

CAENEUS AND THE CENTAURS: A VASE AT HARROW.

[PLATE VI.]

I.

THE vase that is here published, by the kind permission of the authorities of the Harrow School Museum, is the gem of the collection of antiquities presented to that Museum by Sir Gardner Wilkinson; it is described by Mr. Cecil Torr as No. 50 in his catalogue. It had been repainted and restored in such a way as to suggest that it had been through the hands of an Italian dealer; and this conjecture as to its provenance is confirmed by the fact that a tracing of the design exists in the *apparat* of the German Institute at Rome; the vase comes from Vitorchiano and had been seen in the possession of Depoletti: the tracing was communicated by Gerhard. Dr. Wernicke describes the vase from this tracing in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1885, p. 262; but it is clear that the tracing was not accurate enough to give him any adequate notion of the beauty and character of the drawing; though he notices the extraordinary foreshortening of the Centaur on the right, he suggests that the design is a variant derived from a vase signed by Polygnotus at Brussels, a suggestion that could not have been made by any one who had seen the vase or a good drawing of it; the style, as we shall see, points unmistakably to an earlier and finer stage in the history of vase-painting. All the most important vases of the Harrow Museum have recently been cleaned by the skilful hands of Mr. Sharp, of the British Museum; the scientific value of the collection has thus been enhanced, and our vase, in particular, has improved greatly in appearance. Only a few insignificant details have disappeared with the restorer's work, while the thorough tests to which the vase has been submitted enable us to be confident that all that is now left is due to the original painter—an assurance the more necessary in view of the remarkable character of some of the drawing. The design is faithfully reproduced in the drawing by Mr. Anderson, from which Pl. VI. has been made.

The vase is of the shape commonly known as a kelebe, or crater with columnar handles (*vaso a colonnette*); its height is $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches, its diameter (including handles) 19 inches. The main lines of the figures are shown by outlines of the same black varnish as is used for the field; in addition to these



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there are lighter inner markings in light brown,¹ and the same light brown pigment is used, as is shown in the plate, to render the hair of both Caeneus and the Centaurs, and the tawny fur on the panther skins which they wear. There are also purple retouches, to render the leaves of the branches carried by the Centaurs.

The main design is contained in panels; that on the obverse of the vase, which is by far the finest in execution, represents the contest of Caeneus and the Centaurs; the panel is bordered on each side by a row of palmettes, alternating to right and to left, in black figured technique on a red strip left for the purpose; the panel on the reverse contains merely a careless and conventional design of satyrs and a maenad; this panel is framed on each side by an ivy wreath. Above the panels is a row of framed bars; below them a purple band running round the vase; rays ascend from the base. Outside the rim is an ivy wreath, and on its horizontal top is a row of lotus with



interlacing stalks and petals, with a large palmette and volutes over each handle. On the bottom is an incised inscription (graffito), Δ -| Δ ; and there are four drilled holes in the bottom and four more opposite them inside the bottom rim; these look as if they were to hold rivets, but the vase shows no sign of having been broken.

The design on the reverse need not detain us very long. It represents a draped maenad, who holds in her hand an object pointed at both ends—perhaps a branch—seized by two nude satyrs, one of whom holds a thyrsus; they are baldheaded, and have horses' or asses' ears; they are infibulated. The drawing is of the ordinary and careless style often found even in the best period, and calls for no further attention.

¹ These lighter markings have to a great extent disappeared, owing chiefly to the destruction of the surface when the vase was repainted.

The drawing of the principal scene, on the other hand, is of quite extraordinary boldness and vigour. In order to appreciate this, one has only to compare it with the rendering of the same scene on other vases, for instance that in the British Museum (Catalogue, vol. iii. E. 473).

