.

44 (p. 45). Grönbek CT 1. 35.

45 (p. 45). Hesych. s. vv., Toepffer AG.

46 (p. 46). Wade-Gery in CQ 25. 1.

47 (p. 46). Hdt. 2. 53.

48 (p. 46). Hom. Od. 7. 197. The trinity first appears in Hes. Th. 218. That the concept of Klotho was already ancient in the Homeric period appears from the generalised use of epiklōtho (II. 24. 525, Od. 1. 17). Another stereotyped expression of the same kind is theōn en gothnai kēttai (II. 17. 514, Od. 1. 267) which originally connoted the unworked wool lying on the knees of the spinners: Onians in CR 38. 2.

49 (p. 47). I have rolled up: Isaiah 38. 12.

50 (p. 47). I have not yet succeeded in tracing this idea in Greek or Latin literature at all, though it seems to be implied in Verg. A 10. 814. In Graeco-Roman art, Klotho is represented as seated and spinning, Lachesis as drawing lots with averted eyes, and Atropos as writing on a tablet: Roscher 2. 3095.


54 (p. 47). Karsten CSAI 1–197, Robertson Smith RS 335; see Chap. I n. 25.

55 (p. 48). Roman children wore round the neck a small box (bulla) containing a phallos—the boys until they assumed the toga virilis, when it was dedicated to the Lares, the girls probably till marriage: Darenberg-Saglio s. v. Bulla. What happened to the Greek gnōrismata is not so clear, but it is evident from the case of Orestes that they were carefully preserved, and in at least one instance they were dedicated by a girl at marriage (Long. 4. 37).

56 (p. 48). Cyrus: Hdt. 1. 111. 3.

67 (p. 48). Robertson Smith KMEA 213.

58 (p. 48). Boisacq 704. This same base, which has yielded the I. E. terms for mark and name, is cognate with another, which has yielded Latin gnosco and gens, Greek gignósko and génoj, English know and kin. What is the connection between knowledge and kinship? Boisacq assumes that it can only be (1) to know (2) to know how (3) to be able (4) to beget. And this, quite rightly, he rejects. In primitive thought the fact is not deduced from the idea: the idea is deduced from the fact. The starting-point in this case is the fact of kinship. My kinsmen are known to me—gnôló in Greek; and,
since social relations are confined to the circle of kin, strangers are unknown—uncouth in English. And the kinsman is known by the sign he wears and by the name he bears—by his totem. We remember how the sons of Hypsipyle claimed kin—that is, made themselves known to her—by revealing the totem of their clan (p. 20).

59 (p. 48). The name was magical, because it embodied the totem or ancestor of the clan. That the peoples of Europe were no exception in this respect is proved by the Germanic evidence, cf. Grönbéch CT I. 258: “Name and fate interpenetrate. The name was a mighty charm, because it carried the history not only of the bearer but of his ancestors and of the whole clan. . . . When a new man came into the family, the Norsemen said expressly, Our kinsman is born again—so-and-so has come back. And they confirmed their saying by giving the old name to the young one.” So in Greece. In the Dionysiaka of Nonnos, which, late though it is, is a storehouse of primitive ideas, Dionysus says to Pentheus (the “Mourner”) (46. 73): “A fair name indeed have the Moirai given unto thee, a harbinger of thy death”; cf. Pind. O. 10. 49, Æsch. Ag. 686. See further Chap. VII n, 3, 7.


62 (p. 49). Men. 181 Kock (Allinson p. 46), 872 Kock (Allinson p. 260). Cf. Philostr. Imag. 1. 26, where we are told that the Horai scattered flowers on the swaddling-bands of the newborn Hermes “in order that they might not lack markings.”


64 (p. 50). Æsch. Ag. 1478, 1568.


69 (p. 51). Robertson Smith KMEA 99.

70 (p. 51). Chadwick HA 359, Meillet et Vendryes GCLC 390, Buck CGGL 341.

71 (p. 51). Maret A 196, Briffault M 309.

72 (p. 51). Cult of Moirai and Erinyes reserved to women: Eur. Mel., Vinct. 18 (Hunt TGF).

73 (p. 52). Nornen: Paul GGM 3. 282, Mannhardt GM 576, 609. Whether the idea of Moira can be traced in other I.E. languages is more than I can say, but it is worth noting that the Greek moira (1) “share” (2) “esteem” (3) “fate” corresponds to the Irish (1) cion (a) “share” (b) “affection” (2) cinneamhain (“fate.”

74 (p. 52). Matres Deae: Roscher s.v.

75 (p. 52). Æsch. P.V. 532.
CHAPTER IV

2 (p. 59). Thuc. 1. 4. 1.
4 (p. 60). Distribution of dialects: Nilsson HM 86, Myres WWG 159. Ägean loan-words: Meillet AHLT 65, Glotz CE 386.
5 (p. 60). On the cult of Earth in general see Dieterich ME. At Dodona: Farnell CGS 1. 39, cf. Cook in CR 20. 365. At Delphi: Farnell 3. 9. Poseidon in Attica: Farnell 1. 270. At Argos: Paus. 2. 15. 5, Apollod. 2. 1. 4. In Arcadia: Farnell 3. 50. Zeus and Hera at Olympia: see p. 116. Poseidon was closely associated with the Ionians: Farnell 4. 18, Nilsson HGR 120, MOGM 155, HM 92. Demeter seems to have been connected in origin with the Erinyes. The type of the Erinyes on vases has a snake held in either hand (Roscher 1. 1331-4), like the statuette of the snake-goddess from Knossos, which is one of a pair (Hall CGBA 127-8). The other one answers exactly to Äschylus’ description of the Erinyes (Cho. 1047-8) and wears a tall hat resembling the kalathoi of the pappades discovered at Eleusis and believed to represent Demeter (Farnell CGS 3. 215). In a terra-cotta at the Louvre, Demeter appears with corn-stalks in her hands and snakes coiled round either uplifted arm (Roscher 2. 1359). On a gem in Leningrad she holds poppies, corn and cornucopia, and rides a bull, like the Cretan Europa (Farnell 3. 220): there was a cult of Demeter Europa in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 39. 4). Finally, at Thelpousa in Arcadia she was worshipped as Demeter Eriny.

All this requires closer investigation, but it may be suggested provisionally that the evolution of Demeter Erinyse was parallel to that of Zeus Moirageties (p. 54) and reflected the transition from pre-Hellenic Ägean tribal society to the matrilineal Minoan state.


11 (p. 63). Nilsson HGR 158.

CHAPTER IV

13 (p. 64). Chadwick HA, GL 2. 595.
Minstrel of Mycenae: Od. 3. 267f.
16 (p. 67). Nilsson HM 130.
17 (p. 67). The decline of the kingship can be traced most clearly in the Attic tradition. Kodros was the last king, his successors being merely archontes for life: under the twelfth of these the office became decennial (752 B.C.) and seventy years later it was made annual and distributed among nine persons elected from the Eupatriai: Grote HG 3. 48.

