PAST LEGACIES

In the course of our survey, the relationship between the Minoan kingship and an octennial system of time reckoning, indications of which survive in the later mythology and cult of the Greek world, will be examined. One of the most familiar Athenian myths which recalled a bygone connexion with Minoan Crete concerns the journey of Theseus to Crete to kill the Minotaur. By this means he freed his compatriots from their obligation to send to Minos a sacrificial tribute of seven boys and seven girls every eight years. This myth was dramatized in the Crane Dance, with its representation of the windings of the labyrinth, before the horned altar of Apollo at Delos. The dance probably took place on the 7th of Thargelion, in the course of a festival to celebrate the birth of Apollo and Artemis. On the day before, the Athenians celebrated their deliverance from the old tribute by a pilgrimage to Delos, when the festival of the Thargelia began. In this festival two human victims were put to death, one on behalf of the men, the other on behalf of the women. Tradition said that this rite originated as an expiation of the death of Androgeos, the son of Minos.

The tribute of seven boys and seven girls, sent every eight years by the Athenians to Minos, appears to be associated with that octennial renewal of kingly authority attested by the passage from the *Odyssey* discussed above.

The Athenians were absolved from this tribute when Theseus had killed the Minotaur. The myth of Theseus and the Minotaur was celebrated in the Crane Dance at Delos. The probable date of this dance was the 7th of Thargelion (in the course of a festival

which commemorated the birth of Apollo and Artemis), which would account for the number of victims: seven for Apollo, seven for Artemis. It is further significant that the Athenians commemorated their deliverance from the tribute by an annual pilgrimage to Delos on the 6th of Thargelion. The festival of the Thargelia began at Athens on the same date. According to tradition, a custom of putting to death two human victims, one on behalf of the men, one on behalf of the women, had been established in expiation of the death of Androgeos, a son of Minos.

The cow and bull became such integral factors in the life of the community that they figure in myths as guides in the founding of cities by those who follow the advice of the sun-god. The story of Kadmos who, in obedience to the Delphic oracle, followed a cow until it lay down on the site of Thebes, is familiar. On each of the cow's flanks was a white mark like the circle of the full moon. Less familiar is the lexical gloss of the 'Adiounian bull' as the Cretan name for the sun, because when he changed the site of his city he led the way in the likeness of a bull. The growth, decay and renewal of crops and cattle is bound up with the cycle of the seasons; and the measurement of the cycle is a social task dependent on the observation of sun and moon. The identification of bull and cow with sun and moon is the means whereby the related dependence of the earthly and the heavenly orders of nature is identified.

Since the sun was conceived as a bull, it seems likely that the Labyrinth at Ivnossos was an arena or *orchestra* of solar pattern designed for the performance of a mimetic dance, in which a dancer masqueraded as a bull and represented the movement of the sun. The arena may well have been the Theatral Area at the north-west corner of the palace. The Labyrinth built by Daidalos was recognized in antiquity as an imitation of the Egyptian Labyrinth, which, in turn, was generally believed to be sacred to the sun. The dances in the Labyrinth were connected in antiquity

with the Roman Game of Troy, performed by bands of armed youths on horseback. Surveying the evidence for labyrinths and mazes elsewhere, in relation to the Cretan Labyrinth, Frazer wrote:

'A dance or game which has thus spread over Europe and survived in a fashion to modern times must have been very popular, and bearing in mind how often with the decay of old faiths the serious rites and pageants of grown people have degenerated into the sports of children, we may reasonably ask whether Ariadne's Dance or the Game of Troy may not have had its origin in religious ritual. The ancients connected it with Knossos and the Minotaur. Now we have seen reason to hold, with many other scholars, that Knossos was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representative or embodiment of the sun-god. May not, then, Ariadne's dance have been an imitation of the sun's course in the sky? and may its intention have been, by means of sympathetic magic, to aid the great luminary to run his race on high? We have seen that during an eclipse of the sun the Chilcotin Indians walk in a circle, leaning on staves, apparently to assist the labouring orb. In Egypt also the king, who embodied the sun-god, seems to have solemnly walked round the walls of a temple for the sake of helping the sun on his way. If there is any truth in this conjecture, it would seem to follow that the sinuous lines of the labyrinth which the dancers followed in their evolutions may have represented the ecliptic, the sun's apparent annual path in the sky. It is some confirmation of this view that on coins of Knossos the sun or a star appears in the middle of the labyrinth, the place which on other coins is occupied by the Minotaur.

