

THE NORTHERN ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF TROY.

ATTESTED BY THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA.

Translated from the German of Carus Sterne.

II. *The Pitcher of Tragliatella.**

HOWEVER purely logical and free from any straining of the facts my explanation of the northern origin of the legend of Troy and of its connection with the Troy Towns had been, I harbored no delusion that I should convert by it the philologists who regard themselves as the professional guardians of the scientific investigation of legends. For at most these gentlemen, inhospitable to the arguments of natural science, would probably have spoken of "another figment of fancy" the justification for which still remained to be demonstrated. However, a chance accident for which I never should have dared to hope, permits me to refute my opponents who had made such great sport of my mad whim to seek Troy in the North, on their own ground, my weapon being an archeological discovery unique in its kind. Since a number of my propositions in the *Trojaburgen* are so convincingly confirmed by this witness, first described twelve years ago, that it might seem as if I had already had knowledge of it, it will not be beside the mark to indicate in a few lines how, perhaps two months ago, I became acquainted with it.

Immediately after the publication of the *Trojaburgen*, Prof. R. von Kaufmann, of Berlin, did me the kindness of sending me the reprint of a lecture which he had given on June 18, 1892, before the Anthropological Society of Berlin upon the model of the Egyptian labyrinth which he had discovered. In this lecture, which had recently appeared in the transactions of that society (pp. 302-309), reference was made to my earlier publications on the Troy Towns, and at the same time it was observed that, besides Krause [Carus Sterne], Bendorf had proven the connection of northern Troy Towns with the Play of Troy of the Romans, basing his argument on ancient vase-paintings. It can be imagined how eagerly I went on the hunt for this treatise. But neither could Professor von Kaufmann give his source more exactly, nor was the name spelled correctly, and as a matter of fact, the exposition, which was from the

* The first part appeared in *The Open Court* for August, 1918, pp. 449ff.

pen of the famous archeologist Otto Bendorf of Vienna, was buried in an academic treatise not even bearing his name on the title-page;¹ so I owed it to blind chance that I finally was fortunate enough to find it after going to much trouble in vain.

The treatise has reference to an ancient Etruscan earthen pitcher, found together with other objects, as it seems as early as 1877, on old Etruscan soil near Tragliatella, an estate of M. Tommasi Tittoni situated between Palidoro and Bracciano Lake some miles from Rome. Because of its pictures and inscriptions, which are produced by scratching (*sgraffito*), this pitcher certainly is to be classed with the most remarkable discoveries ever made on Italian soil. In 1881 it fell into the hands of two archeologists of standing: Helbig² who interpreted its pictures and artistic value, and Deecke³ who explained its inscriptions.

Both came to the conclusion that they were dealing with one of the oldest vessels made on Italian soil after Greek models, assigning the sixth or seventh century B. C. as the date of its production. Common as Etruscan inscriptions are on mirrors, gems, and scarabs, scholars were up to that time acquainted with only ten terra-cotta vessels exhibiting anything of the kind, and, to quote Deecke, "the painted pitcher of Tragliatella, of oldest Etruscan make, adorned with four, to be sure, very short Etruscan inscriptions, is without doubt by far the most important of all, not only because it indicates the introduction of Greek myths into Tuscany in very remote times, but also because it appreciably increases our knowledge of the Etruscan language."

This pitcher, about ten inches high, is decorated by figures cut into four bands, each having a different ground-color. They are dashed on rather clumsily, and we shall occupy ourselves only with those covering the broad band running around the bulkiest portion of the pitcher, for the other bands



THE PITCHER OF
TRAGLIATELLA.

¹ Max Büdinger, "Die römischen Spiele und der Patriciat." *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-histor. Klasse*, Vol. CXXIII, pp. 47-55. Vienna, 1891.

² *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, No. 3, pp. 65ff. (April, 1881.)

³ *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, Vol. LIII, p. 160. (1881.)

contain representations of animals and simple scenes such as occur with considerable frequency on other vases of Chalcidian origin, added probably with no other purpose but to embellish and to fill space. On the other hand, the main band evidently contains nothing but scenes of a connected myth of Italian, or let us merely say, of non-Greek local color. Among them our attention is attracted especially by one placed on the middle of the one side of the pitcher, the representation of a Troy Town which resembles, as we easily recognize, in all essentials the Cretan labyrinth appearing on old coins of the city of Knossos. However, such Cretan coins with a labyrinth on them formed of curved lines ingeniously arranged, do not go back beyond the fourth century B. C., while the design here under discussion is, according to Helbig and Deecke, two or three hundred years older.

The most remarkable feature is that this design does not seem to be influenced at all by the legend of the Cretan labyrinth, for in the outermost curve of the labyrinth the word *truia* = Troy is cut from right to left in letters of the oldest Italian alphabet, which is according to Deecke probably of Chalcidian origin. That the Etruscans wrote *truia* instead of *Troia* is confirmed also by other inscriptions belonging to pictures from the Trojan epic cycle; accordingly Deecke interpreted the design quite vaguely as the plan of a city (*una pianta di città*), and Helbig, too, was in doubt whether the city of Troy or the Troy Play of the Italians was in question. Bendorf was the first to believe in the necessity of recognizing here the oldest document on the Troy Play of the Italians, which until then had been traced back only to the time of Sulla (see *Trojaburgen*, p. 258). We shall not discuss whether in this Bendorf is not going a step too far, for in my opinion both inscription and design evidence nothing but what I asserted before, that the Roman Play of Troy "had developed from an ancient, patently religious labyrinthian dance of the early inhabitants of the land" (*Trojaburgen*, p. 250). From this we gather with certainty that originally in Italy just as in Scandinavia and England it was not the dance or the game but rather the labyrinth that was called Troy.

This is a fact of quite unusual significance and I beg those of my kind opponents from the philological camp who regard my proposition as not entirely unworthy of notice to submit what I now have to say to careful scrutiny. No Roman antiquary, neither Varro, nor Cato, nor Cicero, nor any one of the many authors who have left reports on the Troy Play, not even Suetonius, who had written a special book on the games of Roman youth, could have

known the fact that the labyrinth in which the time-honored spring dance was performed was called Troy in ancient Italy too. Or else Pliny, who speaks of Italian labyrinths in the fields, would surely have mentioned it and neither Servius, interpreter of Virgil, nor Festus, nor other scholars drawing their information from still plentiful sources, would have cudged their brains for an explanation of the words *troare* and *antroare* appearing in the old Salian song (*Trojaburgen*, p. 255). It is also quite easily explained that this name was more or less intentionally allowed to lapse into oblivion at an early date, for otherwise a Trojan origin obviously could not have been assigned to the Troy Play. Besides, there were just as few reminiscences of the old labyrinth name Troy preserved in Crete. Accordingly it seems extremely conjectural to assume with Wilhelm Meyer or Bendorf that the Romans might have carried to England and Scandinavia a name for a design which they had absolutely forgotten in its original significance even before the beginning of our era. Here again we are rather confronted by the same problem which I discussed in *Trojaburgen* (pp. 266ff.) in reference to the legends of Gotland and Delos: the transfer could only have taken place in prehistoric times.

