

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## CHAPTER I.

## THE HYMN OF THE KOURETES.

Ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχά,  
 πάντων ἀγέτωρ,  
 Ζεῦ, σοὶ πέμπω τάγταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν.

ZEUS, the Father of Gods and Men, was born, men fabled, in the island of Crete. So far there was substantial agreement. It may be that this uniformity reflects some half-unconscious tradition that in Crete were the beginnings of that faith and practice which if it cannot be called Hellenic religion was at least the substratum on which Hellenic religion was based. No one now thinks he can have an adequate knowledge of Greek art without a study of the Mycenaean and Minoan periods, and, since the roots of religion strike as deep as or deeper than the roots of art, no one now will approach the study of the Olympian Zeus without seeking for the origin of the god in his reputed birth-place.

By the most fortunate of chances, at Palaikastro on the eastern coast of Crete, just the very material needed for this study has come to light, a ritual Hymn commemorating the birth of the infant Zeus. The Hymn itself is, as will be seen, late, but it embodies very early material, material indeed so primitive that we seem at last to get back to the very beginnings of Greek religion, to a way of thinking that is not in our sense religious at all, but that demonstrably leads on to religious faith and practice. This primitive mode of faith and practice it is, I believe, of the first importance that we should grasp and as fully as may be realise. It lets us see myth as well as ritual in the making, it will even disclose certain elements that lie deep embedded in early Greek philosophy. The new, or at least partially new, outlook opened by the Hymn is easy to misconceive, and, in the first flush

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)2 *The Hymn of the Kouretes* [CH.]

of discovery, easy perhaps to over-emphasize. It needs patient scrutiny and some effort of the historical imagination. To such a scrutiny and to conclusions arising from it the following chapters will be devoted.

Before the meaning of the Hymn is discussed the circumstances of its finding must be made clear. This Hymn, about which our main enquiry into the origins of Greek religion will centre, was not found at Knossos nor even at Phaestos, places whose names are now in every man's mouth, but at the remote seaport town of Palaikastro, a name familiar only to archaeologists. If Palaikastro should ever be a household word to classical scholars in general, it will be as the place of the finding of this Hymn. The marshy plain out of which Palaikastro rises is almost certainly the ancient Heleia, known to us through inscriptions<sup>1</sup> as a tract of land over which the dwellers in Itanos and Hierapytna disputed. Near to Heleia these same inscriptions tell us lay the sanctuary of Diktaean Zeus.

Our Hymn bids the god come to Dikte. The two great mountain peaks of Crete, Ida and Dikte, both claimed to be the birth-place of Zeus. Dikte, though less splendid and dominant, has the earlier and better claim. Hesiod<sup>2</sup>, our earliest authority, places the birth-story at Lyktos on the north-western spur of Dikte.

To Lyktos first she came, bearing the child  
As black night swiftly fell.

There is a shade of suspicious emphasis on the 'first,' as of one whose orthodoxy is impeached. When the glory of Cnossos overshadowed and overwhelmed lesser and earlier sanctities, Ida was necessarily supreme, and it required some courage to support the claims of Dikte. Diodorus<sup>3</sup> with true theological tact combines the two stories: the god was born indeed on Dikte but educated by the Kouretes on Mount Ida.

<sup>1</sup> Dittenberger, II. 929, line 37 Ἰτάνιοι πόλιμ αἰκούντες ἐπιθαλάσσιον χώραν ἔχοντες προγονικὴν γειτονοῦσαν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου ἱερῷ, and see lines 45 and 65.

<sup>2</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 481

ἐνθα μὲν Ἴκτο φέρουσα θεὸν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν  
πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον.

<sup>3</sup> v. 70 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰδην, ἐν ἣ συνέβη τραφῆναι τὸν θεόν... ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν φασὶ πρῶτον πόλιμ κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν....

