

The Symbolism of Spirals and Sun-Wheels in Connection with the Labyrinth Myth: A Linkage between Northern and Southern Europe

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Introduction

It was a few decades ago that on the theme of spiral, I offered two essays in print entitled "The Spiral Sorrow in Beowulf" and "The Meanings of Spiral Design: From its Origin to the Formative Process" (Mizuno 1978). In the former essay, I examined all the usages of OE *wylm* "spiral" and the verb *weallan* "to whirl or to swirl" in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf*, and indicated that we could detect three basic types of spiral imagery, such as watery spiral, flaming spiral, and the emotional spiral which connotes grievous sorrow or desperation. In the latter essay, I proceeded to inspect the meanings of spiral patterns which were employed in the designs of stone engravings, earthenware, hardware, and various works of art in Minoan and Mycenaean culture, Celtic culture, and Scandinavian culture of the Middle Ages. Furthermore, in the past essay, taking advantage of the views of Erich Neumann, Karl Kerényi, and André Leroi-Gourhan, I could trace, the complicated development of spiral design in accordance with the ritual of death and rebirth of Neolithic Age in Eastern Europe, giving an epitome of the labyrinth study made by K. Kerényi (1950) as follows:

He (Karl Kerényi) regards the spiral design as a symbol of the "labyrinthine dance", observing a significant structure of life, death, and rebirth which repeat themselves eternally. He attempted to make a comparative study between the meandering design-labyrinth in Minoan culture and the spiral ring-dance in Hainuwele myth in the Selam island (Indonesia), and also set up a interrelation between stone-labyrinth game in Scandinavia and spiral design of tattoo practiced among the aboriginal people in New Zealand, to detect an archetypal behavior or the ritual motif of death and rebirth (Mizuno 1979, 1-2).

The Hainuwele myth is now well-known since Adolf E. Jensen published a report after his field-work investigation. Professor Atsuhiko Yoshida as well as the late comparative mythologist Taryo Obayashi have delineated this myth so thoroughly that it may not be here necessary even to make a synopsis of this story. Also elsewhere, I made a careful analysis, dealing with the common theme of sacrificial killing in the mythological accounts of Ancient Greece, Old Scandinavia and Japan. We could readily take note of two kinds of spiral imagery in the Hainuwele myth, as is mentioned in my previous

essay :

- (a) In a village square the people of the Wemale tribe perform a spectacular Malo dance, making nine-fold spiral around the plant-maiden Hainuwele. The dance continues for eight nights. At the ninth night, Hainuwele is pushed down into a pit in the center by the dancers and is buried there.
- (b) Such a criminal act of humans arouses indignation in Mulua Satene. The deity builds up the nine-fold spiral gate through which men have to pass. While the person who could not pass through it become an animal or the spirit, the person who could pass through it has to undergo the double trials, and become a human being by way of performing these difficulties. Besides, they say that Mulua Satene (Goddess of banana) ever since disappeared from the human world and men are not able to meet the goddess without losing their lives.

In my essay, I explicated the motif of spiral in Hainuwele myth in a following way :

Dance is generally interpreted as a blessed union with gods. The same way of thinking might be true of the Malo dance. The spiral movement made by the dancers represents an incessant communion with Hainuwele who occupies the sacred center. The formation of spiral made by the Malo dancers, however, drive Hainuwele away into the pit and eventually leads to her death. The spiral gate which subjects human beings to an ordeal is nothing but an entrance to the other world. For an initiate, passing through the gate and their return to this world is, in other words, rejuvenation of life as well as experience of death. In this sense, the spiral gate in Hainuwele myth seems to be tantamount to the Cretan labyrinth, as Kerényi supposed...

...According to the Plutarchos' account, Ariadne instructed Theseus "how to make his way through the intricacies of the Labyrinth", giving him the "famous thread" (Plutarch's Lives : Theseus, 19: trans. Perrin). The story goes that Theseus held the "crane" dance (*geranos*) as his party landed on the island Delos. In comparison with the Malo dance, Kerényi regards the crane dance as the mimicry of labyrinth design : the anticlockwise circling firstly represented a threat of death, and then the clockwise circling was to bless the relief from the crisis. Thus, to Kerényi's mind, the labyrinthine dance had a significance of overcoming death. The Malo dance, in contrast, causes the sacrificial killing of goddess. Thereafter the act of going through the spiral gate invites the rejuvenation of life (Mizuno 1978).

Kerényi notes that Hainuwele, assuming the double character of the moon-and fertility maiden, was originally abducted and courted by a sun-man named Tuwale, who is portrayed beside the spiral gate in a drawing made by a narrator of the Wemale tribe. Thus, in Kerényi's view, Hainuwele bears a striking resemblance to Persephone, the

moon goddess who is abducted by Hades and brought back again to this world (Kerényi, trans. 17-19). In my past essay, I was not readily inclined to follow Kerényi's argument for identifying Hainuwele not only with Ariadne, but also with Persephone.

The Labyrinth Myth in Crete and Egypt

Minos is shrouded in mystery, although "Minoan" civilization was named after this legendary king of Knossos. The famous story goes that Agenor ruler of Tyre (in Phoenicia) had a beautiful daughter Europe whom Zeus in the form of a "magnificent white bull" eventually abducted. Then she was taken away to Crete beyond the sea. Minos, together with Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon, is said to be the son of Europe and her divine consort Zeus (Rose, 183). After the abduction, Agenor ordered his three sons Kadmos, Phoenix, and Kilix to search for his dear daughter Europe. They were not allowed to return home without finding their sister. According to the Iliad (14. 321), however, Europe's father is not Agenor, but Phoenix. Also in this case, as Kerényi supposed, Kadmos might be her brother (Kerényi, 27). At any rate, after the wanderings, Kilix became king of Kilikia (the south-east of the Asia Minor) and Phoenix the eponymous king of Phoenicia. And Kadmos wandered through Thracia to reach the island Samothrace and abducted Harmonia, daughter of Electra and Zeus. His abduction parallels that of Zeus in winning Europe (Kerényi, 28).

