

poor girl, clad in rags, to whom he gave a silver coin, who fled like a wild animal from him and all men, to hide her little treasure! What memories did Tolstóy bring back home from his travels in Western Europe? queries Brückner further. For the rest of his life the Russian sage incessantly thought of the beggar-musician in the streets of Lucerne to whom no one gave anything. "Aye," comments Brückner in the words of Herodotus, "the barbarians have lizard's eyes."¹⁹

LABYRINTHS AND THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIA- TELLA.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is not so very long ago that the reading public was still of the belief that the ancestors of mankind should be sought in the south and that, their original state being a kind of happy primitive paradise, their home should be identified with the Biblical Eden. Some facts, however, caused certain scholars from the camp of the natural sciences to reject this idea and rather seek for the cradle of the human race in the north. They pointed out that the north was the place where nature had in readiness for man that severe school in which primitive folk would develop higher and higher on penalty of perdition, and that it was from here that from time to time emigrations of tribes took place that sought for a happier and better state in the more prosperous south. The emigrants did find easier conditions of existence and more fertile and pleasanter countries, but the people that remained behind and stayed longer in the school of nature advanced in the meantime by eliminative selection to still higher degrees of development, which enabled them to send out new streams of emigrants even more fit to survive in the struggle for existence than those who had preceded them.

This view, which turned the search for the hypothetical cradle of the human race in the opposite direction, has been most vigorously opposed by the representatives of the philological world because in the new era of comparative philology the oldest language of the highest races was thought to be Sanskrit, and Sanskrit was discovered in India. It was considered as the classical language of ancient India, the language spoken by the ancestors of the Indo-Germanic races. From the frontiers of India, probably the valleys of the Hindu-Kush, they were supposed to have emigrated north,

¹⁹ A. Brückner, *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

north-east, west and south, having developed not only the modern languages of the Hindus, but also the European languages of the Greeks, the Latins, the Germans, the Slavs, Letts and the Celtic peoples, such as the Irish, the Welsh and the Highland Scotch.

All this is changed since the other view has been gradually adopted, first through the influence of natural science, and later even through the support of philologists; nevertheless, philologists have been the strongest antagonists of this modern theory, and it is only of late that we may say that the later view has won its way. Mr. Latham was the first philologist who stood up for the idea that the cradle of the Aryans was not in the south but in the north, that for philological reasons we must assume that northern people migrated south, transferring their northern names of animals and trees to similar southern objects, that it was much easier to explain the perplexities of comparative philology by assuming such a northern origin, and that the names of the typically southern plants and animals were additional inventions. This theory, first scouted by professional linguists, has later on been broadly accepted, and is now no longer heretical.

Now it is a fact that on the trail of the Aryans thus broadly fixed we find a peculiar kind of monuments made of huge stones, the best preserved sample of which is Stonehenge; but it seems that wherever Aryan people went south, even into Palestine, they left similar monuments which may rightly be called the cathedrals of primitive man. They are monuments of a primitive solar worship and bear witness to the religious devotion of our ancestors.

It so happens that in addition to such monuments of gigantic stones there are also relics of primitive monuments in which groups of stones represent winding paths, called labyrinths and which tradition frequently designates as Troy towns, or *Trojaburgen*, in apparent commemoration of the ancient Homeric city famous throughout the Greek and Roman world as the place of heroism where the great warriors of Hellas fought for ten years over the possession of Helen, the beautiful.

These monuments, scattered over all northern Europe and also sometimes found in the south in the wake of Aryan conquests, have frequently been preserved near Christian churches. Maybe, however, the reverse is true. Churches may have been built near the labyrinths because the labyrinth was a holy place, and we know that in some of these labyrinths the return of spring was celebrated in ancient times. Some labyrinths have also been modeled, especially in France and northern Italy, as mosaics within the churches, a fact

which favors the theory that they are somehow connected with the religious notions of primitive people. Some inscriptions in the churches present us with a Christian interpretation of the labyrinth



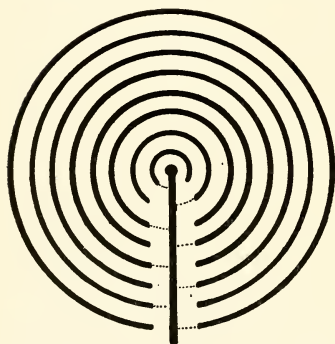
THE RESCUED BRIDE OF CHRIST.
After woodcut border of Lucas Cranach.

idea, drawing the comparison with the world and its escape from its wanderings through the victory of Jesus Christ. It is also brought into connection with the rescue of the Virgin, the Bride of Christ, confined in the labyrinth.