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

I]

*Discovery at Palaikastro*

3

But Palaikastro, as a glance at the map<sup>1</sup> in Fig. 1 will show, is not Dikte—not even near Dikte. All eastern Crete with its towns of Itanos and Praisos, where dwelt the Eteokretans, and the modern sites of Zakro and Palaikastro are cut off from the mountain mass of Dikte by the low narrow isthmus<sup>2</sup> that joins

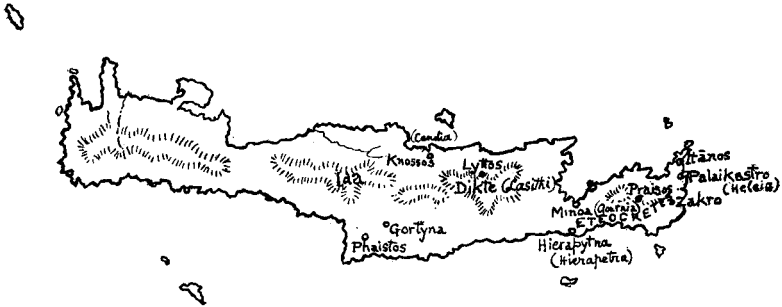


FIG. 1. Map of Crete.

the trading towns of Minoa (Gournia) and Hierapytna (Hierapetra). How comes it then that in remote Palaikastro Diktaean Zeus is worshipped, that in Palaikastro the ruins of his temple have come to light? This brings us to the question of chronology.

Strabo<sup>3</sup> in discussing the origin of Cretan institutions makes an interesting remark. ‘Among the Cretans,’ he says, ‘when their warlike cities, and especially that of Knossos, were ravaged, certain of their customs were kept up among the inhabitants of Lyttos and Gortyna and other of the lesser towns rather than by the Knossians.’ Here we have much history in a nutshell. Conspicuous cities pay the toll of their splendour. Palaikastro is but a lesser town (*πολίχμιον*): there we may hope to find customs surviving that had died down at Knossos.

In the Hymn before us just such customs are enshrined. The actual stele was engraved in the second or third century after

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced with slight modifications from *B.S.A.* VIII. p. 287, Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, x. 475 πλατυτάτη δὲ κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἐστὶ, πάλιν δ’ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς στενώτερον τοῦ προτέρου συμπίπτουσιν ἰσθμὸν αἱ ῥήνες περὶ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, τὸν ἀπὸ Μινώας τῆς Λυττίων εἰς Ἱεράπυτναν καὶ τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, x. 481 κακωθεισῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Κνωσίων, τῶν πολεμικῶν μείναι δὲ τινα τῶν νομίμων παρὰ Λυττίους καὶ Γορτυνίους καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πολιχνίοις μᾶλλον ἢ παρ’ ἐκείνοις. Clement, citing as his authority the *Nostoi* of Antikleides, says that human sacrifice was offered by the Lyctii, a Cretan tribe (Book III. 4).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

4

*The Hymn of the Kouretes*

[CH.]

Christ<sup>1</sup>; that is clear from the very cursive character of the letters. But the poem inscribed is much earlier, probably about 300 B.C. We have oddly enough two copies on the back and face of the same stone. It seems to have presented serious difficulties to the stone-mason. The first copy whether from another stone or from a MS. was so faulty that it had to be redone. This looks as if matter and language were unfamiliar. For some reason which now escapes us, an old ritual hymn was revived. How far it was rewritten we cannot now say. Its material is, as will presently be shown, *primaeval*; we cannot date it, it is *νόμιμον*.

The cave on Dikte where Zeus was born has been identified and thoroughly excavated<sup>2</sup>. It is a large double cavern about 500 feet above the modern village of Psychro in the upland of Lasithi. Lyttos, of which the ruins still remain, lies on one spur of the north-western peak of Dikte (Lasithi); on the opposite spur is the Psychro cave. In the lowest stratum of the deposit in the cave is found Kamares ware, above that Mycenaean ware, and so on in regular sequence to the geometric period, i.e. about the eighth century B.C. After that, save in quite sporadic cases the votive offerings cease. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the cult in the cave came to an end. Dikte it is probable was superseded by Ida. In a treaty<sup>3</sup> between Lyttos and Olous, Zeus is sworn by, but his title is *Βιδάτας* 'Zeus of Ida,' not *Δικταῖος*. On his own mountain 'He of Dikte' was superseded.