Kadmos went further to Delphi to consult the oracle. The answer was that, he should follow a cow which has "a moon-like orb" on either flank, when finding her on his way, and found a city where "she lay down to rest" (Rose, 184). Thus, following the oracular instruction, Kadmos settled down at Boiotia "the cow place" and, after slaying a dragon, the son of Ares, founded Kadmeia which was to become the fortress Thebes (Kerényi, 28-9).

Minos, son of Europe, became king of Crete, on the other hand, and won Pasiphae, daughter of the sun god Helios. Pasiphae, meaning "all-shining", reflects her character of a moon-goddess (The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 692). Minos begot two daughters, Ariadne and Phaidra, and two sons, Androgeos and Glaukos. The famous story runs as follows:

With desire to receive divine guarantee for his kingship, Minos prayed to Poseidon that a bull might be sent from the sea, making a vow that he would offer it in sacrifice. Then Poseidon consented and dispatched a magnificent bull to confirm his kingship. But as Minos sacrificed another instead of the beautiful bull, Poseidon, raging at the breach of pledge, caused Pasiphae to fall in love with the bull. At that time Daedalus, a famous craftsman, happened to stay in Crete, fleeing from Athens where he committed the murder of his nephew Perdix. As Pasiphae beseeched Daedalus to enable herself to attain her love, he made a wooden cow with an inside

hollow, where Pasiphae was placed. The bull approached the fabricated cow and copulated with it. Then Pasiphae bore Asterios, a half-man creature with the bull's head. Minos hid this monstrous being in the Labyrinth, a building with extremely intricate windings, which Daedalus had constructed (Apollodoros, III.1.4 : Cook, 465-7).

Asterios is the name for Minotauros "Minos' bull". Arthur B. Cook takes note of the other version, in which it is Zeus, not Poseidon who sent a "bull of dazzling whiteness" with which Pasiphae became enamored (Cook, I. 467).

The travel writer Pausanias (in the second century) describes that, at the oracular precinct in Laconia, "two bronze statues stand there in the open air, one of them a statue of Pasiphae, the other of Helios", adding that "there is also a sacred spring of water" and "Pasiphae is not a local deity but an epithet of Selene" (3. 26. 1). Thus A. B. Cook supposed that the Cretan myth of a union between the "bull of dazzling whiteness" and Pasiphae in the wooden cow might reflect the ritual practice, in which the "Knossian queen actually placed within a wooden cow was symbolically married to a bull representing the sun-god" (Cook, I, 522). Rather audacious though his view might appear, James G. Frazer also accepted it in his book (*Golden Bough: The Dying God*, 71).

Furthermore, Cook presents Egyptian bull-worship for supporting his own argument: "the queens of Egypt were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi, being thus made one with Hathor the cow-goddess" (Cook, I, 523). He cites, for instance, Herodotus' account that Mycerinus, a pharaoh of the fourth dynasty (cir. 2440 BC), "buried his daughter at her death in a wooden hollow cow" (*Historiae*, 2. 129). Besides, Herodotus gives us such a remarkable account as follows :

It (the wooden cow) was still visible in my time in the city of Sais, lying in an adorned chamber in the royal palace. Near the cow, in another chamber, stand the images of the concubines of Mycerinus, as the priests in the city of Sais told me. They stand there, huge statues made of wood, to the number of twenty, made in the likeness of naked women (trans. David Grene, *Herodotus' The History*, 2. 130).

Then, probably to tell one reason for the wooden cow burial, Herodotus adds a peculiar story of incestuous love affair : "Mycerinus was in love with his own daughter and thereafter lay with her against her will; that the girl hanged herself out of grief, and he buried her in that cow" (trans. David Grene, *The History*, 2. 131). And we are told that the queen, her mother, "cut off the hands of the servant girls who had betrayed her to her father; and so now the statues of these girls have suffered the same fate as the girls did in life", although Herodotus himself devaluates this hearsay as "nonsense".

While the Cretan myth tells about bestiality, this Egyptian story does about incest

taboo. In the former, Daedalus received the punishment for having helped Pasiphae to attain her love, and was shut up, together with his son Icarus, in the Labyrinth. In the latter, the Pharaoh's concubines, who led the princess to the forbidden love, were meted out the severe punishment. These basic similarities encourage me to envisage that Mycerinus' palace functioned as a labyrinthine mortuary for the king's concubines as well as the royal family.

Remarkably in this respect, Herodotus gives us a concrete account of an Egyptian labyrinth. When the Ethiopian king Sabacos departed from Egypt after a reign for fifty years, the blind king Anysis, who had "fled away to the marshes" to escape from danger (2. 137), ruled again in Egypt. After Anysis, the priest of Hephaestus named Sethos became king whose reign count up to the third one since that of king Mycerinus. Then, according to Herodotus, the Egyptians who "could not live a day without a king", divided all Egypt into twelve provinces ruled by different twelve kings, and "these kings made marriage between their families and held their rule under a sworn agreement that forbade destroying one another or any one of them seeking to have more than another" (trans. David Grene, 2. 147). The account proceeds to run as follows :

Furthermore, they (the twelve kings) resolved to leave a memorial of themselves in common, and in pursuance of this resolve they made a labyrinth, a little above Lake Moeris, and situated near what is called the City of Crocodiles. It (The labyrinth) has twelve roofed courts, with doors facing one another, six to the north and six to the south and in a continuous line. One wall on the outside encompasses them all. There are double sets of chambers in it, some underground and some above, and their number is three thousand chambers. At the corner where the labyrinth ends there is, nearby, a pyramid two hundred and forty feet high and engraved with great animals. The road to this is made underground.