Much of the further evidence for the sacred marriage in Crete is post-Minoan and, as we should expect, often involves Zeus. This evidence will be reviewed at a later stage. But there is one other older version of the Cretan sacred marriage which clearly connects it with that stage in agriculture when the introduction of the cattle-drawn plough implies a fresh division of labour, when

men are brought increasingly into agricultural work. According to this myth, Iasion embraced Demeter in a thrice-ploughed field, that is, in a field prepared for sowing. The sacred marriage is bound up with the fertility of the crops.

Now Korybas, eponym of the Korybantes, was said to have been a son of Iasion by Kybele, the Asiatic mountain-goddess. We have seen that the Korybantes may have been synonymous with the Kouretes. They are alike presumably because they were initiates who danced with a butting of their heads—like bulls. This cknce was designed to make the bull leap, like its successor the Dithyramb—if that was designed to make Zeus leap or beget. But Zeus had not yet succeeded to the bull.

As for information of a more general kind concerning Crete, the *Iliad* is less revealing than the *Odyssey*. Apart from the few passages mentioned already, with specific reference to Minos and Idomeneus, the only other passage of the *Iliad* which need concern us here is from the description of the Shield of Achilles, whose connexion with the traditions of the Labyrinth has already been mentioned. Hephaistos, says Homer, 'wrought a dancingfloor like that which Daidalos once fashioned in spacious Knossos for Ariadne of the lovely hair. Youths and courted maidens were dancing on it, their hands on each other's wrists. The girls were wearing dresses of fine linen, the youths well-woven tunics with a faint gloss of oil; and the girls had lovely garlands, the youths golden daggers attached to their silver belts. Now they ran ever so lightly with cunning feet, as when a potter sits gripping his wheel with his hands and tries it out to see how it spins. Now again they ran in lines opposite to each other. A big crowd stood around enjoying the passionate dance; and two tumblers spun around in their midst setting the rhythm of the performance.'

It is likely, as we saw, that we have here a reference to the Labyrinth, perhaps to be identified with the Minoan 'Theatral Area', an *orchestra* or 'arena' designed for the performance of a

mimetic dance. It may have been worked out with mazy lines, to help the movements of the dancers, according to the practice known in later times. The simile of the potter's wheel, turning now this way, now that way, in its trial runs, would be an apt illustration of the labyrinthine progress of the lines of dancers, rushing forward and then doubling back on their tracks, following the intricate course marked out for them on the dancing-floor.

The dance is an accompaniment to some kind of pantomime or dramatic performance acted by the two tumblers.

The scholiast on the passage in question thought that the dance was at least not secular. He explains that Theseus, after escaping from the Labyrinth by means of Ariadne's clue, together with the rescued youths and maidens wove a circling dance for the gods that resembled his own entrance into and exit from the Labyrinth, Daidalos showing them how to dance it. Lucian, too, describes as Cretan dance-themes 'Europa, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne, Phaidra, Androgeos, Daidalos, Ikaros, Glaukos, the seer-craft of Polyidos, and Talos the bronze-sentinel of Crete'.

A similar sort of dance was performed at Delos and is expressly associated by Plutarch with the same cycle of tradition. According to Plutarch, when Theseus sailed away from Crete, he put in at Delos. He sacrificed to the god, dedicated the image of Aphrodite that he had received from Ariadne, and danced a dance with the young men which apparently still survived among the Delians. This dance imitated the circuits and exits of the Labyrinth by means of a certain measure involving turnings and returnings. It was called the Crane Dance, and Theseus danced it round the Horned Altar. It was also said that Theseus instituted a contest in Delos and was the first to award a palm to the victors.

This aspect of contest may serve to remind us that the youths and maidens who accompanied Theseus underwent an ordeal. After the ordeal Theseus married the king's daughter. This union

may have signified the union of *kouros* and *koure*—pre-eminent youth and pre-eminent maiden. That the dance was in some sense designed as a prelude to marriage can be inferred from its description by Homer as himeroeis ('exciting desire'). It was a love-dance. Those who took part are expressly described as bachelors aind virgins. The virgins moreover are alphesiboiai (translated above as *courted*, but properly signifying *yielding*, bringing in oxen). This epithet is sometimes understood as meaning maidens who yield their parents many oxen as presents from their suitors. But the cattle are more likely to have been the wedding-gifts made to the bride by those of her own household and therefore of advantage not to her parents but to her suitors. Female inheritance normally precedes the custom of the dowry, which represents the economic perquisite originally bestowed on her husband by a matrilocal wife. Female inheritance precedes the dowry in historical times in Crete, and matrilocal custom survives in a number of forms. Both are likely to have been more marked in earlier times.