Now it may be figured that the Troy Play itself was transplanted by the Romans to England and Scandinavia and that the labyrinths of the North in turn were called Troy as formerly in Italy by a sort of mystical process—which causes an idea to be spread like an infectious disease, by a carrier who himself is not affected in the least. All we know is that the Troy Play swiftly fell into obscurity even among the Romans as soon as the clan of “Trojan” Cæsars and patricians died out; the play was probably also produced later, but no longer under that name, it was simply called a *pyrrhiche*. Nor has any ancient writer left an account of the ancient Troy Plays being mapped out on the ground, which would at least have been done in case such a plan had still borne its striking name in the memory of the people, a name not belonging to those easily forgotten.

On the other hand, the fact calls for consideration that the name Troy attaches in the North to hundreds of labyrinthine constructions which are spread from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean northward as far as Iceland, and eastward far into the interior of Russia. We find it further in England joined to the more than a thousand similar stone sculptures which certainly extend back beyond Roman times, most probably deep into the bronze age. If we consider further that the word can be explained just as well from

the Germanic as from the Romance languages (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 11-12), does it not sound monstrous that one should want to derive an appellation which occurs a hundred times in the North, from Italy where it could with great difficulty be documented but once? Will a land in which one lion is met escaped from a circus be regarded as the home of the lion, or not rather that in which great numbers of the animal occur? An additional point is this, that in a region of northern Europe bounded by almost exactly the same meridians, the same extremely peculiar moon-shaped forms of bronze razors are found as in pre-Etruscan Italy, the same funerary urns of clay, which appear nowhere else in the world, in the shape of ancient Germanic houses (house-urns), the same habits and customs in Saxony and Alba Longa. But that labyrinths belong to a cult originating in the North, that accordingly they must have wandered to the South, if they occur in the South, I think I have already made sufficiently probable in the preceding pages.



RIDERS COMING OUT OF THE "TROJABURG."

After *Jahrbücher d. röm. Inst.*, Vol. LIII, plate L.

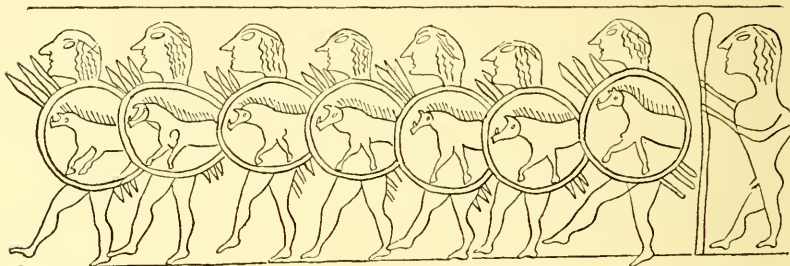
Let us go further in our examination of the pictures on the pitcher. First, two figures on horseback are seen coming out of the labyrinth—or at least we may assume that they are proceeding from it, since the tail of the rear horse is still within the convolutions of the Troy Town. With reference to the representation of the labyrinth dance similarly arranged, in Homer's description, by Hephæstus on the shield of Achilles alongside of the place of the dance, Bendorf says, with tasteful acumen, "the primitive artist takes apart what he cannot dispose of at once and render comprehensible as a whole. Assyrian reliefs indicate the departure from a city by a series of figures proceeding from an outline of the city; they transfer scenes which occur inside of a tent to a place in front of, or alongside of it; they arrange objects above one another which are to be regarded as in perspective, and so on." In a fashion,

according to Bendorf, similar to our picture Homer had Hephæstus, in the passage also cited by me (*Trojaburgen*, p. 264), first represent the dancing place (*choros*) of Dædalus, i. e., the labyrinth, and then the dancers, who really should have been represented as dancing in the labyrinth, alongside of it. While I had formed exactly the same opinion of that passage in Homer after the example of O. Müller, Welcker, Preller, and Petersen, and agree completely with Bendorf's explanation of the alongside instead of an inside, I can yet not subscribe to his view that the two riding figures of the pitcher pointed to the Troy Play of the Roman youth.

To be sure it may be treated as a mere surmise when I say that I prefer to see in the two riding figures the northern fairy-tale scene of the rescue of the maiden from the labyrinth. For we shall immediately see that seven or eight players on foot dance ahead of these two figures; therefore they are not to be thought of as any different from the single player or players on horseback in the English Morris Dance (*Trojaburgen*, p. 241). It seems to me that the first of the two riders is rather meant to be a woman, viz., the rescued maiden whom her rescuer has seated on the miraculous horse of her incarcerator. It should be noticed that this first figure carries no spear, although it is armed with a shield, and is thereby strikingly different from all the rest of the nine players. In the matter of hair-dress, the two sexes in the pictures on this pitcher are practically not differentiated, only in the case of the two figures on horseback is the first one distinguished by longer hair. The animal which sits behind the supposed female rider on the horse and which Helbig calls an ape—we might just as well call it a dog!—must not be overlooked. It is reminiscent of the faithful animals which assist the dragon-slayer in the liberation of the maiden. (Comp. *Trojaburgen*, pp. 153-154, and *The Open Court*, August, 1918, p. 466.) There are sketches of birds on the shields of the two riding figures—Helbig calls them water-fowls, on account of their webfeet and long bills—and in the stories of the dragon-slayer a bird often plays a great role, both in the old fairy-tale and in the Sigurd songs. In contradistinction to the dancers who carry three spears, the knight is armed with only one, the same which he plunged into the throat of the dragon; his long-legged horse is probably the miraculous horse which carried him over the walls of the labyrinth.

The already mentioned group of dancers consisting of seven beardless youths without helmets and greaves (and probably to be thought of as clad only with a waist-cloth) precede the riding figures

in dance-step. Each of these carries three spears and a round shield distinguished by the image of a wild boar; their hair is held together by a narrow ribbon which in Rome was long the distinguishing mark of a priest. The interpretation is obvious that these dancers, like the riders, come dancing out of the labyrinth, moving in labyrinthine lines. They suggest at once the Salian sodality of ancient Rome which, increased to twelve members, performed the Troy Play at the solemn inauguration of spring in March. In this they resembled completely the Germanic sword dancers described by Tacitus, who performed their spring dance in Germany, England, and Scandinavia up to recent centuries and, partly, even up to our own day. (See chapter on "The Armed Dances of Germanic Tribes," *Trojaburgen*, pp. 236-247.) Tacitus says in regard to the Germanic youths that they performed the sword dance naked; in



GROUP OF SEVEN DANCERS.