A little to the right of the centre is Caeneus, still upright, but buried to the waist in the earth, *σχίσας ὀρθῶ ποδὶ γᾶν*, as Pindar has it. His body is seen from the front, and his head is seen in profile turned to his right; he leans to his left, so as to gain room for his sword arm, with which he stabs the Centaur above him in the human abdomen. The blow has not gone home, for the blade runs almost parallel to the Centaur's body, only the point being imbedded in his flesh; the stroke is evidently borne back by the onward rush of the monster. On his left arm Caeneus holds his shield, seen about three-quarter face; it rests on the ground, but does not sink into it, as in some other examples of the scene; its device, in black-figured technique, is a running Centaur to the left, with a branch raised in both hands over his head—a design full of go and spirit. Caeneus wears a Corinthian helmet, and a breast-plate with a star as ornament on the shoulder-piece, and pteryges hanging from its waist, which look as if made of pleated linen. The Centaur wounded by Caeneus advances towards him from the left, and also slightly forward, so that his body is slightly foreshortened; he supports on his shoulder with both hands a mass of rock with which he is about to overwhelm the hero; he wears a panther skin, knotted round his neck by its fore-paws, and hanging down his back, the tail, with a twisted knot in it, being visible beneath his equine body. He places his fore-legs on Caeneus' shoulders, as if to force him yet farther into the ground. He is bald, and his mask-like face, with shaggy hair, shapeless eyes, and snub nose, is in marked contrast to the fine features of his two comrades; like them, he has horses' ears.¹ No blood is now visible from his wound; what was visible before cleaning was due merely to the hand of the restorer, and certainly did not exist in the original design. The Centaur behind him, on the left of the design, is seen in profile; the end of his body is cut off by the border of the panel; he wears a panther skin in the same way as the middle Centaur. His chest is turned to front the spectator, as in most drawings and reliefs of Centaurs from the finest period, and with both hands he holds over his head a pine tree, which he is about to dash down trunk foremost on to Caeneus. But for his equine ear and shaggy head, the type of his face has nothing bestial about it, but has dignity combined with its fierceness; it is the face of a baldheaded man of middle age. The head is turned slightly beyond the profile, so that the outline of the further brow stands out against the background,—a peculiarity noticeable in the case of the other Centaurs also.

The third Centaur, on the right, is the most remarkable figure on this vase, and among the most remarkable figures in all Greek vase-painting. The remarkable foreshortening of his equine body would alone suffice to

¹ The top of his ear has been lost in a small fracture of the surface.

distinguish the design, though it can be paralleled elsewhere¹; yet even if it is open to criticism in perspective, the very difficult position is attempted with boldness and skill. But the type and expression of his face are not so easy to match; his bent brow, aquiline nose, and masses of overhanging hair, together with the way his head is turned back over his shoulder, combine to enhance the brutal fierceness of his expression; and the bold outline of his shoulder-blades emphasises the violence with which he dashes down his pine-branch on to the hero.

When we come to consider the style and the period of this design, we can have no hesitation as to the position we must assign to it. Such work can only be found in the later productions of the cycle of Euphronius, and especially among those assigned by Dr. Hartwig to Onesimus.² The magnificent Centaur Cylix, Hartwig, Pl. lix, lx, has many points of resemblance with our vase, especially in the vigour of the drawing and the boldness of the foreshortening, *e.g.* in the fallen Centaur on the inside. For the foreshortening on our vase we shall, however, see nearer analogies—some of them at least within the same cycle of Euphronius; we must first notice other points of style which confirm our attribution of this vase to an artist closely connected with Euphronius. The drawing of the eye is a safe indication of period; on our vase it is neither full face nor profile, but drawn in that compromise which is characteristic of the age and school; the inner ends are left open, and even slightly diverge, so as to give the effect of eyelashes, while the pupil, indicated by a dot and a circle round it, is placed so far towards the inner corner as to give a very near approach to a true profile drawing. The only exception is in the case of the eye of the middle Centaur, which has an unnatural and almost fishy appearance, adding to the repulsiveness of his mask-like face. I do not know of any exact parallel to this, but the intention of the artist is obvious. The mouths have not the outlines of the lips inserted, but are drawn in a freer manner. The variety in the treatment of the hair also is just what we should expect at this period; sometimes it is in black masses, sometimes drawn with delicate detail in individual tresses, the effect being enhanced by an addition of brown pigment; a treatment of which the value had been learnt by the vase-painters of this school from their practice in painting the beautiful vases with white ground that are among their finest productions. The contrast between the crisp and curly locks of Caeneus and the lank thin tresses of his monstrous adversaries is admirably worked out; and even the Centaurs are differentiated among themselves by variety of treatment, from the masses of unkempt hair of the Centaur on the right to the thin and straggling locks of the one in the middle. The types of face are differentiated with even more subtlety; there is hardly more contrast between the delicate and conventional Greek profile of Caeneus and the strongly marked features of the Centaurs,