Since the custom of collective marriage was also perpetuated in Crete into the historical period, and since, again, this custom is likely to have been more flourishing in earlier times than otherwise, it is likely that Homer's Knossian dance was part of the ritual of such collective marriage, following upon the graduation of the youthful initiates from the agela, or its equivalent. Flomer's dance has, in fact, been properly compared with the dance described by Lucian as the hormos ('ring-dance'), whose participants were *epheboi* and maidens. The context indicates that the word epheboi is used, not of adolescents in the general sense, but in the technical sense of those undergoing ephebic training in the agela—dancing being as much studied as fighting under arms. This Spartan hormos is compared by Lucian with their choral dances dear to Dionysos and Aphrodite. That is why, he explains, the song they sing during such dances is an invocation of Aphrodite and the Loves, so that they may join their revels and dances. After describing the *hormos*, Lucian then refers to what Homer has to say about Ariadne, refraining from detailed discussion on the ground that the matter is already familiar to his readers. For Lucian the Spartan hortnos and Ariadne's *choros* are love-dances. Elsewhere, too, performances of this kind are described as being regarded as incentives to marriage in Sparta in historical times. Now when Telemachos visits the palace of Menelaos in Sparta, the king is celebrating the double wedding of his son and daughter. On this occasion too the whirling tumblers dance in and out among the crowding guests; and the same descriptive formula is used of their performance in Sparta as in Crete.

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p. 50, 96, 102-103, 113, 123-126, 193-197, 213, 277, 299, 308-311

ARIADNE

It is now generally agreed that Ariadne was a vegetationgoddess of Minoan origin, a type of the Minoan goddess—like Britomartis. The comparison holds good in several respects. Just as Britomartis means 'Sweet Maid', so Ariadne (or Ariagne) means 'Very Holy Maid'. Like Pasiphae, she had old associations with the moon, and therefore with fertility. It was suggested earlier that the Knossian dance in her honour was part of the ritual of collective marriage, following on the graduation of the initiates: it was a love-dance. This partly explains her association with Dionysosand with Aphrodite. Again, just as we compared Britomartis with Persephone, so we may compare Ariadne with both. She too is carried off and mourned. Finally, just as there is another side to the concept of Britomartis which is represented by Diktynna, and of Persephone represented by Demeter, so there is another side to Ariadne. But Ariadne has no other name to represent this ambivalence. At Naxos, however, she had two festivals, really perhaps two parts of the same festival. The one was a festival of rejoicing in honour of Ariadne, bride of Dionysos, the other a festival of sorrow for the Ariadne who died on Naxos, abandoned by Theseus.

'No other heroine suffered death in so many ways as Ariadne,' comments Nilsson, 'and these different versions can only be explained as originating in a cult in which her death was celebrated. He continues: 'The Naxian rite gives us the clue. It closely resembles a type of vegetation-festival, well known from the Oriental religions but foreign to the true Greek religion. The death of the god of vegetation is celebrated with sorrow and lamentations; his resurrection with joy and exultation. In these

cults it is a god who is worshipped; here it is a goddess, and this seems to make the originality of the cult certain. As far as I know, the death of such a goddess is unique, although it may seem that the idea of the death of vegetation may be applied not only to the god but also to the goddess of fertility. . . . The idea that the goddess of fertility also dies may be understood. Her death was celebrated annually, for she dies every year. But this idea is unGreek; moreover, it does not occur in Asia in this form, and must therefore be considered as an original product of Minoan religious genius.

Yet Ariadne is not so different from Britomartis or Persephone. We have seen reason to believe that the concept of the disappearing virgin was linked with the initiation of girls. This socialcustom may rather be held to account for the cult of Minoan Ariadne than the Minoan religious genius. If she represented the girl initiate who suffers death at puberty and is born again, she w^as a social symbol as much as she was a personification of the processes of nature. She would also have been older than the goddess with a daughter or a son; which may explain why there is such a paucity of other than mythological evidence about Ariadne in Crete.

