THE ROLE OF THE BULL
IN
MINOAN-MYCENAEAN RELIGION
AND ITS
SURVIVAL INTO GREEK RELIGION

By

WILLIAM GEOFFREY GREGG, M.A.

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THE BULL IN MYCENAEAN-MINOAN RELIGION

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

In surveying the role of the bull in Minoan-Mycenaean religion greater emphasis has been laid on the Minoan side since it is easier to trace the development of the religion of an insular, uninterrupted culture; whereas in Mainland Greece it is difficult to determine whether religious beliefs are indigenous or introduced by the Minoans or invading Mycenaeans.

Since we are reliant upon evidence from archaeology and Greek mythology for our knowledge of the bull in Minoan Crete, a study is made of the contact the island had with the other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, in which the bull is known to have played a major part in religion, with a view to determining at which periods of time those countries were most likely to have influenced Minoan cults. In the four major areas concerned, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, and Egypt the role of the bull is examined for comparative purposes, to establish what type of influences they may have exerted on Crete, and to determine the usual type of role the animal played in religion as a whole.

From this survey it appears that the bull's main characteristics are its strength and fertility. Through the latter the bull became the symbol of male potency, and symbolised the fertilising power of water in the form of both rain and rivers; through the former quality it symbolised protection; while both qualities helped to make it represent the sun. In the light of this and with the help of archaeological and mythological sources, the role of the bull in Minoan-Mycenaean religion

is considered under these various categories, and an examination is made of the survival of these cults into the Hellenic Period. An attempt is also made to explain the feasibility and purpose of the Minoan bull-leaping, and possible survivals of it in Greek bull sports.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Minoan era lasted for almost two thousand years. In considering the role which the bull played in Minoan religion during that time, we must bear in mind the words of Miss L. Banti that throughout the span of the Minoan civilisation it is impossible that the cults and divinities should have remained stationary, but may have been modified, have evolved and changed over the succeeding centuries partly through the lapse of time, but again through contact with other peoples, and possibly through the influx of new immigrants.[1] From archaeological sources it is known that the bull at all stages in Minoan development played a major role in their religion. In fact it is fair to say that the bull in Minoan religion bulks larger than in the religion of any other country. But unfortunately as yet we have no Minoan written records to explain the exact status of the bull in their religion. Not that much help could be expected from this quarter, unless there were specific references to the "Thunder-Bull" or "River-Bull" for example, since commonly held beliefs in the Bronze Age are not usually written down, because being so widely known it is superfluous to commit them to writing. As such they would probably only be mention-

[1] L. Banti, "I Culti Minoici e Greci di Haghia Triàda", p.9.

ed in passing, no explanation being given since for those for whom the words would be written none was necessary. This demonstrates, I believe, the main difficulty in this type of research, namely that one has to deduct the reasoning behind the practice of certain cults. In other words one has to discover why certain rituals were enacted in a certain way, why the bull was an integral part of that ritual, and what reasons led the celebrants to perform it in the way they did - reasons which may not have been clear to the actual celebrants themselves.

Naturally such an inquiry could become dangerously subjective. Such dangers are, however, substantially reduced if the three sources,by which information about Minoan-Mycenaean religions is supplied to us, are used in conjunction with the archaeological evidence, which must be our primary source. The three other sources are: i) Cults current in Hellenic times, which appear to be survivals from the Minoan-Mycenaean age; ii) Greek myths relating to the Bronze Age which appear to contain religious material dating back to this time. The difficulty with these sources is to disentangle the genuine Minoan-Mycenaean material from later accretions and plain invention. Finally iii) a close examination of the role of the bull in the Eastern Mediterranean area as a whole. This last line of inquiry illustrates what type of role the bull was playing in contiguous regions at a time contemporary with

the Minoan age, and might be expected to play in Greece and Crete themselves, although of course these can only be taken as guide-lines. It also reveals what influences may have been exerted on Minoan-Mycenaean beliefs during periods of close trading contact, and for this reason a study of Minoan-Mycenaean foreign relations is necessary.

Once the types of role the bull may have played in Greece and Crete have been established, these are examined with a separate chapter for each major and different function in which all three sources are employed to explain what the relevant archaeological evidence on its own cannot. But none of these three sources, nor all of them combined should be allowed to produce answers that are at variance with the archaeological data. When these rules are strictly adhered to the liklihood of the inquiry becoming too subjective is minimised.

If the interpretation, or even the recognition, of scenes of a religious nature is difficult, then even more so is the recognition of foreign influence on an indigenous religion. For the former at least there is the concrete evidence provided by archaeology, and possibly by literary records, contemporary or otherwise; but for the latter one encounters the realm of hypothesis and speculation. Even so by following certain guide-lines one can ensure that one's hypothesis remains within the bounds of probability. If one is to

assert, for example, that during a given period of the Minoan era a certain country exerted upon Minoan religion an influence, which appears to be discernible through the similarities between certain religious rites of the two countries, or through the introduction into Minoan religion of a new phenomenon, which can be paralleled in the other country, then two conditions must be ensured: that the religious practice in the other country be shown to exist there immediately prior to its appearance in Crete and that there should be concrete proof of intercourse between the two countries.

One should also bear in mind that the religious observances may alter and progress without the aid of an external stimulus, and, above all, that proof of importation of foreign goods into Greece and Crete does not prove the importation of foreign religious ideas. To show that Crete, for example, was in close contact economically with country 'A' during MMII does not automatically prove that any religious innovations of that period are influenced by that country; but one cannot claim that country 'B' is responsible for these changes if there is no corroborating evidence for intercourse between country 'B' and Crete.

Of course arguments by analogy with the customs of other countries are always useful in explaining isolated religious observances, but these arguments lose their validity the farther the two countries in question are separated in

distance, time, and stage of cultural progress. For example: An early Bronze Age Minoan custom is more convincingly explained by an analogous example from the early Bronze Age Egyptian Old Kingdom than by a late Bronze Age Celtic custom from Britain. Moreover the Egyptian analogy would carry more weight than (say) a contemporary Persian custom if it could be proved that at this time Egypt was in contact with Crete, whereas Persia was not. Not even this is enough to prove that the Minoan custom was adopted from the Egyptian - the Minoan custom may have arisen spontaneously and have no debt to outside influences - but it comes closest to satisfying the three requirements. In other words, although it has a greater degree of probability than any other analogy not fulfilling these requirements, it can still be completely wrong.[1]

This being the case, it is important to scrutinise closely the contacts of Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation, throughout its main phases, with foreign countries where bull cults are known to have existed.[2] As L.R.Farnell said,

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[1] I do not think it can be overemphasised that analogies should be used with the utmost caution, the main danger being that they may be selected at random to suit a person's preconceived solution of a problem. As C.Picard says, "L'interpretation analogique de nos connaissances acquises reste toujours affaire subjective" (Les Religions Prehelleniques, p.8.)

[2] For this reason I have omitted to discuss early Minoan contact with the Greek Mainland and the Cyclades as there is, as yet, no evidence for bull cults being in existence in those places at a date early enough to have had a formative influence on Minoan cult.

"The line of inquiry touching the birth of a nation's religion can never be followed out within that nation's literature and monuments"[1]. Only when the degree of contact between those countries and Crete, and the nature of their bull cults, have been established, can we then go on to examine the possible influence of these cults on those of Crete and the Greek Mainland.

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[1]L.Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 1.1.

CHAPTER II

MINOAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

Fortunately for the dating of religious influences an exact chronology is not necessary. Religious influence would probably take decades to permeate and infiltrate an already established religion, and a similar length of time to establish itself from scratch in a foreign land to such an extent that its presence could make itself felt on archaeological records.[1]

1. The Earliest Population of Crete.

The earliest skeletal remains found so far, which are large enough for measurements of the bodies to be taken, date from the period EMI. The measurements of corpses from Hagios Nikolaos, near Palaikastro, show that the skulls are of a pronounced dolichocephalic type,[2] and this evidence is corroborated by the measurements of skeletons from the EM ossuaries in the Messara.[3] Thus "it seems that the early

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[1]The chronological scheme I have adopted is that of R.W. Ehrich, Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, this being the most recent and exhaustive survey of the problems of ancient chronology. It also has the advantage of being the product of a symposium of scholars, whose personal views on certain controversial dates did not necessarily coincide, thereby providing a useful check on difficult problems of chronology.

[2]J. Pendlebury, Archaeology of Crete, pp.47-48; W. Duckworth, "Excavations at Palaikastro II", pp.344-355.

[3]S. Xanthoudides, The Vaulted Tombs of the Mesará, pp. 126-128.

Cretans anticipated in head-form and stature the proportions assigned to the "Mediterranean Race".[1] This race, predominantly occurring, as its name suggests, on the shores of the Mediterranean, also inhabited at the end of the Neolithic and beginning of the Early Bronze Age both Anatolia and Egypt, the countries most likely to be the homeland of the first Cretan settlers, always supposing that these early inhabitants were not indigenous. J.Pendlebury[2] considers it impossible that the earliest inhabitants were indigenous because of the advanced state of the earliest strata, an opinion borne out by the later excavations into the Neolithic levels at Knossos by J.D.Evans, who found pottery in the earliest stratum (no.IX) showing a number of features, such as pointillé and incised decoration, beaded rims, flap and wishbone handles, and trumpet lugs, which he believed to be not of an experimental nature but representing a well-established ceramic tradition.[3] At such an early stage of the Neolithic era it seems that the inhabitants of Crete could only have come from Anatolia, although a later migration during the EM period, perhaps from farther afield, has been postulated.[4] Most of the important sites of EMI are situated

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[1] Duckworth, op. cit., p.354.
[2] Pendlebury, op.cit., p.37.
[3] J.Evans, "Excavations in the Neolithic Settlement of Knossos, 1957-60, Part I", p.196.
[4] See below, pp. 14, 50-51.

in the East of the island with a view to their accessibility to the sea, whereas all the Neolithic and Sub-neolithic sites are situated inland.[1] Moreover in the East there is a direct transition from Neolithic to EMI, for which a new wave of immigrants from S.W.Anatolia may have been responsible.[2]

2. Neolithic Connections with Anatolia.

The skeletal remains which suggest a possible migration from Anatolia are further born out by the remains of Neolithic pottery and figurines. Striking likenesses have been observed in Anatolia for Cretan Neolithic pottery;[3] A. Furness in a restudy of Neolithic material from earlier excavations confirmed the Anatolian derivation of the culture, as opposed to possible relations with the early dark-faced ware of Syro-Cilicia,[4] and J.Evans in new excavations has connected the earliest pottery with the W.Anatolian Late Chalcolithic tradition.[5] S.Weinberg thinks that the derivation from Late Chalcolithic of W.Anatolia is reasonable, but hardly before the mid-fifth millenium. Such a derivat-

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[1] Pendlebury, op.cit., pp.47, 53.
[2] Ibid., p.53.
[3] Ibid., p.42; C. Woolley,"Asia Minor, Syria and the Aegean", pp.46-47.
[4] A. Furness,"The Neolithic Pottery of Knossos", pp.94-134. There are some incised pieces from the Chalcolithic levels at Mersin which are reminiscent of Cnossian pointillé style, but the Cilician lacks the refinement of the Cretan style, and the similarities are probably due to similar techniques.
[5] Evans, op.cit., pp.132-240.

ion would explain the lack of painted pottery in Crete to parallel that of Early and Middle Neolithic periods of the Greek Mainland.[1]

Equally striking are the resemblances between the Cretan Neolithic figurines and those of Anatolia. In level I at Hacilar a class of hollow effigies or anthropomorphic vessels in the form of a seated female have come to light. The arms support the breasts, and the sagging abdomen, knees and steatopygous buttocks are nearly always indicated. The largest of these figurines is almost one foot high. A number of hollow feet found in the same deposit suggest standing figures; no two effigies are alike, but, although common, the remains have always been fragmentary.[2] The only contemporary parallel to these effigies was found in level V at Hassuna (and dated by carbon 14 to c.5100 B.C. ∓ 200) but a fine clay statuette from the Cretan Neolithic site of Kato Ierapetra, while different in the rendering of the legs, and almost certainly later in date, bears a strong resemblance to the Hacilar effigies.[3] The Kato Ierapetra figurine is made of clay, 14.5 cm. high, greater than the majority of

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[1]S. Weinberg,"The Relative Chronology of the Aegean in the Stone and Early Bronze Age" in R. Ehrich, Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, p.301.

[2]J. Mellaart,"Excavations at Hacilar: Third Preliminary Report", pp.103-4.

[3]S. Weinberg,"Neolithic Figurines and Aegean Interrelations", p.104 Plate I,A.

Aegean figurines, in the shape of a female with legs drawn up in front of her, left leg over right; the buttocks protrude and spread sideways to fill out a square base, from the centre of which the torso of the figure rises; the shoulders slope down sharply and from them hang the large triangular breasts.[1] Similar examples have been found at Corinth, at Patissia, north of Athens; on Amorgos and Naxos; two more examples are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the Ashmolean (the latter is said to come from Cnossos).[2] The posture distinguishes these seven figurines from the other steatopygous examples in the Neolithic Aegean.[3]

The phenomenon of steatopygy in female figurines appears in the Aegean along with the earliest material culture of the region and the evidence points to W. Anatolia as the logical and likely point of departure.[4] The Aegean type of standing steatopygous figurine is very similar to some found in Anatolia, especially the stone statuettes

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[1] Ibid., p.121.
[2] Ibid., pp.121-124.
[3] Possibly a very late reminiscence of this type of statuette is the EMIII vase from Mochlos in the shape of a woman holding her breasts, which are perforated to form two spouts (Cf. R. Seager, Explorations on the Island of Mochlos, p.64, figs. 32 and 34; Plate XIIIg). More likely, however, the resemblance is fortuitous.
[4] Weinberg, op. cit., p.121; id., "Aegean Chronology; Neolithic Period and Early Bronze Age", p.176; Xanthoudides, op. cit., p.132.

from Tchukurkend, near Adalia,[1] and a fragment found at Dundar - tepe, near Samsun.[2] To the seated or squatting steatopygous figurines found in Crete, those from Adalia provide the closest parallels,[3] although some resemblances are found in the figurines from the S. Amuq plain in N. Syria.[4] The relations of Crete with Anatolia in the Neolithic age can be summed up in the words of Pendlebury: "This evidence, taken in conjunction with the uninterrupted continuation of the culture into the next period (E'I) when Anatolian influence is more marked, inclines one to the belief in a very early immigration from S.W.Anatolia."[5]

3. Neolithic Connections with Countries other than Anatolia.

There is little evidence for Minoan contact with countries other than Anatolia during the Neolithic Period. Possible contact with Pre-dynastic Egypt, as indicated by the discovery of stone vases in Crete, will be discussed in Section 5. There is as yet no indication of Cretan contact

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[1] H. Ormerod, "Prehistoric Remains in S.W. Asia Minor", pp. 48 - 50, fig. 1,B.

[2] K. Kökten, N. and T. Özgüç, "Samsun Kazilari", Belleten, 9 (1945), p.375, Plate LXVI,6.

[3] Cf. A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.46, fig.12; 48,fig. 13 nos.1-3 with ibid., 1.47-49, fig.13 no.17, and S.Weinberg "Neolithic Figurines and Aegean Interrelations", pp. 131-2; Plate 3D.

[4] Weinberg, op. cit., p. 132, Plate 3E.

[5] Pendlebury, op.cit., p. 42. Evans, op.cit., sums up the situation in much the same terms: "On the whole the Neolithic culture of Crete (representative of the Aegean islands in general) may be regarded as an insular offshoot of an extensive Anatolian province.

with any other land outside the Aegean basin during the Neolithic Period.

4. Early Minoan Contacts with Anatolia.

The beginning of the EM Period sees a continuation of the direct Anatolian influence of the Neolithic Period,[1] with the introduction of a new class of pottery - round-bottomed jugs with beaked spouts;[2] the handles of the jugs are thrust through walls of the vases to emerge on the inside, a characteristic which is paralleled in Anatolia and all over the Aegean;[3] the low collared suspension pots which appear at the same time may also have the same origin.[4] Towards the end of EMII (c.2400 - 2200) Anatolian influence on Crete is again noticeable, the connection being with Troy.[5] The spiral occurs in gold wire-work on pins from the Trojan "Treas-

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[1]See above pp.8-9 for the evidence of the siting of EM towns, caused possibly by an immigration from Anatolia. Cf. R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art, p.17, although Higgins' date of c.2800 is probably too late, this being about the beginning of EMII, when there is no evidence for new Anatolian connections, but rather a continuation of those started in EMI.