¹ See below.

² The name is a convenient one for the identification of this set of vases; in using it, of

course no opinion is expressed as to the correctness of his restored name.

than there is between the different types of these Centaurs themselves. The one to the left is hardly inhuman, only of heavy and somewhat truculent type; the middle one has the conventional snub-nosed satyric mask, while the one on the right is characterised with a brutal vigour hardly to be surpassed or even matched among the extant products of Greek art. But the tendency to the choice of quaint and individual types, of which this is so striking an example, may easily be paralleled among the works of Euphronius and his colleagues. The foreshortening of this Centaur's body, which we have already noticed as the most remarkable piece of drawing, finds its nearest parallel in an early work of Euphronius (Hartwig, Pl. X.). In his text. p. 108, n. 1, Dr. Hartwig mentions other examples of similar foreshortening, either in horses or Centaurs; to these may be added a Centaur on a vase from Rome (*Annali*, 1860, Pl. A), which belongs to a decidedly later date than the Harrow vase, and a very similar foreshortening of a dog¹ (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* Pl. CCLXVII.), which is on a vase of style decidedly earlier, and is perhaps the earliest example of an experiment in drawing that finds its best known if least pleasing repetition in the famous horse of the Issus mosaic.² Most of these horses are even to the raising of the tail in exactly the same position; and they seem to be a series of attempts to adopt and improve on a bold invention in drawing; but we cannot say to whom this invention is to be assigned, unless it be, perhaps, to Euphronius himself in his younger days. It is interesting to note that the main error of drawing in this foreshortened figure consists in a tendency to draw the two hind legs diverging, as if seen from the side. Thus it corresponds exactly to the conventional perspective of early art, by which an object seen from the front often has its two sides represented as extending away from the front on either hand.³

The type of the group of Caeneus and the Centaurs, known to us both on vases and reliefs, has been derived by Loeschcke⁴ from the conventional group of the man between two horses which is familiar from the earliest days of Greek art, and can be traced back to still earlier sources. In the Harrow vase, which may perhaps claim to be the finest of all the repetitions of the subject, it concerns us most to note the deviations by which the painter has improved the scene; by the addition of the third Centaur, and the foreshortening of the one behind Caeneus, he has escaped entirely from that conventional and over-symmetrical grouping which we still see even in the western frieze of the Theseum. Whether the vase-painter originated these changes in the design it is hard to say; but the vigour and originality of his drawing make us inclined to assign to him the excellence of the composition as well. It was of course a tempting hypothesis to associate this fine design with the paintings of Lapiths and Centaurs with which the artist Micon decorated the Theseum; and such a suggestion was confirmed by the presence of the same scene on the sculptured frieze of the temple which we now call

¹ This comparison was suggested to me by Mr. J. C. Hoppin.

² Baumeister, Taf. xxi.

³ See Murray, *J.H.S.* ii. 318 and Pl. xv.

⁴ *Bonner Studien*, p. 252.

by that name; but even if we overrule the objections that have been brought against the identification of the building, we cannot of course, with our present knowledge of the chronology of Greek vase-painting, admit the possibility of any such connexion; for the Harrow vase must be earlier by nearly a generation than the paintings of Micon in the Theseum. Nevertheless it may show us the vigour and the variety of the types on which the painter could draw for his subject.