Such was the labyrinth; but an even greater marvel is what is called the Lake of Moeris, beside which the labyrinth was built. (trans. David Grene, Herodotus' The History, 2. 148-49).

Herodotus gives us such a hearsay and eye-witness account, adding that he himself was guided to see the "above-ground chambers" of the labyrinth, but his party were not allowed to enter the "underground chambers" in which there were the "coffins of the kings who had [built] the labyrinth" and also the "holy crocodiles" were buried (2. 148). Probably the "division of all Egypt into twelve provinces" could be correlated with "twelve roofed courts" in the labyrinth, with six doors to the north and the south respectively. The Gr. *nomé* (singular), meanings "division (of inheritance)" and "pasture", is derived from the verb *nemó* "put to pasture ; distribute ; settle down ; rule over". In other words, twelve compartments of the labyrinth appear to serve as a microcosms of

twelve political divisions (Gr. *nomēs*) in all Egypt. Also, based upon the account that twelve kings encouraged to “make marriage between their families” and that they had sworn an oath to “forbid destroying other provinces one another”, this Egyptian labyrinth might be defined as a monument of maintaining the peace.

Herodotus expresses admiration that “the labyrinth surpasses the pyramids”, each of which is the “equivalent of many of the great works of the Greeks”, revealing that the labyrinth, which has underground chambers, is connected with a great pyramid through the underground road. Thus labyrinth with “double sets of aboveground and underground chambers” seems to represent this world and the next world. “The passages through the rooms and the winding goings-in and out through the courts” in the labyrinth are said to have caused Herodotus and his party “countless marvelings” (2. 148). Herodotus is amazed at the Lake Moeris no less than at the labyrinth: the waters “enters the lake from the Nile by a channel; and for six months it flows into the lake, and then, another six, it flows again into the Nile” (2. 149). Here the number six corresponds to the rainy or dry season in a year.

However, why was the labyrinth located beside such an artificial lake? Probably the account of Strabo, a geographer from Amisia on the Black Sea, who stayed in Egypt for several months (Hazel, 230), may give us a clue to this puzzle. He explains the Egyptian labyrinth as “a vast palace composed of as many as many palaces as there were formerly *nomes*”. As A. B. Cook has noted, Strabo (64BC-24AD) explicates that “the *nomes* were accustomed to assemble in their respective courts ‘with their own priests and priestess for sacrifice, oblation, and judicial award on matters of importance’”(Strabo, 811: Cook, I, 473). This statement may encourage us to deduce that, at the sacred precincts (*nomes*) in the labyrinth some rituals would be performed before or after the sacrificial observance at the lakeside. In this respect, king Sethos, priest of Hephaestus, might share the character with king Minos and craftsman Daidalos. The Egyptian story that king Mycerinus buried his own daughter in a “wooden hollow cow”, when his flagrant violation on her led to her suicide, has some resemblance with the Cretan myth that Pasiphae, who was enamoured of the bull, attained her love inside the wooden cow. These are the stories of forbidden love, whether it may be bestiality or incest. Just as king Mycerinus had twenty concubines in his life, king Minos is said to have had approached many girls and women or had affairs with them, such as Paleia, Diktyinna, Cretan hunting goddess Britomartis, Telamon’s wife Periboia, and others (Cook, 117). We are told that Minos was attached by homosexuality to the boys and men as well, such as the handsome boy Miletos, the hero Theseus, and the Trojan prince Ganymedes (Kozu, 275). In this respect, the Athenian seven boys and seven girls who were sent to Creta as offering victims for Minotaur might be originally a sort of tribute who must satisfy the sexual desire of king Minos himself.

The Labyrinth, the Maze, and the Courting Dance

To review the above arguments, the labyrinth is related to some particular conceptions, such as the marriage between the sun and the moon, the love affair of a king or a queen, sovereignty, the water and sacrifice, the spiral form of dance, and the funeral place. It seems rather difficult to formulate an unequivocal definition of the labyrinth. I wonder why the labyrinth is associated not only with the theme of marriage and love, but also with the burial, on the other hand. It is hard to find a definite answer for it at the present stage, but the religious ceremony of sacrifice might function as intermediary between marriage and funeral.

The labyrinth is not merely a building or palace with intertwined passages. Some scholars and explorers have attempted to spot the cradle place of the Labyrinth myth in the Cavern of Gortyna, which is located at the south eastern foot of the Mount Ide in Creta, especially since a sketch of this Cavern drawn by F.W. Sieber was in print in 1823. W. H. Matthews comments, however, that “discoveries of recent years have considerably diminished” the past claim that the Cavern must be the “original Labyrinth of the Minotaur” (Matthews, 28).