[2]Higgins, op.cit., pp.23-24, fig.10.

[3]H. Frankfort, Studies in the Early Pottery of the Near East, 1.86; Pendlebury, op.cit., p.53. However, S. Weinberg, "The Relative Chronology of the Aegean", pp.306-7 points out that the original 'dark-on-light' painted style of this class of pottery is as foreign to EBA 1 &2 Anatolia as it is to Crete, and suggests that it originates in the S.E. corner of the Mediterranean where it appears in Egypt immediately prior and during Dynasty I and at the end of the Chalcolithic Period in Palestine. Tubular spouts are also found in this region.

[4]Frankfort, op.cit., 1.87.

[5]J. Mellaart,"The End of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean", p.32.

ure of Priam" from Troy II,[1] and a similarity of gold-work was found by Seager on Mochlos dating to a contemporary period (EMII/III), although no spirals analogous to the Trojan pins were found,[2]

5. Early Minoan Connections with Egypt.

Cretan relations with Egypt during the EM Period have provided a bone of contention for scholars ever since Sir Arthur Evans claimed that refugees from the N.W. Delta of Egypt had settled in the Messara at the time of Menes' unification of Egypt.[3] Other scholars, however, deny that there was an Egyptian settlement in Crete and claim that the Egyptian material in Crete and Cretan parallels to Egyptian artifacts have been exaggerated.[4] Apart from some parallels of a general nature, which have been left to the end of this section, the evidence for Egyptian trade and settlement in Crete is based on stone vases, figurines,and seals and amulets.

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[1]C. Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations, pp. 65-66, figs., 53, 57 and 58.

[2]Seager, op.cit., pp. 28-29 and 72, figs.8-9, 20, 25 and 41-43.

[3]Evans, op.cit., 2.22ff.; a theory supported by Pendlebury, op.cit., p. 55 n.2 who was forced, however, to attribute the emigration to the act of re-unification effected by Khasekhemui towards the end of the Second Dynasty.

[4]Notably L. Banti,"La Grande Tomba a Tholos di Haghia Triada (Creta)"; G.Reisner, "Stone Vessels found in Crete and Babylonia"; J. Vercoutter, Egyptiens et Préhellenes.

1) Stone Vases: Stone vases were manufactured in Egypt from Predynastic times onwards[1]. When considering them one must distinguish between actual Egyptian imports and Cretan imitations. Moreover they cannot be used for dating purposes in the same way as pottery. Pottery, being of a very fragile nature, will survive intact, with certain unusual exceptions, for only a few years after its date of manufacture. But stone vases, being of a very durable nature, will survive intact for hundreds and even thousands of years. For dating Egyptian influence on Crete, therefore, one must not only take note of the strata in which they are found, but also the date of their manufacture in Egypt.

Pendlebury in his book Aegyptiaca has listed the vases which he thinks are unquestionably imports from Egypt. A syenite vase was found on the border of a Neolithic and Sub-neolithic deposit inside the S. Propylaea and under the West Wing of the Palace of Cnossos,[2] but it was not of that deposit.[3] Three vases of hornblende porphyry were all

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[1]F. Petrie, Diospolis Parva, p. 18; id., Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties, 1. Pl. IV - X; 2. Pl. XLVI - LIIIg; H. Hall, The Ancient History of the Near East, p.81; id., Aegean Archaeology, p.49.

[2]J. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, p.21 Pl.II,26; Evans, op. cit., 1.65 fig. 28; 67 fig. 31.

[3]Evans, op.cit., 1.65; 2.30-31 who would date it to Late Predynastic Times. But Pendlebury,(loc. cit; id., The Archaeology of Crete, p. 54 n.4) claims that it is not Predynastic, but would date it to Dynasties I-II.

found in an unstratified deposit N.W. of the Palace site; two are dated by Pendlebury to the Middle Predynastic Period,[1] and the other to Dynasties I-II;[2] A diorite moustache cup, dated by Pendlebury to Dynasty IV, came to light in an unstratified deposit west of the Palace of Cnossos;[3] a diorite bowl of a type common to Dynasties I-IV was also found at Cnossos, but among a MMIII pottery;[4] and fragments of three similar vases have been found, one of unknown provenance,[5] and two from the LMI-II strata of the "Royal Tombs" at Isopata.[6] Fragments of stone vases usually too small to identify are said to have come from the Neolithic deposit at Cnossos.[7] Many of them were made of variegated stone, foreign to Crete and used in Egypt up to the end of the Protodynastic Period,[8] but their Egyptian origin is not assured and Pendlebury does not include them in his catalogue of

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[1] Ibid., p.54; id., Aegyptiaca, loc.cit. Cf. Evans, op. cit., 2.30-31 figs.12 and 28.

[2] Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, loc.cit, Pl.II,25; Cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.65, 67 fig.32.

[3] Pendlebury, loc.cit., Pl. II,28; cf. Evans, op.cit., 2.58 fig.27.

[4] Pendlebury, loc.cit., Pl. II,27; cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.86 fig.55b.

[5] Pendlebury, op.cit, p.40.

[6] Ibid., p.24.

[7] Evans, op.cit., 2.15-17 figs.6 and 7,a,c.

[8] Ibid., 2.16; Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p. 42. But Reisner, op.cit., p.204 thinks that the limestone pot (Evans, op.cit., 2.16 fig.6) could be dated anywhere in Dynasties I-VI.

Egyptian finds in Crete. Thus all the stone vases found in Crete are either from very late periods, MMIII and LMI-II, or else they are mixed up in unstratified deposits. Thus emphasis has been placed on their date of manufacture in Egypt and not on the level in which they were found. Pendlebury would date much of the material to Predynastic and Dynasty I-II Periods, but G. Reisner in a study of Egyptian stone vases found outside Egypt, also lists the vases found at Cnossos and states categorically that none of the material is Predynastic, and thinks that none dates to Dynasties I or II, but that the earliest material is of Dynasty III date, whereas objects such as the diorite moustache cup and bowl would date from Dynasties III-VI and IV-V (possibly VI) respectively.[1] J. Vercoutter, independently of Reisner, also comes to the same conclusion that Dynasty III seems to be the earliest period for the importation of the Egyptian vases, but sees the end of Dynasty VI as being the time when the majority of the vases arrived.[2] Closely connected with the stone vases are the stone mace-heads; fragments of two mace-heads are said to have been found in the Neolithic stratum β at Cnossos,[3] although they are not included in Pen-

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[1] Ibid., pp.204-5.
[2] Vercoutter, op.cit., pp.50-51.
[3] Evans, op.cit., 2.11-17 figs.3,k(α) and 1(α), 7,b.

dlebury's list of Egyptian finds in Crete, and a diorite mace-head in the Ashmolean Museum of unknown stratification is claimed by Pendlebury to be Late Predynastic.[1] Reisner, however, thinks that like most of the stone vases the mace-heads could easily be Predynastic or date to the end of the Old Kingdom, and he would assign them to Dynasty III or possibly IV-VI.[2]

Apart from recognised Egyptian stone vases in Crete there are vessels of the same material of acknowledged Minoan manufacture, for which an Egyptian origin has been claimed. In the EM tombs of the Messara remains of stone vessels are more numerous than those of clay, and the same phenomenon has been observed at Mochlos.[3] Suddenly in EMII the Minoans started to manufacture good quality vases out of hard stone without any sign of their evolution. EMII marks not only the beginning but the acme of Minoan stone vases.[4] Evans and Pendlebury sought for the origin of these vases through contact with Egypt,[5] where stone vases were in existence from the earliest times. Moreover stone vases occur

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[1]Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, p.21. Ashmolean Museum, no.838.
[2]Reisner, op.cit., p.206.
[3]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.15; Seager, op.cit., p.102.
[4]Ibid., pp.101-2; Vercoutter, op.cit., p.52; Evans, op. cit., 1.90; in the Messara, however, the stone vases mainly date to EMIII/MMI (Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.103).
[5]Evans, op.cit., 1.85-93; Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.69.

in Europe only in Crete and the Iberian peninsula.[1] Evans thinks this phenomenon is due to stone vases, imported from Egypt during EMI, being copied and then improved upon,[2] but hypothesis is contradicted by the absence of Egyptian objects in the older strata (Neolithic, Sub-neolithic and EMI) and of Cretan copies of types familiar throughout Egyptian times.[3] For example, tubular vases without spreading bases, which are common from Predynastic times to the end of the Old Kingdom, never appear in Crete. To maintain the theory of Egyptian influence on Crete throughout the Old Kingdom Period one must admit that the Minoans chose the rarest and most obsolete forms of vases to copy while rejecting the common ones. The parallels advanced between Egyptian and Cretan stone vases are not identical and are probably only chance resemblances, since "primitive peoples in the same state of culture having similar needs and similar material are apt to produce objects and decorations of similar appearance. Mere similarity between objects of two cultural areas which are not equivalent to identity of form, material and technique, are not sufficient proof of interchange of objects between the two areas."[4] Many of the stone vases

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[1]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.104.
[2]Evans, op.cit., 1.91.
[3]Vercoutter, op.cit., p.58.
[4]Reisner, op.cit., p.206.

found at Mochlos (EMII) are "un-Egyptian in every respect,"[1] and "in no case can it be said that there is an actual import.[2]

One type of vase, however, is important in that it is an exact imitation of an Egyptian vase - tubular in shape widening at the top with a projecting rim and with a spreading flat base. It is best attested at Mochlos[3] and is popular throughout the Messara.[4] This shape of vase existed in Egypt during Dynasties I-VI, but the more refined type with the spreading base is peculiar to Dynasty VI,[5] which adds weight to the arguments that it was not until this time that Egyptian vases were copied.

ii) Figurines.

A certain type of EMII/III figurine with a domed head, pointed chin and knife-shaped body, which has been found at Cnossos[6] and more especially in the Messara,[7] has

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[1]Seager, loc.cit.
[2]Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, p.30.
[3]Seager, op.cit., p.80 fig.47,3; Plate II,M3; Evans,op. cit., 1.92 fig.60; Vercoutter, op.cit., p.56 fig.10, "Cette fois la resemblance est indéniable." Heraclion Museum, no. 1294.
[4]Xanthoudides, op.cit., pp.65, 101, Pl.XI,no.1904; XXXIXa, no.1057; LIIIb,no.1637.
[5]Vercoutter, op.cit., p.56; Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.75;Evans, op.cit.,1.93 and p.92 fig.61 shows Dynasty VI vases of identical shape, one of which bears an inscription recording the Sed Festival of Pepi I.
[6]Evans, op.cit., 2.31 figs.13,b,1,2.
[7]At Hagia Triada eight such figurines were found in the large tholos; (Evans, op.cit., 1.84 fig.52e-j; L. Banti, "La Grande Tomba a Tholos di Haghia Triada", p.189 Pl.58a,b); six at Kumasa (Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.24 Pl.IV,128-130; XXI,131,

been compared with a similar type of figurine common in Egypt during the Predynastic Period and best attested at Naqada.[1] But these figurines of EMII/III are much later than the Predynastic figurines, even allowing for the fact that the Libyan element of the Predynastic Period continued to exist in the Western Delta during the Early Dynastic Period,[2] and they are not identical in shape, the Egyptian examples having rectangular bodies, whereas the Cretan figurines tend to have tapering bodies.[3] Moreover none of the Cretan figurines are imports, since they are always made of marble, alabaster or limestone, all of which are local stones.[4]

iii) Seals and Amulets.

Attempts have been made to show that primitive EMI seal designs and shapes may be derived from Predynastic Egyptian seals.[5] The results, however, are scarcely conclusive

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135, 525); two at Platanos (Ibid., op.cit., p.121 Pl.XV, 222, 223); one at Porti (Ibid., p.67 Pl.VIII; XXXIXb,173).

[1]F. Petrie, Naqada, pp.45-46 PL.LIX. Cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.84 fig.52a-d; 2.31 fig.13a; H.Hall,"The Relations of Aegean with Egyptian Art", p.113 Pl.XVII, fig.1.

[2]Pendlebury, op.cit., p.74.

[3]Banti, op.cit., p.244.

[4]Ibid., p.245.

[5]Evans, op.cit., 1.68-69 compares a three-sided steatite seal from Calochorio and a steatite whorl-seal from Hagios Onuphrios (1.68 figs.37a-c and 38A respectively) with a Predynastic prism seal from Karnak (1.69 fig.38B,b-d), and notes the similarity of representation of hieroglyphic designs and animal-headed men and grotesque monsters. M. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p.386 accepts this as evidence of very early contact between Crete and Egypt, but Pendlebury, op.cit., p.55 noting that such types in Egypt go back to Mesopotamian origins, believes that the tradition may have come direct fron Asia without an Egyptian intermediary.

and any resemblances are probably fortuitous. In EMII seals appear showing the effects of Egyptian influence. An ivory signet seal from Mochlos with the design of two apes or cynocephali seated back to back shows marked Egyptian characteristics,[1] and, from the same deposit, an ivory cylinder seal pierced through the side is engraved on one side with a conventionalised lotus of Egyptian design.[2] But it is not until after EMII that such seals really become common. Some seals present striking analogies with Egyptian seals of Dynasty VI,[3] such as the ivory seal from Platanos in the shape of a dog-headed ape squatting in a ritual attitude that is usual in Egypt,[4] and two cylindrical seals from Platanos, one showing on the base a procession of lions around the circumference and spiders around the centre, and the other two scorpions, which are headless as in the Egyptian convention.[5] The button seal appears towards the end of EMII

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[1]Seager, op.cit., p.33 fig.11,no.II,42 and p.108. Cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.83 fig.51.

[2]Seager, op.cit., p.35 fig.12,no.II,41 and p.108. Cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.94 fig.64, and Pendlebury, op.cit., p.72 fig.10b who thinks that both these seals are very sophisticated for such an early period in Egypt, the design on the second seal looking almost like that of the Middle Kingdom. Perhaps this is due to the "Minoanisation" of the Egyptian design. These two seals are the only ones with Egyptianizing designs that can be definitely dated to EMII, all other examples being of a later date. This may indicate that they should be placed towards the end of that period.

[3]Seager, op. cit., pp.5,11 believes that these seals provide the earliest evidence of Egyptian influence on Crete.

[4]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.114 Pl.XIII,no.1040. Cf. Evans, op.cit.,1.118 figs.87,1a-c.

[5]Xanthoudides, op.cit., Pl.XIII,nos. 1038, 1039. Cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.118 figs. 87, 4 and 10.

and increases in number throughout EMIII; whereas it begins in Egypt during Dynasty V, but becomes characteristic of Dynasty VI.[1]

At this time amulets also appear which can be paralleled in Egypt. They take the shape of apes,[2] oxen and ox-heads,[3] and legs.[4] The use of ivory as the material for many of these seals has been seized upon as proof of Minoan contact with Egypt,[5] but elephants survived in Syria as late as the fifteenth century B.C., so that the ivory may well have come from there.[6] In fact many of the features listed above may well have been introduced into Egypt from Syria itself,[7] and thus they may also have been introduced

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[1]See Pendlebury, op.cit.,p.89; Vercoutter, op.cit., pp. 61-62 fig.12; Reisner, op.cit., p.208.

[2]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.122 Pl.XV,1026 a seal from Platanos in the shape of two apes seated back to back. The ape is found as an amulet as early as the Predynastic Period (F. Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt, p.10).

[3]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.31 Pl.XXVIa,133 (from Kumasa); p.122 Pl.XV,1147 and XV,1252 (from Platanos, Tholos B). In Egypt ox and ox-head amulets are common from Predynastic times onward (F. Petrie, op.cit., p.11; id., Abydos, II, Pl. IX,200; X,214,222,227; XI,245).

[4]Xanthoudides, op.cit., pp.31, 129, Pl.LVIII,1143-4 from Tholos B at Platanos; Pl.XXVIa,132,134 from Tholos B at Kumasa; cf. Banti, op.cit., p.251 fig.58,p-s. Precisely the same type of amulet was found attached to the ankles of the dead in tombs of Dynasty VI and preceding periods (J. Garstang, Mahasna, p.30, Pl.XXXIX). Miss Banti, op. cit., p.251 considers that this type of amulet alone of all the EM material shows any Egyptian influence.

[5]E.g. by Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.130

[6]Pendlebury, op.cit., p.89 n.7.

[7]Frankfort, op.cit., 1.132; 2.122; id.,"Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period", pp.90,94. Pendlebury, op. cit., p.89 noting the comparative absence of ivory at this time in E. Crete, thinks it safer to assume that there was

from there into Crete. Much depends on the sea routes taken from Egypt to Crete and vice-versa.[1]

iv) Other Evidence.