Central Crete in her public documents swears by Zeus of Ida, but a little group of cities in the remote eastern district held to the earlier cult. Itanos, the northernmost of the towns on the east coast, was said to have been founded by one of the Kouretes. In an inscription<sup>4</sup> found on the modern site (Erimopolis) the citizens swear first of all by Zeus Diktaios and Hera and the gods in Dikte. At Eteokretan Praisos, Strabo<sup>5</sup>, quoting Staphylos, says there was the sanctuary of Diktaean Zeus. Athenaeus<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* xv. 1908—1909, p. 347, and Prof. Gilbert Murray, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> For full description see Mr D. G. Hogarth, *The Dictaeon Cave*, *B.S.A.* vi. p. 94 and especially p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.A.* ii. 549, and see R. C. Bosanquet, *op. cit.* p. 349.

<sup>4</sup> Blass (in Collitz-Bechtel, iii<sup>2</sup>), 5058 [Τά]δε ὤμοσαν τοι Ἰτάνιοι πά[ντες] Δία Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ θε[ο]ῦς τοὺς ἐν Δικταίῳ καὶ...

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, x. 475 ...ὡν (τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων) εἶναι πολυχρονίον Πρᾶσον ὀπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταῖου Διὸς ἱερόν. For an inscription of Praisos in which 'Diktaios' may be with great probability restored see Prof. Bosanquet, *op. cit.* p. 350.

<sup>6</sup> Athen. ix. 375, quoting Agathocles, Μυθεύουσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

I]

*Zeus of Dikte*

5

notes that the Praisians sacrifice to a sow, and he connects the custom with the 'unspeakable sacrifice' which took place on Dikte in commemoration of the fact that Zeus was suckled by a sow. Settlers from Hierapytna<sup>1</sup> take their oath by two Zeuses, Zeus Oratrios and Zeus Diktaios.

It is clear then that though in classical days central Crete was dominated by the Zeus of Ida, Zeus of Dikte<sup>2</sup>, whose worship went on during the bronze and iron ages in the great cave at Lyttos, was a living power in the eastern and especially the north-eastern extremity of Crete.

Zeus of Ida might and did dominate central Crete, but in the eastern and especially the north-eastern extremities Zeus of Dikte, Zeus of the Birth-cave, lived on in classical and even post-classical days. His was a name to swear by and at Palaikastro he had a temple and a precinct. It is this temple that has been recovered for us by the excavations of the British School<sup>3</sup> carried on in 1902—1905. These excavations have abundantly shown that in the third Late-Minoan period (after 1500 B.C.) Palaikastro was the seat of a ruling prince, after Knossos, Phaistos and Gournia had been destroyed. Not a stone of the temple was standing, but from architectural fragments found scattered on the site some notion of its size and its decoration can be gleaned. The temenos wall<sup>4</sup> can be traced for about thirty-six metres. The temple stood not as the Hellenic temples of Troy and Mycenae at the summit of the hill, but on a platform artificially levelled, about half-way down. The bulk of the votive offerings belong to the archaic period and show that the sanctuary was in full prosperity from the seventh to the fifth century B.C. Bronze shields of the same style and date as those found in the cave on Mt. Ida have also come to light.

πέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης ἐν ἧ καὶ ἀπόβρῆτος γίνεται θυσία... Πραῖσιοι δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ῥέζουσιν εἰ καὶ αὐτῇ προτελής αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νενομίσται.

<sup>1</sup> Blass, 5039 Ὁμῶν τῶν Ἑστίων καὶ Ζήνων Ὁράτριον καὶ Ζήνα Δικταῖον.

<sup>2</sup> It is even probable that the name of Dikte was transferred to one of the peaks, perhaps the cone of Modhi near Praisos and Palaikastro. Strabo expressly states that Dikte is only 100 stadia from Salmonion, the north-east promontory of Crete, and that it is not 'as Aratus alleges' near Ida, but distant from it 1000 stadia towards the east. Aratus is probably describing the old Dikte of the cave. Strabo must intend some more easterly peak. The conjecture is due to Prof. Bosanquet, *op. cit.* p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> See *Excavations at Palaikastro*, iv. *B.S.A.* xi. p. 299, Pl. ix.—xv.