CHAPTER V

2 (p. 69). The Spartan constitution did not assume its historical form until the latter part of the seventh century, when, after a revolt of the serfs, it was reorganised on a more strictly military basis. The principal change was the substitution of five tribes, based on locality, for the three tribes of the primitive Dorian system (Wade-Gery in CAH 3. 560). These changes, together with the institution of all the characteristic social and political features of historical Sparta, such as the gerousia and apélla, the pheidition and the agéla, were traditionally ascribed to Lykourgos who was said to have introduced them from Crete and was dated far earlier than the end of the seventh century. It is clear, however, that the institutions mentioned are much older than that and are primitive Dorian rather than borrowings from Crete. It is questionable whether the militarisation of Sparta was really so abrupt as it was represented to be, but there is no doubt that the early Sparta was as famous for her culture as the later for her lack of it. This contrast is abundantly confirmed by archaeological remains. The early history of Sparta is at present very obscure, but the foreign origin of Alkman of Sardis, Terpandros of Lesbos and Thaletas of Crete suggests that Spartan culture in this period was a development of the same nature as Mycenaean, being due to the influence, as intense as it was short-lived, of a highly cultivated indigenous population on their semi-barbarian conquerors.
3 (p. 70). Fifty per cent.: Tyrt. 5. The difference in spirit between Alkman and Tyrtaios is very striking. After Kallinos, an older contemporary at Ephesos, Tyrtaios is the first Greek poet to extol the glory of dying for the fatherland, which is a sure sign of the consolidation of the state. The very word “fatherland” embodies an attempt to invest the state-power with the sanctity of kinship.
5 (p. 70). Thessaly: Bury HG 59. Crete: Wade-Gery in CAH 2. 537. The outlook of the Cretan nobles may be judged from the fragment of a song in which Hybrias addresses his weapons (Diehl 2. 128): “With these
I plough, with these I reap, with these I tread my sweet wine from the grape, with these I make my serfs call me lord.”

7 (p. 71). Economic advantages of the têmenos: Ridgeway in JHS 6. 335.
8 (p. 71). Eschatô: Glotz TGA 35.
10 (p. 72). In post-Homeric Greek the use of têmenos is confined almost exclusively to a piece of land attached to a temple. The intermediate stage is illustrated by Hdt. 4. 159, where we are told that temênea and priestly functions were assigned to the king.
12 (p. 72). Hosioi of Delphi: Parke in CQ 34. 88.
13 (p. 73). Grönbech CT 1. 343.
15 (p. 73). There is no trace of purification for homicide in the Homeric or Hesiodic poems (Calhoun GCL 16f). It was not a primitive practice, in Greece or elsewhere (Diamond PL 144f), and it was developed under the landed aristocracy. It is possible, however, that, in regard to pollution, a distinction was drawn between inter-clan homicide and homicide within the clan. The man who was pursued by the Erinyes for the murder of a kinsman, as distinct from the man who had merely killed a member of another clan, may have been regarded from early times as being in some sense polluted: at any rate he was under a curse. For this reason I am inclined to qualify my statement in AO 1. 9 that, “in believing that the idea of blood-pollution was as old as society itself,” Æschylus was “essentially at fault.” According to Apollo, Clytemnestra was polluted by the blood of Agamemnon (Eum. 603), but the Erinyes reject this view on the ground that she was not his kinswoman (606, 608); and this, taken in conjunction with the constant association in his plays of blood-pollution with the Erinyes, suggests that he may have regarded blood-pollution as ancient only in respect of the murder of a kinsman.
16 (p. 74). We are all one kin: cf. Æsch. Eum. 986–7.
17 (p. 74). On the influence of the Delphic priesthood in propagating the aristocratic view of homicide see Parke HDO 370.
1, 77.
19 (p. 74). Thuc. 2. 15.
20 (p. 74). Wade-Gery 11.
21 (p. 76). Ure OT 321.
22 (p. 76). Theagenes: Ure OT 267.
23 (p. 76). On the practice of banishing the whole kin see Glotz SF 473.
24 (p. 76). Aristotle says that almost all legislators belonged to the middle class (Pol. 4. 11. 1296a). On the Code of Drakon see Glotz SF 473.
26 (p. 77). Plat. L. 735E. “When the have-nots, lacking a livelihood, organise to attack the haves, the lawgiver ridsthe state of their infectious presence by despatching them under the most favourable auspices to found a colony.” Much is still obscure in the early history of Ionia, but the general development of the class-struggle has been well described by Glotz TGA 71.
NOTES TO CHAPTER V

29 (p. 78). Hom. II. 15. 195.
30 (p. 78). Cf Theocr. 16. 35.
31 (p. 78). Plat. Prot. 343B.
36 (p. 81). In the Indo-European family of languages the future tense was not evolved until after the dispersal, being formed independently in each group: Meillet IECL 1. 214. In Homeric Greek it is still immature, as also in modern Russian. There is no future tense in the Australian languages described by Spencer and Gillen NTNTA 449, cf. Mathew TRTQ 214.
37 (p. 81). Similarly, the Russian mir means (1) village community (2) peace (3) world. There is evidence that the Latin mundus was used originally in reference to the tribal settlement (Cornford RP 53); and in the later Empire, owing to the development of Roman citizenship, it was transferred back again from the world-order to the social order (French monde, cf. Modern Greek kósmos). A similar connection between the world-order and the social order can be traced in Chinese: Granet CC 195.
38 (p. 83). Burnet held that Anaximander’s dpeiron meant spatially infinite, not qualitatively indeterminate (EGP 58); but this view is contradicted by Theophrastos, whose testimony Burnet himself described as specially reliable (73).
39 (p. 82). Cornford RP 7.
40 (p. 83). Calhoun GCL 11.

CHAPTER VI

2 (p. 85). Heracl. fr. 90 Diels. In propounding his theory of the tension of opposites Herakleitos seems to have been countering the Pythagorean theory of fusion (see pp. 215–17); and, if so, he represents the aristocratic reaction to the popular movement. The first to put forward this interpretation was, I believe, Eleutheropoulus WP 1. 103.
3 (p. 86). Early tyrants: Ure OT 194, 265, cf. Bowra GLP 154. Aristotle says (Pol. 5. 5. 5. 1305a): “Most of the early tyrants were originally demagogues: they are not so now, but they were then.”
4 (p. 86). On the effects of the introduction of money on prices see Glotz TGA 80. Cf. Bury HG 178: “The introduction of money, which was at first very scarce and led to the accumulation of capital in the chests of successful speculators, was followed by a period of transition between the old system of the direct exchange of commodities and the new system of a metallic medium; and this transitional period was trying to all men of small means.” This, though beautifully vague, is true so far as it goes, except for the implication that the system of a metallic medium ceased to be “trying”
to the small man after the transition was over. What the small man felt about it may be illustrated from a remark in Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia* (Book II): “So easily might men gette their living if that same worthy princess lady money did not alone stop up the waye betwene us and our lyving, which in goddes name was most excellently devised and invented that by her the way therto should be opened.” See further Engels UFPS 125. For the difference between the old landowners and the new cf. *Æsch. Ag.* 1026–9.


7 (p. 87). The interpretation of the term *hektēmbrōs* or *hektēmbrōs* “sixth-partner” is disputed: it is either one who pays over a sixth of his produce (Arist. fr. 351, Plut. *Sol.* 13, cf. Adcock in CAH 2. 35) or one who retains a sixth of his produce (Phot. s. v. *pełātēs*, cf. Bury HG 174, Glotz TGA 81). In favour of the latter interpretation, which I have provisionally adopted, it may be pointed out that all the analogous formations from the same root (*dmos*, *isōmoiros*, *dimoīrites*, *trimoīrites*, *tetramoīrita*) denote the possessor or recipient, not the donor. But the matter remains in doubt.

8 (p. 89). Wade-Gery in CQ 25. 80.


10 (p. 89). Sol. 5 Diehl.

11 (p. 90). In this account of Peisistratos I have followed in the main Ure OT 336, particularly in regard to the identification of the Diakrioi with the miners and the location of Semachidai in the mining district.

12 (p. 92). Müller FHG 1. 395. Ure OT 65. This enterprise of the Alkmaionidai is not mentioned by Hasebroek SHAG 44f, although it has an important bearing on his argument. He is undoubtedly right in his view that many historians (including Ure) have exaggerated the extent to which trade was organised in this period of Greek history, but his own conclusions suffer from a failure to distinguish clearly between the initial phase of the commercial revolution and the period following, which was marked by the enormous growth of slave-labour. Thus, the Alkmaionidai, who contracted for the reconstruction of the Delphic temple, may be contrasted with Nikias, who made his money by dealing in slave-labour (*Xen. de vect. 4. 14*). By the end of the sixth century, in the more advanced states, trade had reached the point at which it could only develop further on the basis of an international organisation for the division of labour and the exchange of commodities as between one state and another; and what prevented it from passing that point was the growth of slave-labour.