These strange monuments were explained by Carus Sterne as monuments which more than anything else prove the northern origin of the Indo-Germanic race. Carus Sterne is the *nom-de-plume* of Dr. Ernst Krause. Being more of a naturalist than a philologist, his views were based upon the whole on reasons of natural science rather than on philological arguments; so, as might be expected, the philologists of his day fell upon him with great vigor, denouncing him as being weak in his etymologies of names as well as in his philological comparisons. His first book on the subject was called *Tuiskoland*, and when he, on account of it, was severely and bitterly criticised by philologists of his time, he answered by a new book entitled *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* (Glogau, 1893), in which he explained the main specimens of such labyrinths, demonstrating thereby their general prevalence, especially in Swe-

den, but also in England and other northern European countries, including Russia.

Carus Sterne claims that the construction of the labyrinth represents the place where the passing of the winter season and the liberation of the sun from its confinement in the power of winter was celebrated. Here we are confronted with a myth which could not have originated in the south, but is easily explained by the conditions of the north where the sun for long periods most perceptibly decreases in power or even totally disappears. It was but natural for primitive people to believe that it had been entrapped by the arch-enemy of mankind, until in spring the thunder-god reappears and liberates the captive from the clutches of the fiend. It would then appear that the labyrinths were built for the purpose of having



FUNDAMENTAL PLAN OF TROY
TOWNS.



INVENTION OF THE LABY-
RINTH FORM.

a place where to celebrate the vernal dance, which ended in the liberation of the sun from the labyrinth, and the chasing out of the winter-god, the fiend who is responsible for the capture of the sun. We must remember that in some of the old languages, including Sanskrit, the sun is of feminine gender and that the solar deity is represented as a virgin. Her liberation ends in her marriage to the thunder-god, Thor, or whatever his name and identity may have been in different parts of Eurasia.

The figure of a labyrinth stood not only for the rejuvenescence of the year but also for the idea of human immortality. Hence it is natural that the myth of the labyrinth should easily have adapted itself to Christianity so that Christian priests did not find it amiss

to introduce such figures into their churches as symbolizing a belief which had become dear to the people and represented fundamentally the same idea which Christianity had come to teach.

The name *Troja*, Carus Sterne connects with the names by which the winter demon was known to Hindus, Persians and South Slavs, *Druh*, *Druja*, *Drukh*, *Draogha*, and *Trojan*. So it would seem that the nucleus of the Homeric epics, as of others, represents but an age-old tradition of the Sun Virgin being incarcerated in the enemy's fortress and held prisoner there until the thunder-god of spring came to liberate her and restore the pleasant season to the world.

Such religious views cannot have originated in the south where winter is rather the season of relief from the heat of the sun, and it rather proves that the people who left the north and took up their abode in southern countries must have carried with them a religion



THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA. $\frac{1}{6}$.

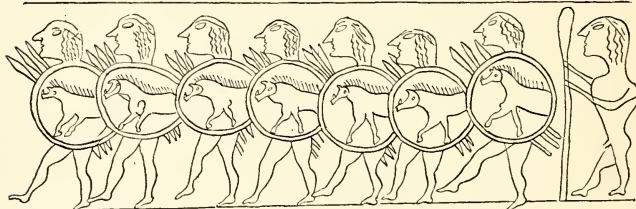
the chief features of which they preserved in these representations of the labyrinth, the Troy Towns, as they were otherwise called.

At this point of the controversy, when Carus Sterne's contentions were still considered to be very questionable, an archeological discovery, made in Italy some fifteen years previously, came into view again, at once verifying his theory and deciding the controversy in his favor. It was the discovery of a pitcher, the pitcher of Tragliatella, which in primitive drawings represents the ceremony of the labyrinth and thus manifestly proves that the ceremony did exist and was actually performed as a kind of spring festival among the early inhabitants of Europe. The pitcher found in Tragliatella shows us two people on horseback coming out of a labyrinth which

bears the inscription *truia* in the most ancient Italian characters. The two riders are preceded by seven dancers, each armed with three spears and a shield, and are followed by a single man holding a



RIDERS COMING OUT OF THE "TROJABURG."
After *Jahrbücher d. röm. Inst.*, Vol. LIII, plate L.