II.¹

The legend of Caeneus is one of the most interesting in Greek mythology; while it is difficult to explain in some details, it contains elements which connect it unmistakably with those primitive and popular rites that underlie so many mythological stories. But the legend has been so thoroughly recast in the workshop of poetical fiction that its original character has been obscured. Let us first take the tale as it has been preserved to us in literature and note the features that are either inexplicable in themselves or inconsistent with other parts of the story or with artistic representations; for it is from these intractable details, still cropping up through the smooth and even narrative with which the poetical mythologist has endeavoured to overlay them, that we can infer the true form of the myth.

Caeneus figures from Homer down among the leaders of the Lapiths in their great battle with the Centaurs at the wedding feast of Pirithous.² He rashly pursued them in their flight; they turned on him, and, finding him invulnerable to their weapons, overwhelmed him by piling pine-trees and rocks over him. He was crushed by the weight, but emerged from the heap in the form of a tawny bird. Such is an outline of the story as given by Ovid. There are other features about the tale that only complicate it, while some do not harmonise with this version. One is, that Caeneus was at first a woman, who was beloved by Poseidon, and that the god granted her wish that she should become a man and invulnerable; another, that, in the shades below, he was changed into a woman. It is curious that Ovid, who frequently refers to the first change, seems to know nothing of the second; while Virgil says only 'vir quondam, nunc femina, Caenis.' It looks as if the essential thing in the tradition from which the tales of the Latin poets are ultimately derived was merely the change of sex, but the relation of this change to the story was doubtful.

Then there is the tale of his going straight through the earth to the realms below, when he was buried by the Centaurs—a tale associated with the interesting words of Pindar, *σχίσας ὀρθῶ ποδὶ γᾶν*. We have seen how

¹ Throughout this mythological discussion I am indebted to valuable hints given me by Mr. J. G. Frazer. At the same time I cannot hold him responsible for the application I have made of them, though I am glad to be able to quote his general approval of my conclusions.

² The most important passages are: Homer, *Il.* i. 264 and Scholia; Hesiod, *Asp. Her.* 179; Pindar, p. 168; Apoll. Rhod. i. 57; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 448; Ovid. *Met.* 12, 489; Hyginus, p. 14; Orph. *Argonaut.* 168.

this expression fits in exactly with the type of the scene as usually depicted on Greek vases and reliefs; while that type is by no means a natural way of rendering the fight as it is recorded in literature. It must however be added that the words of Pindar, though they coincide so remarkably with the scene on the vase, do not offer any satisfactory explanation of it. They rather seem to point to a common origin, from which both the literary and the artistic tradition were derived, but which neither the literary nor the artistic tradition understands. Another fact that may help us in tracing the origin of the tradition, though it has no organic connexion with the story in its accepted form, is that Caeneus' father is called Elatos, and that he himself is called Elateius and Phyllaeus.

It will help us in an attempt to trace the origin of the tale of the burying of Caeneus, if we arrange the points we have to consider in a tabular form, and then discuss them in turn.

(1) The tale is associated, apparently from the earliest times, with the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths.

(2) Caeneus is associated with the pine-tree by his parentage ("Ελατος), and is buried in or by means of pine trees (ἐλάταις) and stones.

(3) He is buried upright, or goes upright into the ground; he is always represented in art as standing upright, and buried to the waist.

(4) He undergoes a change of sex.

(5) He undergoes resurrection in the form of a bird, or else goes down alive among the dead.

The love of Poseidon and the invulnerability of Caeneus may be passed over for the present; they may well be invented to explain the later form of the legend; the intervention of Poseidon is readily suggested by his appearance as a giver of magical gifts in the early form of the tale of Peleus and Pelion.

