

directly contradicts our poets φρένες οὐκ ἐνὶ πλάτῳ when he says (Cho. 323)

τέκνον, φρόνητα τοῦ
εἰσόντος οὐ θαύταί
πυρὸς μάλαρα γνάθος.

and there is of course no doubt that the ghost-faith was the most popular in Athens.

(15) On the whole then this review leads us to much the same conclusion as that which we have reached upon other grounds—that the Homeric civilization is based upon the Mykenaeans, but represents a stage of later development. We know from the evidence of Mykene that the inhabitants of the city at its prime were spirit-worshippers, practising sepulture and partial mummification. When we next have good evidence, in the post-Mykenaeans 'Dipylon' period, we find sepulture and cremation practised side by side. In the interval therefore two beliefs had come into conflict. It seems that the Homeric poems mark this intermediate point, and it is likely enough that they may have contributed much to the solution of it.

APPENDIX M

THE HARNESSING OF THE CHARIOT

(1) THE principal passage to be explained is Ω 266-74

ἔκ μὲν αὐαζαν θεῖραν ἐτροχὼν ἡμίονοισιν
καλῆν πρωτοματὰ, νεῖρινα δὲ θῆκαν ἐν' αὐτῶ,
καδ' ὅ' ἀνὸ πασσαλῶφι ζυρὸν ἥριον ἡμίονοισιν
ἔκ ὃ' ἔφερον zurðeccan δαα zurῶι ἐννεδμηχῦ.
καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐ κатеῖκκαν ἐυεετῶι ἐνὶ βυλλῶι.
νῆζηι ἐνὶ πρωτῆι, ἐνὶ δὲ κρικον ἔστορι βδάλων.
τῖρι δ' ἔκατρεπεν ἔθνηκαν ἐν' αὐφάδων, αὐτῶρ ἐνεῖτα
ἔειπὶ κатеῖκκαν, ὑνὸ γάσχηνα ὃ' ἔκαλλων.

It will be noticed that this refers to the harnessing of a wagon; it is not certain that the gear of a war-chariot would be entirely the same.

(2) The appended cuts (8-10) will show with some modifications the explanation which I proposed in *J. H. S.* v. 185 (1884). It is based upon the drawings of black-figured vases, which are of course of post-Homeric date; and agrees on the whole with that given by Helbig (*H. Z.* 147 ff.). The main points are as follows: the pole was curved sharply upwards at the end, running up to an almost vertical point (νῆζηι). In the actual bend (νῆζηι ἐνὶ πρωτῆι) the yoke was laid across the pole. Attached to the yoke was a ring (κρικος); through this a peg (ἔστωρ) was passed and fastened into a hole in the pole. The zurðeccan, a rope nine cubits long, was then used to bind something with three turns to the αὐφάδων, the long ends which remained after this being carried back to the front of the breastwork. This post and the rope from it to the end of the pole are constantly depicted in archaic vase-paintings, and we may well identify the rope with the zurðeccan. The chief difficulties then remaining are these: (1) what was the αὐφάδων? (2) what is the object to which the αὐφάδων served as a boss on the yoke itself, as indeed is shown by the epithet αὐφάδων above, which served as the point of attachment to the ring. (2) He takes zurðeccan as the object which was tied on to the αὐφάδων. This is not a very natural interpretation of the words.

¹ See the chariot from the François Vase, fig. 19, p. 628.

It seems to me more likely that we have to supply *νεζην* with *τοναν*; they bound the upright end of the pole to the *σπυλας* of the yoke with three turns each way—the *zurδeccion* being permanently attached at its middle point to the yoke. The three turns bring us to the upper end of the *νεζην*, from which the ends of the *zurδeccion* are led back to the post on the car. (3) It then follows that *εκινε* *κατοναν* means *fastened to the post*; *εκινε* being either the gen. of a subst. *εκιν*, "the holder," so called because it was a support by which the charioteer could hold, or else a corruption of a similar word, changed when its meaning was forgotten, into the familiar adverb. Schultze *Q. E.* p. 292 adopts this hypothesis, and would write *εκινε*, comparing *επι* and *του* *νεσεαι*. *σπυλα* Soph. fr. 4 (Hesych.). As to the meaning of *ουνο* *λακοινα* *δ* *εκαυαν* it is hardly possible to make a guess. It is generally taken to mean "they turned down the end" of the *zurδeccion* under the knot, so as to hold it tight. According to the hypothesis given this is hardly likely, as the *zurδeccion* would have two ends. *λακοιτε* appears to recur only of the barb of an arrow in the epithets *τανυλακοιτικε*, etc. (Θ 297 note), and in Soph. Tr. 681, and rarely in late Greek. The meaning of *οικκε* too remains doubtful; they are generally explained as *guides* for the reins, rings through which they ran. Heibig (p. 155) thinks they may be hooks to which the breast-straps (*λετανα*) are attached. (3) A different view of the whole passage has recently been published by W. Reichel *Das Joch des homerischen Wagens*, in *Jahreshefte des öst. arch. Instituts* ii. (1899), 137 ff. He takes the *οικκε* to be *handles*, and refers the word to the ends of the yoke, turned up to serve as a convenient means for lifting it. His explanation of the passage will be clear from the appended cut (11), where *a* is the *πυλλε*; *b*, *zurδe*; *c*,