Certain rectangular stone tablets found in Crete[2] have been compared to Egyptian Predynastic and Protodynastic stone palettes, which commonly took on a rectangular shape towards the end of the Predynastic Period[3] although they assumed a variety of shapes. The Egyptian palettes are, however, flat on both sides, whereas the Minoan examples are either convex on the bottom or have four stumpy lecs. Moreover the Minoan tablets date to EMIII/MMI, while the Egyptian examples are probably too early to have influenced them.[4]

The circular tombs of the Messara, which date from EMII, are believed by Evans to be derived from the Libyan mapalia or bee-hive tholoi,[5] but although they are similar in construction the evidence for a migration is hardly con-

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contact between the Messara and a strongly Syrianized state in the Egyptian Delta - a theory rejected by Vercoutter, op. cit., p.71.

[1]See below pp. 29-30.

[2]Seven at Kumasa (Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.16 Pl.XXI nos. 856-8; 862-3; 865); four at Porti (Ibid., p.64 Pl.XXXVIII nos.1038-1041); one at Mochlos (Seager, op.cit., pp.36-37 fig.13,II,53).

[3]Xanthoudides, op.cit., pp.17, 129. Cf. F. Petrie, Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties, 2.38 Pl.38; id., Abydos, 1.22-25 PL. I and LII.

[4]Pendlebury, op.cit., p.90; Banti, op.cit., p.251.

[5]Evans, op.cit., 2.35-44, followed by Xanthoudides, op. cit., p.128 and Pendlebury, op.cit., p.74.

clusive.[1] Similarly Evans evidence for similarities between Libyan and Minoan hair-fashions,[2] the use of the cod-piece,[3] and similarities between bow and arrow types[4] has been exaggerated. All these parallels advanced are attested in Egypt in the Pre- or Protodynastic Period, or at the latest before Dynasty III, and are only attested in Crete at the earliest in EMII, or, more often, at the beginning of the MM Period. Therefore there is a huge gap between their existence in Egypt and Libya, and their appearance in Crete. The resemblances are almost certainly fortuitous.

Faience beads, which were manufactured in Egypt from Predynastic times onwards, appear in Crete from EMII.[5] A gold neclace found at Mochlos recalls the 'mummy' beads of faience, according to its discoverer,[6] while carnelian beads of Cretan manufacture from the same site are in the Egyptian

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[1]Miss Banti, loc.cit., sees no connection between the circular tombs of the Messara and Libyan,Predynastic or Protodynastic tombs.

[2]Evans, op.cit., 2.33-34 fig.16 for the use of the side lock.

[3]Ibid., 2.34-35. Worn by the Predynastic Egyptians and the Libyans during the Old Kingdom, the cod-piece is not found in Crete until MM times.

[4]Ibid., 2.48-51.

[5]E.g. at Mochlos (Seager, op.cit., p.55 fig.25,VI,35) a necklace of small beads of faience, stone and shell; the beads bear a close resemblance to Egyptian faience beads, and the necklace is possibly an import. (Cf. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, p;31). Many were found inside and outside the tombs at Kumasa (Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.48).

[6]Seager, op.cit., p.106 fig. 20,XXI,19.

style.[1] A bowl of faience was also found in Tomb VI at Mochlos, and dated to Dynasties I-VI.[2]

v) Conclusions.

In reviewing the evidence for Egyptian influence on EM Crete it must be stated that the earliest verified Egyptian imports to be found in an undisturbed deposit (the faience beads and bowl from Mochlos), occur during EMII. It is during this same period that stone vase production begins in Crete, with one type of vase, peculiar to Dynasty VI, being exactly paralleled. The acknowledged imported vases found in Crete are all from unstratified or later deposits, but most of them were being produced in Dynasties IV-VI; the same applies to the mace-heads.[3] The evidence from the

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[1] Ibid., loc.cit., fig.41,XIX,14.
[2] Ibid., p.54; Pendlebury, op.cit., p.31.
[3] Vercoutter, op.cit., pp.59-61 expresses the theory that at the end of Dynasty VI and during the First Intermediate Period, a period of general anarchy, the Egyptian tombs were pillaged, thus releasing a large number of archaic vessels. He compares the Cretan finds of EMII/III with a contemporaneous deposit beneath a Syrian temple in Byblos - in both places vases of a possible Predynastic form were found with those of Dynasty VI and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period. He therefore suggests that the Predynastic type of vases were copied in EMII. Again the most ancient Egyptian vase to be found in Crete comes from a MMIII deposit, and MMIII like the end of EMII and EMIII corresponded to a period of anarchy and foreign invasion in Egypt. This vase then was probably pillaged from Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period of the Hyksos. Against this theory it should be said that no vase has been found in Crete, which can be dated to the Predynastic Period and no other. Cf. Reisner, op.cit., p.206 "My conclusion is that there is no Egyptian object reported in The Palace of Minos which can be dated safely to the Predynastic Period or even Dyn-

stone palettes and figurines is inconclusive, but the seals, faience beads and, possibly, amulets show that contact had been made by EMII. The theory of a Libyan settlement in the Messara seems to have been ill-founded and a similarity of material has been exaggerated.[1] But it would be wrong to adopt the other extreme that Egyptian influences do not exist at all in EM times.

6. Early Minoan Connections with Syria and Mesopotamia.

Only one object has come to light to provide certain proof of connections between EM Crete and Mesopotamia. This is a silver cylinder seal, much oxydized, of Babylonian origin, according to its finder, which came to light in Chamber Tomb I at Mochlos among objects of EMII date.[2] An unstratified ivory head with traces of shell inlay found at Trapeza is thought by Pendlebury to be a possible import,[3] and a type

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asties I-II; that few objects of the First Intermediate Period have been found in Crete, and that only one from the Second Intermediate Period has been discovered so far.(See Pendlebury, op.cit., pp.xvii,xviii).

[1]Cf. Banti, op.cit., p.251 "Non credo che per la nostra tholos (the Large Tholos at Hagia Triada) e per tutte quelle della Messara si possono ammettere stretti contatti fra Creta e Egitto; tanto meno dobbiamo parlare di sviluppo parallelo nelle due regioni".

[2]Seager, op.cit., p.111 fig.36,I,n. Cf. Xanthoudides, op. cit., p.117; Nilsson, op.cit., p.385 n.60.

[3]J. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.90n.1 and Pl. XIII,2 compares the head with one found at the Second Oval Temple at Khafaje (H. Frankfort, Oriental Institute Discoveries in Iraq, 1933-4, p.85 fig.75) and dated to c.2800-2500 B.C. (although E. Porada,"The Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia", p.178 would date it to c.2625-2500). This would correspond to EMII, but such figurines may have been made in Syria after they disappeared in Mesopotamia so that the date may not be so early.

of EMII figurine, possibly draped, with hands folded over the chest[1] are compared by him to statues of Ur-nina of Lagash.[2] Ox-head amulets found in Crete have been compared to similar amulets which first occur in the Tell Halaf period and continue into the First Babylonian Dynasty.[3] But such amulets have also been claimed to originate in Egypt.[4] C.L. Woolleyhas suggested that a basalt lamp with a shallow bowl on a trefoil pedestal found on a Level XIIa floor at Tell Atchana may be a prototype of the Cretan lamps of a later age, which have quatrefoil stems.[5]

Such evidence as this, based on speculation, even admitting the concrete find of the cylinder seal, is not conclusive of direct contact between the two regions. If any had existed then one might expect to find Mesopotamian influence on EM culture, and "such influence is notably absent"[6] The cylinder seal would probably have arrived in Crete via Syria,[7] which raises the question of sea routes in EM times.

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[1]Cf. Banti, op.cit., p.246.
[2]Pendlebury, op.cit., pp.87,90. Cf. H.Hall, Ancient History of the Near East, Pl.XII.
[3]S. Smith,"Middle Minoan I-II and Babylonian Chronology", p.12. Cf. M. Mallowan and J. Rose,"Prehistoric Assyria: The Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933", p.88 Pl.VIa.
[4]See above, p.23.
[5]C. Woolley, Alalakh, p.25. Cf. p.406 fig.80f with Evans, op.cit.,p.27 fig.14. Level XII is dated by Woolley to c.2700-2350 B.C.
[6]Seager, op.cit., p.111.
[7]I see no reason to attribute its appearance in Crete to Egyptian sources as does Seager, loc.cit.

Evans, the originator of the "Libyan colonisation" theory, saw no difficulty in refugees from Egypt sailing to Crete and settling in the Messara, the area facing towards Egypt. In fact the geographical position of the two regions seems to have played no small part in colouring his views on this matter. But the problems involved for a people, equipped with ships which used for sailing on the sheltered waters of the Nile, to sail more than 300 miles across the sea to a place which they, presumably, did not know existed, and with unfavourable winds blowing for most of the year,[1] are immense. The Cretans themselves were from the earliest times good sailors,[2] and it is possible that it was they who made the first contact with Egypt through boats being blown there during storms. But, as in classical times, there is no reason to suppose that Egyptian ships did not sail within easy reach of the shore in case of sudden storms, only losing sight of land for a short time during trips to islands.[3] It would thus seem more reasonable to assume that the Egyptians traded along the coast to Syria and that they either continued from there via Cyprus and Rhodes to Crete, or that the Egyptian material that appears in Crete from EMII onwards was

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[1]Admitted by Evans, op.cit., 1.17.
[2]As the inhabitation of islands such as Mochlos and Pseira in EM times and seal-engravings of boats show (Cf. Evans, op. cit., 1.118 figs.87,7a; 120 fig.89,b).
[3]Vercoutter, op.cit., pp.14-17.

brought from Syria by Cretan or Syrian traders. The two countries probably established contact in Syria.[1] The absence of EM objects in Egypt[2] may be fortuitous, or due to the fact that the Minoans had few 'objects d'art' to export and probably traded in raw materials. But it could mean that there had not yet been direct contact between the two countries. Once it is established that the trade with Egypt probably took the coastal route, then there occurs the possibility that, just as the Mesopotamian objects reached Crete through Syria, so all the Egyptian imports were of the same indirect nature.

7. Middle Minoan Connections with Egypt.

The Egyptian influence on Crete which started during EMII continues through EMIII, (although the contact is not so strong during the First Intermediate Period, which roughly coincides with EMIII) and increases during MMI-II. But the Second Intermediate Period, corresponding to MMIII, has produced only one find in Crete.[3] Egyptian scarabs which first appear in Crete during EMIII,[4] increase in number eith-

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[1]Ibid., p.63.

[2]The pieces of broken vases found in the Royal Tombs of Dynasty I at Abydos and attributed to the Aegean civilisation by Petrie, Abydos, p.28, proved to be from Syria (H. Hall," The Relations of Aegean with Egyptian Art", p.197ff.).

[3]J. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, p.xviii.

[4]A scaraboid from Porti with the top in the shape of a weasel is closely paralleled in the First Intermediate Period (Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.68); more simple examples were found at Marathocephalon, Hagia Triada and Gournes (Pendlebury, op. cit., pp.9,15,29 Pl.I,49; Banti, op.cit., p.215 fig.117).

er of actual imports or Cretan copies during MMI-II.[1] The base of the insect is often engraved in Minoan style, and the Minoans seem to have utilised the scarabs as seals and not as amulets. A string of faience beads from Gournes, and an ivory ape from the annexe to the Large Tholos at Hagia Triada have been dated to Dynasty XII.[2]

Only two other Egyptian imports have been found in MM strata. In a pure MMIIb stratum in the N.W. area of the Central Court of Cnossos the legs and base of a seated diorite statue, inscribed with the name 'User', has been discovered[3] and dated to either Dynasty XII or XIII.[4] The other Eg-

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[1]From Tholos B at Platanos come three scarabs of white steatite. One (Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.118 Pl.XV,1124) is said by Pendlebury, op.cit., p.35 (Cf. Pl.I no.55) to date from the First Intermediate Period, but S. Smith, op.cit., p.13 contests this view and claims that it is undatable except to somewhere in Dynasties XI-XII. Pendlebury would date the other two scarabs, one of which depicts the Egyptian goddess Taurt or Thueris (Pendlebury, op.cit., Pl.I no.56; Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.117 Pl.XIV,1075; Evans, op.cit., 1.200 fig.148), and the other a spiraliform pattern of a type common to Dynasty XII (Xanthoudides, op.cit., p;117 Pl.XV, 1058; Evans, op.cit., 1.200 fig.149; Pendlebury, op.cit., Pl.I no. 54), to Dynasty XII. Smith, op.cit., p.14 however, prefers an early Dynasty XIII date for the Taurt seal.

Other Dynasty XII seals in the shape of a scarab or Minoan imitations have been found at Hagia Triada, Hagios Onuphrios, Lebena, Cnossos, Gournes, Trapeza and the Psychro Cave (Pendlebury, op.cit., pp. 7,9,13,15,29; Pl.I no.48; id., The Archaeology of Crete, p.120).

[2]J. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, pp.9,15 Pl.I.

[3]Evans, op. cit., 1.286-9 fig.220; Pendlebury, op.cit., p. 22 Pl. II,29.

[4]H.G. Evers, Staat aus dem Stein, 2.96 dates it to the reign of Amenenhat I (somewhere between 1990 - 1900 B.C.), but S. Smith, op.cit., p.4 prefers a date of c.1800 B.C.

yptian import is the only Hyksos find in Crete - an alabaster lid inscribed with the name of Khyan, the Hyksos king of Dynasty XV, found in a MMIIIa deposit near the N.W. lustral basin at Cnossos.[1] As no Hyksos material has been found in Syria (especially notable at Ras Shamra where finds from Dynasties XII and XVIII abound) or at Byblos, Vercoutter posits a direct route from Egypt to Crete during the Hyksos period.[2] But this is rather overemphasising a single Hyksos find in Crete, especially as no MMIII material has yet been found in Egypt during the Hyksos Period.

It is during MMIII that the first imports of Minoan pottery are recorded in Egypt. MMIIa sherds have been found in a deposit of town rubbish over some Dynasty XII shaft graves at Harageh, a town constructed for the workmen engaged in building the pyramid of Senusret II (first quarter of 19th century B.C.)[3]. At Abydos a bridge-spouted jar of a transitional MMIIa/b type was found among Dynasty XII material,[4] which contained cylinders bearing the names of Senusret III (c.1875-1850 B.C.) and Amenemhat III (c.1850-1800 B.C.)[5].

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[1]Evans, op.cit., 1.419 fig.304b.
[2]Vercoutter, op.cit., p.79.
[3]R. Engelbach, Harageh, p.10; Evans, op.cit., 2.212 fig. 119a-g; Pendlebury, op.cit., p.112.
[4]Evans, op.cit., 1.268 fig.119a; Pendlebury, loc.cit.
[5]The cylinders may have belonged to an official of the two pharaohs, whom Smith, op.cit., p.3 would date to c.1830 B.C.; a round date of c.1850 B.C. would give a terminus ante quem for the beginning of MMIIa (Ibid., p.2), since the city of Harageh continued to be occupied after the death of Senusret II.

The third find of MMIIb sherds comes from Lahun, another town built to house workmen employed on Senusret II's pyramid, which was inhabited down to the Second Intermediate Period. It is not clear to which period of the town's existence the sherds (found in a room inside the town and rubbish dumps outside) belong, but the prevailing opinion is that MMIIb is contemporary with the end of Dynasty XII and the beginning if the Second Intermediate Period.[1]

The treasure found in the Montu Temple at Tod and dedicated by Amenemhat II (c.1950-1900 B.C.) includes silver vessels and a silver stamp seal of Minoan type, and provides the earliest known objects of Minoan style to be found in Egypt so far. They seem to be the first examples of Minoan metal vessels, known so far from MMII pottery imitations only.[2] The treasure, however, contains many Mesopotamian articles of widely varying date, and may represent war booty taken from somewhere in the Levant and possibly amassed there;[3]

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[1]H. Kantor,"The Relative Chronology of Egypt and its Foreign Correlations before the Late Bronze Age", pp.21-22. The deposits also contained Middle Cypriote white painted III-IV pendant line jug, black incised Tell el Yahudiyah ware, and various Syrian sherds which all date to the Second Intermediate Period; Smith, op.cit., p.1 thinks the city lasted until the cult of the Dynasty XII kings fell into desuetude and the XIIIth Dynasty began to lose control of Egypt c.1750 B.C; he would date the deposit no earlier than 1800 B.C. and no later than 1700 B.C.