(1) The myth of the Centaurs and Lapiths has always been a puzzle to mythologists, but Mannhardt's explanation¹ is as simple as it is convincing. Its novelty, as he himself points out, lies not so much in the actual phenomenon with which it associates the myth, as in the aspect under which the phenomena are viewed, his great advantage over his predecessors resulting from his substitution of the comparative and inductive method for imagination and theory. Others had suggested that the Centaurs were impersonations of natural phenomena, such as storms or torrents. Mannhardt regards them 'as spirits of the forest or the mountain, to whose action these phenomena were assigned.' Abstract generalisation and personification are highly improbable in the period to which the origin of the myth must be assigned; while a belief in wild creatures of the woods is universally prevalent in Europe among peoples still in a primitive stage of thought. Such a belief is found, for example, among the Russian peasants, who believe that 'the devastation wrought by hurricanes is the result of a battle between the spirits of the woods, battles in which the combatants hurl tree-trunks of a century's growth

¹ *Ant. Wald- und Feldkulte.*

and rocks of four thousand pounds' weight at one another, over a distance of a hundred versts.¹ The stones and pine trees that are always the weapons of the Centaurs both in literature and in art here find their exact counterpart.

The ethical tendency of later Greek mythology has transformed and obscured the story of the combat of the Centaurs and Lapiths. The fact of a combat may have suggested a difference in character between the combatants; the tendency to take sides in relating a fight is irresistible; and as a result the Lapiths who fight against the wild and bestial Centaurs first won credit for their prowess in meeting such a foe

κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο,

and then came to be adopted in a way as the champions of humanity and civilisation, until in the age of the Persian wars the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs came to be a favourite type of the great struggle between Hellene and Barbarian. But we have only to examine the myth to see that it must have travelled very far from its original significance. The Lapiths are no Greek people, but are closely akin to the Centaurs—a kinship that is all the better attested because its exact manner is variously related. The devastation of storms is wrought by the contest of the wood-spirits, not against human antagonists, but against others of their own kind. It is made out with great probability by Mannhardt that Centaurs and Lapiths are in their origin but two different forms of the same wild men of the woods; only in the one case the anthropomorphic tendency has had more scope than in the other. Or it would perhaps be more correct to say that the wild men of the woods were originally thought of merely as rugged and hairy monsters; in the case of the Lapiths they have come to lose everything inhuman except their superhuman strength; while in the case of the Centaurs their bestial characteristics have assumed a very peculiar form. The Centaur with which we are familiar in Greek art is by no means identical with the shaggy brutes of Homer and Hesiod, which, as Mannhardt points out, have nothing whatever distinctively equine about them. The appropriateness of the form of a horse, or of association with a horse, to spirits that ride the storm, is both obvious in itself and attested by innumerable instances from folk-lore, but the peculiar form taken by this association in the earliest Greek Centaurs, which are merely men with a horse's body and hind quarters growing out of their back, is probably due either to some accidental combination or to some too literal interpretation of a metaphor used by an early poet; it really has no more to do with the origin of the Centaur than has the late and more artistic combination of man and horse that we see in the sculpture and painting of the fifth century.

We may then adopt Mannhardt's explanation of the Centaurs and Lapiths, and regard them but as two different developments of the same original conception—of the wood-spirits whose combats left their traces

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 96.

behind them in pine-trunks and rocks hurled by storms about the slopes of Pelion.

(2) A close association with various trees is naturally enough to be expected of wood-spirits, whether such relationship be so definitely realised as to cause them to be regarded as the children of tree spirits (Dryads, &c.) or not. In some cases the fact is definitely stated; thus Pholos is the son of Melea (the Dryad of the ash); Dryalus who is called Πευκείδης and Elatus are names that speak for themselves. So Caeneus also is called Elateius (the pine-tree man) and Phyllaeus (the leaf-man). By later mythologists his father is called Elatus; it seems likely that the epithet Elateius, which could just as well come from Ἐλάτη (pine) may have existed before the name coined to explain it. The use of pine-trees to overwhelm the Lapith hero demands of necessity no further explanation, since the pine-tree is the recognised weapon of the Centaurs; but, in view of other indications, it is worth while to note that the pine-tree had a peculiar sanctity in Greece, especially in cases which seem to point to a ritual of human sacrifice. Thus Attis wounded himself and died under a pine-tree; Pentheus was set up in a pine-tree, stoned, dragged down, and torn to pieces by the Theban maenads¹; and the robber Sinis, the pine-bender, slew his victims by fastening them to two pine-trees and was himself slain in the same manner by Theseus. It is possible then that the appearance of the pine-trees in this case may have some significance beyond their ordinary use as weapons by the Centaurs.