GROUP OF SEVEN DANCERS.
After plate L of *Jahrbücher d. archäol. Inst.*, 1881.



SO-CALLED JUDGMENT OF PARIS OF THE PITCHER.

staff in his hands and followed in turn by a man and a woman between whom is a person of smaller stature, evidently also a woman. The two persons hold in their hands round objects looking like apples, and there is an inscription on the jar in ancient Etruscan be-

tween the taller woman and the smaller one which seems to be the word *MIFELENA*, most probably *mi Felena*, which reproduces the old digamma (pronounced like a bilabial "f" or "v") and shows the identity of the name with Helena. The other two persons correspond in the legend in Homer, possibly to Paris and Venus at the moment when Venus is giving Helena to Paris after having received the prize of the apple in her contest with the other two goddesses. Why there are two balls in the hands of the two persons is difficult to explain, but in some primitive pictures things that change hands are put in those of both persons so as to indicate where they have been in two moments, before and after.

Carus Sterne also offers another interpretation, based upon one version of the Theseus legend, according to which it was Theseus who delivered Helena from the labyrinth. If this be accepted, the



WOMAN WITH TWO ICONS.

round body in question might well be the ball of twine handed to him by the goddess before he entered.

There is a third picture which shows a woman with two icons before her and which is more difficult to explain. Carus Sterne tries his best to make a plausible comparison with a ceremony told by Plutarch and Pausanias. It is difficult to say whether he is right, but whatever the meaning of this scene may have been we have no other key to its explanation and may as well be satisfied with stating that so long as we have no better, we have to reckon with the solution as it is given.

Labyrinths are most frequent in northern countries; in Scandinavia they are called *Trojin*, *Trojeborg*, etc., exhibiting the design of snail-shells. The same pattern of winding lines is preserved in the models of ornaments, which indicates that the idea of these winding paths was so prominent in the minds of northern people

that it became the type for ornaments on clasps, brooches and kindred fastenings for the garments.

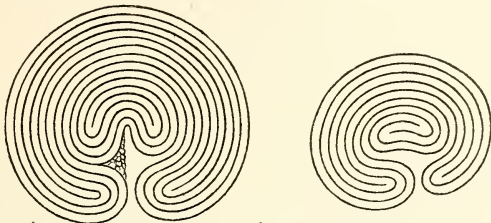
One of the best known of these labyrinths in the north, on the island of Gotland near the city of Wisby, was described by Karl Braun of Wiesbaden in his *Wisbyfahrt*, Leipsic, 1882. The center of this construction was a natural cave of limestone, such as are yet common in the vicinity of Wisby. There are several labyrinths in Sweden and in Norway. These Scandinavian Troy Towns were first described by Dr. S. Nordström of Stockholm, who read a paper on the subject at the convention of Swedish



TROJABURG AT WISBY, GOTLAND.
After K. Braun's *Wisbyfahrt*, Leipsic, 1882, p. 120.

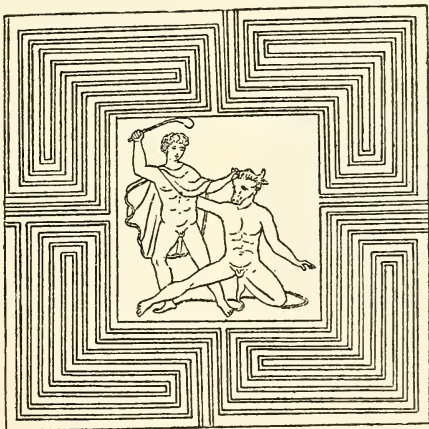
anthropologists and archeologists at Strengnäs, 1877, and proved that they existed not only in southern Sweden but also in Norrland and Norway, furthermore in the provinces of Sleswick-Holstein, formerly belonging to the Danes, and in Denmark itself. Besides the one mentioned we may enumerate quite a number of them, one at the Enköping church, another at Dalarö, the latter as much as forty feet in diameter; a third, *Kristinas Labyrint* at Kungsör, which was so called by the people in memory of the riding-grounds of Gustavus Adolphus's daughter and successor; fourth, one on the

island of Gotland as above; several in Småland, southern Sweden, several in Norrland, one in Wäderö on the western coast; several in Norway; one northwest of the Vånga Church, one near Nyköping and two near the Horns Church in West Gotland.