Whatever the origin might have been, the labyrinth design became diversified in later times. The labyrinth, for instance, is depicted as a meander or swastika-pattern, especially as is represented on coins of Knossos dated from c. 500 B.C. Arthur B. Cook is inclined to be in favor of the prevailing view that the swastika, with four crooked arms, was a “stylized representation of the revolving sun” (Cook, I, 478: Fig. 333-35). On some coins However, a crescent moon emblem is depicted in the center of the swastika (Cook, Fig. 341). Quite interestingly, Cook remarks that the Labyrinth in Cretan ritual was an “*orchestra* of solar pattern presumably made for a mimetic dance”, supposing that “the dancer imitating the sun masqueraded in the Labyrinth as a bull”. Thus Cook contends that the Minotaur was the “crown-prince of Knossos in ritual attire, and his bull-mask proclaimed his solar character” (Cook, I, 491). Cook also draws an intriguing analogy between the Cretan Labyrinth and the ordinary Attic theatre: while “the former was occupied by dancers arranged as a *swastika*, the latter had regularly its ‘square chorus” (Cook, I, 480). The swastika design may have its origin in the solar wheel, which represents the sun apparently revolving on the way of heaven.

It is well-known that the mazes constructed of stones are found in various parts of northern Europe. These stone-arranged mazes are usually named *Trojeborg*, *Trojenborg* “Troy’s castle (stronghold)” in respective languages. Most of the mazes are located on the seacoast in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland and Lapland as well. Some of them are thought to date back to the Bronze Age (1500-600B.C.), and others to the Neolithic Age (Kern, 391-415). As Hermann Kern indicates, spiral and solar-wheel designs on rock-engravings date from the Bronze Age in Norway and Sweden. Ernst Krause is known to have made a pioneering and detailed analysis on the significance of

the stone maze named "Troy's castle" in Scandinavia in order to uncover the relationship between the related myths and the ritual practices involved. He has contended that "the original Labyrinth-dance represented the rescue of the sun-goddess from the castle of a wintry demon" (Cook, 489). He suspects the "northern spring-rite" lying behind the Norse myth, in which "the solar heroine", such as Freyja and Brynhild, was rescued from the bondage of a superhuman builder or giant smith (Krause, 109). His methodology based upon the solar myth now seems classical, but Krause ingeniously claims that the story of the Trojan War, which was fought for the cause of winning back the abducted beauty Helen, may presuppose the Norse type of mythological narrative, i.e., the rescue of "a heroine", a representative of the sun goddess (Krause, ix ; 277). In favor of Krause's arguments, A. B. Cook states that the maze in Scandinavian (and Great Britain as well) and the classical Labyrinth "were originally used for the purposes of a mimetic solar rite" (Cook, I, 489).

In East-and West-Prussia, and other places of Germany, there are grass mazes called *Jerusalemhügel*, "Jerusalem's hill" or simply *Jerusalem* (Kern, 397), and the similar type of mazes at various places of England and southern Scotland is given the names of Troy's Wall (or Town), Shepherd's Ring, Maiden Bower, and so on (Kern, 247). The total figuration of these mazes is a complete circle, sometimes with four ears at the corners, square, duodecagon and cone-shape. Most of the grass-mazes in England are found inland, differently from the stone-mazes in Scandinavia. It is most popular, however, that the maze is named after Troy, such as Troy Town, Troy Wall(s), Troy's Fortress, and simply Troy. Sheena McGrath remarks that these labyrinths have been connected by "folk etymology" to the famous city Troy, "which is reputed to have had a mazelike pattern of walls, to confuse invaders" (McGrath, 116).

The term Troy or Ger. Troja for the maze, however, might be probably connected with OE *prawan*, OHG *draen*, and OS *thraian*, with the common meaning of "to twist ; to turn round", from which Mod. E. *throw* and Ger. *drehen* are derived. These Germanic names are cognate to OE *prea* "torture; infliction", OE *præd* "thread" (Holthausen, 368), and can be related further to Gr. *trêma* "the pierced one ; hole" and Lat. *tero* "to grind" (Kluge, 141). Intriguingly, according to F. Kluge, Ger. *Draht* and OE *præd* "thread" (ON *pradðr*, OHG *dratt*) as well had the original sense of "a thing twisted by turning round" (IE root **ter-* or its vowel gradation form **trê-* "*drehend reiben*"). In the light of etymology, "Ariadne's thread" which served Theseus for leading the way in the Labyrinth provide a guidance for his ordeal (OE *prea* "torture") to win the hands of Ariadne. In other words, Theseus' entering into the Labyrinth and his return may symbolize a preliminary ritual of sexual intercourse which is to fulfill Ariadne's desire. Thus I would venture my view that the intertwined way of the Labyrinth itself is a symbol of female genitalia. The Labyrinth, in this respect, forms a marked contrast to the wooden cow which served the purpose of attaining Pasiphae's love for the "brilliant" bull.

Swedish and Finnish mazes are sometimes called *Jungfrudanser* "Virgin's Dances", about which A. Freudenthal explicates that "in the ceremony a virgin would stand in the centre and young men dance in to her, following the twists of the maze". Young men of Swedish peasants would often "race through the turns" to a maiden in the centre (McGrath, 116-7). For instance, the maze in Köpmanholm (in Sweden), called *Jungfruringen* "Virgin's Ring", had "two entrances", through which two young men rushed to the girl in the middle, twisting along the way. A similar practice is observed at the maze of Saffron Walden (in Essex), where a young man tried to get to a young woman "as fast as possible without stumbling". Sheena McGrath states that behind these maze games we could obviously recognize the connection, passed down from the olden times, to "the sun-maiden myth, where the winter is overcome by the forces of spring", referring to the Rig Veda, where the Ashvins (twin brethren) win the sun maiden Suryaa through the maze-running contest, after which "she mounts their chariot with the approval of the gods" (McGrath, 117). McGrath thus concludes, though she does not mention the previous accomplishment of Ernst Krause in 1893, that the Cretan Labyrinth, the story of Dioscuroi's relieving Helen from the abductor Theseus, and the maze-running games in northern Europe are related in common to the Indo-European myth that two young men would "rescue" a young woman symbolizing the sun maiden as is embodied by Helen of Troy and Saules meita in the Baltic version.