This evidence can be briefly summarized. A female head in a maeander frame on coins of Knossos (400-350 b.c.) may be that of Ariadne. The island of Dia, which features in the myth, near Herakleion, the port of Knossos, is the modern Standia. Very little—other than the various forms of its name—is known about the ancient town at the site of the modern village of Aradena, on the south- west coast. These forms of the name are Araden, Eraden, Aradena or Ariadne, perhaps a combination of Phoenician *Arvad* and Cretan termination *-en*.

The most illuminating mythological evidence in support of the argument advanced here is forthcoming from Athens, in the information we have concerning the festival of the Oskhophoria

('The carrying of vine-shoots laden with grapes'). The information comes chiefly from Plutarch and is supplemented by details from other sources. It was analysed by Jane Harrison, who concluded: 'With the Staphylodromoi of the Karneia in our minds the main gist of the Oskhophoria is clear. It is like the race of Olympia, a race of youths, *epheboi, kouroi*, with boughs. It has two elements, the actual *agon*, the contest, in this case a race, and then, second in time but first in importance, the procession and the komos. The somewhat complicated details of the race seem to have been as follows. Two *epheboi* chosen from each of the ten tribes raced against one another. The ten victors, after being feasted, formed into procession, one of them leading the way as *keryx*, two following, dressed as women and carrying branches, the remaining seven forming, as at Delphi, the *choros*. According to Plutarch, the festival was instituted by Theseus.

In reality, he is a late element in the story. For, as Plutarch himself mentions, the two young men carried the vine-branches in honour of Dionysos and Ariadne, the vine-god and his bride. The form of the festival as it can be reconstructed from our authorities can be no older than the democracy. Under the democracy the number of tribes was raised from four to ten. The dominance of the national hero Theseus in the mythology attaching to the festival presumably dates from the beginning of the democratic period, when an old clan-cult, we may assume, was reorganized as a state-cult, to conform with the new tribal system. Even so, there remained some traces of its former character. The old tradition of the communal clan feast, which must have formed the climax of the original ritual, was preserved. For Plutarch tells us that women called Deipnophoroi ('Mealbringers') took part in the Oskhophoria. They shared in the sacrifice, 'in imitation of the mothers of those on whom the lot fell', i.e. those who were to accompany Theseus to Crete. Stories were told at the festival because these same mothers had told stories to encourage and console their children. Jane Harrison commented: 'We have then as an integral part of the ritual just the two factors always present in matriarchal mythology, the Mother and the Son. The mother brings food, because like Mother-Earth she is essentially the feeder, the Nurturer; the mother speaks words of exhortation and consolation such as many a mother must have spoken in ancient days to a son about to undergo initiation. Such words spoken aloud may have actually been a feature in initiation ritual.

This comment, however, overlooks the important point that as many daughters were chosen as sons to undergo the ordeal with Theseus. Virgins and bachelors, presumably initiates, danced in honour of Ariadne at Knossos. We have found, moreover, much evidence of the factors of Mother and Daughter, or Woman and Maid, in matriarchal mythology. The mothers remained in the ritual of the Oskhophoria. Their title, Deipnophoroi, indicates that they supervised the old communal feast. Have the daughters disappeared without trace? Perhaps not.

In the reorganized festival there seem to have been ten *epheboi* from each of the ten tribes. Seven of these formed a chorus and presumably this number corresponded with the number of young men chosen as tribute for Minos for ritual reasons. One of them acted as herald. But the two who actually led the procession and carried the vine-branches were dressed as women. This detail has evoked a variety of explanation, ancient and modern. Plutarch's explanation is patently aetiological. Two of the seven girls who went with Theseus to Crete were really young men dressed as girls. On their return they headed the original procession with Theseus himself. But the origin of the festival did not concern Theseus. It probably did concern a group of initiates, male and female, who celebrated games, sang and danced, and carried the harvest-bough as symbol and source of their own newly announced maturity.

Plutarch has preserved the name of the hereditary clan which had charge of the festival. They were the Phytalidai ('Growers').