After plate L of *Jahrbücher d. archäol. Inst.*, 1881.

later days the Salians received an official priestly garb with bright-colored tunic, bronze belt, scarlet-edged toga, and a tall pointed hat or helmet; nevertheless I am still attached to my opinion, expressed in the chapter "Troy Play and Salian Dance" (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 247-262), that there resulted from the armed dance of the earliest inhabitants, first, the Salian Dance, and only from this the Troy Play with riders on horseback. The two mounted figures among the dancers, which may anyhow be regarded as the nucleus of the Troy Play, have no weight against this interpretation; for clear into the nineteenth century the hobby-horse was never permitted to be lacking at the English spring sword dance (*Trojaburgen*, p. 241), and why not, since it had to represent the vaulting horse which bore the dragon-slayer over the nine walls of the Troy Town.

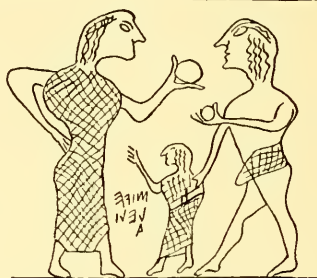
Boars as shield-ornaments of the dancers seem to be very significant. We know that the boar was regarded as a symbol

of victory by the north Aryan peoples, especially by Kelts, Anglo-Saxons, and Æstui. Hence they used pictures of the boar on their shields, heads of boars on their helmets, and boars on their standards. These appear on the coins of the Aedui and on the Triumphal Arch of Orange (*Tuiskoland*, p. 234). The custom also applies to the ancient Persians, and in Zend texts victory (*verethraghna*) is repeatedly personified in the form of an immense boar, armed with sharp hoofs and tusks (Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 277). This is especially true in the case of the mythical victory of Indra over the sun's ravisher, and the name of the Persian Siegfried, Verethrana, signifies "conqueror of Vritra." So in the North, the boar remained an animal sacred to Freya and Freyr, Freya being represented as riding on a boar. We no longer find the figure of the boar conceived of in this way as a symbol of victory among the later Romans, and even while Pliny (*Histor. natur.*, X, 4, 5) tells that in earlier times wolf, Minotaur, horse, and boar were borne, along with the eagle, as standards before the legions, he yet adds that Gaius Marius already made the eagle the sole standard during his second consulship.

After the dancers a stark naked man, taking no part in the dance, steps sedately along, holding grasped in both hands like a support a long staff, taller than himself. Helbig claims he is bearing a lance, in which case he might be regarded as the leader of the dance who holds aloft the great staff like a herald's staff. But in addition to the fact that such a man would probably appear at the head of the procession and not lacking a shield, the staff seems to me more like a club or an uprooted tree-trunk, characteristic of a giant. Now it is known that, at the close of the old Salian song which was sung in accompaniment to the dance, the old smith Mamurius who, like Dædalus in Crete, was said to have invented the dance and to have forged the shields, was first invoked and then beaten out of the city of Rome with staves, peeled white. This is a ceremony which took place exactly in the same way in the northern spring festival, it being a case of the winter demon who had kept the sun maiden so long concealed and who is now beaten and expelled (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 112-114 and 241-247). Therefore he walks like a prisoner in the procession between the dancing spear-bearers and the liberator of the maiden.

Next we find a scene placed before the dance, which again suggests that in these portrayals we are treated to the ancient Italian conception of the legend of Troy. A woman, clad in a plaid chiton, stands opposite to a man, clad only with the waist-cloth, and offers

him a round object; another explanation would be that she has exchanged it for a similar round object in the left of the young man, whose other hand is placed on the shoulder of a young girl likewise clad in the chiton. The concluding scene of the Judgment of Paris would have been recognized in this, even if the words *mi felena*, i. e., "I am" or "this is Helen," written backward in the oldest Italian alphabet, were not put alongside of the little figure of Helen. That Helen is represented on a reduced scale might be interpreted as an expedient of the primitive artist's similar to that of the juxtaposition of Troy Town and dancers discussed above, namely, as the execution of the artist's desire to represent at once Paris handing the apple to Venus and her promising him in return the possession of the most beautiful woman, Helen being shown here in reducing distance. According to that, one would think that the Italian potter had found a picture of the Judgment of Paris on a



SO-CALLED JUDGMENT OF PARIS OF THE PITCHER.

Greek vase and tried, in his fashion, to incorporate, and find a place for, it in the picture cycle of the old Italian legend of Troy. I shall only briefly mention that there are alongside these two grown-up persons two inscriptions, which are here omitted; they have no mythological significance, running in Deecke's translation, "this (pitcher) was made by Amno" and "this (pitcher) was presented by Ateia."

But if the making of the pitcher really goes back to the seventh century B. C., it would not be free from objection to expect here a representation of the Judgment of Paris which is regarded as a later interpolation where it appears in the *Iliad*, and is thought to be an invention only of the so-called Cyprians. The reciprocal handing of a round object suggests the rolling ball of Yaga Baba in the Russian legends of the dragon-slayer, by which the hero is led to the prison with the nine walls, enclosing the maiden (*Troja-burgen*, p. 145). There is another possibility that we have before

us the original form of the southern legend, from which the legend of Helen as well as the story of Ariadne are derived. If we recall the above mentioned story that Theseus abducted Helen, then the young man of the picture could also be Theseus to whom Athene-Ariadne hands the clue with which he is to lead Helen out of the Troy Town. To be sure, we know that Athene was really herself the imprisoned goddess locked up in the Troy Town who favored Diomedes for carrying off her statue, just as she had formerly assisted Jason, Perseus, and Theseus in similar heroic deeds (*Troja-burgen*, p. 279). We shall return to this question presently when more minutely examining the inscription.