The stones thrown at Caeneus are even more significant. We have just noticed how this feature occurs also in the tale of Pentheus; at Troezen a festival called the stone-throwing (λιθοβόλεια) was held in honour of Damia and Auxesia,² and the legend went that these two maidens had been stoned to death. Mr. Frazer writes: "It is practically certain that Damia and Auxesia were spirits of vegetation and growth. Their images are said to have been made of the sacred olive wood of Athens in order to restore to the land of Epidaurus the fertility which it had temporarily lost, and the making of the images had the desired effect."³ Their names, too, point in the same direction. Now battles more or less serious, conducted in the fields with stones as weapons seem to have been regarded as a means of promoting fertility in many parts of the world. Why they should have been so regarded is more than I can say at present, but the fact seems to be undoubted. For European examples, see Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, pp. 548-552. In my note on Paus. II. 32. 2, I quote more examples, of which I will mention one or two. Among the Khonds of Orissa, who sacrificed human victims and buried their flesh in the fields to fertilise them, a wild battle was fought with stones and mud just before the flesh was buried in the ground (S. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 129). In Tonga an essential ceremony to procure a good crop of yams was a battle between the islanders, one half of the island against the other half.

¹ See Bather, *J.H.S.* xiv. 251.

² Paus. II. 32. 2. A good deal of this evidence about stone-throwing is quoted ver-

batim from a letter of Mr. Frazer.

³ Herod. v. 82-87.

The fight was obstinate and lasted for hours (see Maurice, *Tonga Islands*, 2, p. 207). In Gilgit an elaborate sham-fight marked the time for pruning the vines and the first budding of the apricot-trees (Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 102).” These battles of stones, associated in myth with victims who were slain by stoning, seem in every case to be regarded as conducive to the fertility of fields or trees. In the case of Caeneus, who is buried with stones in such a battle, the association with a pine-tree is already otherwise attested. It is an obvious inference that his stoning and burial is regarded as conducive to the growth and fertility of the tree with which he is associated.

(3) We now come to the most curious part of the whole myth, a part that perhaps may show its real origin. Both in the literary evidence and in the artistic representations we have noticed a fact that is inconsistent with the rest of the story. When describing how Caeneus is slain by the Centaurs, smitten with green pine-branches, Pindar adds that he cleft the earth with unbended knee; and this is just how he is represented in art, buried to the waist but upright. Now this is not the position in which anyone would be buried who was overwhelmed by the mass of unwieldy missiles hurled at him in the confusion of combat. It is hardly too much to say that such a manner of burial implies a deliberate and intentional act, and that its interpolation in the battle-scene is more or less accidental,¹ while the invulnerability of Caeneus is a mere invention to explain it. Now it is not easy to say why either Centaurs or Lapiths should bury one of their own number in this strange way; but there is another explanation which suggests itself. The Centaurs or Lapiths, as we have seen, are wood-spirits, whose life is closely bound up with the pine forests in which they live; and it is a very common thing for divinities or superhuman beings to have tales told about them which are merely derived from the ritual practised by men in relation to the function or phenomena with which such divinities are associated. One has only to recall the way in which the wanderings of Demeter are related in imitation of the wanderings of the mystae at Eleusis, or the tale of Lycaon’s slaying his son to feast the gods is coined in imitation of the cannibal sacrifice of Mt. Lycaeus. If we apply a similar solution to this problem, we should naturally look for the rite from which the myth is derived among those customs that are associated with tree or wood-spirits or divinities on which the growth of vegetation is dependent. We have already noticed examples in which the pine-tree, doubtless as containing such a spirit, was associated with human sacrifice in Greece; and the analogy of popular customs throughout Europe leads us to see in such sacrifices, real or symbolical, a mystic connexion between the life of the man and the life of the tree.² That Caeneus was a man in this condition is implied both by his epithets and by the company in which we find him. That he should be stoned to death is