Accepting her view, the simple fact that most of the stone mazes in Scandinavia were constructed on the shore must be quite significant in light of the Greek story of Kadmos who killed the dragon, the guardian of a fountain in Thebes, after having abducted Harmonia, his destined bride, on the island Samothrace. We might suppose the closely ritual association between a kidnap marriage and the sacrifice near the water. As mentioned above, the Egyptian labyrinth was located beside the Lake Moeris, and near the City of Crocodile. Probably, the crocodile might be a sacred animal as a sacrifice. This supposed association also reminds us of Pausanias' account that, at the oracular precinct in Laconia, there was "a sacred spring of water" near the "two bronze statues of the sun god Helios and Pasiphae whom Pausanias defines as "an epithet of the moon goddess Selene" (3. 26. 1).

The Ring Dance or the Crane Dance

Hermann Kern, the author of *Labyrinthe*, the voluminous book, classifies into three types of representations of the labyrinth (Kern, 22) :

- (a) Labyrinth as literary motive (especially as the system of going astray)
- (b) Labyrinth as the figure of motion (dance)
- (c) Labyrinth as the graphic figure (pattern or design)

It is quite essential to inquire into the relationship of these classifications, but I am obliged here, because of lack of space and time, to touch only upon the categories (a) and

(b). One of the oldest reference to the labyrinth is seen in Book 18 of the Iliad (590–606), in which Hephaestus, god of the smithy fire, forges the magnificent shield and other arms for Achilles, in compliance with the urgent request of the sea goddess Thetis, Achilles' mother. The round shield was an extraordinarily elaborate work and on its surface variously exquisite scenes and pictures were depicted. In the center, Hephaestus depicts the universe: "earth, heavens, sea, sun, moon, and the major constellations" (Rabel, 174). In the outer encircling part, he describes the human world: the scenery of a peaceful city and warlike city. Then the god proceed to work up the further outer parts, portraying the different scenes of the lives of farmers and shepherds in the four seasons (Atchity, 172): "ploughing" (in spring), "communal harvest" (in summer), "vineyard harvest" (in fall), and "herding" in a pasture (in winter). Furthermore in the outermost part, he describes a communal place, "like that which Daedalus once made in Knossos for lovely Ariadne": "Hereon there danced youths and maidens whom all would woo, with their hands on one another's wrists" (trans. Butler, 136). Finally, on the outer rim of the shield, the god places Oceanus, "which encircles and provides an outer frame for the scenes of ordinary human life" (Rabel, 174).

The total image of such a decorative shield forms a concentric circle, which might appear similar to a spiral design of the labyrinth. On the other hand, "a communal place" where youths and maidens dance together, is compared, in the narrative, to the Cretan Labyrinth. Thus this famous passage about Achilles' shield shows an allusive complex of the above three categories (a), (b) and (c). The dancing girls "wore robes of light linen" and "were crowned with garlands", while the youths wore "well-woven shirts" and "had daggers of gold" (trans. Butler, 136). They were depicted as making a dance probably to mimic the shape of the Labyrinth.

According to Plutarch, Theseus and his party who left Creta are told to have given a dance together with youthful men and women in the isle Delos. This dance, called the "crane dance", is described as involving a series of rhythmical motion which mimics the intertwined path in the Labyrinth (Theseus, 21). Undoubtedly it might be a sort of ring- or spiral- dance, in light of the account that the male and female youths were dancing around the altar named Keraton, which had been assembled by use of left horns as luck-bringers. Landing on the isle, before the dance, Theseus is said to offer sacrifice to Apollon, and also dedicate an effigy of goddess Aphrodite, which Ariadne has presented to him. Delos is known as the birth place of Apollon and his twin sister Artemis, the moon goddess, though she was born, according to some version, in the isle Orthygia.

Plutarch gives us an account that the seven boys and seven girls, who had been sent from Athena as tribute to Creta, had no hope of escaping death, before Theseus' killing Minotaur (ch. 17). Probably the labyrinthine dance done by Theseus and his party, who are defined as "the third tribute" (ch. 17) from Athens, was not merely to bless their relief from the crises, but also to select their respective partner of love. Ariadne who bestowed

Aphrodite's figurine on Theseus parallels, in a sense, Harmonia, daughter of Aphrodite, who was abducted by Kadmos.

Theseus is known to have abducted Helen who was then too young to get married, at the time when she was in the middle of dancing in the sacred precinct of Artemis Orthia (Theseus, 31). Likewise it was when she was doing the ring-dance (Gr. *choros*) for Artemis that Aphrodite was taken away by Hermes holding the golden staff (Hymn to Aphrodite, 5. 117-20). Hermes' *kerykeion* "staff", representing his duty of a divine herald, also symbolizes his character of phallic god (Oxford Classical Dictionary, 503). It was for the divine purpose of making her meet the Trojan prince Anchises that Hermes took Aphrodite away from Phrygia. Thus Aphrodite was to bear him Aeneas who was destined to get to Latium after long wandering, together with his son Ascanius, the founder of Alba Longa in Rome.