Their eponymous ancestor, Phytalos, was taught by Demeter the art of cultivating figs. With Demeter, as with Ariadne, we are led back to Crete, where the art of orchardist cultivation was early developed; and so to the conclusion that the basic elements of the Oskhophoria are ultimately inherited from Minoan Crete. These elements are (a) initiation of the youth and (b) cultivation of the sacred tree, emerging as a combined fertility-cult.

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THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF GOD

For, since Kouretes derives from *kouros*, 'boy' or 'young man', there can be little doubt that, as Jane Harrison concluded: 'The Kouretes are Young Men who have been initiated themselves and will initiate others, will instruct them in tribal duties and tribal dances, will steal them away from their mothers, conceal them, make away with them by some pretended death and finally bring them back as new-born, grown youths, full members of their tribe'.

Artemis as Bear-goddess is known elsewhere. In Arcadia the mother of that district's ancestor, Arkas, was changed into a bear shortly before he was born. The mother's name was Kallisto, Megisto or Themisto, properly epithets of Artemis. In Attica, at Brauron, Artemis Brauronia had her temple where girls, dressed in saffron, performed a bear-dance before they were married. Kyzikos, on the Propontis, was built on a hill called the Bear Mountain; and here the nurses of Zeus were bears.

When it is considered how best to prevent the youth of the city from wanting to imitate new fashions in dance and song, no better way of bringing this about than that adopted by the Egyptians can be recommended; namely, by consecrating traditional types. (It is interesting that Plato should recall, in the Cretan setting of the *Laws*, the conservative traditions of Egypt, just as Aristotle, in discussing the Cretan 'caste-system', found its parallel in Egypt, both having been inherited from the Bronze Age.) When the festivals have been fixed by compiling an annual calendar to show what feasts are to be celebrated, on what dates, and in honour of what gods, children of gods and spirits; when the

hymns to be sung at each of the divine festivals and the dances with which each one is to be graced have been determined; then the whole citizen body is to make public sacrifice to the Fates and all the other gods, consecrating by solemn libation each hymn to its respective divinity. If anyone tries to introduce hymns and dances to any of the gods other than those prescribed, the priests and priestesses, acting together with the guardians of the law, and in obedience to the principles of both religion and law, shall expel him from the festival. If he does not submit to this excommunication, he shall be liable for life to be indicted for impiety by anyone who so desires.

CHAPTER 18

Poetry and Music

The dominant conclusion which emerges from a study of the Cretan cults is that so many of the pre-Olympian, indeed quite primitive, strata were perpetuated officially within the general social framework. This characteristic is fully consistent with the nature of the social framework itself—an aristocratic polls organization subject to relatively little, and certainly to no radical, change in the historical period. Because of the obvious ritual origins of Greek poetry and music, no survey of Cretan cults would be complete without a chapter on Cretan poetry and music. But, in the nature of things, such a chapter has to be brief. An explanation of this necessity may serve as an apt conclusion to the work as a whole.

It has been said that the three main forms of Greek poetry were, in the order of their maturing to the level of conscious art: epic, lyric and drama. Regarded from the standpoint of their origins,

however, this chronological order is reversed. For, since it combines song, dance and impersonation, drama preserves the original unity of mimetic magic; choral lyric combines song and dance; and epic is merely recitation. The least differentiated of the three, and hence the most primitive, was the last to mature; the first to mature was the least primitive. Drama, however, marks the consummation of all three, because it includes recitation, and, though its structure is the most primitive in the sense of being the oldest, its technique is not, nor is its content. The three art forms correspond to three successive phases in the growth of Greek society—the early monarchy, the landed aristocracy, democracy. Little has survived of Greek lyric poetry. Almost all of those examples which have survived are self-conscious masterpieces. The choral odes used in normal temple worship must have been much less sophisticated, based on the solo-and-chorus convention exemplified in the luckily surviving Hymn of the Kouretes. These closely related facts are the major cause of the brevity of this chapter. For there is a direct relation between the backwardness of Cretan society and the poverty of its literary art, a poverty which is, by and large, faithfully reflected in the range and content of the surviving epigrams and ritual verses.

The aged Plato was at least consistent in his sociology, his theology and his aesthetics. For the Lam is a testament not only to his repudiation of the democratic institutions of his native city, but also of its traditions of bold and restless innovation in the arts.