13 (p. 93). It was perhaps one of these poets who compared the tyranny of Peisistratos to the Reign of Kronos (Arist. *Ath. Rp.* 16. 7); and what he had in mind was no doubt the re-distribution of wealth, particularly of the confiscated estates, which the tyrant had effected; for in Greek tradition the Reign of Kronos was the symbol of primitive communism (see p. 234).


**CHAPTER VII**

This chapter should be read in connection with Hutton Webster’s excellent study of *Primitive Secret Societies*. I have also learnt much from Harrison’s *T*, and from Ridgeway’s EAG and DDD, although I am con-
vinced that Ridgeway was mistaken in isolating ancestor-worship from productive magic, with which it was originally identical. Harrison’s method has recently been taken up by Jeanmaire.

1 (p. 97). Spencer and Gillen A 177, 178, 277, Webster PSS 60. The very young and the very old are unable to procure their own food. That is the economic basis of the system of age-grades in its simplest form.

2 (p. 97). Hambly OEPP 284. Another reason why, at least in Australia, initiation is less elaborate for girls may be the decline in the status of women which has already been noted as a tendency characteristic of hunting tribes (p. 16).

3 (p. 97). Frazer TE 2, 302, 3, 298, Daremberg-Saglia 7, 88, Dieterich ME 29, Seebohm SGTS 54. Cf. Karsten CSAI 417. “We must assume that the well-known Indian custom of naming children after certain objects of nature, especially after animals or plants, has a deeper foundation. When the Indians give their children such names, or even names after mountains, rocks, rivers and lakes, as was the custom for instance in ancient Peru, this is evidently originally due to the idea that the soul of the ancestor, re-born in the child, has previously been incarnated or materialised in some of these objects of nature.” See Chap. III n. 59. The idea of reincarnation may possibly underlie the practice, characteristic of many Australian classificatory systems and a few American (Spencer and Gillen A 41f, Kroeber in JRAI 39, 81), of applying a common term to the father’s father and to the son’s son, i.e. the grandfather uses the same term of relationship for the grandson as the grandson uses for him. The primitive idea of reincarnation is well explained by Karsten CSAI 416: “When a child is born, the life thus coming into being is not a new life in the strict sense of the word. A spirit which had existed earlier has again assumed that form. It is simply one of the forefathers that reappears in the new-born. And on the other hand, when an Indian dies, he does not by any means cease to exist. Death does not imply the extinction of life. It only implies a transition from one form of life to another. . . . Thus, the human life, including a part of the animal and the plant life, presents an eternal circular course where there is apparently no beginning and no end, where the only things changing are the successive incarnations and transformations through which the soul has to pass.”

4 (p. 98). Cureau SMCA 167. The primitive interconnection of these ideas survives in the Greek gignomai (1) to be born (2) to become.

5 (p. 98). Webster PSS 38. Cf. D’Alviella in Hastings 7, 318: “Even to-day, in the profession of vows in use among the Benedictines, the novice is laid out on the ground between four candles, and covered with a winding-sheet, the service of the dead is performed over his body, and the whole congregation chants the Miserere for him.” I am told that the corresponding ritual of the Orthodox Church is of the same nature.

6 (p. 98). Sexual interchange of clothes: Halliday in ABSA 16, 312. As Halliday shows, this custom is especially associated with initiation, marriage and death. Marriage was originally the immediate sequel to initiation (pp. 100, 127, 132) and initiation involved the “death” of the novice. Similarly, in Greece, the hair was cut at the attainment of puberty, marriage, and death (p. 108), and the veil was worn both at marriage and at death (p. 122). Conversely, the rites of burial were designed to ensure that the dead would be born again (p. 115). The interconnection of these ideas is one of the keys to the understanding of primitive ritual.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

7 (p. 98). A new name means a new life—it makes the bearer a "new man." That is why a new name is given at initiation (Webster PSS 40, Frazer TE 1, 44, 3, 510, 555. Van Gennep RP 120) and in time of sickness (Frazer TE 2, 543); for, as we shall see in a later chapter (p. 377), primitive medicine is primarily concerned with securing that the patient is "born again." That, too, is why Herakles received a new name after purification for homicide (Apollod. 2, 4, 12), purification being a form of regeneration (p. 145); and similarly a new name is assumed at the profession of vow in the Christian Church.

8 (p. 98). Preservation of the amputated parts: Webster PSS 36.
9 (p. 100). Webster PSS 1f.
10 (p. 100). Webster PSS 75.
11 (p. 103). Plut. Lycurg. 16-27; Schurtz AM 110f. For primitive parallels to the Spartan "lover" see Jeanmaire CC 450-5, Meek SK 368, Earthy VW 120-1. The Spartan bouagôr, leader of the buô³a, corresponds to the Bathonga "shepherd," an initiated youth in charge of a group of novices: Junod LSAT 1, 75. Cf. also Hollis NLF 57: "The warriors then seize the boy by the left hand, fasten a leather thong to his little finger, and ask him a question, the answer to which is known only to persons who have been circumcised.... In order that the boy shall not forget the answer, the thong is given a sharp jerk, which nearly dislocates the finger." As Nilsson points out (MMR 433, citing Thomsen in AR g, 397), the flagellation of the Spartan boys "was once a rite in which the boys were struck with the sacred bough, which conferred strength and good luck"—in other words, a rite of initiation. Yet, rejecting Jane Harrison's analysis of the Hymn of the Kouretes in terms of initiation, the same writer declares (477) that "the ideas by which Miss Harrison explains the hymn are peculiar to one period of the development of humanity, that of savagery." Thus do modern scholars preclude themselves from understanding ancient society by refusing to analyse their own. If Nilsson would only examine the history of those learned institutions which have conferred on him his well-merited degrees, or if, the next time he goes to church, he would pause in his devotions to reflect on the place of the font in the development of humanity, he would recognise the marks of "savagery" in the initials attached to his own name, both before and after. See pp. 107, 127, 439.

12 (p. 104). This is doubtless the origin of the fruit-stealer, one of the traditional characters in Spartan drama: Pickard-Cambridge DTC 229. Practices of this kind have a wide distribution and a general connection with primitive secret societies. The double function of Hermes, who is at the same time god of stealing and the god who conducts the soul from life to death and from death to life, is reproduced in the Germanic Wotan. Cf. Höfler KGG 1, 259: "Beim samischen Feste des Hermes Charidotes durfte man stehlen: ein solches Stehrecht, an gewisse (zum Teil 'heilige') Zeiten gebunden oder auch sonst streng gesetzlich umschränkt, gehört zu den allercharakteristischsten Kennzeichen kultische Männernbünde." Höfler shows that the initiates steal food in their character as spirits of the dead, and conversely it may be conjectured that the food which the European peasantry is accustomed to put out at Christmas-time for the spirits of the dead was formerly consumed by members of these secret societies.