The very archaic form of the word *Velena* opens up similar vistas into a primeval history of the story of Helen. I can give these only with great reserve, since they belong to a linguistic field which lies pretty far beyond my province, yet I do not care to ignore them, since they may possibly throw a new light upon this cycle of legends hitherto so obscure. But let us first listen to Deecke's impression of the age of this form of the word: "The form *Velena*," he says, "corresponding exactly to the Greek *φελένα* in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the Latin *Velena* on a cist of Palestrina surpasses all other Etruscan forms of this name, like *Vilenu*, *Elina*, *Helenaia*, *Elinai*, *Elinei* in correctness and originality, as is consonant with the assumed antiquity of the vessel." The usual derivation of the name Helena has been from the old Aryan *svar* or the Greek *felein*, "to beam," "to shine," being brought in connection with Greek *helene* (*selaine*), "the torch," and since we see in Helen the sun maiden, this derivation would be so much the more satisfactory for our views, since the solar disk is called *svalinn* in the Edda. But Curtius regards this derivation as pretty questionable and denies any relationship between Helios and Helena. Therefore it is probably in order to suggest a possible connection with the ancient root *var-*, *val-*, *vel-* (in which the initial letter is to be regarded as digamma or the half-vowel *u*, English *w*), denoting "to curve," "include," "surround," the source of Sanskrit *vara* "garden," *vara-yami* "I enclose" or "fence in," *apa-var* "to open," Lithuanian *at-verti* "to open," *su-verti* "to close," Greek *elyo*, *eilyo*, *eileo* "I wind," "envelope," "involve," "enclose," *cilar* "fence," *elinos* "vine," *amp-elos* "the entwiner" (grape-vine), *helike* "snail," etc., Latin *volvo*, *voluta*, "I wind" or "roll," *voluta* "the spiral"; Gothic *walwojan*, Old High German *wellan* "to roll." Curtius wished to make this root into two of the same form, the one of which was to mean merely "to wind," "wrap," the second "to include," "bind"; but it is evidently one and

the same conception whether I wrap twine about a person or thing, immure him, or enclose him even to the point of casting him in fetters.

Now, however, the identical root seems to be contained in the names of the old gods of fire and forging who in the northern sun myth immure or fetter the sun-goddess, i. e., in Varuna, Valas, or Valand, to which may possibly be added the Slavic *volchow* "wizard" and Greek *Velchanos*. Varuna and Valas were long ago explained as "immurer," "veiler," "fetterer" (of the sun). The Keltic Balar, too, whom I have identified with our Valand before (*Trojaburgen*, p. 85), is the god of circumvallation and teaches the building of firm ramparts, the founding of wall-surrounded castles and cities, since all arable land was formerly in solemn ceremony encircled by the plough, from which the concept then easily passed into that of the smith-architect. The art of making fetters is ascribed to all divinities of the forge; so Hephæstus encompasses in a web of steel not alone his consort Venus, whom he catches with Mars in a cunningly wrought net, but even his own mother, according to a legend which reveals the greatest similarity to a narrative spread over all Europe about a smith who bound Death and the devil, so they could no longer leave his apple-tree, or a certain spot in his smithy. Similarly Balar chains his daughter, Wieland (Wayland) chains Baduhild, Hephæstus or Pallas chains Athene, and just because Varuna is the world chainer, I have identified in him the original god of fire and forge (*Trojaburgen*, p. 181). This enchainment and imprisonment in ever narrowing circles—compare also the wolf (Sanskrit *varki*) who circles about the herd and devours the sun, as well as the human being who is transformed into a werwolf by taking off, and circling about, his clothes (see Petronius)—seems to have peculiarly predestined our Valand for the role of the devil, and on old wood-cuts like that of the knight Tundalus, the devil is seen dancing about the poor soul with strangely curved tongs, trying to drive it by means of ever converging enclosures finally into the jaws of hell. Valand is the ensnarer, the trapper, and for that reason Valand Houses or Troy Towns were also called traps (*Trojaburgen*, p. 71).

But if Valand means "the encloser" Velena could in the last analysis be "the enclosed one," and in the Danish song the maiden who is abducted, locked up in the lower world, and liberated by Roland is called Eline, just as in the case of the old Etruscans (see *supra* p. 531 and *Trojaburgen*, p. 151). Then, perhaps, a linguistic connection between Helena and Ilion as well as for Athene Ilias

could be established. In his dissertation *Quaestiones Homericae* (Bonn, 1867) Oscar Meyer long ago called attention to the fact that Valas's fortress in the Vedas was called *vīlu* and *dridha* (from *dardha*, "strong"), that is, "the fortress," and derived from these roots Ilion and Dardanus, the names of the Trojan stronghold. Since we have already explained the word Troy in the same way (*Trojaburgen*, p. 12), the names Troia, Ilion, Dardanus, Pergamus would all mean the same thing, namely "stronghold," "castle." The word *vīlu* certainly belongs here, for to primitive man "to envelop" is "to put in fetters" and remarkably enough, a chaining Athene, Athene Eilenia, is met with on the soil of Magna Græcia. In the wonder book of the so-called Aristotle (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, ed. Beckmann, p. 240) it is narrated that Epeios, the constructor of the wooden horse with which Troy was captured, came to Metapontum in Italy and was kept there by Athene as though in fetters until he had carried out his intention of depositing in her temple the tools with which he had constructed the wooden horse. Thence, the report adds, Athene received the cognomen Eilenia, the fetterer or encloser. Justinus (XX, 2) also mentions this queer story, saying that the tools were of iron; but the text-emendators have very clumsily made a Hellenias out of Athene Eilenia, as if there were another but the Hellenic Athene. This was so much the more improper, since the narrators wished to explain the cognomen of Athene with just this enchainment which kept Epeios a prisoner there. The *Etymologus* also knows the story of Athene of the Bonds, excepting that in this report Philoctetes is locked up by her in a place hence called Eilenia; the place is also known to the *Itineraries* of Antoninus.

But Philoctetes and Epeios have about the same role in the story of Troy, for just as Philoctetes must bring the bow of Herakles, the first conqueror of Troy, in order to slay Paris, so Epeios constructs the horse with which alone Troy can be conquered. This horse is a very remarkable thing, it is a striking reminder of the wooden hobby-horse on which in the English sword dance Maid Marian is won and liberated. I have referred to the similarity of the wall-vaulting Siegfried horse before (*Trojaburgen*, p. 280). It long ago struck Düntzer that the constructor of the horse in the story of Troy was always designated by a Keltic word, Epeios instead of Hippeios, from Keltic *epo*, "horse," and that this wooden horse was always qualified by an epithet *dureios* or *durateus*, which likewise points to Keltic origin. Athene Hippiia, protecting divinity of anything pertaining to the horse, is very sug-

gestive of that goddess Epona so often met with in Keltic lands, who made her way also into Italy. Anyhow Epeios and Epona (Hippona) belong together, for we know that Epeios, the horseman, had been at Troy also as the liberator of captured and imprisoned Athene, and I regard it as well worth further investigation whether all those appellations of Athene—Ilias, Alea, Eilenia—did not, as well as Velena, originally rather characterize the goddess as enclosed in convolutions, her liberation from Hades being celebrated with games at Troy just like that of Athene Itonia in Bœotia. Whether Metapontum, in the vicinity of which the temple and city of Athene of the Bonds was situated, indicates the city of Pythagoras, as Beckmann tacitly assumed, seems to me very doubtful. In this connection I do not know whether any one has already observed that Solinus knew two cities of this name in Magna Græcia, for he says (II, 10-11), "Metapontum, i. e., the better-known city of that name, was founded by Pylians, Metapontum which is now called Vibo, by the Locrians." This Vibo was in earlier times called Hippo and might very well have been the city of Epeios and of Eilenia, for its other by-name Valentia suggests *vallis* or *vallum*,⁴ the region surrounded by mountains, walls, or ramparts. Possibly the myth of the walled-in goddess Eilenia, and of her liberation by the horseman, was originally native here, although it must needs have suffered reinterpretation when the Greek story of Troy came to surpass all others in splendor. We might further compare the city of St. George, Silena and Seilenos (Selene), and the chained moon-god of the Hindus (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 205 and 162).