'In God's name, stranger,' says the Cretan Kleinias, 'do you suppose that is how poets set to work in other cities at the present time? So far as my own observations go, I am not aware of any practices such as you now describe, except among the Spartans or among ourselves. Rather, innovation prevails in dancing as all other forms of art, introduced, not in response to law, but to some sort of arbitrary taste, which, so far from displaying the consistency and stability which you ascribe to the Egyptians, is absolutely inconsistent.'

'Very true, Kleinias,' replies the Athenian. 'However, the obscurity of my formulation may well have been responsible for giving you the impression that the practices to which you refer are actually prevalent. You thought that this was what I have in mind probably because of the way in which I stated what I would like to see done about the arts. For it is sometimes unpleasantly necessary to censure matters which are advanced in error and beyond the scope of remedy. Come, do you agree that such practices as I have described are more congenial to the Spartans and to you Cretans than to any other Greeks? For we see eye to eye in these things.'

'What you say is true,' says Kleinias.

'Might we say,' asks the Athenian, 'that these practices would be an improvement upon the present state of affairs, if they were generally adopted elsewhere?'

'If matters were arranged as they are among us Cretans,' agrees Kleinias, 'and among the Spartans, and in fact just as you were now saying they ought to be arranged, then a considerable improvement would be likely.'

What are these practices which Plato has described as desirable theoretical propositions, which only Sparta and Crete among Greek states actually emulate?

It has been earlier stated that the gods, out of compassion for the wearisome lot of mankind, ordained the cycle of their festivals to provide respite from troubles, giving the Muses and Apollo, the leader of the Muses, and Dionysos, to share the festivals with mankind with due observance, and also the spiritual nourishment derived from the presence of gods. A human child, like other young animals, is restless, leaps, skips, dances, plays and cries out. But, in the case of the human child, originally spontaneous cries and movements are purposefully co-ordinated by means of songs and dances. Education thus owes its origin to Apollo and the Muses. But the link between the arts, education and morality is now to be forged in such a way as to prevent any spontaneous

growth. Standards of artistic composition are to be canonized as they have been in Egypt, to the exclusion of all innovation and without regard to the wishes of an audience.

The inference from all this is that the artistic side of Cretan life in the time of Plato (and probably for a long time afterwards), to a considerable extent corresponded with his petrified ideal. The old oligarchs of the Cretan cities were presumably powerful enough to ensure that new generations skipped and danced and sang according to the right traditional precepts. We are tempted to conclude that it is perhaps only when we are most devotedly antiquarian that we can afford to regret that so little remains of those Cretan arts of later antiquity which were presided over by Apollo and the Muses.

But such a conclusion would not be wholly satisfactory. We may not treasure the Hymn of the Kouretes for the delight of its form or the profundity of its content. But such a fragment reveals the extent to which poetry and music were a part of normal life; it serves as a model by which other, more sophisticated, examples may be more accurately judged; and, most important, its very archaism serves to remind us that there was a time, even in Crete, when this kind of composition was fresh, vital and new. Similarly, the nature of some of the festivals which we have examined is such as to throw light on the ritual basis of Greek drama. We can infer, from *The Cretans*, that Euripides took this view and respected Cretan legend and paid attention to Cretan cult. In different social conditions legend and cult might well have combined in the advance to higher forms, just as in Athens.

For tradition indeed confirms that Greek poetry and music did once owe a debt to Cretan innovation, in the days before innovation was arrested.

We have seen how the Cretan reputation for dancing is reflected in the Homeric poems; in what we know of the ritual of the Kouretes; and also in the worship of the Cretan Zeus. Although our knowledge of the work of the Cretan Thaletas is

slight, it can be said that he and his school must have played a part of distinct importance in combining the dance with the song and metre of aristocratic choral lyric. Thaletas flourished in the seventh century B.C. and was born either at Elyros, or Knossos or Gortyna. The advice of the Delphic oracle was said to have been responsible for his journey to Sparta, to cure a plague by means of his music. Whilst at Sparta he introduced musical reforms of such a drastic kind that they amounted to an artistic revolution. These innovations included the elaboration of the Cretan hyporkhema, a mimetic dance originally closely connected with the cult of Kronos and the Titans, of Leto and the Cretan Zeus; and also probably the Cretic and Paeonic metres. The Paean itself was not so very different from the hyporkhema, was traditionally Cretan in origin and likewise connected with the name of Thaletas.

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p. 213, 277, 299, 308-311