ErÁ
NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

15 (p. 107). More probably the purpose of the gamelia was to admit the bride after marriage to her husband’s phratry: Deubner AF 233. Apatouria: Mommsen FSA 323f.
19 (p. 107). Haircutting at Sparta: Plut. Lycurg. 15. 22. At Athens: Hesych. s.v. koureditís, Suid. s.v. kourebites. The ancients believed that koúros “youth” and kourá “haircutting” were etymologically connected, and they may have been right: Cook Z 1. 24. The practice of cutting the hair at initiation is also found among the Germans: Grönbech CT 1. 123.
21 (p. 108). Paus. 8. 34. 2. Amputation of a finger at initiation: Frazer TE 3. 401. As a sign of mourning and a cure for sickness: Crawley MR 1. 274. Has this anything to do with the name of the Idaioi Daktyloi?
22 (p. 108). Æsch. Eum. 760; see p. 280.
23 (p. 108). Cannibalism at initiation: Webster PSS 35.
26 (p. 109). Callim. H. 1. 52f, Strabo 10. 3. 11, Diod. 5. 20. 2–4. On the Kouretes in general seeLOBECK A 1111.
27 (p. 109). Harris B 354.
34 (p. 110). Birth of Dionysus: Hes. Th. 946f, Eur. Ba. 1f, 242f, 286f, Diod. 4. 2. 5. 52. 2, Paus. 3. 24. 3, 9. 5. 2, Apollod. 3. 4. 3, Clem. Protr. p. 15 (Abel Orph. 196), Plut. M. 996c, Philod. de piet. p. 16 Gomperz Lycoph. 208 sch. The word Titan was originally equivalent to basileis or dnas (Solmsen in IF 30. 35) and perhaps therefore the Titans were the initiated youths of a royal clan.
35 (p. 111). On adoption as a rite of re-birth see Hartland in Hastings 1. 106. Cf. Grönbech CT 1. 305: “Such re-birth lay in the act of adoption, the seating on the knee, or as the Swedes called it, seating in the lap . . . (360). Adoption full and complete involves a radical change in the son, so that all his thoughts are given a new direction, and the fate or aldr that was implanted in him at his first birth is exchanged for that of his new friends.” In the same way, at Athens, the man who returned home after being mourned as dead had to be re-adopted into the community by a rite of mimic birth which invested him with a new membra (p. 50). The Athenian rite of adoption was the same as the ceremony for introducing
the true son into his father's phratry: Seebohm SGTS 36. Cf. Corp. Glass. Lat. 4. 304. 44 adoptio pæne nature imitatio, Plin. Paneg. 8 non in cubiculo sed in templum, nec ante genialem torum sed ante pulvinar Iovis optimi maximi adoptio (sc. Traiani a Nerva) peracta est; John 3. 5. 3. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the Kingdom of God: Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born? And Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God"; Romans 8. 13 “For if ye live after the flesh, ye must die; but if by the spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live: for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God.” The Christian baptism is at once an initiation, an adoption, and a regeneration: see further Van Gennep RP 132, Loisy MPMC 261.

36 (p. 111). Exodus 12. 48: “And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord, let all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one that is born in the land.”

38 (p. 112). Diod. 5. 52. 2; Cook Z 2. 9.
40 (p. 112). 1 Cor. 15. 44.
41 (p. 112). Apollod. 2. 1. 3.
42 (p. 112). Harrison T 14. 61, Lang CM 39, 51.
43 (p. 113). Maret in HJ 8. 394, quoted by Harrison T 63.
44 (p. 113). On the cauldron of apotheosis in general see Cook Z 2. 210 and 1. 676, where he relates it to the Orphic formula “A kid, I have fallen into milk”; Frazer GB 2. 372, 3. 96, A 2. 359, Mannhardt GM 71.

45 (p. 113). Medea: Diod. 4. 51. Ino: Apollod. 3. 4. 3, Paus. 1. 42. 6, 1. 44. 7, 2. 1. 3, 4. 34. 4. Thetis: Hes. Æg. fr. 2 ap. Ap. Rh. 4. 316 sch.
46 (p. 113). Pelops: Pind. O. 1. 23–51, Bacch. fr. 54 Jebb; Cornford in Harrison T 212, Weniger ‘Das Hochfest des Zeus in Olympia’ in K (1905) 1. I have now rejected Weniger’s explanation of the rule for fixing the date of the Games: see my article, ‘The Greek Calendar’, JHS 63. 52. My explanation of the three foot-races run at the Heraia (p. 117) must also be rejected, being based on a mere miscalculation.

47 (p. 115). Paus. 8. 2. 2.

49 (p. 116). Physkoea: Paus. 5. 16. 6.
50 (p. 117). Frazer LEHK, GB 1.
51 (p. 117). Hocart K 70. This writer shows that coronation is a form of initiation, but his view that coronation is the primitive form, from which initiation is derived, is absurd.


54 (p. 119). Farnell CGS 5. 382. Mannhardt BG 534 derives the torch-race from agrarian magic, and, if this is correct, these races of the Athenian Æphbeoi are analogous to the spring and summer festivals discussed in the next chapter.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

56 (p. 119). Discovery of agriculture: Isocr. 4. 28. Thesmophoria: Hdt. 2. 171 (see p. 308).
57 (p. 120). Adoption: Farnell CGS 3. 153. Peisistratos: Robertson GRA 619.
58 (p. 120). Arist. Pol. 6. 4. 1319b.
59 (p. 120). Foucart ME.
60 (p. 121). Democratisation of Osiris: Peet in CAH 2. 196.
62 (p. 121). Herakles at Eleusis: Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Diod. 4. 14.
63 (p. 122). Ar. Pl. 846 sch. Similarly, the Cretan boys used to wear the same cloak summer and winter: Heracl. Pont. 3. 3.
64 (p. 122). The veil of mystical initiation appears on the funerary urn reproduced by Harrison PGR 547. Veil of marriage: Æsch. Ag. 1177-8, Plut. M. 1389, Luc. Conv. 8, Poll. 3. 36; Harrison PGR 520, 532. Veil of mourning: Hom. H. 2. 42, 197, ll. 24. 93. Veil on the face of the dead: Soph. El. 1468, Eur. Tro. 623, Hec. 432, Hipp. 1428, Plat. Phædo 118A. Veil of primitive initiation: Fest. p. 128, "The Sacred Spring (ver sacrum) was a rite of dedication among the Italians. In times of calamity they vowed to sacrifice all things born to them in the following spring; but, since it seemed barbarous to slaughter innocent boys and girls, when they came of age they veiled them and drove them out beyond the boundaries of the state." The meaning of this ritual will become clearer in the next chapter.
71 (p. 125). 1 Cor. 9. 24.
72 (p. 125). Thomson AO 2. 227; see pp. 272, 357.
75 (p. 126). Ἐποθήκη at Olympia: Headlam in Thomson AO 2. 221, and cf. Paus. 5. 9. 5.
76 (p. 126). Plut. M. 593D.

CHAPTER VIII

1 (p. 130). Farnell CGS 2. 481, cf. 427.
2 (p. 130). Nietzsche GT 37f.
3 (p. 132). Robertson Smith: see Chap. I n. 32.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

5 (p. 134). Jeanroy OPL. On the Irish *Natureingang* see Jackson ECNP

6 (p. 134). Schmeller CB no. 47.

7 (p. 134). For a general account of these festivals see Mannhardt AWF, Frazer GB 3. 205, 220, 246.


10 (p. 137). Phallic origin of the maypole: Mannhardt BG 416, 469, 521.


18 (p. 142). Nilsson GF 274.


21 (p. 144). Tanagra: Paus. 9. 20. 4.

22 (p. 144). Diod. 5. 50.


30 (p. 146). Apollod. 2. 2. 2.


32 (p. 146). Euboia was one of the sites of the birth of Epaphos (*Et. Mag.* *s.v.* *Eubóta*, Strabo 10. 1. 3, cf. Eust. *ad Hom.* 278. 30) and also of the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera (Steph. *Byz.* *s.v.* *Kárystos*). The bull, cow and calf appear on fifth-century coins from Kárystos: Head *HN* 357. The myths of the pursuit of Io and of the marriage of Zeus and Hera are probably duplicates, both being founded on the sacred marriage of the priest of Zeus with the priestess of Hera: Cook *Z.* 1. 453, 458. Apollod. 2. 1. 2.


34 (p. 147). Cook *Z.* 1. 437.

35 (p. 148). Plut. *M.* 295b. This argument from the Heraeis cannot be
relied on, because the name may be no older than the Corinthian occupation of the district: see Payne P 21.