[2]F.B. de la Roque, Le Trésor de Tod, pp.21-29 Pl. 12, 70580; 13,70583; 16,70619; 17,70623-4; 70627, 70629; Evans, op.cit., 1.241 fig.181, Pl.2,a, Supp. Pl.3,b; 4.132 fig.100.

[3]de la Roque, op.cit., pp.32-34.

and as such would not prove a Minoan presence in Egypt at ~~thi~~ this time.[1]

A marked Egyptian influence is discernible in the art of the Middle Minoan Period. Apart from the MMI seal from Platanos showing Taurt, other seals display the waz, or papyrus' stem motif - a motif common on Dynasty XII scarabs.[2] The waz motif also appears on other articles of the period,[3] and the lotus flower appears from MMI onwards on pottery. A Dynasty XII characteristicof a lotus flower springing out of the junction of a spiral volute is paralleled on a MMIIb vase from Phaestos.[4] The palmette motif occurs in MMII,[5] and although an Egyptian origin has been claimed for it, it could equally have come from Syria.[6] Egyptian elements apart from those listed above are visible in the Minoan frescoes which start in MMIII. For example, the blue monkey in the Saffron

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[1] Vercoutter, op.cit., pp.81-82 remains unconvinced by the Minoan finds in Egypt, and remarks on the Syrian material discovered with them. He believes that all the material could have been brought from Syria to Egypt.

[2] Evans, op.cit., 1.201 figs.150a-c and d-h compares the two; cf. also ibid., 1.705 figs.528a and b (MMIII from Zakro).

[3] On a MMIII columnar lamp from the S.E. House at Cnossos (Evans, op.cit., 1.345 fig. 249; 2.480 fig. 288a), (The use of the lamp is said to have spread from Egypt to Crete (E. Pfuhl, "Zur Geschichte der Griechischen Lampen und Laternen", JDAI, 27, (1912), pp.52-59)), and on an MMIII bronze cup of Vaphio shape from Mochlos (Seager, op.cit., p.62 fig.31,XII,f).

[4] Evans, op.cit., 1.257 fig.192b; H. Hall, "The Relations of Aegean with Egyptian Art", p.116 fig.2.

[5] Evans, op.cit., 1.254 fig.190a.

[6] The opposing views of Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.145 (pro Egypt), and Vercoutter, op.cit., p.150 (pro Syria).

Gatherer Fresco,[1] and the cat stalking its prey among the papyrus plants.[2] Possibly the practice of showing women with white flesh and men with red or dark brown follows the Egyptian convention.[3] At any rate the Tod treasure and LMII sherds in Egypt show that the traffic was two-way, and during Dynasty XII the developed spiral suddenly appears on seals and, although rarely, in wall-paintings.[4] It is unknown in Egypt before this period, although connected spirals occur in Crete from EMII onwards.

Two other artistic creations which appear in Crete during MMIII are the winged sphinx and the griffin. The sphinx originated in Egypt as the representation of divine royalty in the shape of a leonine figure incorporating the pharaoh's head.[5] It had no wings, whereas a representation of a sphinx on one of the MMIII sealings from Zakro makes it

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[1]Evans, op.cit., 1.265 Pl.IV dates it to MMII, but G. Snijder, Kretische Kunst, p.28 argues strongly on artistic grounds in favour of a MMIII date.

[2]Evans, op.cit., 1.538 fig.391; Pendlebury, op.cit., Pl. XXXII,2; Hall, op.cit., Pl.XXXIII,3. An Egyptian example occurs in a Middle Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan (Hall, op.cit., Pl.XXXIII,2).

[3]Certain MMI figurines from Petsofa are painted red and white for male and female respectively (Pendlebury, op.cit., p.116 Pl.XX,2); but this would seem to be a widespread and much older custom which occurs in Anatolia at Çatal Hüyük in wall paintings of Level VI J. Mellaart,"Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, 1961", p.60). Perhaps this convention proves nothing more than a true recording of fact - that the males wearing usually only a loin-cloth and spending most of their time out of doors had darker coloured skins than the more heavily clothed women, who spent most of their time indoors.

[4]Hall, op.cit., p.115; Vercoutter, op.cit., p.90.

[5]H. Frankfort,"Notes on the Cretan Griffin", p.116.

female and gives it wings.[1] It seems likely that the beast has been transformed in its journey from Egypt to Crete probably in Syria.[2] The griffin appears in Crete at the same time as the sphinx,[3] and it too was thought to come from Egypt via a West Asiatic medium,[4] until H. Frankfort showed that its true home is in Syria.[5]

8. Middle Minoan Connections with Syria.

The earliest Minoan sherds to be found in Syria are of MMIb date from Byblos,[6] where MMIIa sherds have also been found.[7] Both Ras Shamra and Qatna have produced MMIIa sherds,[8] and such finds of MMI/II pottery in Syrian ports is what one would expect, considering the appearance of similar finds in contemporary Egypt. MMIII pottery has not yet been found in Syria, although in a temple site of Level V at Tell Atchana a

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[1] Ibid., p.117 fig.17; D. Hogarth, "The Zakro Sealings", pp. 83-84 fig.19; Pl.VIII,74.

[2] Frankfort, op.cit., p.116.

[3] I.e. during MMIII (Ibid., p.113). Cf. the Zakro sealings (Hogarth, op.cit., p.81 Pl.VII, 41,42; Evans, op.cit., 1.712 fig.536), and the miniature frescoes at Cnossos (Ibid., 1.549 fig.400).

[4] Ibid., 1.709 "a direct indebtedness to Egyptian suggestion cannot be denied." A griffin also appears among game on a Predynastic slate palette (J. Quibell and F. Green, Hierakonpolis, 2. Pl.XXVIII).

[5] Frankfort, op.cit., pp.106-122.

[6] Their discoverer would date them to c.1900 B.C. (M. Dunand, Fouilles de Byblos, 1.311 fig.251).

[7] C. Schaeffer, La Stratigraphie Comparée, p.66.

[8] Ibid., pp.22,117; id., Ugaritica, 1.54-56. MMII influence has also been noticed at Tell Atchana (A. Evans, "Some Notes on Tal Atchana Pottery", JHS, 56 (1936), pp.133-4).

pottery fragment "of rather sandy drab clay on which is a spiral roughly drawn in red paint . . . is unlike any local ware and has all the appearance of a MMIII import".[1] The level in which the sherd was found is later than MMIII but C. Woolley points out that objects of a very different date often occur together in temple treasuries. Even so this is hardly evidence for relations between Tell Atchana and Crete in MMIII .

In the opposite direction Syrian finds in Crete during this period are restricted to cylinder seals, and as such are discussed among the Mesopotamian finds (below Section 9). There is, however, evidence that the Minoan longsword derives from the Syrian during this period.[2] That the Cretan griffin originates in Syria has already been seen, and a development of this creature, the griffin-demon, always shown in Syrian seals in a curious kneeling attitude and dressed in a skirt,[3]

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[1] Woolley, op.cit., p.370 Pl.CXXIX (ATP/48/16).

[2] N.K. Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and their Ancestry", AJA, 65(1961), pp.17-29 who claims that the Aegean longsword of Karo's Class 'A' category (G. Karo, Die Schactgraeber von Mykenai, pp.200-206) is derived from a Syrian original. This view is supported by K. Branigan who maintains that Syrian metallurgical ideas were being transferred to the Aegean area, absorbed and adapted by EMIII and throughout MMIa, and that actual imports into Crete may have arrived in MMIb - MMII ("Byblite Daggers in Cyprus and Crete", AJA, 70(1966), pp.123-126; "Further Light on Prehistoric Relations between Crete and Byblos", AJA, 71(1967), pp.117-121).

[3] As shown on a seal of the "First Syrian Group" in the Louvre (Frankfort, op.cit., p.117 fig.19).

appears in a similar stance on a sealing from Zakro along with many other winged creations.[1]

MMI sees the beginning of the great palaces in Crete[2] but it is not until the Palace of Cnossos is destroyed at the end of MMII (c.1700 B.C.) that the palace as we know it today was constructed.[3] Already in Syria palaces of a similar design were in existence. At Mari[4] and at Alalakh[5] the palaces antedate that of MMIII Cnossos by more than half a century.[6] Several architectural features can be paralleled between the palace of Yarim-Lim and that of Cnossos. Both were built around a central courtyard, and had a grand staircase;[7] at Alalakh wooden columns were placed on circular stone bases, a feature paralleled at Cnossos.[8] Polished stone slabs lined the bases of the walls at Alalakh, and wall-paintings from house 39A reproducing in colour the constructional features of the walls of temples and palaces, show walls with a dado

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[1]Hogarth, op.cit., p.79 fig.8, Pl.VI,20; Frankfort, op.cit., p.117 fig.17. The seals of the First Syrian Group antedate MMIII (Id., Cylinder Seals, pp.252-258).

[2]A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.127.

[3]Ibid., 1.315.

[4]From the time of Iakhdun-Lim (c.2100 B.C.) to that of Zimri-Lim (c.1779-1761 B.C.) (J. Kupper,"Northern Mesopotamia and Syria", in the Cambridge Ancient History (revised edition 1963), 2.1-16; Porada, op.cit., pp.171,179).

[5]The palace of Yarim-Lim (Level VII); Woolley, op.cit., pp. 377,399; id., A Forgotten Kingdom, p.77.

[6]Yarim-Lim is dated to c. 1780-1750 B.C., while MMIII begins c.1700 B.C. (Kantor, op.cit., p.24).

[7]C. Woolley, A Forgotten Kingdom, p.74; cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.203 fig.152; 325-327 figs.237-8.

[8]Woolley, op.cit., p.76; cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.323; 2.268-270.

of basalt orthostats, and the elaborate timbering of the upper structure.[1] This type of architectural decoration has an exact parallel in two examples of different date from Cnossos: in the corridor of the West Porch of the Palace (LMII), and in the East Palace Border.[2]

The earliest evidence for fresco-painting at Alalakh comes fro Level IX (c.2050-1900 B.C.),[3] and a similar date is obtained for Mari.[4] The Alalakh and Mari frescoes are true frescoes (i.e. the painting is done while the plaster is still wet), as are those of Crete,[5] whereas the Egyptians used the 'Distemper' method of painting on the plaster when it had dried.[6] Crete, however, had the same convention for distinguishing the sexes as Egypt,[7] while at Mari both sexes were represented by the same colour.[8] The fresco fragments from the great salon of Yarim-Lim's palace are too small to

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[1]C. Woolley, Alalakh, pp.224-8,232 Pl.XXXIX,a,b.

[2]Evans, op.cit., 4.894 fig.873; 896 fig.874 respectively; the MMIII fresco is much older than those of Alalakh, since house 39A belongs to the latter part of Level IV (c.1400 B.C.); but in Alalakh, as in Crete, the scheme of decoration is traditional and is used in Room 5 of Yarim-Lim's palace (c.1750 B.C.) (Woolley, op.cit., p.232).

[3]Woolley, op.cit., p.228.

[4]A. Parrot,"Les Peintures du Palais de Mari", pp.325-6.

[5]Woolley, op.cit., pp.225,229; Evans, op;cit., 1.528,533-4. The colours used in Yarim-Lim's palace - black, red, yellow, blue and grey-green - appear to be identical to those used in Cnossian frescoes; occasionally guide-lines were put in by means of a piece of taut string, but the greater part of the frescoes were drawn free-hand, a practice also paralleled at Cnossos (Evans, op.cit., 1.534).

[6]Hall,oncit., p.197.

[7]See above p.35 n.3.

[8]H. Frankfort,"Notes on the Cretan Griffin,"p.117.

recognize their subject matter, and I think Woolley's comparison of the fragments showing a red field on a white ground joined by a wavy border, with the broad waved bands of red in such Minoan frescoes as the "Cup-Bearer" is exaggerated.[1] We are on safer ground with a fragmentary fresco from the same room at Alalakh, in which on a red ground tall, tufted, creamy-white grasses blown by the wind are depicted. There is no exact parallel in a Cretan fresco, but Woolley claims that the fresco is in the spirit of Minoan art and compares the wind-blown anenomes on a light-on-dark vase from Zakro.[2]

9. Middle Minoan Connections with Mesopotamia.

Mesopotamian finds in Crete are closely connected with those from Syria, since the latter country provided the outlet to the Mediterranean for the former's wares. The only certain finds of Mesopotamian origin in Crete are cylinder seals, which were introduced into Syria at a very early date, and some of them bear Syrian characteristics.

In Tholos B at Platanos in a mature MMIa stratum Xanthoudides found a Babylonian cylinder seal of haematite showing a female figure clad in a kaunakes saluting a male figure who holds a mace to his side.[3] The two deities are probably

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[1]Woolley, op.cit., p.230 Pl.XXXVII,c; cf. Evans, op.cit., 2.704-8 Pl.XII.

[2]Woolley, op.cit., p.231 Pl.XXXVIII,a; cf. Evans, op.cit., 2.472 fig.279.

[3]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.117 fig. no.1098; Evans, op.cit., 1.198 fig.146.

Ishtar and Ramman, and the theme and simplicity of the design date it to the First Babylonian Dynasty. Since there is no sign of slip-shod workmanship, which begins to creep in towards the end of this period and the seal is in good condition, so that it cannot have been long in use, the seal can be dated to the reign of Hammurabi.[1] A similar cylinder seal of haematite found to the West of Heraclion is also dated to the First Babylonian Dynasty.[2] Another haematite cylinder seal found at Tylissos was inscribed in cuneiform with the name of Hammurabi.[3] A cylinder seal of lapis lazuli with gold caps at both ends was found at Cnossos 40cm. beneath a MMIII deposit.[4] The design shows a bull-man holding a bull on either side of him, which conforms to the Syro-Hittite type but also preserves certain traditions from an age earlier than that of Hammurabi. Evans gives an impossible

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[1]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.116; Evans, loc.cit; Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.121 using the old chronology of Hammurabi, all date it to c.2100-2000 B.C; Smith, op.cit., pp.14-15, however, points out that this date is far too early and, according to the now generally accepted date for Hammurabi, dates it to c.1790-1750 B.C.

[2]Evans, op.cit., 2.265-6 fig.158; Smith, op.cit., pp.16-17. The scene is of five figures in two groups of two with a balancing figure between them. One group represents the Weather God and his consort; the other shows the Sun God with his saw-edged knife stepping on a mountain, as a human worshipper brings him an offering of a goat. Between the two groups stands a "naked hero", full face, carrying a "spouting vase"; the style is degenerate, but not as much so as at the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

[3]J. Hazzidakis, Les Villas Minoennes de Tylissos, p.108 Pl.XXX,3a.

[4]Evans, op.cit., 4.423-4 figs.349-350; Frankfort, op.cit., p.118 fig.20.

date of 2400 B.C., whereas Smith would date it to immediately prior to the time of Hammurabi.[1] Similar to these seals is a Babylonian cuneiform inscription found at Cythera and now lost. The inscription bears the name of Naram-Sin, a king of a province on the river Diyalah during the First Dynasty.[2] "These cylinders furnish perhaps the only certain proof of communication between Minoan Crete and the Assyrian-Babylonian civilisation".[3] In spite of Pendlebury's contention that a limestone head found in the top stratum above a group of burials in a rock shelter on the acropolis, west of the Palace of Cnossos, bears a striking resemblance to a figure from the Second Temple of Sin at Khafaje,[4] the cylinder seals seem to be the only Mesopotamian imports found in Crete.

Babylonian influence, however, is probably to be seen in MMI in the introduction of the characteristic flounced skirt that the Minoan women used to wear. The earliest representation of it is on a half-cylinder found near Cnossos,[5] where the dress does not have the usual open bodice, but drops

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[1]Evans, loc.cit.; Smith, op.cit., p.16.

[2]E. Weidner,"The Inscription from Kythera", pp.137-8. Weidner's date of c.1950 B.C. is far too early. Cf. Smith, op. cit., p.15.

[3]Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.116.

[4]Pendlebury, op.cit., p.121 and Pl.XX,3 compares H. Frankfort, Oriental Institute Discoveries in Iraq, 1933/4, p.74 fig.84; but his date for the Second Sin Temple "not later than 2550 B.C.", although true, should be nearer 3000 B.C. See Porada, op.cit., p.176. Because of the gap in time between the two figures a connection is unlikely.

[5]Evans, op.cit., 1.197 fig.145.

straight from the shoulders, and closely resembles the Mesopotamian '*kaunakes*'. From Tholos B at Platanos comes a headless ivory figurine of a woman wearing a flounced skirt and bodice, and holding her hands to her breasts.[1] At Hagia Triada a sealing shows a woman in a *kaunakes* riding on what D. Levi takes to be a Cretan version of the Babylonian dragon.[2]

10. *Middle Minoan Connections with Anatolia*.