LABYRINTHS ON AN ISLAND NEAR BORGIO.

Dr. Nordström judged from the nearness of these labyrinths to churches that they possessed a religious significance, and this view is strengthened by the fact that there is a church-bell which



FIGHT WITH MINOTAUR.
Center-field of the Salzburg mosaic.

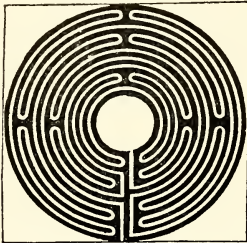
bears the plan of a labyrinth on the outside. Though we need not doubt that the religious significance was originally of pagan origin, we must assume that Christian churches adopted it and celebrated the traditional festivals connected with the ideas of the labyrinth,

which is also apparent from the fact that there are a great number of labyrinths preserved in the churches of France, although we do not know definitely how they were used.

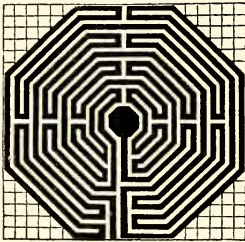
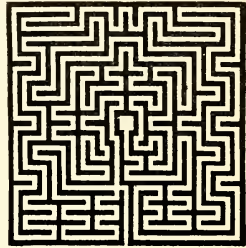
Upon the whole the pictures of most of the northern labyrinths show paths that in curves wind around a center; some of the church labyrinths, however, are in rectangular lines.

We here reproduce the labyrinths preserved in the cathedrals of Sens, St. Omer, St. Quentin and St. Bayeux.

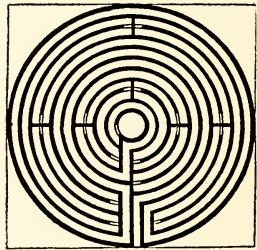
SENS



ST. OMER



ST. QUENTIN



ST. BAYEUX

LABYRINTHS IN THE CATHEDRALS OF SENS, ST. OMER, ST. QUENTIN AND ST. BAYEUX.

From Ernest Bosc, *Dictionnaire raisonné d'architecture*.

The Salzburg labyrinth is an echo of Greek tradition because it represents the fight of Theseus with the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete, and an inscription interprets it in a Christian way as symbolizing the erring paths of the world and the dangers from which a true Christian has to make his escape. The labyrinth proper is surrounded by smaller representations depicting other scenes of the

struggle with the Minotaur, showing the hero receiving Ariadne's clue which enabled him to find his way back out of the labyrinth, the scene of the embarking of the saved persons, and the relinquishment of Ariadne to Dionysus. As an instance of a Christian interpretation of the labyrinth we here reproduce a Latin verse inscribed on the middle court of one. It reads:

"Ecce Minotaurus vorat omnes quos Laborinthus
Implicat: Infernum hic notat, hic Zabulum."⁴

The fiend, here called Zabulus, is, in Christian language, equivalent to the devil. The form laborinthus is the medieval spelling of labyrinth and must have been influenced by the idea of *labor* and *intus*, a form which is already used by Boëthius. The labyrinth consists of seven circles, and its inner court contains a representation of the Minotaur. According to the scholar who copied the manuscript, it was probably prepared in the year 1084 or 1085, its author looking upon the world as a labyrinth in which Zabulus, the devil, lies in ambush to devour man unless Christ, by God's assistance, will overcome him and break his power, just as Theseus with the assistance of Ariadne's clue led the fair captive to the exit of the labyrinth.

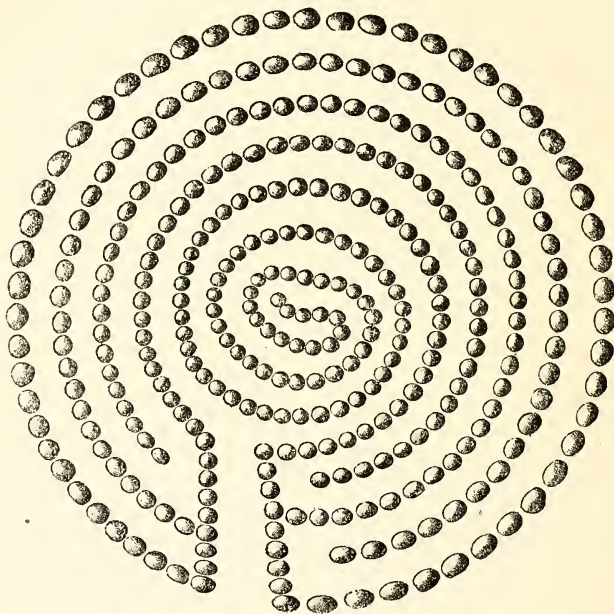
One labyrinth has been found in Pompeii, and the house in which it was found has been called after it the *Casa del laberinto*.