36 (p. 148). Harrison T 132.
38 (p. 149). Meliastai: Paus. 8. 6. 5. Dionysiastai: C.I.G. 2525b. Patrai: Paus. 7. 20. 1. The presence of a man, even as leader, in the Dionysiac thtastos, calls for further explanation. It is agreed that the costume of the tragic actor, including the high boot or kothornos, is derived from the cult of Dionysus (Haigh AT 239); and it appears that in ordinary life the kothornos was worn principally by women (Ar Lys. 657, Ecc. 346, Hdt. i. 155)—another sign that the art of “the buskined stage” originated in a society of women. Dionysus himself wears the kothornos, also the krokoitos, a woman’s over-mantle, and the mitra, a headband used by women for fastening the hair (Ar. Ran. 46, 557, Ath. 198c, Poll. 4. 116): that is his attire in the vase-painting reproduced on p. 95. It is also known that men participating in Dionysiac rites wore female dress (Lucian 3. 147, Eur. Ba. 821–36). If, then, the leader of the thtastos was a man in woman’s dress, we may infer on general grounds with some confidence (see Briffault M 2. 531 f) that the leader had once actually been a woman, and the change of sex is explained as the first step towards male control of what had been originally an exclusively female cult.

39 (p. 149). The association of Satyrois and Silenois with Dionysus seems to have originated in Attica and Ionia: Kühnert in Roscher s.v. Satyrois.
41 (p. 149). Diod. 4. 3.
42 (p. 149). Lenaion: Fagnell CGS 5. 317. There was also a cult of Dionysos Leneus at Mykonos: Dittenberger SIG 615. 25. The ancients derived Lénaia from lenós “wine-press” (Clem. Protr. 1. 2. 2 sch.) and this etymology has been accepted by Mommsen FSA 377 and Foucart CDA 102. The objection advanced by Ribbeck AEDA 13, that lenós would have yielded lenetos, like oiketos from oikos, whereas lenatos presupposes lêna (cf. anankatos, biatos) is not decisive because this rule is not without exceptions, e.g. nesatos from nesós (Buck CGGL 318); but what is decisive is the positive evidence pointing to lēnai = bākchai: Heracl. fr. 15, Hesych. s.v. lenat, Strabo 468, etc.

CHAPTER IX

1 (p. 151). Periandros: Hdt. i. 23.
2 (p. 151). Kleisthenes: Hdt. 5. 67.
5 (p. 153). Kretschmer GGS 241. I have not expressed any opinion as to the date at which the cult of Dionysus emerged as such, because it is a difficult question and from my point of view the important thing is not the
association of the cult with his name but the cult itself. It may be remarked however that the coming of Dionysus is not proved to be post-Homeric by the fact that he is almost wholly ignored in the Iliad and Odyssey, because the same is true of Demeter, whose worship is admitted to be far older than Homer. The reason why these two deities have no place in the Homeric Olympus is probably that, as agrarian deities of the pre-Achaean population, they had no place in the worship of the Achaean ruling chiefs. The myths relating to the opposition encountered by Dionysus on his wanderings may, it is true, reflect state resistance to what was essentially a pre-state cult, but their significance may also be ritual rather than historical: Bather in JHS 14. 244, Tierney in JHS 57. 19.
9 (p. 154). Cf. Gomperz GD 1. 135, Glotz SF 399. Guthrie speaks of the worship of Dionysus as “spreading like wild-fire through Greece” (OGR 48) but does not seek a cause for the conflagration.
11 (p. 156). Kern OF 94.
13 (p. 156). Empedokles: Burnet GPTP 73.
14 (p. 157). On the conservative influence of the Eumolpidai under the democracy see MacKendrick in HSCP 49. 271.
16 (p. 158). Heracl. fr. 8, Parmen. 1. 14, 8, 14, 8, 37, 10, 6.
17 (p. 158). Plat. Rp. 616C.
18 (p. 158). Thomson AO 2. 345.
20 (p. 159). Kern OF 106.
22 (p. 160). Slave-revolt in Attica: Diod. 34. 2. 19, Ath. 6. 272F.
23 (p. 160). Thuc. 7. 27; Bury HG 485, Gomme PAFCC 20.
24 (p. 160). Diod. 3. 11.
25 (p. 161). Dutt IT 362.
26 (p. 161). Diod. 5. 38.
27 (p. 162). Plat. Phaedo 114B–C.
28 (p. 162). Burnet EGP 223: “The ‘cave’ is not originally Platonic but Orphic.” And it was of course older than Orphism: Knight CG.
29 (p. 162). Guthrie contends that the Orphics cannot have practised the Dionysiac omophagia because they preached abstention from meat, but this argument is disproved by Eur. fr. 472, where the initiate claims to have abstained from meat and to have participated in the omophagia as well. Even among Christians, there are total abstainers who drink wine at communion.
30 (p. 163). Kern OF 34.
31 (p. 163). Branchidai: Farnell CGS 4. 226. Parke HDO 21 doubts the authenticity of the traditions relating to the intoxication of the Delphic
priestess, at least for the pre-Hellenistic period; but some of his assumptions are open to question, and he has made no attempt to treat the problem from the standpoint of comparative religion: see Fallaize in Hastings 10. 125.

CHAPTER X

1 (p. 165). The data for the City Dionysia will be found in Haigh AT 6. Deubner insists that the order of events given in I.G. 2. 1006. 12, 1011. 11. must be taken as it stands, and he treats the sacrifices mentioned in these two inscriptions as distinct, with the result that Haigh’s sequence of pompē—thysia—kōmos is duplicated. But the words eis to theatron are against this, and it is clear from other examples that these regulations were sometimes worded rather carelessly. In the law of Euegoros (Dem. 21. 10) the kōmos is mentioned after the dithyrambs; in an inscription from Eleusis referring to the Country Dionysia the thysia is mentioned before the pompē (I.G. 2. 949. 31); and see further I.G. 2. 1245. 3, 1247. 7.
4 (p. 166). Pompīke hodōs: Paus. 5. 15. 2, 5. 15. 7.
8 (p. 167). The vase-painting is reproduced by Pickard-Cambridge DTC 113.
9 (p. 168). Agōn: C.I.A. 2. 307. The following account of the mature dithyramb is based on the data collected by Pickard-Cambridge DTC 5f.
10 (p. 169). Archil. 77.
15 (p. 171). Payment of the flute-player: Plut. M. 1141D.
16 (p. 271). Bergk PLG 3. 496.
17 (p. 171). Paus. 1. 20. 3, 1. 29. 2; Suid. s.v. Melanaigis.
20 (p. 173). All the extant tragedies of Sophokles and Euripides begin with a prologue in iambic trimeters, and all except two end with a passage in anapaests or trochaic tetrameters. The exceptions are the Trojan Women, which ends in lyric, and the Iphigeneia at Tauris, the end of which is doubtful. Further, all these conclusions except one (in the Trachiniae) are delivered by the Chorus. The Choephori and Prometheus Bound of Æschylus conform to the same type; and so does the Agamemnon, except that there the tetrameters are spoken by an actor. The Seven begins with an iambic prologue; the conclusion is doubtful. The Eumenides begins in the same way, but ends with an anapaestic paræmiac appended to a passage of lyric. On the other hand, in the Suppliant and Persians, the two earliest of the extant plays, not only is the conclusion in lyric (in the former a processional, in the latter a lament) but there is no prologue. Both begin with an anapaestic párodos delivered by the Chorus as it enters the orchestra.
CHAPTER XI