L. R. Farnell and others claims that Aphrodite as a goddess of fertility may give rise to her association with the *choros* "ring-dance" (Meagher, 32). We must not overlook, however, that Aphrodite, called "the Mistress of Beasts", had another aspect of a hunting goddess like Artemis (Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 5. 70-74). A passage of Homeric Hymn to Apollon (3.194-201) describes the scene of "ring-dance" at the hall of Zeus in Olympus: Ares and Hermes are dancing here together with Aphrodite and the other goddesses, such as Charites, Horae, Harmonia and Hebe, to the accompaniment of Apollon's plucking sound of a lyre and the Musae's song. The Charites, goddesses of grace and beauty, represent "the joy and beauty produced by the blessings of fertile nature" (Oxford, 227). The Horae is goddesses of the Seasons. Harmonia is goddess of harmony who serves Aphrodite. And Hebe, daughter of Zeus and Hera, serves as a cup-bearer of the gods at the banquet (Oxford, 490). These deities are depicted as "performing a ring-dance lightly hand in hand", while Artemis is singing among the goddesses.

Such a scene of the "ring-dance" (*Choros*) to the accompaniment of "singing voices" (*Choros*) reminds us of the Labyrinthine dance portrayed on Achilles' shield: "the youths and maidens whom all would woo" were dancing "hand in hand". The "crane-dance" of Delos, which youthful men and women joined together, might be also a sort of the "ring-dance", not only to give their blessing to the return from the Labyrinth, but also to win a love partner. Probably the maidens were ready to be dragged into a "spiral" of the courting dance. It was long before the divine dance in Olympus that Apollon destroyed the "ferocious" monster Typhon whom Hera "with the cow-eyes" had born to invite "disaster of humans" (3. 352f). Accordingly the crane-dance held after Theseus' conquest of the Minotaur obviously parallels the Olympian dance after Apollon's conquest of Typhon.

The Symbolism of Spirals and Sun-wheels

Miranda Green illustrates that circular and spiral designs are ubiquitous on Bronze Age metalwork. The circular pattern, whether it may be the single or concentric circle, or the spiral, has been generally interpreted as the notable manifestation of the radiant sun in the artistic form of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages of Europe (Green, 39-46). Newgrange in Ireland, one of the great passage graves around 3000 BC, for instance, is known to have been constructed with the specific purpose in relation to the sun-worship (Green, 30). At the time of the winter solstice, the rays of the rising sun stream through the narrow passage, to illuminate the innermost chamber of the tomb, the place of the dead who would be burnt to ashes. We must not overlook the simple fact that the river Boyne, with the cognomen Segais, "the well of wisdom", flows beside Newgrange. A curbstone set at the entrance is richly engraved with spiral and concentric designs, which may exemplify, in my view, the main theme of cosmic recurrence by the symbolic use of water (Mizuno 2000, 14). Other scholars attempt to recognize different significance especially in spiral patterns. On a gigantic stone of the entrance to the shrine Tarcshen of the island Malta, in the Mediterranean, for instance, the left-handed and right-handed spirals are engraved. G. Zuntz regards these double spirals as a symbol of the entrance to the womb of goddess (Mizuno 1987, 4).

Concentric circles, solar-wheels, and cross designs are depicted on potteries excavated from the remains of Vucedol Culture, which spread in Yugoslavia, Hungary, the west of Slovakia and the lowland of Austria. The reputed archaeologist Marija Gimbutas maintains that these designs reveal that the worship of the sun revolving like a flaming wheel would spread here at those times, arising from Kurgan culture in the northern plane of the Black Sea (Gimbutas 1970). As to the religious association between the sun and fire, based upon Gimbutas' view, I have explained in a correlation with the prevalence of cremation over burial in the European Bronze Age (Mizuno 1982, 49-50). Only to refer to J. Maringer's contention about the origin of cremation, "the fire in cremation would be believed not merely to transport the soul of the dead to the other world, but also to transform the dead into the nature of the sun itself" (Maringer 1976, 164-5).

In my recent essay, I made an analysis of the sun symbolism which is exemplified in the rock engravings of Bronze Age in Scandinavia. The specific pattern of the solar wheel was to represent the "revolving sun". Some pictures reveal the sun worship, depicting the wheel or spiral probably as ritual implements. The concentric circle indisputably represents the sun which was often described as being carried by a boat (Mizuno 2003). At Bohuslän in Sweden and at Begby in Norway, for instance, you can see typical engravings of the solar wheel with the dotted circle (Green, 44). About two kinds of a swastika design, M. Green explicated that "[s]trictly speaking, the gammate cross (the shape of four gammas joined at the centre) is only a true 'swastika' when the arms turns to the right; a left-turning crooked cross is more properly called a 'sauvastika'" (Green, 46). She adds the explanation as follows:

In Hindu iconography, the right-armed symbol is that of the male principle, representative of sun, light, life; the left-turning motif reflects the female principle of night and destruction. The swastika is a widespread apotropaic or good-luck symbol, occurring at its earliest in Europe in pre-palatial (Neolithic) Crete and in Asia Minor at Hissarlik in Anatolia, on beads and clay discs dating to around 2000-1500 BC (Pendlebury 1939). The motif was recurrent in the Greek world from Minoan and Mycenaean periods to Classical times, often associated on pots with horses, which may also imply a solar symbolism for the swastika in Greece from the earlier Bronze Age (Green, 46).

As A. B. Cook demonstrates, Cretan coins minted about 500 BC bear the swastika, with sun symbol in the centre, or the labyrinth design (Cook, I. Fig. 333-44). Cook supposes that these elaborate labyrinth design might be derived from the swastika design (Cook, 477). Noticeably the left-armed swastika, probably reflecting "the female principle of night", to accept Green's view, has a crescent moon design in its centre.