In Russia the labyrinths are called *Babylons*, and one of them has been described by the famous naturalist Ernst von Baer, who on a trip to the northern provinces discovered one of these Babylons on the uninhabited island of Wier. The island is bare rock and covered with boulders, but some of the roundest boulders have been selected to form the figure of the labyrinth in a very simple spiral design. It is noteworthy that the stones were fairly round, some as smoothly finished as if they had been turned on a lathe, and many of them of an oval shape. Professor Baer happened to come upon this place because his ship was forced to land there on account of a calm.

Eleven other Russian ships had been in the same predicament, and it is worth mentioning that the sailors who had all landed for the same reason did not disturb this little work of primitive art, but respected it with due reverence for the people who had made it. In circumference it was between twelve and fifteen ells (according

⁴ This verse has been copied by W. Meyer from a Freysingen manuscript preserved in Munich, No. 6394, in the rear of leaf 164.

to Baer's judgment) and he believes it could not have been built without the cooperation of several strong men. Furthermore, it must have been built a long time ago, for the stones were covered with moss and algae. All that the priest of the nearest village, Ponoï, knew of these stones arranged in spiral formation was that they must be very old, for no one knew who had set them up, nor for what purpose. A citizen of Kem afterward informed Baer



STONE LABYRINTH ON THE ISLAND OF WIER.

After E. v. Baer's drawing in *Bulletin de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, 1844.

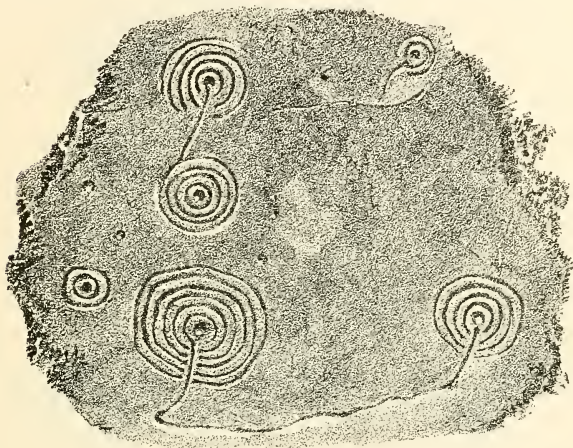
that this kind of a stone construction was called a Babylon, and he deposited an account of them in the St. Petersburg Academy, January 14, 1842.^o

Toward the close of the sixteenth century there arose a dispute between Russia and the Danish-Norwegian kingdom concerning the possession of Lapland. According to Karamzin, the famous historian of Russia, the Russian representative for the delimitation

^o Reprinted in the *Bulletin Historico-Philologique*, St. Petersburg, 1844, Vol. I, pp. 70-79.

of the frontier inquired of the natives to whom the country was tributable, and they claimed that a long time ago a certain Valit or Varent, who ruled Karelia as a vassal of Great Novgorod and was a man of exceptional strength and courage, had made himself master of the country. The Laplanders, thus the story went on, sought help from the Norwegians, but the Norwegians could not protect them from him either. He, however, in commemoration of his victory, erected this stone in the center of the Babylon and surrounded it with smaller spherical stones.

The Norwegians recognized Valit, whom the Russians called



FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURED STONE FROM THE TOP OF WHITSUNBANK HILL, NORTHUMBERLAND.