1 (p. 176). Arist. Poet. 4. 16. 1449A.
2 (p. 176). Kranz S 16. Kranz’s view that tragedy began with the bisection of the dithyrambic chorus rests on the assumption that the Herald of the Suppliants is the leader of a Chorus of Egyptians; and that assumption is unsupported by the evidence.
3 (p. 178). Arist. Rh. 3. 1.
7 (p. 180). Chambers MS 1. 212.
9 (p. 181). Arist. Poet. 4. 17. 1449A. Trochaic was one of the rhythms employed in the ecstatic dances of the Korybantes and the Bakchai: Plut. M. 759A.
10 (p. 181). On current theories of the significance of hypokritos see Bywater AAP 196, Pickard-Cambridge DTC 110.
12 (p. 182). Plat. Tim. 72a–b.
13 (p. 183). Webster PSS 178.
14 (p. 184). The origin of antiphony is traced by Wallaschek AT 257 to co-operative tribal ritual.
16 (p. 185). Skólon: Bowra GLP 402. It is not certain that the melody was repeated in identical form, but the structure of the extant skólia shows that in rhythm at any rate there was little variation. The compelling power of the incantation survived in the ritual structure of the prayer (Bowra GLP 192) as used by Sappho in her Ode to Aphrodite, where she first prays to the goddess to come and console her, then envisages her as coming and consoling her, and finally repeats the prayer. The central theme, creating the illusion of the desired reality, is directly descended from mimetic magic, and in virtue of its origin it imparts to the prayer, when repeated at the end, an added force which it did not possess at the beginning. This consideration may throw light on the origin of three-part form, which is almost as prominent in ancient Greek poetry as it is in modern music. Further, the last five syllables of the Sapphic stanza consist of an Adonius, which was probably used in the traditional dirges for Adonis (Diehl ALG 1. 334), and Sappho is known to have written songs for this cult (A.P. 7. 407). Is the cadence a lingering echo of the lost refrain?
17 (p. 186). Plut. M. 299B.
18 (p. 187). Phrygian mode: Arist. Pol. 5. 6. 23. 1340b, cf. 5. 7. 9. 1342b. The Phrygian mode was employed by the Bakchai and the Korybantes: Plut. M. 759A.
19 (p. 188). Arist. Poet. 10. 1–4. 1452a, 11. 4. 1452a.
20 (p. 188). Chambers MS 2. 1.
21 (p. 189). Æsch. Sup. 473.
23 (p. 190). Schulz in Pauly s.v. Rätfel.
NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

24 (p. 190). Klearchos: Ath. 448c.
28 (p. 191). Flickinger GT 57f.
30 (p. 193). Chambers MS 2. 68.
31 (p. 194). Pickard-Cambridge DTC 32.

CHAPTER XII

1 (p. 200). The phylē and dēmos were military units: Isæ. 2. 42.
3 (p. 201). A convenient summary of the Attic and Gortynian Codes will be found in Hastings 7. 304; see further Diamond PL, Dareste, etc. RIJG.
5 (p. 204). Arist. Pol. 2. 9. 1270a. The last sentence in this passage from Aristotle I take to mean that daughters shared in the inheritance as well as sons and were given in marriage by the father or his male heir. It may be inferred that there was nothing corresponding to the Attic law of the ephikleros, and this is confirmed by Hdt. 6. 57.
6 (p. 204). Plut. Lycurg. 15.
7 (p. 204). "Ruled by women": Arist. Pol. 2. 9. 7. 1269b. This view about the original Dorian settlement of Sparta cannot be pressed without further investigation. If sound, its paralleled by what Tacitus says of the Germans: G. 15.
8 (p. 204). Justin. 2. 6., Suid. s.v. Prometheus; Varro ap. Aug. C.D. 18. 9 isto Cecrops oraculo accepto, cives omnium utriusque sexus (mos enim tunc in eisdem locis erat ut etiam feminae publicis consultationibus interesser) ad ferendum suffragium vocavagit. . . . Triplici supplicio dicit idem auctor ab Atheniensibus affectas esse mulieres: ut nulla ulterior ferrent suffragia, ut nullus nascentium maternum nomen acciperet, ut nequis eae Athenæas vocaret. Varro is a late author, but this is a tradition which nobody would have thought of inventing.
10 (p. 207). Walker in CAH 4. 144.
11 (p. 208). The Athenian institution of ostracism, found also at Syracuse "under the name of petalismos, was probably another modified survival or revival of tribal custom: Glotz SF 483f.
13 (p. 209). Diod. 2. 39; Farrington DS 37.
14 (p. 210). On the political significance of early Pythagoreanism see Delatte EPP (who however assumes that it was aristocratic) and Thomson AO 2. 346.
15 (p. 210). Aristoxenos: Stob. Anth. 1. p. 20. 1, quoted by Burnet EGP 99. Cf. Head HN li: "The coinage appears simultaneously in all the Greek cities of southern Italy during the supremacy of Kroton, but still some time before the destruction of Sybaris." More recently the whole problem, including the numismatic evidence, has been reinvestigated by von Fritz, who
NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

writes: "Kroton exercised a widespread economic and probably also political influence in southern Italy towards the end of the sixth and throughout the first half of the fifth century" (PPSI 85)—the period of the Pythagorean ascendancy. The implication is that under Pythagorean leadership Kroton pursued a vigorous policy of commercial expansion with the aim of uniting the cities of S. Italy in some sort of federation. von Fritz concludes that, while the later Pythagoreans were extreme conservatives, there had been a time when they were opposed to the established order represented by the aristocracy (97–8). His political analysis is not altogether clear, but he agrees with me in recognising that after the initial period there was a radical change in Pythagorean politics—a change from progressive to conservative. The Pythagorean aim of centralising the Italian cities may be compared with the proposal attributed to Thales, urging the Ionians to form themselves into a single state centred at Teos (Hdt. 1. 172). Both failed: see Chap. VI n. 12.

16 (p. 211). Condorcet EPEH.
17 (p. 211). Diog. L. 8, 3.
18 (p. 211). Burnett EGP 90.
21 (p. 213). Tawney RRC 87, 102, 104, 124; Pirenne HE 580.

CHAPTER XIII

1 (p. 224). Walker in CAH 4. 265.
2 (p. 225). Bury HG 322. If I have laboured this point against Bury, it is not because his text-book is highly esteemed by specialists, but because it is still widely used in English schools and universities, and the passage quoted is an instance of the sort of nonsense on which the younger generation looks up but is not fed.
3 (p. 229). Walker in CAH 5. 47; Plut. Cim. 5.

CHAPTER XIV

1 (p. 232). The regulations governing the choregia are given in full by Haigh AT 31.
CHAPTER XV

The next three chapters are devoted to an analysis of the surviving plays of Æschylus, in which the Oresteia and Prometheus are dealt with fully, the other three much more summarily and briefly. The reasons for this discrimination are, first, that the Oresteia and Prometheus are the greatest of the seven and the most interesting to modern readers, and secondly that, not having published my work on the others, I am not in a position to discuss them in detail without entering into problems too technical for a book of this kind. The plays are cited by Wecklein’s numeration, which is followed by Headlam in his prose translations and by me in my editions of the Oresteia and the Prometheus Bound. Those editions include verse-translations. I hesitate to recommend my translation of the latter, which in many respects is faulty, and, if I recommend my version of the Oresteia, it is mainly for the sake of the textual recension on which it is based. Apart from this, R. C. Trevelyan’s rendering of the Oresteia (he has also done an excellent rendering of the Prometheus) is in many ways more adequate than mine.

1 (p. 245). The data for the life of Æschylus will be found in Wilamowitz-Moellendorff AT 3. The name Aischylus occurs in the genealogy of the royal clan of the Kodridai: Petersen QHGA 90.


3 (p. 246). On the date of the Prometheus see Thomson APB 38, where the views of Bethe PGTA 159 and of Schmid UGF are discussed, and Yorke in CQ 30. 152. The linguistic and metrical evidence is ignored altogether by the latest editor, Rapisarda. Kranz S 226 maintains that the second and third stásima are post-Æschylean, but his arguments do not bear examination. He says that “das zweite und dritte Stasimon sind von einer für die aischyleische Tragödie unerhörten Kürze.” This is untrue. Divided according to the Alexandrian kóla, the second contains 39 verses, the third 35; divided in the same way, the last stásimon of the Choephoroi (934) contains 40 verses, while Sup. 422 contains only 22. Referring to the theme of the second—“der Erinnerung an glücklichere Zeit, glücklichere Stimmung, Gamos und Hymænaios”—he says that “es ist der Stil, der Gedanke der Antigone- und Medeazeit”; but the same contrast, including the gámos and hymænaios, is found at Ag. 703–16. Finally he remarks that “die Anadiplosis
des Eingangs ‘. . . entspricht ganz der späteren Weise’; but a similar anadiplosis has been restored by Weil at Ag. 1483, and, whether this restoration is sound or not, there is no reason to suppose that such a use of language is post-Eschylean.