<sup>4</sup> This temenos wall is mentioned in an inscription (Dittenberger, π. 929, l. 75) τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν περίβολον αὐτοῦ ἰδίους σημείοις καὶ περιουκοδομήμασιν περιεχόμενον.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

6

*The Hymn of the Kouretes*

[CH.]

The three main fragments of the inscribed Hymn were found a little to the south of the temple in a deep pocket of earth and stones which had been dug right down into the Minoan strata, probably in some recent search for building stones. The missing pieces were carefully searched for over the whole field of excavation, but they have either been destroyed or carried away as building material. They may still come to light built into churches or houses in the neighbourhood. More than half the stele is missing, but, thanks to the fact that there are two copies of the text back and front, not nearly half of the text. One of the fragments, that which contains the opening lines in the fair copy, is reproduced in Fig. 2.

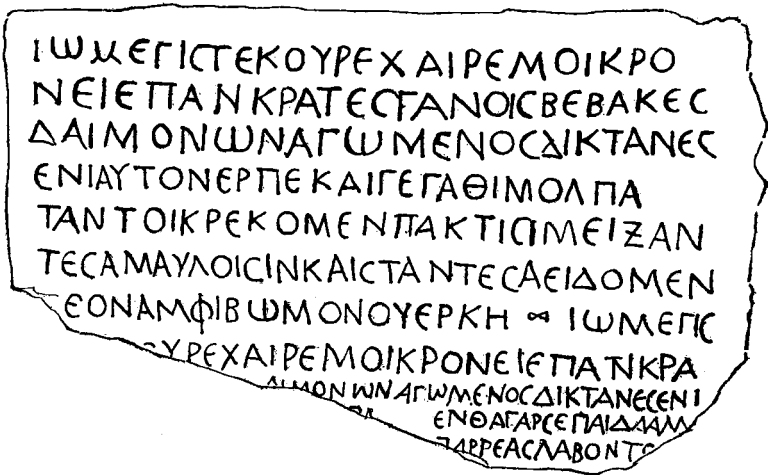


FIG. 2. Fragment of Hymn of the Kouretes.

For what precise occasion our Hymn was written we shall probably never know, but the fact that it was found near a temple of Diktaean Zeus in a place remote from Dikte, the significant fact too of the double copy, show clearly that the Hymn is essentially a revival, and that we may expect to find in it fossilised ways of thinking. This will emerge more clearly in the sequel. We must first consider the general structure and character of the Hymn. The text<sup>1</sup> is as follows.

<sup>1</sup> As restored by Prof. Gilbert Murray. See *B.S.A.* xv. 1908—1909, p. 357.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

I]

*Hymn of the Kouretes*

7

## RESTORED TEXT.

	Ἴώ,		
	Μέγιστε Κούρε, χαῖρέ μοι,		
	Κρόνιε, παγκρατῆς γάνους,		
	βέβακες		
5	δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος·		
	Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ-		
	πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ,		
	Τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι	⊥ - ∪ ∪	⊥ - ∪ ∪
	μειξαντες ἄμ' αὐλοῖσιν,	⊥ - ∪ ∪	⊥ - - ∪
10	καὶ στάντες αἰδομεν τεὸν	⊥ - ∪ ∪	⊥ ∪ - ∪ ∪
	ἄμφι βωμὸν εὐερκῆ.	⊥ ∪ - ∪	⊥ - -
	Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ.		
	Ἔνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἄμβροτον,	⊥ ∪ - ∪	⊥ - ∪ ∪
	ἄσπιδ[ηφόροι τροφήεις]	⊥ ∪ - ∪	⊥ ∪ - ∪
15	παρ Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα	⊥ ∪ - ∪	⊥ - ∪ ∪
	κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν].	⊥ - ∪ ∪	⊥ - -
	Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ.		
	. . . . .		

## TRANSLATION.

‘Io, Kouros most Great, I give thee hail, Kronian, Lord of all that is wet and gleaming, thou art come at the head of thy Daimones. To Dikte for the Year, Oh, march, and rejoice in the dance and song,

That we make to thee with harps and pipes mingled together, and sing as we come to a stand at thy well-fenced altar.

Io, etc.