Needless to say, there are some variations of the labyrinth design. Recently, however, Hermann Kern recognizes three basically common patterns which involve a cross in the centre with intertwined arms in different ways and gives them a name the "Cretan labyrinth pattern". Quite interestingly, a series of mazes named "Troy's Castle" or "Maiden's Dance" in Scandinavia indisputably belongs to this type of the "Cretan labyrinth pattern" (Kern, Fig. 564-73; 585-96). Besides, the same pattern of labyrinth can be seen in the rock engravings works at various places, such as Luzzanas in Sardinia (2500-2000BC), Val Camonica in northern Italy (750-550BC), Pontevedra in Spain (900-500BC), Tintagel in Cornwall (1800-1400BC), Grafshaft Wicklaw in Ireland (the Bronze Age), and some places in Caucasus, Romania and Syria, aside from the mainland of Greece (Kern, Fig. 76; 78-79; 84-88; 96-108). The design is so widely distributed that it is rather difficult to spot the place and time of origin, but the swastika and the labyrinth designs would not be developed on such a large scale without the influence of a rapid diffusion of the wheel culture, as is summarized in my recent essay (Mizuno 2003, 269):

Archaeologists supposes that the wheeled vehicle "have originated in Sumer, in the Uruk period, in the first half of the fourth millennium B.C" and it "was introduced into Palastine and Egypt with the Hyksos invasion in the 19th and 18th century B. C. and in Anatolia most probably with the Hittites shortly thereafter" (Anati, 50-51). According to Emmanuel Anati, "the oldest evidence from mainland Europe is from the shaft graves at Mycenae where it belongs to the Mycenaean I (1550-1500B. C.) period": The figure of a charioteer is depicted in high reliefs on the grave stelae, and the chariots "are surrounded by decorative and symbolic patterns such as meanders, spirals and wavy lines" (Anati, 51). One of the engravings in the Camonica

Valley shows “two four-spoked wheels” and “a single pole, with a yoke, which implies the use of two animals”. Conspicuously, another chariot is drawn by two animals which appear to be horses (Anati, 53). The chariot spread northward to Scandinavia around 1300-1200 BC., as is exemplified by the drawings on the stone slabs in a “royal tomb” of Kivik in southern Sweden and the stone-engravings of Frannarp and other places. In conclusion, Anati supposes the two routes as to the spread of the wheeled chariot: one is the “Amber road” from Greece to Scandinavia, and the other, the “Western road”, which connected North Italy and Eastern Europe with the Iberian Peninsula (Anati, 63).

Anati contends that “the relation between wheeled vehicles and sun worship is well attested in prehistoric Europe and also in Sweden”, as is revealed in the rock-engravings (Anati, 60). In accordance with the technical diffusion of wheels which was closely associated with the sun as a “flaming wheel” in the sky, the appealing symbolism of the labyrinth, swastika, and solar wheel would spread all over Europe, probably with the folk belief in the sun and moon which embody the universal principle of the masculine and the feminine as well as the ever-lasting circulation of life and death.

Symbol of Sexual Love

On the rock engraving during the Bronze Age (ca. 900-500 B.C.) at Pontevedra in Spain, a phallus, with the anthropomorphic figure, is depicted as being inserted into a vulva with the apparently labyrinth design (Kern, Fig. 14). It is quite significant that the labyrinth was put in a close association with sexual love. Also on the well-known pitcher of Tragliatella, which was one of the products of ancient Etruria around 620 B.C., we can see a scene of two pairs having sexual intercourse side by side behind a labyrinth design, in which the name *truia* is inscribed. In front of the labyrinth, two warriors are portrayed as riding on horses, a naked man with a long club in his hands strides, exposing the male organ. Before them, seven warriors, with a shield and arms, are depicted as marching in procession. The person (A) who holds an apple-like fruit on his left hand, joining hands with a girl (B), seems to be a chief of these warriors. He appears to exchange some words with a lady (C) who seems to offer an apple-like fruit to the man (A).

ヘルマン・ケルンは、人物A, B, Cをそれぞれトロイアの王子パリス, 女神アフロディーテ, 絶世の美女ヘレネと解していわゆる「パリスの審判」の描写とみなす従前の説を否定し、テセウス(A), 乳母(B)とアリアドネ(C)の人物像と判断している(Kern, 103)。その一つの根拠は、十字形を中心として七重に湾曲するクレタ型迷宮文が描かれている点にある(Kern, 図110)。その迷宮文には *truia* すなわち「トロイア」と銘が打たれている。K. ケレーニは過去の説を引きながら、ラテン語 *amptuare* 「輪になって跳ぶ」に関連させ、この語を「旋回舞踏」の意に解している(種村・藤川訳, 59:原注111)。H. ケルンも同様

に、7人の歩兵と2人の騎乗者は、「トロイア」と呼ばれる舞踏を演じていると解釈した。そして迷宮文から4本の線が下方に引かれていることについて、ケルンは、この迷宮文は大地の上に描かれていたものであり、北欧の石積みの「トロイアの城」の様式とよく似ている、と付言している (Kern, 105)。