After this long excursus to which the names Velena and Eilenia lured us, let us return to the pictures on our pitcher, of which the next is the most mysterious of all.

A woman clad in a chiton stands in apparent glee before two enigmatic objects on the ground. Helbig claims that these objects are two large vases, but I prefer to think them a couple of crude idols of the kind called by the Romans *delubra*, for they in no wise resemble vases but rather those armless, so-called Dædalian idols, with heads like those used by hairdressers for models, such as have been found at Plataea,⁵ the classical ground of the Greek spring festival. I have already mentioned (*Trojaburgen*, p. 115) the female dolls which were burned on the pyre at the Germanic and Slavic spring celebrations, comparing them to the clumsily carved

⁴ We apologize to our classical readers for this.—*Trans.*

⁵ Gerhard, "Metroon und Göttermutter," *Berichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1849, pp. 454ff.

figures which were burned on Mt. Cithæron in memory of the reunion of Zeus and Hera; but in the chapter on Syrith I neglected to go into particulars about this very remarkable ceremony which seems to be suggested by our picture, and I wish here to make up for the omission.

Plutarch⁶ and Pausanias⁷ have given us a very thoughtful account of that spring festival which had evidently survived from remote antiquity. Zeus had abducted Hera from Eubœa and in a cave of Mt. Cithæron enjoyed the bliss of secret love. According to other versions he had changed himself into a cuckoo, had then caused a storm and had flown into the lap of Hera as if seeking shelter; he was kindly received, and in memory of this first meeting with Zeus Hera later bore the cuckoo on her scepter, the place of their nuptials being called the Cuckoo Hill. The spring hero is evidence that that immortal spring myth of the rejuvenation of nature is here under discussion which Logau has so charmingly touched upon in his verses on the month of May,

"This month is a kiss in which Heav'n and Earth embrace each other,
So that Earth, the winsome bride, soon may also be a mother."

Young Greeks whispered, thus the report goes on, that Zeus and Hera had not at that time been united by a solemn wedding; consequently it was rather a celebration of early spring, such as we have met with in Germanic myths (see *The Open Court*, August, 1918, p. 462). Later Hera was taken away from, or fell out with, Zeus; at any rate she remained in hiding from him and he wandered about aimlessly, without finding her. Then he met a certain Alal-komenes who gave him the shrewd advice to make Hera jealous by pretending to marry another. With the help of his counselor Zeus now felled a great oak, carved it to look like a woman, attired it like a bride and called it Dædale. When they got to singing the hymeneus and the Tritonian nymphs were bringing the water for the bride's bath, all Bœotia bringing out flutes and preparing for the banquet, Hera could no longer contain herself; she hurried down from Mt. Cithæron to Zeus amid a great concourse of Platæan women, tore off the veil from the image and—discovered the deceit. Her anger and jealousy turned into jest and joy. Hera herself now preceded the sham-bride as bridesmaid, inaugurated the festival Dædala in memory of the event, but from a lingering spark of jealousy she herself burned the lifeless image.

⁶ See Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, III, 1.

⁷ Pausanias, *Periegesis*, IX, 3.

Pausanias, an eyewitness in whose day the ceremony was still popular, describes it as follows (IX, 3): "Not far from Alalomenæ is the largest oak-forest of Bœotia. Here the Plateans offer pieces of cooked meat and watch in which tree the ravens perch that have eaten of the meat. From the tree chosen by the ravens the Dædalum is constructed, which the Plateans use at their lesser festival; but every sixty years a great festival is celebrated in which all Bœotian clans take part. In a performance the substance of the story above told is expressed in a pantomime. The image is decked out and placed upon a vehicle to which two cows are hitched, a woman is chosen as bridesmaid in Hera's place and the vehicle is then driven to the top of Mt. Cithæron, while the deputies of the Bœotian clans follow in procession, their places being decided by lot. Up there is an immense altar made of beams, on which the Dædala of former years, made in the intervening time, are burned along with the sacrificed animals. Every city sacrifices a full-grown cow to Hera, and a bull to Zeus, incense is burned and libations are offered, and then the whole altar is set on fire, the flames of which could be seen far and wide in the land."

The esteemed reader has probably already noticed that this myth of the Bœotian-Argive Hera corresponds exactly to the myth of Syrith related before (see *The Open Court*, August, 1918, pp. 461-462): the long wooing of the bride, the sham-bridal, the real bride as bridesmaid, the sudden throwing aside of the mask of deception, everything agrees completely; indeed the burning of the false bride reappears in the Syrith legends which are alive to-day in Slavic peoples, in so far as in these the "bridesmaid" sets fire to her rival's veil (*Trojaburgen*, p. 167).

Now what are we to think of all this? Of course, people like Bugge will say: "Nothing is clearer than that Saxo Grammaticus patched together his legend of Othar and Syrith from that of this Argive Hera, and nothing can be more natural than that he put Othar-Thor in place of Zeus, and Syr-Freya in place of Hera." Reverse the statement and you have the facts, as is so often true. For from all the old Norse and the modern Slavic forms of the Syrith legend, we learn with certainty that the coy sweetheart is the sun maiden whom young Thor-Zeus woos and tests by the pretended marriage. Therefore the myth persisted in Greece also as the story of Medea, in which Medea sets fire to the veil of the new bride and in that consigns her to a fiery death.