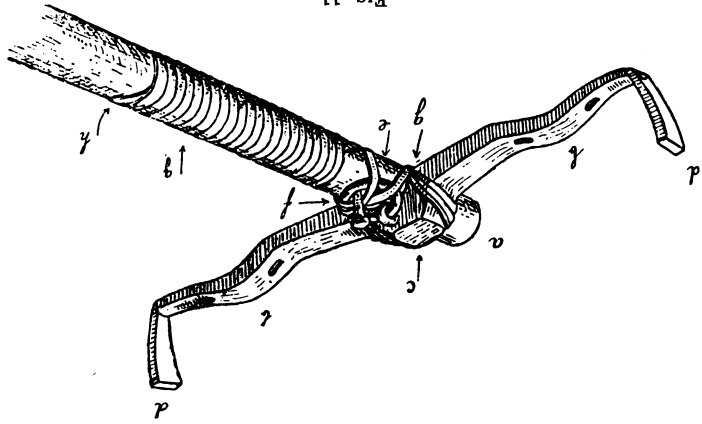


Fig. 11

σπυλας; *αλλ*, *οικκε*; *ε*, *κρικος*; *ζ*, *εστρω*; *γ*, *zurδeccion*, which after three turns round the *σπυλας* is wound about the pole. He assumes that of the two ends of the *zurδeccion* one is kept shorter than the

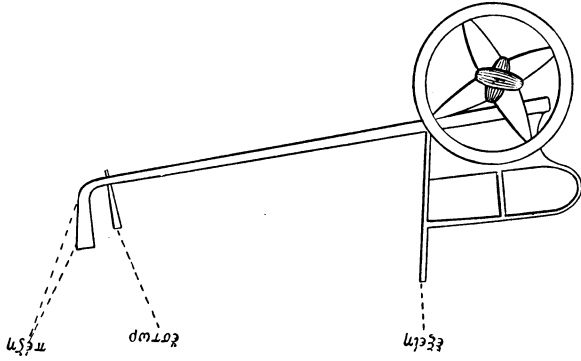


Fig. 8

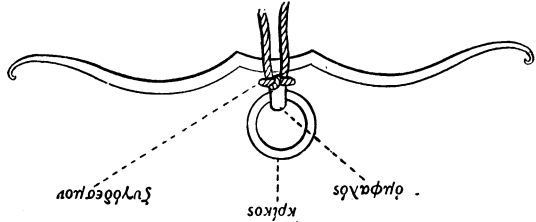


Fig. 9

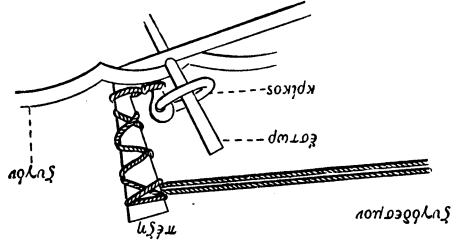


Fig. 10

other, and is completely wound over, so that only one tongue, that of the longer end, remains to be tucked under at *h*. The skill with which this end was tucked in formed the secret of the 'Gordian knot' of *ἑπαινετο*. Alexander undid it, according to Aristoboulos, by taking out the *ἔστωπ*, and slipping yoke and knot together over the end of the pole.

(4) Reichel further holds that the *ἔστωπ* at least, and generally speaking the *κρικκος*, were peculiar to wagons, when the pole could be made thick enough to be pierced for the *ἔστωπ* without material risk. In the war-chariot, where lightness was important, he holds that the place of the *ἔστωπ* was taken by the turned-up pole—the *μῆν* of fig. 8. This is illustrated by fig. 12.