だが、猪を象った円楯をもち、それぞれ3本の投槍を手にした7名の歩兵たちと、鷲鳥またはアヒルのような鳥の図柄をほどこした円楯をもつ2名の騎乗者は、明らかに身分が異なるだろう。両者は頭にヘア・バンドを着けている。注目すべきことに、迷宮文の右には、2組の男女の性交場面をあからさまに描写している。その右側には、部屋（または壁）を隔てて、長衣をまとった一人の女性立像が描かれ、その傍らには2つの酒壺が置かれている。上記の人物Bとこの女性は同一人物であるように思える。いずれにせよ、この壺絵に描写されたのは、迷宮を模倣する戦士たちの舞踏と、その結末として結ばれる2組の男女であるだろう。少なくとも、ヘパイストスが鍛造したアキレウスの楯面に描かれていたように、「若者や、あまたの娘たちが、互いに手首を握り合って踊っている」(『イリアス』18書593-98) クノッソスの踊り場の情景は、ここには見えない。しかし、歩兵と騎乗者で構成されたこの舞踏は、クレタの迷宮を脱出したテセウスがデロス島にて主催した「若者たち」の「鶴の舞」とはある種の共通性を有しているようだ。後者の場合、迷宮の中の「迷い道と抜け道」を交互の「動き」と「一種のリズム」によって「模倣したもの」と記されていたので、相似的に前者の「トロイア」という名の迷宮は、戦士たちの決死の戦闘からの生還を意味しているように思える。その場合、人物Bは美と愛の女神アフロディーテに相応すると考えられる。おそらく、この「死と再生」の迷宮体験を一種の通過儀礼として「若者たち」は、晴れて戦士の仲間入りをしたのではあるまいか。そして彼らの中から、とくに選りすぐった一人ないしは2人の戦士が選ばれ、愛の女神によってあらかじめ定められた女性と愛を交わすことができたのだろう。いわばその場合、迷宮文は女陰そのもののシンボルでもあるのだ。

さて、ウェルギリウスの叙事詩によれば、陥落したトロイアを、父アンキーセス、息子アスカニウスらとともに脱した勇者アイネアースは、7年の流浪の後にリビアに漂着し、母神ウェヌス（アフロディーテ）の神慮によって、カルタゴの女王ディードと結ばれている。しかしアイネアースは、ローマ建国の使命を帯びていたので、カルタゴの地を離れざるを得ず、それを知ったディードは自害をして果てる(『アエネーイス』4巻)。その後アイネアース一行は、嵐のためにシチリアに漂着し、亡父アンキーセスの墓前で、葬礼競技を催している。その中で、舟漕ぎ、駆け足、拳闘、弓矢の競技を次々に執り行い、最後に息子ユールス（アスカニウスの別名）をリーダーとする「少年たち」の騎馬隊が、それぞれ6人編成のチームに分かれて、左右「3班ずつに立ちわかれ」て「摸擬戦」を演じている(泉井久之助訳, 319)。こうして騎馬を進めるその様式は、円周を描いたり、他の円と交差するやり方で、まるで「クレタの迷宮」や内壁が「織り上げる、網のような道すじ」を進む騎行の方式は、*ludus Troiae*「トロイア遊戯」と呼ばれている。この時にユールスが「トロイアの少年たち (puer)」とともに執行した競技は、後日に彼がアルバ・ロンガ（ローマ南東）に都を築くときに再興され、その競技名も「トロイア」と名づけられて代々に継承されていったという(5巻596-603)。

注目すべきことに、騎馬にまたがる少年たちは、「祭の儀式にのっとり、葉を切り揃え

た冠で」頭髪を束ねてあったと記されている（5巻556）。ちょうどエトルリアの壺絵に描かれた2人の騎乗者の頭髪も、帯のようなもので束ねてあったことが想起されてくる。語りの順序は異なるが、アイネアースが彼を熱愛した女王ディードを見捨てて、次にはシチリアの浜辺での葬礼競技を締めくくるものとして「クレタの迷宮」の形を模倣する「騎馬戦」が執行されている。その参加者はすべて pubes「少年」で総勢36名（それぞれ6名から成る6組のチーム）の中には、トロイア出身者のほかに地元のシチリアの少年も含まれていた。より詳しくは、全体6組のうち、3組の騎馬隊のリーダーは、ポリテース（プリアモス王の子）、小アテュス、および「他の少年よりも見目うるわしい」ユールスであって、いわばトロイア編成チームであった。他の3組の騎馬隊のリーダーについては名前があげられていないが、すべてシチリア（Trinacria）の少年であったことが明記され、彼らが乗るのは、地元の王アケステスの馬であった（563-73）。ちなみに、この島に漂着したアイネアース一行を歓待した老王アケステスは、母方の祖先がトロイアの血縁につながるという（5巻38-41）。

したがって、トロイアの少年で成る3組の騎馬隊と、3組のシチリアの少年騎馬隊が、相互に *cursus*「進行」と *recursus*「逆行」を繰り返しながら、*orbis*「円環」を描きつつ他の「円環」と交錯してゆくことによって（583-85）、来訪者と土着の軍勢の「模擬戦」を演じていることになる。このように少年たちがクレタの *Labyrinthus*「迷宮」への潜入を擬似的に体験することによって、はじめて両軍の間に *pax*「平和」（587）が儀礼的に構築されているのである。いわば「トロイアの遊戯」は、模擬的な騎馬戦によって「死と再生」のプロセスを体験する少年たちの通過儀礼にちがいない。ここでは先述したような、「迷宮」と不可分な「性愛」のモチーフが少なくとも表面上は欠落しているかに見える。だが、少年ユールスのまたがる馬は、亡きディードが生前に *monumentum*「思い出の品」と *pignus amoris*「愛情の証し」（5巻572）として彼に与えたものであった。この悲恋の女王が、エウロペーと同じくフェニキアのテュロス出身の王女であり、ユールスに贈与した馬もフェニキア（Sidonia）産であったということは、ユールスがある女性と近々に深い関係に入ることをほのめかしている。