No objects that can be definitely associated with Anatolia have yet come to light in MM strata, but strong arguments have been put forward in favour of the Anatolian origin of two important developments in MMIII Crete - the reconstruction of the palaces, and the introduction of Linear 'A'.

The palace at Beycesultan was built c.1900 B.C. and destroyed c.1750 B.C. (by the Hittite king Larbanas?), and the Cretan palaces took their renowned shape c.1700 B.C.[3]

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[1]Xanthoudides, *op.cit.*, Pl.XV, no.230; Smith, *op.cit.*, p.13 thinks it was probably worn as an apotropaic amulet, and he sees other amulets found at Platanos, such as the boar's head resting on its front paws, ox-head and bird-head amulets, as being derived from Mesopotamia.

[2]D. Levi,"Le Cretule di Haghia Triada e di Zakro", p.137 fig.148; *id.*,"Gleanings from Crete", p.271 fig.1A. The 'dragon' also appears on another sealing from Hagia Triada (*Ibid.*, *loc.cit.*, fig.1B equals "Le Cretule di Haghia Triada", p.137 fig. 149). Cf. the Babylonian version in *id.*,"Gleanings from Crete", p.271 fig.3.

[3]S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart,"Beycesultan Excavations II", pp.101-2; and see above p.38.

Lloyd and Mellaart point out the similarities between the Beycesultan and Cretan palaces in detail. In both places the palaces are orientated approximately to the cardinal points of the compass; a conspicuous feature of the Burnt Palace of Level V at Beycesultan is the great Central Courtyard similar to those of the Cretan palaces; in both places the palaces have self-contained insulae; there are also parallels in that the ceremonial entrance at Beycesultan is separated by a considerable distance from the main reception area, and that on entering one passes through an anteroom and comes to a chamber with a sunken area near the door for ablution purposes.[1] Lloyd and Mellaart also give a detailed account of the similarity of the pillared halls, upper stories, walls and roofing.[2] Cretan parallels can be found for most of the weapons discovered at Beycesultan.[3]

At the beginning of MMIII the old Minoan hieroglyphic script is abandoned in favour of a linear script now known as Linear 'A'. Attempts have been made to connect this script

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[1]Ibid., pp. 109, 120-121.

[2]Ibid., pp. 121-123. In the Cretan palaces brushwood was laid over the rafters and covered with packed earth. Between the two, possibly to keep the earth in place, was a layer of laphida, a grey or black schist. At Beycesultan large quantities of soft, grey laminated schist or slate have been found among fallen debris, especially around the bases of walls and the edges of the open courts, where it could easily have fallen from the roof.

[3]S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart, "Excavations at Beycesultan I", p.92.

with Luwian, a branch of Hittite, and the language most probably spoken by the people who inhabited Beycesultan,[1] and to argue for either a Luwian settlement in Crete and the Greek Mainland in MMIII,[2] or just in Crete as early as MMI.[3] The main arguments are philological, archaeology having failed to produce corroborating evidence, and not uncontested. The Luwian theory is yet to be proved.

The Phaestos disc, found among MMIIIb pottery, and a square tablet incised with Linear 'A' characters, may have an Anatolian origin.[4] It is un-Minoan in form and the human figures wearing plumed head-dresses are reminiscent of the "Peoples of the Sea" who attacked Egypt in the time of Rameses III.

11. Late Minoan Connections with Egypt.

After the Hyksos Period Dynasty XVIII products arrive not only in Crete but also in the Greek Mainland,[5] and it appears that Crete had lost her hegemony in Aegean trade to the Mycenaean cities.[6] This is born out by finds of Aegean

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[1]E.g. by L. Palmer, "Luwian and Linear 'A'", pp.75-100.
[2]Ibid., passim; G. Huxley, "Crete and the Luwians", passim.
[3]J. Zafiropoulo, Mead and Wine, p.21.
[4]Evans, op.cit., 1.650 fig.452; Pendlebury, op.cit., p. 170 Pl.XXXIII,4.
[5]J. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, pp.xviii, 53-57 at Mycenae the Egyptian finds, with two exceptions, date from the early and middle Dynasty XVIII; Vercoutter, op.cit., p.142; H. Kantor, "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millenium B.C.", pp.75-76.
[6]Kantor, op.cit., p.74.

pottery in Egypt during Dynasty XVIII, in that, whereas plenty of examples of Mainland pottery are extant,[1] only two or three vases can definitely be attributed to Crete,[2] and all date to LMI; LMII and LMIII have not been found in Egypt. This trend is further born out by the small number of actual Egyptian imports found in Crete. In the "Royal Tombs" at Isopata (LMI &II) a number of alabaster vases were found along with a string of beads, a crouching frog and two squatting ape amulets, all of Dynasty XVIII date,[3] and from elsewhere a few Dynasty XVIII scarabs,[4] and a circular seal of Queen Ty wife of Amenhotep III (c.1412-1376 B.C.)[5] have been found; a scarab bearing Queen Ty's name was also found in a house S.W. of the Acropolis at Athens among LHIII pottery.[6] Egyptian imports to Crete during LMIII are essentially alabaster vessels which contrast dramatically with the imports found

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[1] Ibid., pp.33-35; Pendlebury, op.cit., pp.111-112.

[2] The "Marseilles Oenochoe" is said to have been found in Egypt (J. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.223 Pl.XL,1; Kantor, op.cit., p.33 Pl.VIIc; Evans, op.cit., 2.509 fig, 312a); an alabastron from Grave 137 at Sedment (Pendlebury, loc.cit., Pl.XL,2; Kantor, loc.cit., Pl.VIIa; Evans, op.cit., 4.270-1 fig.201 adduces a LMIb parallel from Mochlos); a bridge-spouted jug bought in Egypt in 1860 is possibly of Minoan manufacture (Kantor, op.cit., p.35 Pl.VIId).

[3] A. Evans,"The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos", p.146; J. Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca, p.25.

[4] From Hagios Onuphrios (Pendlebury, op.cit., p.7); Zapher Papoura (Ibid., pp.26-27 Pl.I,47; Evans, op.cit., p.89) in a LMIII deposit.

[5] From Hagia Triada among LMIb pottery (R. Paribeni,"Ricerche nel Sepolcreto di Haghia Triada presso Phaestos", p.735 fig,33).

[6] C. Tsountas,"Archaeotetes ek Mykenon", col.169.

on the Mainland, which are more varied in both type and material.

In art the Egyptian motifs, copied in the MM Period, are both continued and adapted. Two motifs - the "notched plume" and the "flying gallop" - appear in Crete at the end of MMIII and the beginning of LMI, and almost simultaneously in XVIIIth Dynasty Egypt. The "notched plume" design appears in Cnossos on two votive arrows from the 'Snake Goddess Shrine' in the West Temple Repositories, and on the wings of a griffin from the Miniature Frescoes.[1] The same motif appears at a later date on the wings of a griffin on an axe blade of Aahmes, the first king of Dynasty XVIII.[2] The "flying gallop" motif which appears in Crete,[3] on the Greek Mainland,[4] and in Egypt,[5] almost simultaneously, probably derives from the Aegean, whence it spreads to Egypt.[6]

12. Late Minoan Connections with Syria and Mesopotamia.

Actual finds of Syrian material in LM Crete are rare but certain Syrian influence can be discerned on seals. A

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[1]Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.548 fig.399a and 549 fig. 400 respectively.

[2]Ibid., 1.551 fig.402; H. Frankfort,"Notes on the Cretan Griffin", p.112 fig.14.

[3]E.g. on seals (Evans, op.cit., 1.716 fig.539).

[4]E.g. on Mycenaean dagger blades (Ibid., 1.711 fig.534; 715 fig.538; Kantor, op.cit., Pl.XIV,H-K).

[5]E.g. on the dagger hilt of Apophis I (Evans, op.cit., 1. 717-719 fig.540); and on the dagger blade of Aah-hotep (Ibid., 1.715 fig.537).

[6]Kantor, op.cit., pp.63-66.

haematite cylinder of probable Syro-Hittite origin found in Crete (provenance unknown), shows two Minotaur-type figures clad in loin-cloths, as well as two figures in Hittite garb and a naked female;[1] a second cylinder, presumably made in Crete, shows Cretan themes and figures in an unusually Syrian posture.[2] Syro-Hittite cylinders have also been found on the Greek Mainland at Larissa in the Argolid[3] and in Attica at Vari.[4] Other seals shows figures carrying axes of a definite Syrian type.[5] These figures, and others on other gems, are shown wearing long, flowing robes down to their feet, which may have been influenced by Syrian attire.[6] Equally Late Minoan, as opposed to Mycenaean, vessels are no longer found in Syria. Farther afield at Assur the neck of a faience rhyton of LMIb date was discovered.[7] Evans has pointed out the similarity of construction between the "Royal Tombs" at Isopata and certain tombs at Minet-el-Beida and Ras Shamra.[8]

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[1]Evans, op.cit., 4.459 fig.384; W. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.286 fig.869.

[2]Evans, op.cit., 4.498 fig.437 from the harbour town of Cnossos.

[3]A. Roes,"Une Pierre Gravée Syro-Hittite Trouvée à Argos", BCH, 61(1937), pp.1-4.

[4]Evans, op.cit., 4.409 fig.339.

[5]Ibid., 4.413-419 fig.343.

[6]E.g. Ibid., 1.405, 412-3 figs.336, 341-2.

[7]H. Hall,"Minoan Faience in Mesopotamia", p.71; Evans, op. cit., 4.779-780 fig.760,a.

[8]Evans, op.cit., 4.770-776.

At Tell Atchana at the bottom of a rubbish pit in a Level II house a red marble lamp of Cretan style was discovered.[1] Its decoration of the "tri-curved arch network" in relief is familiar in Minoan art,[2] and Woolley sees the lamp as a local imitation of a Cretan lamp because of the native Asian stone.[3] The same pattern also appears on a wall-painting from Mari.[4] Late Helladic I-II pottery appears along the Syrian littoral to the total exclusion of LMI-II, which heralds the great upsurge of Mycenaean trade during the LHIIIa-b Period.[5]

13. Late Minoan Connections with Anatolia.

Evidence is lacking for any contact between LM Crete and Anatolia. A Hittite cylinder seal which was discovered at Tylissos[6] scarcely constitutes proof of trade between the two countries. The "camp-stool" as seen in the "Camp-stool Frescoes"[7] and seal-impressions[8] may have a Hittite origin,[9]

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[1]C. Woolley, Alalakh, pp.190-1 fig.66 Pl.LXXIX, AT/39/280; Kantor, op.cit., Pl.XXV,F. The lamp being broken and discarded is not to be dated by its find-spot, but was probably thrown away early in Level II (i.e. c.1350 B.C.).

[2]E.g. Evans, op.cit., 2.731 fig.457b pattern on the dresses of the "Ladies in Blue" fresco; ibid., 3.91 fig.50 silver rhyton from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae showing a siege scene, and (p.96 fig.54) swimmers attacked by a dog-headed monster; ibid., 3.106 fig.59fragment of a steatite rhyton from the N. E. angle of the Cnossian Palace. Cf. Kantor, op.cit., for later examples in ivory and clay.

[3]Woolley, op.cit., pp.291-295; Kantor, op.cit., p.100 thinks the lamp is a Mycenaean import.

[4]A. Parrot,"Les Peintures du Palais de Mari," Pl.XLI,1.

[5]Kantor, op.cit., pp.36-37.

[6]Hazzidakis, op.cit., pp.106-107 fig.19 Pl.XXX,3b.

[7]Evans, op.cit., 4.388 fig.323 and Colour Plate XXXI.

[8]Ibid., 1.387 figs.321-2.

[9]V. Mueller,"Studien zur Kretisch-Mykenischen Kunst II", p.5.

but probably those examples were transmitted to Crete via Syria rather than by any direct route.

14. Conclusions.

It appears from this survey of Minoan connections with the world outside the Aegean basin that the Neolithic and Early Minoan population were related to the inhabitants of S. and W. Anatolia. No evidence is forthcoming for any relations with Syria or Egypt before EMII, and the absence of writing in the EM Period should be seen as another indication of the relative isolation of Crete from the literate societies of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

In EMII (a very long period which roughly begins with the Egyptian Dynasty IV (c.2600 B.C.) and ends with the end of Dynasty VI (c.2150 B.C.)[1]) the first contact with Egypt is made, and it is intensified during Dynasty VI. Most of the imported stone vases can be dated to this period, during which the Minoans start making their own stone vases, and, although direct imitation of Egyptian vessels does not occur until the end of the period, the fine quality of the earliest vases indicates that Egyptian influence was not, perhaps, totally lacking. It is more likely that the Egyptian imports arrived in Crete via Syria rather than by the direct sea-route. Thus it is impossible to say that there was direct

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[1]H. Kantor, "The Relative Chronology of Egypt and its Foreign Correlations before the End of the Broze Age", p.27.

contact between the two countries, and Minoan sailors may never have voyaged further afield than Syria at this stage.

The theory of a "Libyan" colonisation of the Messara seems like Evans' other theory of a Minoan colonisation of the Greek Mainland during the Late Minoan Period to have been over zealously pursued. Chance similarities have been exaggerated and problems of time and space ignored. Once the Minoan civilisation began there seems to have been no arrival of extraneous elements (until possibly the beginning of LMIII).

Trade with Syria and Egypt (checked temporarily in the case of the latter during the First Intermediate Period (i.e. in EMIII)) continued to increase from EMII until it reached its peak in MMI-II. It is during the latter period that the majority of the Minoan finds in Syria and Egypt occur, and similarly in Crete this is the period of the greatest influx of foreign imports.

This flourishing trade is dramatically curtailed in MMIII during which only a single Egyptian object has so far been discovered in Crete,[1] and contact with Syria and Mesopotamia seems to have ceased. The cause of this lull in trading was probably the irruption of "Aryan" tribes from Central Europe, which brought the Kassites into power in Babylon and

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[1]The alabaster lid bearing the name of king Khyan.

the Hurrians in Mitanni, and was possibly incidental in the Hyksos' descent into Egypt.[1]

During MMIII the great palaces in Crete take their renowned shape (although they were originally built on a smaller scale at the beginning of MMI). Palaces in Syria, at Mari and Alalakh, can provide parallels for certain features of Cretan palace construction, as can the palace at Beycesultan in Anatolia, which was destroyed c.1750 B.C. Certain elements from these palaces may have lingered on into Hittite times, since the plan of a Hittite temple at Boghazkoy shows a vague resemblance to the plan of the Palace at Knossos.[2] The palace at Beycesultan itself was probably influenced by the Syrian palaces and this is where we should look for the prototype of the Minoan palaces, either to the palaces of Mari and Alalakh, or to some other site not yet discovered. There is no reason to suppose that a building existed to parallel the Cretan palaces in every detail. As in borrowing from foreign art, so, presumably, in architecture, the Minoans were nothing if not eclectic, and gave their own style to the materials which they borrowed. Possibly foreign workmen were engaged to aid in the construction of the palaces.[3]

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[1]J. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.173.

[2]N.B. the Central Courtyard (O. Gurney, The Hittites, p. 146 fig.9).

[3]But during the cessation of trading forced upon them by outside circumstances in MMIII, did the Minoans turn their energy instead to rebuilding the palaces?

After the lull in trading in MMIII, there is evidence for even greater commercial activity between Egypt, Syria and the Aegean in LM times, but now the bulk of the trade is in the hands of the Mycenaeans. There is in fact no sign of direct relations between Crete and Asia in the LM Period.[1] After the disaster that ends LMII, there is no evidence of LMIII material being found outside the Aegean.

Minoan contacts with Syria, therefore, begin in EMII and continue to LMII after which they peter out in MMIII and do not recur. Similarly during this same period contact with Mesopotamis is made. Contact with Anatolia is most pronounced in the Neolithic and EM periods before the Minoans developed their own characteristic culture. Influence from that quarter after this period is very difficult to discern, possibly due to the lack of excavations undertaken in S. and S. W. Anatolia on contemporary sites. Contact with Egypt begins in EMII and increases towards the end of that period. EMIII and the First Intermediate Period see a slackening off of trade, but it is at its most intense during MMI-II, only to tail off during MMIII and the Hyksos Period. Despite the apparent Mycenaean domination of trade in the LM Period some Minoan vessels did reach Egypt, possibly by the direct sea-route. Egyptian influence on Crete and <u>vice-versa</u> is greatest

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[1]H. Kantor,"The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millenium B.C.", pp.74, 103.

each time Egypt dominates or greatly influences Syria and Palestine. EMII corresponds to the first Egyptian inroads into Asia, and the political penetration of Asia by Egypt under Dynasty XII coincides with the presence of Minoan objects in Egypt.[1] In their contact with Crete, Egypt and Syria appear to be inextricably connected, doubtlessly due to the fact that the maritime trade-routes followed the coast.