(5) The ring which is constantly represented in vase-paintings (*g*) in figs. 15, 16, 19) is not the *κρικκος*, nor a metal ring at all, but the end view of a circular pad wrapped round the yoke to save it from chafing the horses' necks; while the peg or pegs (*ad*), which appear to pass through it, represent the *οἰκκεκ* or handles of the yoke as before. Figs. 13 to 16 illustrate this. It would be natural to identify this pad

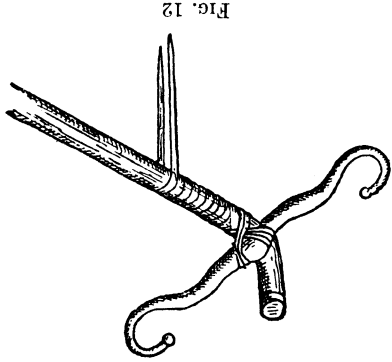


FIG. 12

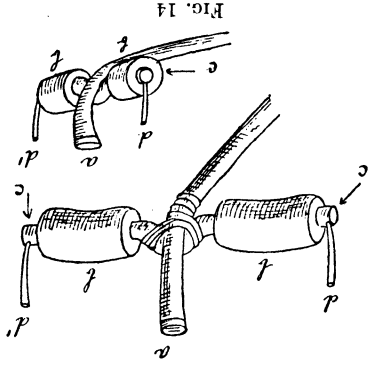


FIG. 14

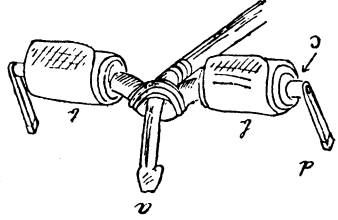


FIG. 13

with the *zeugon* or yoke-cushion, twice mentioned in the same way (P 440, I 406) *χατην zeugon ἐπιποδία παρὰ ζυγόν*. But Reichel objects to this that the name could not be said *ἐπιπέτην* from a cushion which lay so far back, and clear of actual contact with it. He therefore turns to Assyrian and Egyptian chariots, where we find a broad cloth covering the mane, and assumes that this was in use in pre-historic Greece, though not in the historic period (figs. 17, 18). This however, besides being archaeologically doubtful, is hypercritical from a

literary point of view. The yoke with its cushion lies near enough to the mane to authorise the poetical fancy that the mane is "streaming out of it" when the horse droops its head; if this is not admissible, it is

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hard to see how the poet is permitted to say that the mane falls *παρὰ ζυγόν*—a question which Reichel does not touch.

(6) The *λεγονον* is undoubtedly the breast-strap against which the horse pulled—*e* in fig. 19. The girth proper, known in classical times

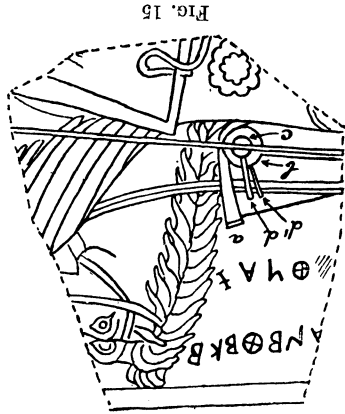


FIG. 15

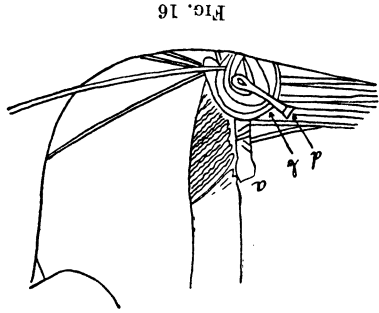


FIG. 16

as the *μαχαλιστήρ* (*f* in fig. 19), is not separately named in Homer, though it is always shown in the drawings, and can hardly have been unknown. It is probable enough that the plur. *λεγονα* (H 730, I 393— the singular does not occur in Homer) includes both these important straps under a single name. Reichel thinks that *zeugon* stands for the

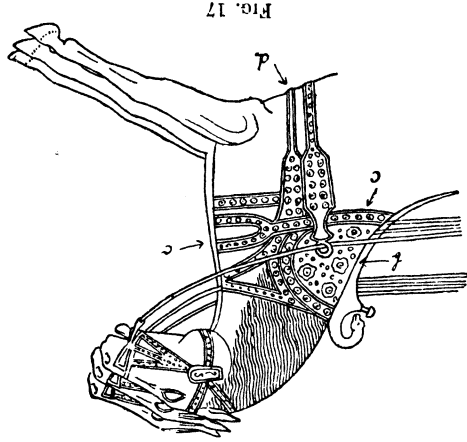


FIG. 17