There are enough indications that in these stories Hera merely replaces the earlier sun maiden. Etymologists are found who derive

her name as well as that of Syr from *svar*, "sun." That it was really Athene, the early sun-goddes of the Greeks, with whom this love encounter of Zeus took place, is evident from the fact that the wood of Alalkomenæ, which furnished the idol, was regarded as a sanctuary of the "defending" Athene, Athene Alalkomeneïs. In Italy, too, Jupiter was between two ladies, like Othar and Siegfried between Chriemhild and Brunhild, and everywhere his image was placed between those of Juno and Minerva. In the same way the festival of the Argive Juno hiding from her bridegroom was celebrated in Italy as on Mt. Cithæron. Ovid describes Juno's wedding-procession at Falerii, at which the girls appeared in most solemn attire bearing veiled things on their heads (the Dædala afterward to be burned?), while a bull preceded the procession and the sacrificial cattle followed. Here the story, so widespread in the North, that the goddess-bride had in her exile been degraded to the position of a goatherd (*Trojaburgen*, p. 165), reappears clearly in the *motif* that Juno abominated goats, since they had betrayed her in her secret abode. In *Amores*, III, 13, Ovid says:

"Only against the goats harbors our mistress revenge,
For by their base betrayal was found her lodge in the deep wood.
Thus was she stopt, many say, in her project of flight."

The myth of Syrith would furnish the best explanation also for this. The connection of the picture under discussion—the woman before the two Dædala on our pitcher—with the Germanic spring myth of the doll burned at the Easter-fire, probably would not then be too bold, after all.

There now remain between this figure and that of the Troy Town two scenes placed one above the other, depicting embracings; neither Helbig nor Bendorf have paid especial attention to them. On Chalcidian vases, which are here regarded as models, such *εἰμαί* (lit., "marriage-beds") belonged to the more commonly represented figures and therefore seemed hardly worthy of mention. But since the rest of the pictures of this band, labyrinth, riders, spear-dancers, Velena-scene, and the picture with the Dædala, belong more or less clearly to the European Troy story, we must not exclude these two from it. We have, indeed, so much the more occasion to recognize in them the attack on the sun-goddess and her union with her liberator, since old ecclesiastical writers are full of complaints about objectionable Germanic spring customs (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 239-240). Besides, they were in ancient times performed in pantomime in beast masks, when the old god of fire, disguised to resemble a stag,

pursued the sun-goddess, who was transformed into a roe,⁸ while in Greece bull and cow appear in similar religious relations.

The legends of Io, Europa, and Pasiphaë appear to have arisen merely from these old masquerades of our forebears that resemble so closely those of many primitive peoples (*Trojaburgen*, p. 186); perhaps also the Actæon story should here be included. In his biography of Nero, Chapter XII, Suetonius relates that that emperor had the old armed dance, the *pyrrhiche*, performed in the circus; the Pasiphaë-scene and the Flight of Icarus were added, in the latter the impersonator soon being dashed to the ground. In the tenth book of his *Metamorphoses* Apuleius describes a similar performance, which began with a dance of youths in armor in "wavy lines," was continued with the Judgment of Paris, and ended with a Pasiphaë-scene. These are evident echoes of the old spring celebration in which the glorification of nature through allegorical games assumed in part strange forms, traces of which we also found in the Freya cult of the North (*Trojaburgen*, p. 201). In the case of the Romans the last memories of this nature-worship perished in circus games, in which a degenerate populace took delight without understanding their content.

III. *The Northern Origin of the Legend.*

Whoever wishes to be fully convinced that the home of all these legends of the captured and redeemed sun maiden is genuinely northern, must examine folk-tales and stories of the saints. For the former I have done sufficient in *Trojaburgen* (pp. 109-194), for the latter I should like to add a few notes here. A number of female saints are imprisoned by their fathers in a high tower because of their beauty. This is true of Saints Barbara and Irene in whose case the motivation is so much the weaker, since they are secretly Christians and not at all of an amorous disposition. However, the high tower appears on pictures of their martyrdom as their symbol. Their unwillingness to marry, as well as their beauty, may be due to old popular legends, but no mention is made of the story that it was really their fathers whose suit they rejected. "Saint Sorrow," who survives in the pretty poem of the "Fiddler of Gmünd," in her anguish begs for a growth of beard that shall destroy her beauty, wishing to escape ever repeated wooings. This is "Rough Elsa" whose skin turned rough at Troy, i. e., in the lower world; or

⁸ See A. Kuhn, "Der Schuss auf den Sonnenhirsch," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. VI, pp. 109-110.

Syrith whose hair turned to fur in her winter captivity (*Troja-burgen*, pp. 157 and 298).

The legend of St. Margaret shows evidence of being a complete canonization of the Syrith story. Because the dragon is usually associated with her on images of saints, the legend of Margaret of Antioch has been frequently merged with that of St. George, however without justification—as if she represented the sun maiden who, after being liberated by St. George, led the conquered dragon to the city by her garter. But old texts and ecclesiastical paintings have a different story of her struggle with the dragon. According to them, she is handed over into the power of a taskmaster from the country, just as Syrith is, and she has to tend the swine of her violator as the other has to tend his goats. Again like Syrith she is led away from her herd to the Roman governor, Olibrius, who wants to marry her. Since she refuses, her father, the idolatrous priest, Ædisius, has her thrown into prison, and here her courage is so little broken that she desires to fight with the devil himself. The latter appears as an enormous dragon, seizes her head with his upper lip, pushes the tip of his tongue under her shoe and swallows her down just as she stood. “But before digestion commenced to work,” the Golden Legend relates,¹ “she made the sign of the cross and by the power of the cross the dragon exploded, and the maiden stepped out uninjured.” Here the author seems to remember in due time that he has not related a legend, but the story of Little Red Riding Hood, i. e., the story of the sun maiden whom the wolf in pursuit of the sun had swallowed at the eclipse and whom the hunter Indra again cut out of his body, and he quickly adds, “but what they tell about the swallowing by the dragon is regarded as frivolous and apocryphal.” However, it belonged entirely to what was believed of old, and eight years ago (1885) there were discovered in the Cathedral of Tournay old wall-paintings from the beginning of the thirteenth century which represent the story exactly as given, showing, first, how St. Margaret is tending the flocks, then, on the one side, how she is swallowed by the monstrous jaws of the dragon, and on the other, how she steps out of the half opened sides of the animal in the pose of one praying, absolutely unharmed. The projection in the wall near this picture shows the majestic form of a crowned woman who holds in her left hand a disk marked with a cross, presumably the solar disk.

¹ Jacopo de Voragine, *Legendarum Opus Aureum Auctum a Claudio a Rotâ*, Leg. 88.

It is not at all necessary to fall back on Greek mythology to account for these sun myths which have been received in the bosom of the Christian Church, as Albrecht Wirth recently did, when he tried to connect the legend of St. Irene imprisoned in the tower by her father with the story of Danaë,² for the same legend survives in a great number of forms in Germanic and Keltic lands, and in many cases it is no longer to be distinguished from the Siegfried legend (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 186-194).