For here the shielded Nurturers took thee, a child immortal, from Rhea, and with noise of beating feet hid thee away.

Io, etc.

. . . . .

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

8

*The Hymn of the Kouretes*

[CH.]

RESTORED TEXT (*continued*).

	· · · · ·		
20	· · · · ·		
	· · · τὰ]ς καλᾶς Ἄο(ῦ)ς	υ	ι - -
	Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ.		
	[ᾠραι δὲ βρ]ύον κατήτος	- - υ υ	ι υ - -
	καὶ βροτο(ῦ)ς Δίκα κατήχε	ι υ - -	ι υ - -
25	[πάντα τ' ἄγρι' ἄμφεπ]ε ζῶ	ι υ - -	ι υ - -
	ἃ φίλολβος Εἰρήνα.	ι υ - -	ι - -
	Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ.		
	*Α[μιν θόρε, κές στα]μνία,	ι υ - -	ι - υ υ
	καὶ θόρ' εὔποκ' ἐ[ς ποιμνία,	ι υ - -	ι - υ υ
30	κές λή]ια καρπῶν θόρε,	ι - υ υ	ι - υ υ
	κές τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους.]	ι υ - -	ι - -
	Ἴώ, κ.τ.λ.		
	Θόρε κές] πόλγας ἀμῶν,	ι υ - -	ι - υ υ
	κές ποντοφόρο(υ)ς νᾶας,	ι - υ υ	ι - - -
35	θόρε κές [νεοῦς πολ]είτας,	υ υ - -	ι υ - -
	θόρε κές Θέμιν κ[αλάν].	υ υ - -	ι - -

TRANSLATION (*continued*).

· · · · · of fair dawn?

Io, etc.

And the Horai began to be fruitful year by year (?) and Dikè to possess mankind, and all wild living things were held about by wealth-loving Peace.

Io, etc.

To us also leap for full jars, and leap for fleecy flocks, and leap for fields of fruit, and for hives to bring increase.

Io, etc.

Leap for our Cities, and leap for our sea-borne ships, and leap for our young citizens and for goodly Themis.'



Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)I] *Ritual Structure of the Hymn* 9

Our Hymn is obviously a Hymn of Invocation of a ritual type fairly well known<sup>1</sup>, though the instances extant are unfortunately rare. It opens with a refrain in ordinary lyric (di-iambic)<sup>2</sup> metre and this refrain is repeated before each of the (di-trochaic) stanzas. The structure of the Hymn is of importance and should be clearly realised. It falls into three parts.

First we have in the refrain the actual invocation; the god is addressed by his various titles and instructed how, where and when to come—he is invoked as ‘Kouros most Great,’ as ‘Kronian<sup>3</sup>,’ as ‘Lord of all that is wet and gleaming<sup>4</sup>’—it is

<sup>1</sup> Our earliest instance is the invocation of the Bull-god by the women of Elis; the Delphic Paean to Dithyrambos presents a later and closer analogy. See p. 205 and also my *Prolegomena*, pp. 438 and 417.

<sup>2</sup> I call the metre of the refrain iambic because this seems simplest. But of course the difference between iambs and trochees is often only nominal. Wilamowitz considers it more consonant with the rest of the hymn to scan trochaically:

Ι-ὦ, μέγιστε Κούρε,	—	—	—	—	—
χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε, (sic lapis)	—	—	—	—	—
παγκρατὲς γάνος, βέβακες	—	—	—	—	—
δαϊμόνων ἀγώμενος,	—	—	—	—	—
Δίκταν [ἐς] ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρπε	—	—	—	—	—
καὶ γέγαθι μολπῆ,	—	—	—	—	—

This involves treating Ι-ὦ as a cretic, keeping the very questionable form Κρόνειε (Κρονεῖον = temple of Kronos in Pap. Grenf. i. 11 is of course different): and deleting ἐς before ἐνιαυτὸν. Otherwise it has great advantages. (G.M.)

<sup>3</sup> The order of the words is, I think, conclusive against taking μέγιστε Κούρε Κρόνειε together, ‘greatest Kronian youth,’ ‘greatest son of Kronos.’ (G.M.)