5 (p. 248). Among the Incas of Peru: Karsten CSAI 402.

6 (p. 248). Paus. 3. 22. 1, 8. 34. 2, 2. 31. 4.

7 (p. 248). Hdt. 1. 68.

8 (p. 249). The following account of the Oresteia is taken from Thomson AO 1, 13, where full references are given.

9 (p. 267). In recognising her brother’s footprints Elektra displays the sort of knowledge that all primitive peoples possess, cf. Junod LSAT 2, 54–5. I have myself seen Irish peasant girls round the fire comparing their family likenesses in feet. The same consideration applies to the lock of hair, for “hair patterns in olden days were tribal marks” (Earthy VW 89).

10 (p. 274). Firm Mat. de err. prav. rel. 22.

11 (p. 277). Athena was associated with various birds, especially the owl, and bird-cults were prominent in Minoan religion: Nilsson HGR 27. On this subject Halliday writes in CAH 2, 622: “The evidence for the direct worship of birds as pre-anthropomorphic deities is purely hypothetical, and comparative anthropology must give a verdict against its inherent probability. . . . Recorded examples of any definite cult of a bird are exceedingly rare in any stage of culture in any part of the globe.” One has only to glance at the evidence amassed by Frazer in his TE to see that this statement is baseless. The Australian totems enumerated by Spencer and Gillen NTCA 768 include 31 species of mammals, 8 of fish, 24 of insects, 22 of plants, 53 of reptiles, and 46 of birds. At all stages of culture and in all parts of the globe totemic cults of birds and totemic taboos on birds are just as common as the totemic cults and taboos relating to other animals.

12 (p. 277). Apollod. 3. 14. 6; see Frazer ad loc.


14 (p. 278). Paus. 10. 28. 7; see p. 54.

15 (p. 280). Tierney in JHS 57, 20f.


17 (p. 284). Thomson AO 1, 58.

18 (p. 288). So too Engels declared that “the emancipation of woman will only be possible when woman can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time” (UFPS 184, cf. Lenin SW 9, 494f). Hence the liberty enjoyed by women in the U.S.S.R.: see Webb SC 805f.

19 (p. 289). Thomson AO 2, 300.


23 (p. 294). So Athena says (vv. 861–7):

Lay not upon my territories the spur
Of civil strife . . .
Let battle rage, for every heart possessed
By love of glory, abroad! That shall be theirs
In plenty.

Having carried civil war to the point of placing themselves in power, the
middle class denounce it and turn to wars of conquest (see p. 231). Cf. 1 Henry IV 1. 1:

No more the thirsty Erinny of this soil
Shall daub her lips with her own children’s blood .

Therefore, friends,

As far as to the sepulchre of Christ .

How closely great minds think alike!

CHAPTER XVI


2 (p. 299). Halliday in ABSA 16. 212; see p. 98.

3 (p. 299). Hdt. 6. 77.

4 (p. 299). Kinkel EGF 78.

5 (p. 299). Lemnos: Apollod. 1. 9. 17; Bachofen M 84.

6 (p. 301). On the rhythmical design of the trilogy see Thomson GLM 81.

7 (p. 301). Sup. 88f.

8 (p. 302). On legal phraseology in this play see H. G. Robertson in GR 50. 104.


12 (p. 303). Sup. 944.

13 (p. 303). Sup. 6–10; see Headlam and Wilamowitz ad loc.

14 (p. 303). Sup. 335–41.


16 (p. 304). Marett A 196.

17 (p. 304). Ridgeway in CP 156, OT 190. Against this interpretation G. H. Macurdy in Class. Phil. 39. 95 argues that in Attic law a man who had no sons could leave his daughter, together with his estate, to anyone he liked, not necessarily a kinsman. True, but only by adopting the legatee as his son, thereby evading the claim of the next-of-kin. The legal fiction testifies to the strength of the obligation which it was designed to circumvent. Miss Macurdy goes on to remark that at v. 339 the choice between onotio and onoito is “almost anybody’s guess.” But not quite. Apart from everything else, the reading onotio is textually the more probable; for the verb onomai is found nowhere else in Attic, and the same corruption occurs at Eur. Alc. 59. I think Miss Macurdy might have noticed this, seeing how ready she is to believe that I have allowed my “preconceived views” to run away with my judgment.


20 (p. 306). That the Athenians regarded marriage with a kinswoman as entirely right and proper appears from Isæ. 7. 12: “Matrimonial unions, not only with one’s own kin but even with other persons, have the effect of heal-
ing serious disputes, if the contracting parties entrust one another with their closest interests." Similarly, in Plat. Ll. 924, the legislator arranges matches for women in a way which shows that he is solely concerned with the nearness of kin and the preservation of the property.

21 (p. 307). Æsch. fr. 44.
22 (p. 307). P.V. 891. Later writers give a different version: see E. Harrison in PCPS 160–2. 8. Harrison asserts that the interpretation "desire for children" is more consonant with the tragic usage of pais. On the other hand, the interpretation "one of the children" seems to be more consonant with the order of the words: see Thomson AO 2. 383.
23 (p. 308). D. S. Robertson in CR 38. 50.
24 (p. 308). Hdt. 2. 171.
25 (p. 308). Harrison PSGR 120.
26 (p. 311). On the legend of Ædipus as treated in this trilogy see Robert O 252. The interpretation offered here owes a good deal to Solmsen in TAPA 68. 197. On the question of interpolation see Schmid-Stachlin 1. 2. 275, Page AIGT 30.
27 (p. 312). Plato says (Ll. 721B) that by means of marriage mankind partakes of immortality, which all desire. Marriage was compulsory in Crete and officially encouraged at Sparta: see pp. 104–6.
28 (p. 312). Th. 735. The words might also mean "prevailed upon by his (own) sweet folly," and that is how Mazon understands them, but the rendering given in the text seems to me the more natural.
29 (p. 312). Th. 770–1, Soph. O.C. 1375 sch. A different version is given in Ath. 465A.
30 (p. 313). Th. 69–75.
31 (p. 313). Cf. 813, where the two brothers are described as having di childless—a passage which is likely to be authentic, because it contradicts the received version of the legend; and for the same reason I agree with Verrall in rejecting the allusion to the Epigonoi at 886, which violates the strophic correspondence as well as being incompatible with 813.
33 (p. 314). Th. 584–606.
36 (p. 315). Th. 696–8. The Chorus plead (687) that, when Eteokles has sacrificed to the gods, the Erinyes will quit his house, implying that release from the clan-curse can be found in state-religion. Similarly, in Phaedr. 244D, Plato says that men can be cured of madness by seeking refuge in prayers and services to the gods, and in the Hippocratic de morbo sacro 50 we are told that "it is the divinity that purifies, sanctifies and cleanses us from the greatest of our sins."
37 (p. 316). Solmsen in TAPA 68. 208: "Whereas Eteokles' fate is determined by the family curse and by religious factors of an archaic non-political nature, the city survives and triumphs."