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[1]Vercoutter, op.cit., p.158.

CHAPTER III

THE BULL IN THE SERVICE OF RELIGION (1) MESOPOTAMIA

Having examined the degree of contact in existence between Crete and the other lands of the Eastern Mediterranean, and established the inception and duration of that contact, we must now examine the roles which the bull played in the religion of those lands. Mesopotamia has for a long time been thought of as the country where urbanisation and the domestication of cattle originated. Although J. Mellaart's excavations in Anatolia have established that the settlement of Çatal Hüyük antedates all Mesopotamian sites so far discovered, and that the bull played a majorvrole in the religion of its inhabitants,[1] there is no evidence that cattle were successfully tamed at that time.

Exactly when cattle were domesticated is a matter of controversy and will probably never be satisfactorily settled,[2] but the general consensus of opinion favours the Halafian

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[1]J. Mellaart, "Excavations at Çatal Hüyük", AS, 12 (1962) - 16 (1966); id., Çatal Hüyük.

[2]The highest estimates are J. Mellaart, The Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, p.123: late sixth millenium at Tell Halaf; and H. Peake and H.J. Fleure, The Corridors of Time, 3.39 "all animals domesticated in the Old World (except the horse) were tamed by 5000 B.C."

Period (c.5000 - 4300 B.C.)[1] being the most likely period to cover the time needed to domesticate cattle completely. The species successfully tamed was the aurochs or bos primigenius,[2] which roamed Western Asia and is found in Egypt during the early Dynasties,[3] and from which the bos longifrons developed.[4] The earliest examples of the latter were found in Level II at Anau in Turkestan[5] and in Level III (the earliest level) at Shah Tepe in N. Iran,[6] both sites being contemporary (c. 3200 - 2800 B.C.).[7] Since this species would require a period of domestication in order for it to develop from the primigenius type, F. Zeuner would assume a date of c.3000 B.C. as a terminus ante quem for the domestication of cattle throughout W. Asia.[8] Moreover he admits that the number of drawings,

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[1]I follow the chronology given in R. Ehrich, Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, for the reasons given above, p.7.

[2]F. Zeuner,"The History of the Domestication of Cattle", p. 10.

[3]Ibid,,loc.cit; Peake and Fleure, op.cit., 3.32 where the species is called macroceros.

[4]Zeuner, op.cit., p.11.

[5]J.V. Duerst,"Animal Remains from the Excavations at Anau and the Horse of Anau in its Relation to the Races of Domesticated Horses", Explorations in Turkestan, 2(1908), pp.241-2.

[6]J.W. Amschler,"Tierreste der Ausgrabungen von dem 'Grossen Koenigshuegel' Shah Tepe in Nord-Iran", Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the N.W. Provinces of China (Sino-Swedish Expedition), 9(1940), pp.35-129.

(T.A.J. Arne, the excavator of Shah Tepe, would date Level III to c.3200 - 2900 B.C. (or 2800 B.C.), seeing it as corresponding to Level I or Ic at Tepe Hissar (T. Arne, Excavations at Shah Tepe, Iran, pp.312-323), but C. Schaeffer, Stratigraphie Comparée, pp.592-3 believes it to correspond to Levels IIA and B at Tepe Hissar, and would date it between c. 2600 - 2300 B.C.

[8]Zeuner, op.cit., p.13.

figurines and amulets of cattle at Arpachiyah[1] points to domestication having taken place there during the Halafian Period.[2] The bucranium also appears for the first time in Mesopotamia on pottery from this site, but the horns are still extremely long.[3] Thus the statement of W. Ward that the 'Bull' which appears on Mesopotamian cylinder seals from archaic times onward is the bison (bison bonasus) and that the aurochs (bos primigenius) does not appear must surely be erroneous.[4] The horns of both cattle and the mythical bull-man on seal-stones are always short and round showing that by the time of the first seals (in the Uruk Period c.3500 B.C.), domestication had been taking effect for a considerable time.[5]

A link between Mesopotamia and India is provided by the appearance of the zebu or Brahmani bull (bos primigenius indicus) standing at a manger on a steatite vase of Mesopotamian design dating from the Jemdet Nasr of Early Dynastic I/II Period (c.3000 - 2600 B.C.).[6] A similar design appears

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[1]M. Mallowan and J. Rose,"Prehistoric Assyria. The Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933", pp.80, 86, 88, fig.48 nos. 1-5; Pl.VIa A895.

[2]F. Zeuner, A History of Domesticated Animals, p.216, although he would date the Halafian Period to c.4000 B.C.

[3]Ibid., loc.cit., fig.8:14; Mallowan and Rose, op.cit., pp.114,116 fig.56; pp.154-163 figs.73-76.

[4]W. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.414.

[5]Ibid., loc.cit.

[6]H. Frankfort,"A New Site in Mesopotamia: Tell Agrab", ILN, 12th Sept., 1936, pp.432-6; id., Cylinder Seals, p.306; cf. F. Zeuner, op.cit., p.217 fig.8:15. A doubtful figure of a zebu

on a pot of "scarlet ware" (Early Dynastic I) from the same place,[1] on pedestal vases from Susa (Early Dynastic I-III),[2] and on imported Indian cylinders and bowls found at Ur.[3] The zebu is from then on quite common on Early Dynastic and later seals. Ward is quite wrong when he says that the animal does not appear until c.1000 B.C.[4]

The buffalo was probably indigenous to the swamps of S. Mesopotamia, and, except for a few important seals,[5] did not play a large part in cult.

There is incontrovertible evidence from a bowl found at Tell Agrab and dating to the Jemdet Nasr Period that cattle were being deliberately polled, sometimes the left and sometimes the right horn being missing.[6] Seals mey also show this phenomenon, but where cattle are drawn in side-view, it is the normal custom to show only one horn, the horn furthest away from the viewer being obscured by the nearer. Certain seals, however, may show on the side nearest the viewer the

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was also found in the Halafian stratum at Arpachiyah (c.4500 B.C.) (Mallowan and Rose, op.cit., p.88 fig.48 no.13).

[1]H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p.306.

[2]M. Mallowan, Early Mesopotamia and Iran, p.106.

[3]Frankfort, op.cit., p.305; Mallowan, op.cit., pp.22-23 figs.6,7.

[4]Ward, op.cit., p.414.

[5]Such as the famous seal bearing the cartouche of Sargon of Akkad (Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XVIII,c), and showing the "naked heroes" watering two buffaloes; and other seals showing the "naked hero" fighting a buffalo (E.g. Ibid., Plates XVI,f.g; XVII,e,i).

[6]Zeuner, op.cit., p.219 fig.8:19.

knob of the polled horn.[1] The reason for this polling is obscure, but it is doubtful whether it had any religious significance.

Milking is probably not much older than domestication itself,[2] and was practised at an early date at Kish, 'Al 'Ubeid and Ur.[3] A fragment of inlay from Kish shows a man milking a cow from behind, instead of the more usual present-day method of from the side.[4] The same method is applied on a limestone mosaic frieze from king Annipada's temple to Ninhurshag at Al 'Ubeid.[5] There two men squat on stools behind the cows which they are milking. In front of each cow is a calf, muzzled and attached to its mother by a rope, presumably to prevent them from suckling, and to induce the cow to release its supply of milk at the sight of the calf and to remain calm until the milking process is over.[6] Behind the milkers is what must be taken for a dairy where men are pouring milk into large containers, possibly to make cheese. A limestone bas-relief from Ur shows a man milking a cow in the

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[1]E.g. Ibid., p.220 fig.8:20; Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.V,b. Louvre Museum: Acquisitions no.26.

[2]See E. Amoroso and P. Jewell,"The Exploitation of the Milk Ejection Reflex by Primitive Peoples", pp.126-137.

[3]Kish: S. Langdon, Excavations at Kish, 1.72-73. Al 'Ubeid: C. Woolley, "Excavations at Tell el Obeid". Ur: C. Woolley, "Excavations at Ur"; id., Ur of the Chaldees.

[4]Langdon, op.cit., Plates XIII, XLII.

[5]C. Woolley,"Excavations at Tell el Obeid", Pl.XLII,a; id., Ur of the Chaldees, Pl.VIIIa; Zeuner, op.cit., p.219 fig.8:18.

[6]Amoroso and Jewell, op.cit., p.133.

same position as described above.[1] The almost invisible udders in all these examples point to an early stage in dairy-farming, before the hanging udder had developed.[2]

Peake and Fleure suggest that these friezes are evidence of a 'dairy-cult' during the fourth millenium.[3] What form this took and in the service of which deity (if any) they do not say. Moreover the scenes from the temple at Al 'Ubeid do not consist solely of milking scenes, but also show in a frieze a procession of bulls,[4] and birds;[5] remains were also found of four copper statues of bulls,[6] as well as a frieze of copper heifers.[7] In fact every aspect of cattle rearing seems to have been depicted in this temple, and the practice of milking cows should not be allowed to get out of perspective.[8] The relationship of the deity to whom the tem-

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[1] Ibid., Pl.XV,c; C. Woolley, "The Excavations at Ur", Pl. XXXIII, U304. The relief was originally thought to be a man castrating a bull.

[2] Amoroso and Jewell, op.cit., p.134. The date of the Al 'Ubeid frieze has universal acceptance in the period of the First Dynasty of Ur, thanks to an inscription found in the temple which mentions its construction under the guidance of Annipada, son of Mesannipada the founder of the First Dynasty (Woolley, op.cit., p.330 and Pl.XLV,c). Woolley dates the beginning of this period to c.3100 B.C. Edith Porada, however, "The Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia", p.178 and Mallowan, op.cit., would date Annipada to c.2600 B.C.

[3] Peake and Fleure, op.cit., 3.34.

[4] Woolley, op.cit., Pl.XLII,b; id., Ur of the Chaldees, Pl. VIII,a.

[5] Id., "The Excavations at Tell el Obeid", Pl.XLIII,a.

[6] Ibid., p.339 and Pl.XLI,b.

[7] Ibid., pp.340-341 and Pl.XLII,c,d.

[8] Instead of a 'dairy-cult' the cows could be shown being milked prior to that milk being offered to the gods. Such an

ple was dedicated, Ninhurshag, to cattle will be discussed later.[1]

When the cylinder seals make their first appearance in the Uruk Period (c.3500 - 3100 B.C.) cattle figure prominently on them from the start. The earliest seals show cattle being fed.[2] H. Frankfort thinks that this represents a ritual act, and thus, since the animals and plants taking part in the ritual possess a symbolic significance, the representations of this cult act can therefore assume greatly stylised forms.[3] Thus the herd can be reduced to one or two animals, and in one ambitiously stylised version the motif is transformed into an antithetical group.[4] The food offered to the herd, usually barley, can also be rendered by the rosette- shaped flower which symbolises vegetable life in general.[5] The herd is often rendered by making the animals overlap.[6]

If the cattle are not being fed they usually appear by their pens of byres, from which young calves often emerge[7]

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offering would be quite in keeping for herdsmen to give.

[1]See below p.73.

[2]E.g. H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, Pl.V,d and V,i.

[3]Ibid., p.21.

[4]Ibid., Pl.III,a.

[5]Ibid., Pl.III,a and V,i.

[6]E.g. Ibid., Pl.V,e.

[7]E.g. Ibid., p.20 fig.5 (impression from Uruk) and Pl.VI,a found at Khafaje from the Jemdet Nasr Period; cf. Mallowan, op.cit., p.73 fig.71. The scene is also found on sculptured vases.

That these are sacred scenes is indicated by the fact that the symbol of the Mother Goddess, or Innana Symbol, appears in the field in the feeding scenes and above the byres.[1] In the Jemdet Nasr Period the sacred herd appears next to the shrine or temple of the deity to which it belongs, and many of these seals seem to have been purely dedicatory and are especially common in excavated temples of this period.[2] Bearing this in mind the bearded and kilted figure in the feeding scenes probably represents the king who may well have owned the cattle and who as head of state played an active part in all the rituals concerned with the fertility of the herds and crops.

The animal file is a common motif from the beginning of the Uruk Period, but it is hard to see what religious connection it could have, although one seal depicting a row of bulls with an enormous ear of barley sprouting from the ground and appearing over each bull's shoulder, gives a general impression of expressing the fertility and wealth of the Sumerian city-states.[3]

In the midst of these peaceful, pastoral scenes seals occur in the Early Dynastic II-III Periods (c.2750 - 2400 B.C.) which portray what may have been the fights between the early

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[1]E.g. Frankfort, op.cit.,p.20 fig.5 and Pl.III,a; V,i; VII,d.
[2]Ibid., p.33 and Pl.VII,d,g,h,i.
[3]See above p.59 n.1.

settlers and their two strongest adversaries, the lion and the bull. These are usually shown in antithetical groups, which probably have their origin in a style of quasi-heraldic grouping, in which two animals of the same species, often with two of their limbs crossed, are confronted. The latter first appears in the Uruk Period.[1] A Susian seal in which a lion dompts two diminutive bulls side by side with a bull dompting two diminutive lions, signals a moving away from simple heraldic patterns to the more lively, though fantastic, antithetical combat scenes,[2]

Another explanation for the combat scenes between men and animals, which dominate Mesopotamian glyptic art until the Persian Period, is that they evolved from seals which showed the herdsman defending his cattle against attacks by lions.[3] Frankfort favours this explanation,[4] but early seals also show men attacking bulls, which suggests that both hunting and herding are behind these scenes. Another theory expresses this view, in that having fought against and over-

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[1]Frankfort, op.cit., p.24.

[2]Ibid., Pl.IV,1; Ward, op.cit., p.359 fig.1228a; L. Malten,"Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem Bild", p.122 fig.57. The bull standing on its hind legs has a decidedly human appearance. So much so that Malten (p.123) mistakenly refers to it as a Minotaur.

[3]E.g. H.H. Von der Osten, Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell, no.695 of the Uruk Period; a herdsman defends a calving cow against a lion. Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.III,a: a lion attacks a standing bull from the rear.

[4]Frankfort, op.cit., pp.22,46.

come the bull, the triumphant victor becomes the protector of the vanquished against attacks from lions.[1] In other words a condensed version of the history of man's domestication of cattle.

The human combatant against the wild animals is always depicted as a naked man with a long curling beard, and thus is usually referred to as the "naked hero".[2] As early as Early Dynastic II he receives a helper in the form of a composite monster with the torso, head and arms of a man, but the tail, legs, ears and horns of a bull, and generally known as the "bull-man".[3] In this period the latter is exclusively a slayer of lions and protector of flocks,[4] although in the Sargonid Period (c.2375 -2300 B.C.) he fights bulls as well as lions.[5] But in Early Dynastic III we find

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[1]C. Picard, "La Πότνια Ταύρων de Colophon", p.193.

[2]He attacks the lions that attack the bulls or sheep: Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.X,d (E. Dynastic II); Pl.XII,c,XIII,a, b (E. Dynastic III). But he mainly attacks bulls: Ibid., Pl. X,i (E. Dynastic II); Pl.XII,b; XIII,f; XIV,d (E. Dynastic III); Pl.XVI,a,c,d (Sargonid). At the beginning of the Akkadian Period (c.2375 B.C.) the water-buffalo often takes the place of the bull as the naked hero's adversary: Ibid., Pl. XVI,f,g; XVII,d,i. The design still occurs in the Guti Period (c.2100 B.C.): Ibid., Pl.XXV,g.

[3]Ward, op.cit., p.59; Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.X,e; XI,d.

[4]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XI,b,c,d,k; XII,a; X,g (the latter graphically shows this function: a lion leaps onto the back of a bull, which stumbles to its knees. On either side two bull-men brandish swords at the lion and one grabs its tail.

[5]Ibid., Pl.XVI,a; XVII,h (bulls); Pl.XVI,c,f,g; XVII,d,e, f (lions).

the bull-man occasionally fighting with the naked hero,[1] a theme which becomes more common later as the original functions of the two characters become blurred.[2] Finally in the Assyrian Period(13th century B.C. onward) the bull-man is classed with other fabulous beasts as an apotropaic figure to be buried under houses as a protection against disease.[3]

Some Assyriologists in the first quarter of this century referred to the naked hero and bull-man as Gilgamesh and Enkidu (or Ea-bani) respectively, and saw in the early seals scenes from the early parts of the Epic of Gilgamesh.[4] The theory is now generally discarded, although it has some points in its favour, as far as the early seals are concerned. In the Epic the goddess Aruru, mother of Gilgamesh, requested by Anu to create an equal to Gilgamesh, brings forth Enkidu. His whole body is shaggy with hair, he knows neither people nor country, he feeds on grass with the wild beasts, and is garbed like Shumuqan, the god of cattle.[5] When Enkidu is "civilised" by being lured away by the delights of a harlot from the animals, which afterwards shun him, he becomes their protector

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[1]Ibid., Pl.XIV,h.