<sup>4</sup> Both reading and translation are doubtful. Wilamowitz and Mr A. B. Cook independently suggest γάνος. The stone has γάνος three times, which is strong evidence of what the stone-cutter meant to write, and is not really weakened by the fact that in one case the Υ is crowded in between the Ο and Σ, as if it had been omitted and then inserted; παγκρατὲς γάνος, ‘Almighty Gleam’ or ‘Radiance,’ would be simple and good: but παγκρατὲς γάνος seems to be quite good Greek for ‘Lord of all γάνος.’ Any compound of -κρατῆς would take the genitive, like ἐγκρατῆς, ἀκρατῆς. Cf. the gen. with παμμήτωρ, παναίτιος, πάνδοκος.

But what is the meaning of γάνος? The Etymologicum Magnum has a gloss: γάνος: ὕδωρ χάσμα φῶς λίπος ἀγλή λευκότης λαμπηδών. ‘γάνος: water joy light grease gleam candor fulgor.’ (I am reduced to Latin for the last two equivalents.) It starts with ‘water’ and it ends with ‘light’ or ‘gleam.’ I translate ‘wet and gleaming.’

It has been suggested by Mr Cook that perhaps the Kouros is only Lord of the Bright Sky, like a Sun God, and that γάνος is *hoc sublime candens*, The Aether. Now it is quite true that γάνος never means simply *water*, without any ‘gleam,’ while instances can easily be found in which it means only ‘gleam’ or ‘glory’ with no sense of wetness, e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 579 λάφυρα—δῆμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίων γάνος. If the context required it we could certainly leave out the wetness. But (1) the wetness is normally present: it is κρηναίων γάνος, Ἀσωποῦ γάνος, βότρυος or ἀμπέλου γάνος, ξουθῆς μελίσσης γάνος, γάνος Ἡριδανόιο and the like; and (2) the context here seems to me not to reject but rather to welcome the connotation of moisture. It is not mere sunlight that the Kouros brings; it is fruitful Spring as a whole, with dew and showers and young sap as well as sunshine. Γάνος in its ordinary sense exactly hits off the required meaning; see pp. 173—175. (G.M.)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-00949-2 - Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion

Jane Ellen Harrison

Excerpt

[More information](#)

10

*The Hymn of the Kouretes*

[CH.]

in these capacities he is wanted and expected. He is further bidden to come at the head of his *Daimones*, he is to come to Dikte and for the year, he is to come marching and rejoicing. So far for the god.

Next by an easy transition we have a statement of the ritual performed. The god is adjured to rejoice in the dance and song which the worshippers make to him 'with harps and pipes mingled together, and which they sing as they come to a stand at his well-fenced altar.' We have clearly a ritual dance accompanying a song. The reason, or rather the occasion, of this dance and song is next stated. We have in fact what would usually be called an 'aetiological' myth. The worshippers dance round the altar of the Kouros because 'here the shielded Nurturers took the Kouros, an immortal child from Rhea, and with noise of beating feet hid him away.'

Next follows a lamentable gap. When the text re-emerges we are midway in the third factor, the statement of the benefits which resulted from the events recounted in the myth, benefits which clearly it is expected will be renewed in the annual restatement and ritual re-enactment of this myth. The coming Seasons are to be fruitful, Dikè is to possess mankind, the Kouros by leaping in conjunction with his worshippers is to bring fertility for flocks and fields, prosperity to cities and sea-borne ships, and young citizens.

The full gist of the Hymn will not appear till all three factors have been examined in detail, but already, at the first superficial glance, we note certain characteristics of a Hymn of Invocation that may help to its understanding. The god invoked is not present, not there in a temple ready waiting to be worshipped; he is bidden to come, and apparently his coming, and as we shall later see his very existence, depends on the ritual that invokes him. Moreover the words addressed to him are not, as we should expect and find in the ordinary worship addressed to an Olympian, a prayer, but an injunction, a command, 'come,' 'leap.' Strangest of all, the god it would seem performs the same ritual as his worshippers, and it is by performing that ritual that he is able to confer his blessings. He leaps when his attendant worshippers leap and the land is fertile. All this as will later appear lands us in a region rather of magic than religion.