It is much more instructive to see with what energy the Church laid hold of those nature festivals and customs to which pagan people in the North were most attached and about which it hung a mantle of charity to cover what it could not destroy. This was pre-eminently the case with spring customs, and when we see that the Church does not hesitate to transform the builder myth of the Edda into a Christian Easter-play, replacing the god Thor who liberates Freya from the hands of the winter demon, first by St. George, and then by Christ himself who liberates the "Bride of Christ" from the fortress of the Antichrist, we can realize from these facts alone that the powerful nature-drama of the liberation of the sun maiden must have occupied the very center of religious interest for our ancestors. In the old Bavarian Easter-play, the composition of which is assigned to Wernher of Tegernsee, the monster who has assumed to himself the rulership of the world is suddenly struck by lightning like the builder in the Edda. In the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun, written about 1115, the Germanic sun-goddess is changed into the Bride of Christ who has fallen into the hands of the Antichrist. In a mode of conception genuinely northern the latter appears as the winter builder, who keeps her a prisoner in the tower of Babel built by himself; then Christ appears, overthrows the Antichrist as well as all the rest of the infernal forces at Easter, destroys the fortress of winter, leads forth the bride from the dark tower and unites with her in marriage *in thalamo acterni solis*, in the bridal chamber of the eternal sun.

Strange to say, this festival of the sun's marriage is even to-day celebrated on St. George's Day, April 23, in all southern Slavic countries as the main festival of the Christian Church, accompanied by dances and songs which contain the principal details of the Syrith myth (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 166-171). But it is almost even more incredible that it survived the Reformation and was represented by Lukas Cranach on numerous altar-pieces and wood-cuts. These allegories of the work of the Redeemer are remarkable for not

² A. Wirth, *Danaë in christlichen Legenden*, Vienna, 1892.

making the slightest effort to conceal their origin in a nature-myth. They always appear divided in two parts by a high tree in the middle of the picture. These parts may be distinguished as a winter part and a summer part, because the dividing tree has dead limbs on its left or Old Testament side, but green branches on the right or New Testament side. The winter-side shows the Fall of Man and Adam being chased into hell by devils, the summer-side is reserved for the work of redemption at Eastertide. Here the descent of Christ into hell, showing him bursting the bolts of hell and slaying the Antichrist, occupies the center of the picture. On a number of these altar-pieces and wood-cuts a young woman is seen to have risen to light from the chimney-like roof of the conquered citadel of hell, waiting in prayer for what is to come. Alongside of the Saviour ascending to heaven a genius with the cross (which with strong foreshortening is here mostly drawn like the hammer of Thor) allows a ray from the sun to fall on the maiden, presumably to indicate more closely the legend of the sun's wedding. The additional facts may be borne in mind that in songs quoted before (see *Trojaburgen*, p. 243) the Antichrist was expressly named as the winter demon to be driven out at Easter, that a "Song of Triumph of the Elected Soul" still contained in [German] hymn-books of the eighteenth century says of the prisoner in the castle who is redeemed at Easter:

"Thou, dear soul, art ransomed full,
The hellish tyrant choked to death,
His robber-nest and conspiring band
Is all destroyed, a mockery Death.
Triumph, Triumph, Victoria!
And eternal Hallelujah!"

We shall then have to confess that this entire allegory has been derived not from diverse Biblical conceptions, but simply and alone from the story of Troy of the North. Dances with arms, masks, and other games were also Christianized as far as possible in the merriment of the carnival, plays of the Church, etc., and in many places "the fatal blow to the dragon" was performed in front of the local chapel of St. George.

The ceremonies of the expulsion, stoning, beheading, or burning of the winter demon, which in antiquity had penetrated as far as Rome and even to Egypt, were preserved here and there within the sphere of Christian service (*Trojaburgen*, p. 244), and since they are intelligible solely from northern astronomical conditions, we must assume that similar ceremonies in Egypt—where winter

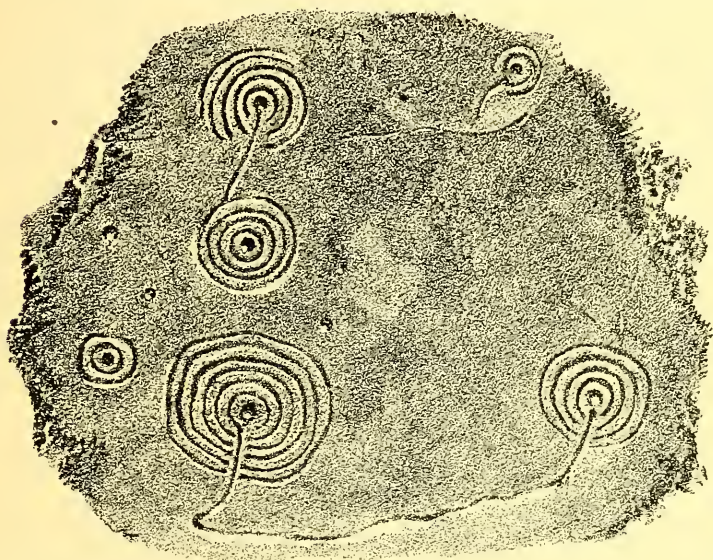
affords the pleasantest season of the year—are to be explained only by a northern immigration into Egypt, of which there are also other traces. As a case in point Herodotus narrates in immediate connection with his report that Memphis, the city of the Egyptian smith-god, was the scene of the story of Helen, that the giant statues of summer and winter stood before the temple of that god, to the first of which the people showed their love and to the latter their dislike. Now that is the same ceremony which took place clear into the nineteenth century at Heimbürg near Vienna and at Alatri in the Campagna with reference to images of summer and winter, formerly also in Hildesheim and Halberstadt. There exists only this slight difference—that in middle Europe we have every cause to hate winter and dismiss it with distinct evidence of our dislike, while in Egypt a joyous reception of winter and a just as joyous leave-taking from summer would have been much more in keeping.

From this we draw with a high degree of probability that it is from the North that also the Egyptians must have received their story of Troy which is geographically bound up with the dismissal of the winter smith. Indeed the recognition of what was first demonstrated with arguments of natural science in *Tuiskoland*, is making further headway now, namely the theory that the majority of the Aryan gods must be of northern origin because their nature points to a distinct change of seasons, involving a strongly changing revelation of the solar deity produced by the oblique position of the earth's axis. A book by John O'Neill, which recently appeared in London, *The Night of the Gods*, takes this view into consideration in that it speaks of a cosmic mythology, characterizing these divinities as polar or axis-gods. And so the signs are multiplying that the philologists will suffer a defeat on mythological terrain, probably without a parallel.