[2]E.g. First Babylonian Dynasty: Ibid., Pl.XXIX,a; L. Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres du Musée du Louvre,II, no.A-91: a naked hero stands with his arms held above his head by two bull-men, who each plunge a dagger into his chest.

[3]Frankfort, op.cit., p.202.

[4]E.g. G. Contenau, La Glyptique Syro-Hittite, pp.51-52; Delaporte,loc.cit; followed by Picard, op.cit., p.190.

[5]E.A. Speiser in J. Pritchard,Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.74: Epic of Gilgamesh I,ii,35-40.

by fighting the lions and wolves "that the shepherds might rest at night".[1] Although it is never explicitly stated that Enkidu is half man and half bull, from the description of his habits it is clear that he lived like an animal and was clothed like the god of cattle, Shumugan, whose distinctive garb, it is reasonable to infer, would include some bovine attributes. Moreover when a hunter meets Enkidu he is terror-stricken merely by the sight of him.[2] The existence of the bull-man and the naked hero at an early date would provide material for the later development of the Epic pair, around whom the characteristics could crystallise.

In the seals of Early Dynastic II the bull-man usually appears alone and only fights lions,[3] a role which would suit Enkidu, although on later seals any meaning his earlier combats may have had are lost. It has been suggested that the name Enkidu may mean "lord of the place of abundant recreative force", and this may explain why certain representations of bull-men are ithyphallic, especially during Sargonid times.[4]

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[1]Ibid., p.75; I,iv,1-29; p.77 II,iii,28-36. Cf. The punishment of Nebuchadrezzar by Jahweh, who made him eat grass like the animals of the herd (Daniel, 4.25; 5.21). Possibly the role of Enkidu in the Epic of Gilgamesh may have influenced this vivid scene.

[2]Pritchard, op.cit., p.74 I,ii,41-50. However, as Frankfort, op.cit., p.66 points out, if Enkidu is represented as a bull-man, that does not prevent his appearing in a purely anthropomorphic guise as well.

[3]Ward, op.cit., p.52; Frankfort, op.cit., p.65.

[4]E.g. Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XVI,f; XVII,h; XX,g; p.144 fig.39; O. Crawford, The Eye Goddess, pp.23-24, Pl.2: statues

We should also bear in mind his exploits with the harlot, which lasted six days and seven nights.[1]

Another composite monster to appear in Early Dynastic III is the human-headed bull, which stands on its hind legs in the usual combat and heraldic scenes, or is shown recumbent while being attacked by lions.[2] The creature occurs only rarely during the Akkadian Period,[3] but reappears in the First Babylonian Period (c.2000 B.C.).[4] Thenceforward the human-headed bull is exclusively the attribute of the Sun-god, Shamash, who either stands on it or uses it as his foot-stool.[5] In the Kassite Period it is taken over from Shamash along with his other attributes by Marduk.[6] It ends its career in the Assyrian Period as the guardian of palace

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of ithyphallic bull-men found at Jokha (ancient Umma).

[1]Pritchard, op.cit., p.75 I,iv,15-21. In this respect there is some resemblance between the composite, ithyphallic bull-man and the satyrs and silani depicted on Greek vases.

[2]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XII,a,b,c; XIII,h; XIV,b,j; p.233 fig.71.

[3]Ibid., Pl.XVI,a,b; XVII,j; C. Woolley, Royal Tombs, Pl. 182 compares an Early Dynastic and Akkadian lamp in the shape of a human-headed bull.

[4]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXVI,g.

[5]Standing: Ibid., Pl.XXVI,k (=Ward, op.cit., p.114 fig. 321); Delaporte, op.cit., no.A863; id., Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, no.368 (=Ward, op.cit., p.116 fig.323). As footstool: Ward, op.cit., p.114 fig.320; Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXVII,a; Delaporte, Louvre, no.A350; id., Bibliothèque Nationale, nos.155,166,229. Shamash also appears with the human-headed bull sitting behind him: Ward, op.dit., p.112 fig.308; p.116 figs.327-8. An attendant standing behind Shamash has his foot on such a creature Delaporte, Louvre, no.A350.

[6]E.g. Ward, op.cit., p.190 fig.537a.

gates, and, on seals, along with other fabulous beasts as the prey in hunting scenes.[1]

Having examined the significance of the early representations of bulls and of composite monsters with predominantly bovine parts, the association of the bull with the various deities of the Mesopotamian pantheon must now be examined. The first identifiable deity to be consistently associated with the animal is the Weather God during the time of Hammurabi (c.1790-1750 B.C.), when he was probably known throughout Mesopotamia as Adad.[2] At least this is when the deity is first named: otherwise up to this period he is merely called in inscriptions the "Weather-god" or "Storm-god".[3]

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[1]Guardian of gates: e.g. at Khorsabad (S. Lloyd, The Art of the Ancient Near East, fig.156). As prey in hunting scenes: Delaporte, Louvre, nos.A648-9; id., Bibliothèque Nationale, no.311.

[2]H. Prinz, Die Altorientalische Symbolik, pp.126ff. and H. Schlobies, Der Akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotanien, p.27ff. Both agree that the Weather God developed into a stable art-type during the reign of Hammurabi. Ward, op.cit., p.118 fig. 338 and p.171 sees an "Adad-type" in a figure mounted on a bull, which he would date to the time of Gudea (c.2150 B.C.).

Each city state worshipped its own Weather God, and the first to emerge into universal recognition was Enlil of Nippur (M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, p.68. On Enlil addressed as a bull see below pp.72-73), but by the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty his position had been usurped by Adad. Adad is mentioned for the first time in the proper names of the First Babylonian Dynasty (E. Ebeling in M. Ebert, Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte, 1.17; id., Reallexicon der Assyriologie, 1.22).

[3]Schlobies, op.cit., p.17 lists the towns in Mesopotamia which are known to have worshipped and built temples to the Weather God.

Adad is immediately recognisable by the lightning fork which he carries in his hand, a symbol which also appears for the first time during this period.[1] He is usually shown standing on a bull and holding a triple or double-pronged lightning fork, and a rein which is tied to the bull's nose.[2] Otherwise he steps forward with one foot onto a couchant bull, uses it as his foot stool, or lets it stand behind him.[3]

The lightning fork also appears quite often on the back of a standing or couchant bull accompanied by the figure of Adad. Sometimes this motif appears without the god as a filling in device, and at least on one occasion is approached by a worshipper.[4] A very popular theme on kudurrus (bound-

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[1]P. Jacobsthal, Der Blitz in Orientalischen und Griechischen Kunst, p.32; Schlobies, op.cit., p.27.

[2]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXVII,j; Delaporte, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pl.18,255 (Invent. no.712); id., Louvre, no.A556, S530; Ward, op.cit., p.171 figs.455 (thunderbolt omitted), 456 (rider holds lightning fork in each hand), p.172 figs. 458,460,462-3, p.290 fig.889. The motif continues in its original form through the Kassite Period (on a kudurru-stone: F. Steinmetzer, Die Babylonischen Kudurru-Grenzsteine als Urkundenform, no.40 = L. Malten,"Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem Bild", p.102 fig.17) and into the Late Assyrian Period (Delaporte, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pl.24,354; Malten,op.cit., p.105 fig.27). Adad stands on a winged bull in the grand processional relief from Malatya.

[3]Steps onto a couchant bull: Ward, op.cit., pp.250-2 figs. 763-4,768-771; Malten, op.cit., p.103 fig.23 = Frankfort, op. cit., Pl.XXVIII,e,f. As a foot stool: Delaporte, op.cit., Pl. 23,336 (a late Assyrian cylinder in which the scene is probably influenced by Shamash's similar use of the human-headed bull). Stands behind: Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXIX,f.

[4]Lightning fork supported by standing bull: Frankfort, op. cit., Pl.XXVII,h,f; XXIX,f; Delaporte, op.cit., Pl.17,247-8; 12,148; Malten, op.cit., p.101 fig.14, p.102 figs.18-20. As a filling in device see Frankfort, op.cit., p.163. Approached

ary stones or deeds of investiture) from c.1500 B.C. to the end of the Assyrian Period is the lightning fork supported on the back of a couchant hornless calf.[1] So that we are in no doubt as to which god this symbol is meant to represent, one of the earliest kudurrus, that of Nazimarrutash, bears an inscription to the "Mighty Calf of Adad".[2] In the Assyrian Period Adad's pronged lightning is often replaced, and he is shown, still accompanied by the bull, but holding an axe or bow.[3]

On a seal of the First Babylonian Dynasty Adad is shown holding a triform lightning fork and sitting on a winged, fire-spitting dragon.[4] This same creature is shown on earlier Akkadian seals drawing a chariot and supporting on its back a figure who carries a whip.[5] It is thus reasonable to deduce that originally the Weather God rode a fire-spitting dragon and carried a whip. Whence came the change during

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by a worsipper: Malten, op.cit., p.102 fig.19.

[1]E.g. G. Wainwright,"The Bull Standards of Egypt", p.45 fig.8; M. Jastrow,Bildermappe zur Religion der Babylonien und Assyrien, Pl.8,29, 11,38 (kudurrus of Meli-Shipak (c.1120 B.C.) and Marduknadinahhe I); Steinmetzer, op.cit., no.6 (kudurru of Nebuchadnezzar I (c.1150 - 1120 B.C.). Cf. Malten, op.cit., p.101 fig.16.

[2]R. de Morgan, Délégation en Perse, I,Pl.XV = II, Pl.XIX; Malten op.cit., p.101 fig.15.

[3]Holding axe: Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXXIII,f (Cf. Ward, op.cit., p.251 fig.764; Delaporte, op.cit., Pl.24,359 (inv. no.703); Malten, op.cit., p.103 fig 24); Ward, op.cit., p. 252 fig.767 (the bull is absent, but the god is followed by a bull-man. Holding a bow: Ibid., p.152 figs.365-370.

[4]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXVII,i.

[5]Ibid., Pl.XXII,a,d,e.

the First Babylonian Period that substituted the lightning fork for the whip and the bull for the dragon? Is Adad himself an indigenous Babylonian deity or an intruder from outside? A Babylonian seal in the Louvre gives us a clue when it refers to Adad as "God of the West".[1] During this period several Weather Gods, who were closely connected with the bull, appear for the first time in the Babylonian pantheon - Ramman, Martu, and Amurru.[2] They are all amalgamated, combined, or confused with Adad, who may himself have had his origins, as the seal in the Louvre says, in the West, that is Syria.[3] Thus in a hymn to Adad-Ramman the god is called by his Sumerian name Ishkur, "the Bull", while he has two other epithets, Ramman, "the Bellower", and Ud-gu-de, "the Bellowing Storm". Part of the hymn runs:"Father Ishkur, Master of Plenty, exalted Bull,/ dazzler is thy name, high-towering god;/Father Ishkur, Master, he who rides on the storm-cloud/ . . . Father Ishkur, he who rides on the Hurricane Cloud, etc."[4] It would seem from this hymn and the name of the god,

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[1]Delaporte, Louvre, no.A389.

[2]Ward, op.cit., p.380; Frankfort, op.cit., p.163. Martu is named on a seal,dated to the period of Hammurabi, in an inscription which reads,"Ilshiumla, Servant of Martu and the Bull of Heaven". (Prinz, op.cit., p.67 fig.10).

[3]For a discussion on whether Adad-Ramman is an indigenous Babylonian deity, or a Syrian or Syro-Hittite intruder see Ward, op.cit., p.380-1; H. Prinz, op.cit., p.126ff; Schlobies, op.cit., p.9; A. Jeremias,"Ramman (Adad)" in W. Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie, 4.25-58.

[4]E. Ebeling in H. Gressman, Altorientalische Texte, pp. 248-9; id., Reallexicon der Assyriologie, 1.24.

Ramman, "the Bellower", that the bull was introduced or substituted as Adad's personal attribute to represent the roaring of the thunder as the complement of the lightning fork which he wields in his hand. His "riding the storm-cloud and the Hurricane Cloud" is to be seen as an extension of this imagery; the bellowing bull as a symbol of thunder and the storm-cloud probably has its origin in Syria.[1]

It is likely, however, that the bull was closely connected with the Weather God before the accession of Hammurabi; not with Adad, but with his predecessor Enlil of Nippur. Enlil's name means "Lord of the Storm",[2] and a complete series of hymns and lamentations are addressed to him with the opening words:"The Bull to his Sanctuary".[3] The same deity is also apostrophised as "he who lies in the land like a mighty steer", and hailed,"a sturdy bull art thou".[4] Finally in a fragment of a hymn Enlil is addressed as "crouching in the land like a sturdy mountain bull,/ whose horns shine like the brilliance of the sun" and in the ritual of the making of the

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[1]The idea of a god standing on a bull is possibly taken over from the Hittite storm-god Teshub, who is always shown in this way. The influence may have come direct from Anatolia or, more likely, from Syria under Hittite influence. See below pp.112-3.

[2]M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, p.68.

[3]Ibid., p.74. S. Langdon, Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, no.10; cf. pp.85,113,127,277,etc.

[4]Jastrow, op.cit., pp.74-75 and p.124 respectively.

lilissu drum as "Great Mountain".[1] The reference to a mountain bull and the "Great Mountain" is significant since Enlil's consort is usually called either Ninlil (the simple female form of his name), or Ninhurshag (the Lady of the Mountain).[2] This would suggest that he was also a mountain god and must, therefore, have become such before the Sumerians moved into Mesopotamia, perhaps from Elam.

The Babylonian ideogram for bull is roughly shaped like a triangle enclosing three smaller, triangular wedges; these wedges are said to be the sign for mountains.[3] This knowledge helps to explain a seal from Ur in which two armed men stand by two couchant bulls whose bodies are elongated and finish as mountains.[4] That the bull can be the symbolic representation of a mountain is proved by one seal which, instead of the usual scene of the Sun God rising from the

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[1] Ibid., p.75; Langdon, op.cit., no.18. Great Mountain: A. Sachs in Pritchard, op.cit., p.337. Jastrow thinks that comparison between the bull's horns and the sun is proof that Enlil has been solarised, and has acquired the bull from the Sun God of Nippur, Ninib, the two gods having exercised a reciprocal influence over each other. In this theory he is followed by Wainwright, op.cit., p.44. Ninib is connected with the bull in a late hymn (M. Jastrow, Die Religion der Babylonien und Assyrien, p.464), but was overshadowed at an early date by Shamash. For the contamination of Weather Gods and Sun Gods see below pp. 85, 147-150.

[2] M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, p.68. Enlil's house was called "The Mountain House" (Ibid., p.19).

[3] Ward, op.cit., p.414.

[4] Frankfort, op.cit., p.72. Another seal shows a god aiming a bow at a bull, which stands on a mountain (Ibid., Pl.XXII, f).

earth between two mountains saw in hand, while two attendants hold open gates (presumably the "Gates of the Sunrise")[1], shows the god rising from between two human-headed bulls, while he leans with his arms upon them instead of stepping forward.[2] After the Akkadian Period the Sun God, Shamash, is shown advancing with his foot stepping onto a mountain and seated with his foot on a human-headed bull.[3] Thus when the Weather God is shown stepping onto a bull or using it as his foot-stool, in that case the bull must represent a mountain. This must surely be so since a Babylonian cylinder shows Adad complete with lightning fork stepping onto not a bull but a mountain.[4]

During the Akkadian Period a series of seals appears which has taxed the ingenuity of scholars. The main theme is a couchant bull whose back supports a winged structure drawn like a ladder but representing a gate; in front of the bull sits a female deity.[5] Behind the bull on the opposite side

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[1]E.g. Ibid., Pl.XVIII,a,g,k; XIX,a (Akkadian Period). The small bull under Ea's feet and next to the mountain in the last seal may be a juxtaposition of symbol and object of symbolism as Ea never appears on a bull. The saw is the main attribute of Shamash who uses it as a weapon against his enemies. It presumably represents a shaft of light.

[2]Revue d'Assyriologie, 28(1931), p.44 fig11.

[3]E.g. Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXVI,f,l; XXVII,a,d. See above p.67 n.5.