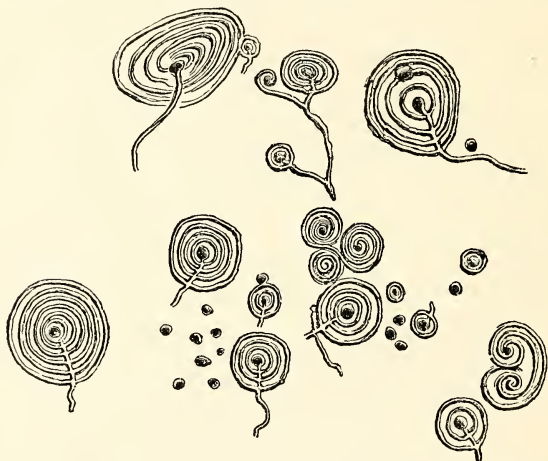
$\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

Vassili, as their conqueror, leaving to his dominion Lapland up to the river Inger, and it became established that the Laplanders of this part of the country paid their tribute to Novgorod. Such was the statement of the Russian claim.

Karamzin continues that the Norwegians claimed the authority of Saxo Grammaticus and of Münster's *Cosmography*, but their testimony was not convincing either, and the arguments exhibit fairy tales on both sides. However, Ernst von Baer came to the conclusion that it was this doubtful strip of land which, in another old description of Russia, was called *Valitowa Gorodishtshe*. Un-

fortunately, he was unable to say what it means because *gorod* or *horod* in Slavic idioms means simply any place that is fenced in and hidden, a fortress, or a *burg*. It may mean a stone monument as well as a fortified place. Nor does *Valit* give us any more light, for in Finnish *valit* may simply mean "prince," while the name Varent probably signifies but a *Waräger* or *Waringer*, that is, a Norseman, or Varangian. At any rate it is interesting to have these Russian Babylons mentioned as of age-old existence in documents as early as 1592, even if the attendant facts of their construction are unattainable.

England is rich in labyrinths, and also in figures scratched on



ROCK SCULPTURES OF AUCHNABREACH, SCOTLAND.

After Sir. J. Lubbock and Sir J. Y. Simpson.

sandstone and representing such labyrinths. J. C. Langlands has first described these monuments in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but his reports were overlooked and forgotten until Wm. Greenwell in 1852 at the Archeological Meeting at Newcastle read a paper on the largest of these stone monuments at Routing-Linn in Northumberland. This piece of sandstone, about sixty feet long and fourteen feet wide, presents a great many labyrinth incisions, and all kinds of circular formations, most of which have an entrance into the circle. Some are interconnected so as to show several as parts of one group-formation.

The typical picture of these labyrinths re-occurs in many places and also on the lids of funeral urns, which obviously proves their religious significance. A great many of them are also preserved in the rock sculptures of Achnabreach in Scotland. They have been described by Sir J. Lubbock² and Sir J. Y. Simpson.³

The prehistoric existence of these monuments has been re-



ROCK SCULPTURES OF OLD BEWICK HILL, NORTHUMBERLAND.

$\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

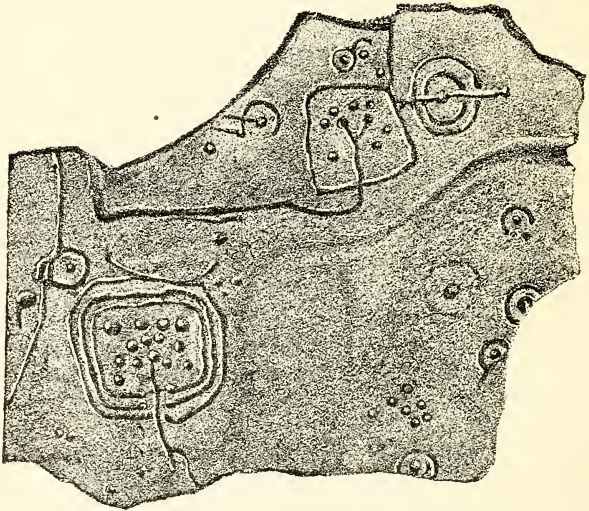
garded as fully established through their connection with tombs, the crania in which belong to the brachy-cephalic race, by many scholars looked upon as that of the original inhabitants of Europe. Simpson regards these monuments as very old, judging from a tomb in the county of Meath, Ireland, which bears the labyrinth symbols,

² *Pre-Historic Time*. See also *On the Sculptured Stones* by Stuart.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. VI, 1867. Appendix.

and contains some fragments of crude ancient pottery, flint arrow-heads, flint knives, and remnants of a necklace, also tools manufactured of bones, sea-shells, etc.