Troy Towns are an especially clear expression of the worship of a "divinity of the world-axis," in so far as they symbolize in their labyrinthine course the path of the northern sun leading into, and out of, the prison of winter—as well as can be expected from a people still in possession of only the rudiments of astronomy. Therefore their cradle must have been in the North, for the invention of such a design demands the sharp contrasts resulting from the decidedly changing course of the sun in the northern seasons.

In regard to how this invention was made, I am indebted to a letter from Professor Bendorf in Vienna for a very valuable

suggestion. Proceeding from the assumption that, considering the peculiarity of the labyrinth design, it must be supposed to have spread from Greece through Italy to the North like most advances in civilization, he wrote as follows: "...in its ingenious form, which remains remarkably constant in all adaptations to time and place, it gives the impression of a unique, I should almost say personal, invention, which in itself accounts for its having a vitality leading to a great shifting in the history of civilization." The more decidedly I was obliged to agree with this concept of Professor Bendorf rejecting the idea of independent inventions in North and South, the more imperative it became for me to establish just how



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

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

the design of the labyrinth may have originated in the North. I cannot concede a migration from the South northward, for the two-fold reason, first, that the Greeks and Romans later no longer understood their own appellation, Troy, and secondly, because the design symbolizes the course of the sun in the North, proceeding as it does to a narrow and gloomy winter prison, and not that of the sun of Greece.

So the next step was to ask what stages such a figure, which was too "ingenious" both for a creation out of nothing and for an

original conception, might have passed through, and I was naturally guided back to that figure which has been scratched hundreds of times since the bronze age on rocks, dolmens, menhirs, cromlechs, and the gravestones of England, and of which we are furnished a clear picture by the stone on the crest of Whitsunbank Hill in Northumberland.

I have already mentioned (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 48-60) that these sandstone sculptures, which always appear in the same pattern, have never been observed outside of England in their characteristic shape, with the radius breaking the concentric circles, and also that they bore the name Troy there. I further ventured to interpret them as symbols of the labyrinths in which the spring sword dance for the



FUNDAMENTAL PLAN OF TROY
TOWNS.



INVENTION OF THE LABY-
RINTH FORM.

redemption of the sun maiden took place, probably in such a way that the dancers penetrated to the center of the figure radially, but when coming out observed the rule of turning every time they came to this straight barrier and of skipping along the next passage leading toward the outside until all of them had been passed.

Therefore this dance figure may have been that indicated above on the left side; it was not regarded as necessary to complete the alternate ring walls to the radius because the rule of the dance was simple enough to be kept in the head. Possibly people had been imitating the course of the sun of autumn and spring according to this simple rule in their dances for centuries, each return to the point of beginning being probably thought of as an invisible nocturnal one. One fine day, however, a clever choragus may have

discovered that by a simple modification of the figure the movement of the dance could be made much more mysterious. That is, if on the right and left sides two alternate galleries were successively joined, then only the closing of the one circle still remaining in the middle of the four pairs of galleries was necessary to get the typical plan of a Troy Town as found in Crete, ancient Etruria, and northern Europe (see the pattern to the right). Since these labyrinths were mostly made of boulders, a tentative reconstruction was child's play and we have only to imagine boulders instead of the dots in our closing lines, in order to recognize the simplicity of the invention. Compare the Delian legend in which the infant Apollo was said to have devised the convolutions, and built the foundation walls, which surrounded his altar at Delos and in which the labyrinth dance was performed.

But it should be noticed that there is no possibility of supposing the invention easy unless the main pattern is given, which is found chiseled on stone more than a thousand times on English soil and nowhere else: any invention independent of this preliminary form is something very improbable.

And so this conclusion, too, that the invention was too unique to be made repeatedly, in the face of such ornaments as could easily be devised in the most diverse places, like the hook-cross, spiral, meander, etc., leads us with the greatest probability to a northern land, in fact to England. We know that the ancients spoke of the high development of the sun-cult in Britain and that Hekataëus related that Apollo returned every nineteen years to his native island opposite Gaul and to his temples there. These circular temples consisted mostly of nineteen stones, and not far from Penzance in Cornwall there are four such circles, consisting originally each of nineteen stones of three to six feet in height, and having a diameter of 65-80 feet. The innermost circle of Stonehenge also contained nineteen stones, which is such a remarkable number that in this connection we can indeed think only of that nineteenth year in the Metonic cycle in which, as Hekataëus narrates, Apollo returned to his old home.

Be that as it may, the northern provenience of the Troy legend, which has now been confirmed by the Pitcher of Tragliatella to a degree never hoped for by me, is one of the most convincing bits of evidence as yet found for the northern origin of the Aryans. Linguistic, anthropological, prehistoric grounds will always leave a sediment of doubt and since many persons do not recognize the summary power of witnesses which are individually inconclusive,

it will be necessary to revert to this pitcher, which confirmed in such cogent manner conclusions arrived at from hundreds of single reasons before. Like the Rosetta stone, a lucky chance has preserved for us in it a monument which is not likely to exist in duplicate. I am also glad that it was found and described long before I came to the deductions which are now confirmed by the cycle of pictures on the pitcher, and that it remained unknown to me then. Otherwise the question would probably have been asked whether the pitcher had not been manufactured solely in support of my "fantastic notions."

OMAR, THE HERETIC.

BY JOHN T. BRAMHALL.

THE quatrains of Omar Khayyám, or al-Khayyámi, as the Arabians and Persians called him, offer an interesting study of the influence of Islam upon the millions of the human race that gather under the banner of the Prophet. In reviewing the writings of the Persian radical (Sufi, Shi'ite, heretic, Epicurean, or what you will), it is important that we get as nearly as possible to the real Omar. We have, unfortunately, no manuscript dating from his time (-1123), and the oldest accounts of him are but fragmentary. It was not until several centuries had elapsed (A. D. 1460), that anything like collections of the now famous quatrains were made, for Omar was not considered by his contemporaries as a poet of high rank.

It is important, however, to study the man before we base estimates on translations of apocryphal fragments. The *Charhár Maqála*, or "Four Discourses," of Nidhâmi i' Arúdi of Samarqand, (about 1180, A. D.), in the section devoted to astrologers and astronomers, relates that in the year A. H. 506 (A. D. 1112-1113), Kwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám and Kwája Imám Mudhaffar-i-Isfizári (the same who was associated with Khayyám at the command of the sultan in the revision of the calendar), met in Balkh at the house of Amir Abú Sa'd, (Abú Sa'd Sharafu'l-Mulk, the minister of Malikshah?). "In the midst of that friendly gathering I heard that Proof of the Truth (Hujjat-i-Haqq), 'Umar say: 'My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice a year.'" And the narrator says that when he visited Nishapur, "it being then some years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust and the lower world was bereaved of him,"