CHAPTER XVII

3 (p. 3.9). P.V. 94 sch.
NOTES TO CHAPTER XVII

5 (p. 320). Torch-races: Farnell CGS 5.381.
6 (p. 320). The following account of the Prometheia is taken for the most part from my APB 6, where references are given.
7 (p. 321). Mahaffy HCGL 1. 260. A similar view is taken by Schmid-Stachelin 2. 296. Mahaffy’s remarks are dutifully retailed to schoolboys by Sikes and Willson in the introduction to their edition p. xxiv. Rapisarda (EPL p. xxxix) saves the credit of modern scholars at Æschylus’ expense: “se il poeta poi avesse voluto manifestare una sua partecipazione in sede morale per alcuno dei due antagonisti dovremmo ammettere che sia stato tanto maldestro da rendere possibile le opinioni e le impressioni così contrastanti di gran numero di filologi e di poeti.” He subjoins a list of those who have sided with Prometheus and those who have sided with Zeus. The first consists of Augustine, Byron, Bacon, Calderon, Cammelli, Croiset, Eusebius, Fuochi, Goethe, Gomperz, Graf, Guzzetta, Hermann, Herder, Lactantius, Lipiner, Longfellow, Mancini, Monti, Quinet, Rabano, Mauro, Romagnoli, Schlegel, Shelley, Schütz, Tertullian, Voltaire; the second of Coman, Dissen, D’Annunzio, Delff, Errante, Haines, Hermann, Mazon, Prickard, Schoemann, Terzaghi, Wecklein. I have not checked these lists, which are far from complete, but it is interesting to note that the only poet on the side of Zeus is the fascist D’Annunzio.
8 (p. 324). Burke RRF 359.
9 (p. 325). Thomson APB 6. To the passages cited there may be added Æschyn. Tim. 5, Isoc. de pace 112, Plat. Ltr. 661B, Arist. Pol. 6. 11. 1314a, Max. Tyr. 4. 3. Plut. M. 152A, 166D, Paus. 6. 22. 2, Porph. V.P. 54, Hdt. 3. 80, Thuc. 1. 130, Max. Tyr. 1. 5.
11 (p. 327). Lenin ME 156.
15 (p. 341). Plat. Prot. 320–2; Burnet GPTP 117.
18 (p. 343). Dio Chr. 6. 204a.
19 (p. 343). On the myth of Prometheus in European literature see Heinemann TGGW 12.
20 (p. 344). Murray A 75, 97.

CHAPTER XVIII

2 (p. 347). Gomme PAFFC; see Thomson AO 2. 357.
4 (p. 349). Tod in CAH 5. 29, 45.
7 (p. 351). Marx K 1. 197.
10 (p. 352). Soph. Ant. 295. Cf. Engels UFPS 125: “When men invented money, they did not think that they were again creating a new social power, the one general power before which the whole of society must bow. And yet this new power, suddenly sprung to life without knowledge or will of its creators, which now, in all the brutality of its youth, gave the Athenians the first taste of its might.”
11 (p. 352). Isocr. 8. 7; Bacch. Epin. 14. 59; Hipp. Aph. 1. 3; Æsch. Ag. 990; Plat. Rp. 563E.
12 (p. 353). The connection between the deus ex machina and the Æschylean epiphany is particularly clear in such plays as the Hippolytos, which end with the institution of a historical cult. My attention was called to this point by my pupil R. F. Willetts.
17 (p. 356). El. 616–21
19 (p. 359). Sheppard in CR. 41. 2, 163.
22 (p. 364). Webster IS 54.
23 (p. 364). On the Athenian attitude to the Delphic Oracle see Farrington SPAW 75.
24 (p. 364). Webster IS 48.
26 (p. 366). Thuc. 2. 45.
27 (p. 366). Plut. Dio. 5. Some scholars have discredited this story because Plato says nothing about it in his Letters, but his silence is capable of a different interpretation. Taylor, in his lengthy monograph on Plato (PMW), follows his master’s example and ignores it.
28 (p. 367). Thuc. 5. 89 tr. W. Smith.
29 (p. 368). In Cornford’s version of the Republic the phrase gennation pseidos, “noble lie,” is translated as “a bold flight of invention,” and the accepted interpretation is dismissed as “a self-contradictory expression no more applicable to Plato’s harmless allegory than to a New Testament parable or the Pilgrim’s Progress.” It is regrettable that so fine a scholar should have lent his name to this perversion of the Greek. The word gennados means (1) true-born, high-born, noble; (2) honest, genuine; (3) of good quality, high-grade; (4) whole-hearted, sincere, intense, vehement. There is no evidence that it could mean “on a generous scale,” and the phrase, mázas gennatas, which he quotes from Rep. 372b in support of this interpretation, means probably something equivalent to our “plain bread and butter” (cf. our “good, honest beer”), máza being the traditional type of a simple diet (Thomson AO 2. 109–10). The expression is certainly self-contradictory, but such expressions are familiar to every Greek student under the name oxymoron, and the present example is merely a variant of the proverbial kalon pseidos, a lie which brings an immediate advantage but is nevertheless unprofitable because it does not last (Thomson AO 2. 74). Cornford adduces no evidence to show that pseidos could mean

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"allegory," and in any case this fable cannot be so described. It is of the very nature of an allegory that it does not, as such, require to be believed—it is merely a symbolical illustration of an alleged truth. But Plato admits that it will take several generations before the people can be got to accept this psellos, which shows that he wants them to accept it, not as an allegory, but as a fact. And he admits himself it is not a fact. It is, in other words, a lie, and noble only to those who share his class prejudices.


31 (p. 370). Cf. Engels UFPS 199-200: "With commodity production . . . the products necessarily change hands. In exchanging his product, the producer surrenders it; he no longer knows what becomes of it. When money, and with money the merchant, steps in as intermediary between the producers, the process of exchange becomes still more complicated, the final fate of the products still more uncertain. The merchants are numerous and none of them knows what the other is doing . . . Products and production become subjects of chance. But chance is only one pole of a relation whose other pole is named 'necessity.' In the world of nature, where chance also seems to rule, we have long since demonstrated in each separate field the inner necessity and law asserting itself in this chance. But what is true of the natural world is true also of society. The more a social activity, a series of social processes, becomes too powerful for men's conscious control and grows above their heads, and the more it appears a matter of pure chance, then all the more surely within this chance the laws peculiar to it and inherent in it assert themselves as if by natural necessity. Such laws also govern the chances of commodity production and exchange; to the individuals producing or exchanging, they appear as alien, at first often unrecognised, powers, whose nature must first be laboriously investigated and established. These economic laws of commodity production are modified with the various stages of this form of production; but in general the whole period of civilisation is dominated by them. And still to this day the product rules the producer; still to this day the total production of society is regulated, not by a jointly devised plan, but by blind laws, which manifest themselves with elemental violence, in the final instance in the storms of the periodical trade crises." This is the significance underlying the Greek idea of the interrelation of Tyche and Ananke. Cf. Bailey GAE 142. On the relation between Demokritos and Epicurus, which Marx was the first modern scholar, and until recently the only one, to understand, see Marx DDEN, Nizen MA, and Bailey in CQ 22, 205. On the social significance of Epicureanism see Farrington SPAW.


CHAPTER XIX

1 (p. 373). Arist. Poet. 6. 2. 1449b.
3 (p. 373). Hipp. de sacro morbo 1-4. The magical origins of Greek medical therapy appear also in Plutarch's definition of the physician's task (Lycurg. 5): "After dissolving and readjusting the existing temperament of an unhealthy body, infected with all manner of disease, by means of medicines and purgations, he institutes a new and different diet." This is not far
removed from the newness of life to which the initiate attained by purification.

4 (p. 374). Plat. Crito 54d.
5 (p. 374). Plat. Sym. 21e.
6 (p. 375). Fallaize in Hastings 10. 122, relying principally on Junod LSAT 2. 436, Callaway RSA 185, 289, Hose and McDougall PTB 2. 130, Czaplicka AS 169; add Karsten CSAI 18, Webster PSS 151, 175.
7 (p. 378). Apollod. 2. 2. 2.
9 (p. 378). Caudwell IR 194.
10 (p. 379). Hdt. 5. 3.
11 (p. 380). Thomson AO 2. 239.
13 (p. 381). Plat. Io 535.
14 (p. 381). Plat. Io 533e–534b. So in early Arabia poets were believed to be possessed by the jinn, i.e. datmones: Macdonald RALI 18.
16 (p. 382). McDougall OAP 479.
17 (p. 383). Caudwell IR 184.