Possibly we find allusions to the circles of our labyrinths in the oldest documents of the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain, for in these seven or nine circles are reported to have constituted the world. But the sense of the verses, called Welsh Triads, because they are built up in verses of three lines, is too obscure for us to come to a definite conclusion. In one of these triads we read how



FRAGMENT OF A SCULPTURED ROCK OF DOD-LAW,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

$\frac{1}{25}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

the novice who is to be initiated into the Druidic doctrines enters into circle after circle. On leaving that of the common material world (*Caer Bediwyd*), he first enters into the Circle of the Just (*Caer Mediwyd*), then into that of the Royal Assembly (*Caer Rigor*), and ultimately into the Cromlech, or Circle of Darkness (*Caer Golwr*), which means absolute subjection to the order. Continuing his progress within the order itself, he proceeds to the Zodiac of the Wandering (*Caer Vandwy*) and hence to the completion of the metempsychosis in the Circle of Life (*Caer Ochren*). The

highest perfection is reached by his reception into the Heavenly Circle (*Caer Sidi*), the time of which, in the song of Taliesen, is the first of May. In another part of the poem we find that sixteen heroes entered together with King Arthur into the center of a *square enclosure* on the "island with the strong gate where twilight and darkness rule," and only nine returned, while the rest became the "prey of the deep." It is not impossible that the small pits on the Dod-Law stone of Northumberland refer to such traditions, but ideas of this kind are mere assumptions, and we are not enabled to accept any definite views as to what these stone monuments really are.

We read that the astronomer Gwydon-ap-Don at Caernarvon was buried under a stone covered with enigmatic drawings, and we may imagine that the labyrinths preserved on this tombstone were like those described above.

How far these labyrinths were spread in ancient times and how sacred they were to the people we may learn from the fact that at



OLD COIN OF KNOSSOS, CRETE.

Knossos (Crete) the inhabitants used the labyrinth as a mark on their coins, and there are quite a number of these extant to prove the sanctity and the importance of this symbol. The philosopher Boëthius handed down the picture of a labyrinth as a symbol of his faith in immortality in his *Consolations of Philosophy*, a standard classic of the Middle Ages, which he wrote shortly before his execution in the year 525 after he had been accused of treason against his sovereign, the Gothic king Theoderic. In many illuminated manuscript copies we find the labyrinth as an illustration.

In Iceland the labyrinth was used by boys in a game, but it is a pity that we have no directions which would indicate how this was played. The builder of the labyrinth in Iceland was called *Völund*, a name identical with the English Wayland the Smith, the German Wieland, and the labyrinth itself was called *Völundar hús*. Iceland was settled by the Norsemen in the ninth century, which proves that the use of labyrinths was still common among the

Norsemen of that time, and we may be assured that this practice was carried down in their pagan religion to the time when in a peaceful meeting in the year 1004 the Icelanders decided to introduce Christianity. Here was the only place where the religious change was accomplished without bloodshed and without a struggle, and in consequence of it we have the old pre-Christian religion preserved in a certain love of the ancient myths, possibly with an adaptation of a Christian interpretation.

Apparently the labyrinths and also representations of the labyrinth are of very ancient origin. The labyrinths themselves were apparently used to celebrate sun festivals, probably in the beginning of spring. The labyrinth designs scratched upon stones were then made to give expression to the ideas conveyed in these festivals of the return of the sun and of the religious ideas conceived through the delivery of the sun from winter captivity by the saviour god, who is identical either with the thunder-god or the deity representing spring. The figure of a labyrinth on urns or on boxes containing the remains of the dead may be considered as an evidence that it was regarded as a symbol of resurrection or rather, immortality. The adoption of it in Christian times and the reproduction of labyrinths in Christian churches proves that the idea had become dear to the people and that representatives of Christianity deemed it appropriate to adopt the symbol. The story which gave rise to these labyrinths may be regarded as the oldest expression of prehistoric mythology. Naturally the myth was retained longest in the north where astronomical conditions preserved the idea most effectively in the minds of people, as is also brought out by the celebration of Yuletide changed in Christian times into Christmas. The North kept a further reminiscence of it in the winding lines of their jewelry preserved in almost all northern countries in such a way that we cannot say whether it is genuinely Norse or Danish, or British, or prehistoric.

We shall publish in the next number a translation of Carus Sterne's essay entitled: *The Northern Origin of the Legend of Troy Attested by the Pitcher of Tragliatella, a Monument of Three and a Half Thousands of Years.*