¹ Compare however the practice of the Khonds, quoted above, in which the burial of the victim is associated with a battle. But this may be a

coincidence due to a similar contamination of two distinct rites.

² See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, *passim*.

in accordance with a common custom in such cases; we need only remember, once more, the tale of Pentheus. And in Russia, for example, the burial of Jarilo¹ (the spring) is associated with practices like the setting up of a tree which contains the successor of the victim. Perhaps however this burial to the waist may have a more exact significance; it is a practice best known in witchcraft like that of Horace's Canidia,² or fanaticism like that of the Suffering Ivan at Kief or the Russian devotees who even yet follow his example.³ But it may go back to a notion that by planting the man who represented the tree-spirit as if he were himself a tree, the growth of the tree would be assured.⁴ I only give this conjecture, as it was suggested to me by Mr. Frazer, with all possible reserve. The chief justification for it lies in the fact that it exactly meets the required conditions, and explains what is otherwise inexplicable in the traditional form of the myth.

(4) Caeneus' change of sex is significant, since a change of sex, or a disguise of sex, is an extremely common feature in popular customs that are connected with the tree-spirit. I need only quote again the case of Pentheus, who was disguised as a woman before he was set up in the pine-tree whence he was dragged to his death. There is no need here for us to seek an explanation of a fact which has hitherto baffled mythologists; but the existence of this peculiarity in Caeneus is a striking confirmation of the view that he too is to be regarded as representing the tree-spirit.

(5) Resurrection, real or simulated, is another very common feature in the rites so often quoted. Resurrection in the form of a bird is not indeed known to me in any clear example, though the tale of the Phoenix suggests itself, and the practice of liberating an eagle from an emperor's funeral pyre is well known. Perhaps this fact may make us suspect the form of the resurrection, which is recorded only by Ovid, but it is hardly likely to have been an entire invention, and the resurrection in some form must have existed in the early myth. This is confirmed by the fact that according to Pindar and Apollonius Rhodius Caeneus seems to have gone down alive among the dead,

ζῶν τ' ἐν φθιμένοισι μολεῖν ὑπο κεύθεα γαίης

Orph. *Argon. l.c.*

Finally, we may find yet another independent proof that we are right in regarding the tale of Caeneus as a survival from the primitive rites connected with the tree-spirit that are familiar wherever the may-pole is set

¹ Mannhardt, *W.F.K.* p. 265.

² *Epod.* v. 32.

³ Burial in these cases was up to the arm-pits or to the shoulders. The motive is recorded to be in one case to produce pining, in the other the mortification of the flesh; but in both cases the practice is probably earlier than its explanation.

⁴ A curious analogy is offered by the crop of

warriors who come up when Jason sows the dragon's teeth, *Ap. Rhod.* iii. 1374, &c. Many of them are slain while still buried to the waist, like Caeneus; and the first comparison, which may well be traditional, is to 'pine-trees or oaks, that are hurled down by the blasts of the storm.' If this is only a coincidence, it is a very curious one.

up. For one more fact is recorded about him which has no rational connexion with the rest of the tale, but which is easily explained on this supposition. In the Scholia to the Iliad¹ it is said that he *πήξας ἀκόντιον ἐν τῷ μεσαιάτῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς θεὸν τοῦτο προσέταξεν ἀριθμεῖν*. What can this mean but that he set up a may-pole on the village green, thereby proving, if further proof be needed, the true nature of the tales that were told about him?

ERNEST GARDNER.

¹ Schol. A on A 264.