[4]Ibid., Pl.XXVII,c. Cf.p.163 fig.40 where Adad stands on two mountains, a design adapted from the Hittite Weather and Mountain God, Teshub.

[5]Ward, op.cit., p.124 fig.352; Delaporte, Louvre,II.110 nos.A148-150, Pl.72,3-5; Malten, op.cit., p.99 fig.12. That

from the goddess there is usually, but not always, a naked hero who often stands, but sometimes kneels with one foot on the bull's back. A stream occasionally emerges from the gate, which the naked hero and goddess usually hold. The goddess always holds the bull by a lead or by one of its horns.[1] In one seal, however, two naked male figures kneeling symmetrically restrain the bull.[2]

What then is the significance of the bull bearing the winged gate symbol, and who is the seated female deity? The elucidation of the first question may well provide the answer to the second. It has been shown that the sun-rise can be depicted by the Sun God emerging from between two gates or arising between two mountains. Bulls can also be substituted for mountains in these scenes as a regular symbol. Moreover in one seal the gates are absent but the Sun God steps up between two mountains whose summits are extended to form conventional wings, while a naked hero grasps a

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the structure on the bull's back is a gate, compare the gates in Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XVIII,a,b,c,g.

[1] Ibid., Pl.XXII,i: goddess holds bull's rein, stream omitted (cf. id., Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region, p.44 Pl.55,584); Ward, op.cit., p.123 fig.350: goddess holds bull's horn; hero holds stream and places foot on bull (cf. H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, Pl.XXII,g; id., Diyala Region, Pl.55,583; 92,983; Delaporte, Bibliothèque Nationale, Pl.77,706); Ward, op.cit., p.123 fig.351: goddess holds streams, hero stands (cf. Ibid., p.127 fig.353, p.125 fig.356 in the latter the streams are omitted). Ibid., p.124 fig.352 both streams and hero are omitted.

[2] H. Frankfort, Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region, p.44 Pl.61,643.

gatepost symbol.[1] Thus it appears that the bull represents the mountain and the winged gate is the gate of the sun-rise.

On some seals the seated goddess is surrounded by rays and she is probably Shamash's escort, Aia, as Malten suggests.[2] On another seal a star appears near the seated deity, which suggests that she may be Ishtar, if the star is meant to represent the Evening Star.[3] A number of Assyrian proper names begin with "Ishtar-bab" meaning "Ishtar-gate" or "Ishtar of the Gate".[4] That this is Ishtar shown on the seals is made more probable since she either holds the horn or rein of the bull and the stream which emanates from the gate, thus showing her close connection with the two objects.[5] The naked hero who appears on the other side of the bull is probably merely an attendant and is sometimes omitted completely.

Why is Ishtar connected with the "Gate of the Sunrise"? In the Epic of Gilgamesh after her advances towards Gilgamesh have been rejected, in spite she asks the Sky Father, Anu,"Father, make me a Heavenly Bull which shall Gilgamesh vanquish / filling his body with flame", and is told

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[1] H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, Pl.XVIII,k.
[2] Malten, op.cit., p.99.Cf. Delaporte, Louvre,II Pl.72, 3-5.
[3] Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXII,g.
[4] J. King, Assyrian Deeds and Documents, 3.119-120.
[5] Ward, op.cit., pp.375-6 believes that it is impossible to identify the goddess.

that when it is created seven lean years must follow its onslaught.[1] In a Sumerian fragment of the Epic Anu makes Ishtar promise that she will not let the bull reach the "Place of Sun-rise", and she agrees that if all else fails "the rein will restrain him".[2] Thus Frankfort interprets these seals as showing Ishtar preventing the Bull of Heaven from getting to the "Gates of the Sun-rise".[3] Perhaps this explanation is to be preferred to that of the bull representing the mountain, or possibly both ideas are contained in the scene.

Why should it be important that the Bull of Heaven does not get to the "Gate of the Sun-rise", and what might happen if it did? When the bull arrives in Uruk, he "drinks at the waxing river: / two hours the waxing river flowed, then only was his thirst slaked; / where he pastured the earth was bare".[4] It is obvious from this description and the fact that Anu fills the bull's body with fire, and seven lean years are to follow his onslaught, that the bull represents the scorching intensity of the sun in summer, which produces long periods of drought.[5] But Ishtar has received

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[1]R. Campbell Thompson, The Epic of Gilgamesh, p.34 lines 93-94 and line 104.

[2]A. Schott, Das Gilgamesch Epos, p.89 line 22ff.

[3]Frankfort, op.cit., pp.128-9; followed by O. Crawford, The Eye Goddess, p.23.

[4]Schott, op.cit., p.90 lines 18-20.

[5]Malten, op.cit., pp.105-6 believes that the bull represents the burning strength of the stars and compares its

instructions not to allow the sun to get so hot that everything withers away. Gilgamesh eventually killed the Bull of Heaven by plunging his sword between its neck and shoulder. In an Akkadian seal in the British Museum a kneeling naked hero dispatches a bull in this exact manner, while to the left the Weather God approaches on his dragon, in front of which in the sky a female deity appears with outstretched arms from which rain descends. Behind the hero is a vase in the sky pouring down water to earth.[1] Nothing could be clearer than this in showing that the killing of the bull meant the end of the drought and the advent of rain.

A similar theme may be behind certain seals of the Sargonid and Guti Periods showing a combat between the naked hero and the bull or buffalo. On one seal between two spouting vases the naked hero lifts up two buffalo by their hind legs;[2] on a seal from Ur the hero is shown riding astride a bull and grasping its tail and right horn to prevent it from drinking from a river.[3] In other seals the bull-man and naked hero, prevent bulls from eating a plant which sometimes grows from a mountain.[4] But when these seals are com-

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action in killing 400 men with its breath to the οὔλιος ἀστήρ in Iliad, 1.62.

[1]B.M. no.89089. Cf. Ward, op.cit., p.49 fig.129 Frankfort, op.cit., p.127 and Pl.XXII,e.

[2]Ward, op.cit., p.77 fig.203.

[3]C. Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1933-4", Pl.XLII,1: U 18918.

[4]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XVII,h; cf. Pl.XVII,e.

pared to the famous seal of Sargon which shows two naked heroes holding spouting vases from which two buffalo drink, it is clear that the naked hero here represents a beneficent water-daemon, who may water or restrain the bull as appropriate.[1] He is probably associated with the hero who holds the spouting vase as the servant of the Water God, Ea. The Weather God was to some extent equated with the Fertility Gods as he dispenses rain, and once appears holding a spouting vase, while standing on a bull.[2]

But Ishtar only asks Anu for a bull of Heaven. There is the Bull of Heaven, which appears to have been a much more beneficent being. In the ritual of the making of the lilissu-drum, a black bull is slain to provide the drum-skin.[3] Before the bull is killed the kalu-priest recites a magic spell through a straw into the bull's right ear as follows:"Great Bull, Exalted Bull, who treads upon the celestial herbiage, who walks upon the fields, bringing abund-

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[1]Ibid., Pl.XVII,c; Ward, op.cit., p.64 fig.156. Malten, op.cit., p.106 sees the cattle as receiving the Water of Life. Frankfort, op.cit., pp.72, 88n.2 suggests that the lion-headed eagle, Imdugud, the symbol of the god of fertility, is shown attacking bulls on some seals (E.g. Pl.XVIII, e) to represent the restraint of drought, symbolised by the bull. This is not likely, especially as one seal shows a hero and a bull-man attacking Imdugud as if it were an ordinary creature in a combat scene(British Museum, no.22962).

[2]Delaporte, Louvre, A283. Presumably the figure is Adad as Ea is never shown standing on a bull.

[3]"If it is spotted by (as many as?) seven white tufts (which look like) stars . . it shall not be taken for the ceremony"(Sachs in Pritchard, op.cit., p.335).

ance, the Planter of Corn, who causes the countryside to be fertile, my clean hands have made sacrifice before thee". He then addresses the bull in the left ear as "offspring of the deity Zu".[1] Woolley believed that he had found a representation of the Bull of Heaven on a steatite bowl from Ur. Originally four bulls were shown surrounding the bowl, but only one has survived. Apart from trefoil marks on the body the sun and moon appear, and on its front leg and shoulder there are round spots arranged in the shape of the Plough.[2] It is not surprising, therefore, that the Sky God himself, Anu, in the ritual of the Akitu Festival at Uruk is called "Bull of the Enclosure of Heaven".[3]

The Bull of Heaven then is at the command of Anu; it can guarantee growth and increase, or it can bring drought and destruction..In other words it signifies the fertility and fructifying power of the rain and sun, but on the other hand the destructive force of the blazing sun during a long dry spell. Although sent by Anu it characterises the benef-

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[1]Ibid., pp.336-7. Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, Rituels Accadiens, pp.2, 10-27; E. Ebeling, Altorientalische Texte, p.303 ff; A. Cook, Zeus, 1.579. Four texts of this ritual survive; the oldest come from from seventh century B.C. Nineveh and Ashur, and are copies of older Babylonian texts, Zu was the most powerful of a number of demons who presided over storms and controlled the wind and rain.

[2]Woolley, "Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees", p.331. A fragmentary inscription assigns the bowl to the Third Dynasty of Ur.

[3]Ebeling, op.cit., p.312.

icent, or, when annoyed, malevolent powers of Adad and Shamash. So when Ishtar asks Anu for a Bull of Heaven, she is actually asking for one aspect of the Bull of Heaven, from which the gods usually protected men.

The Sun God's acquisition of the human-headed bull as his foot-stool has already been noted. On some Akkadian seals the Sun God attacks and destroys the bull-man,[1] but by the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty the bull-man is shown as an adjunct of the Sun God,[2] an iconographical function often performed by a vanquished enemy. From this time on the bull-man is the exclusive attribute of the Sun God.[3] Whereas before he could be identified with Enkidu, as a protector of the herds, this interpretation is now no longer possible. Or, more likely, since the bull-man appears to fulfil a variety of functions, there is no reason to believe that at any one time did he stand for only one concept, but that several different genii existed under the same guise independently of one another, the Enkidu of the epic being one and the attendant upon the Sun God another.

The bull-man occasionally carries the gate-post sym-

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[1]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XVIII,j; Delaporte, op.cit., A142.

[2]The bull-man is shown in harmony with the Sun God as early as the Early Dynastic III Period (C. Woolley, The Royal Cemetery, Pl.183 (on a macehead)).

[3]Frankfort, op.cit., p.161; Prinz, op.cit., pp.60,91,96, 106ff. On an Assyrian seal of the time of Shamshi-Adad I a bull-man followed by an interceding goddess offers a bird to Shamash (Delaporte, op.cit., A539).

bol, signifying the sun-rise,[1] but his usual function is to carry the Sun-standard itself.[2] Since Shamash's saw[3] is replaced in the Babylonian Period by a staff with seven globes, an emblem which seems originally to have belonged to the God of Fertility, the bull-man occasionally carries this.[4] The theme of a bull-man holding the Sun-standard is adopted by the Mitannians,[5] but by the Assyrian Period the bull-man sometimes appears as the supporter of the winged disc, which represents the sky.[6] A Mitannian seal found at Tiryns combines the two bull-men holding the Sun-standard with those supporting the sky, so that the winged disc rests on the pillar held by the two bull-men,[7]

On a unique Akkadian seal in Chicago a god with a bull's ears sits in a boat with his feet on a human-headed bull, while a bull-man offers him a kid. Another bull-man

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[1]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XVI,b; cf. the naked hero holding it in Ibid., Pl.XVIII,k.

[2]E.g. Ibid., Pl.XXVIII,g; Delaporte, Bibliothèque Nationale, nos.143,172,242.

[3]For the relevance of Shamash's saw see above p.74 n.1.

[4]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXX,h. That the god with the staff with seven globes is Shamash seems certain, since he stands on a human-headed bull (Ibid., pp.153,161; Delaporte, Louvre, A863), and is accompanied by the bull-man carrying the Sun-standard (Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXVIII,g). The emblem first appears combined with cattle-pens on seals of the Jemdet Nasr Period (Ibid., Pl.VI,a).

[5]E.g. Ibid., p.183 fig.44; Pl.XLII,b.k; Delaporte, op. cit., A951.

[6]Delaporte, op.cit., A678; M. von Oppenheim, Tell Halaf, Pl.VIII,b and XXXVIII,a on stone reliefs.

[7]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XLII,o; G. Karo,"Schatz von Tiryns", p.126 Pl.II,6.

stands behind him holding the Sun-standard.[1] In view of the fact that the bull-man as standard bearer and human-headed bull as foot-stool are the attributes of the Sun God from this period onwards, and that the Sun God is shown voyaging in a boat as early as the Third Early Dynastic Period,[2] I cannot agree with Frankfort that this is a water-god, but I think it must show the Sun God. Possibly a very early seal of the Uruk Period, which shows a god standing in a boat in front of a bull which carries a structure, possibly an altar in the shape of a temple tower, on its back may be meant to represent the Sun God.[3]

Inscriptions also provide evidence for the connection of the Sun God and the bull. The ideogram of the name of the Kassite god Marduk, who became greatly solarised, has been interpreted as "young bull of the sun".[4] From earliest Assyrian times there occurs the regular title for a bull divinity as "il Gud mar il Samas", "Bull-God, son of Shamash". This title first appears in an Assyrian law tablet from Ashur dating to c.1400 - 1200 B.C.:"The eye-witness denies what he (the ear-witness) has said to the king, so he (the ear-witness) shall say in the sight of the Bull-God, the Son of

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1Frankfort, op.cit., p.89 and Pl.XXIV,b.
2E.g. Ibid., Pl.XV,n.
3Ibid., Pl.III,e.
4E. Ebeling in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 14.1669.

Shamash, etc."[1] The same god is referred to as "Receiver of Offerings", and the sons of Shamash are mentioned in a text of King Sanherib, concerned with the construction of a temple to Ashur.[2] There are also directions for the equipping of temples: "On the gate of the shahurru-house there should be set up four bull-gods, the Sons of the Sun God, in brilliant copper"; and "A bull-god, Son of the Sun God, in gold".[3] These bull-gods are the lamassu or protective gods which are placed at the entrances of palaces and temples to ward off evil spirits. As crouching bulls with human faces they obviously developed out of the Sun God's human-headed bulls. Accordingly they are called the "Angry Bull-God", "Bulls, the marvellous Gods", and "Spouse of the Agents of the Underworld".[4] On a late Assyrian standard from Khorsabad (dated to the time of Sargon II) two bulls appear in the sun-disc on either side of the Sun God, and a text in Chicago gives the Assyrian names of the Bull-Gods as Gudma, Karma, Dipar, Dapar, Kamush, Shushgim, Gugarid, Shukum and Rugaban.[5]

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[1]H. Eheloff and P. Koschaker, Ein Altassyrien Rechtsbuch, miscellaneous texts no.1 column VII line 14ff.

[2]Ibid., religious texts no.137 line 10; historical texts II no.124 line 8.

[3]Ibid., historical texts II no.124 lines 18ff.; miscellaneous texts no.75 lines 5 and 7.

[4]B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien, 2.145,201; C. Frank, Studien zur Babylonischen Religion, 1.269.

[5]Malten, op.cit., p.100 fig.13; A. Ungnad, Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie, 4(1928), p.72.

During the Babylonian Period some confusion occurs between Adad and Shamash which is possibly due to syncretistic influences. Thus a god is shown stepping onto a mountain and holding a saw, which would certainly be identified as Shamash were it not for the two adjuncts of the bull and winged lion.[1] On another exceptional seal Adad appears in Shamash's boat with a couchant bull and lightning fork, although he is shown fighting against the winged lion.[2] The head of the Babylonian pantheon, Marduk, takes over Adad's dragon as his personal attribute,[3] and during the Kassite Period he rises to an increasingly predominant position, is partly solarised, and acquires the emblems of Shamash, the human-headed bull and the standard bearing bull-man.[4] At the New Year Festival of Bel-Marduk at Babylon a pure white bull was slain and addressed by the king as "O divine Bull, brilliant light which lightens up the darkness".[5] Thus the bull represents the Sky Bull, and Marduk's assimilation of Shamash's powers is complete.

The connection of the bull with the Moon God is

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[1]Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XXVII,d.
[2]Ibid., Pl.XXVII,h.
[3]Ibid., Pl.XXVIII,j,m,n.
[4]Bull-man holds Marduk's standard on a seal in the British Museum (no.89157); human-headed bulls bear his throne (Ward, op.cit., p.190 fig. 537a).
[5]Sachs in Pritchard, op.cit., p.334. The ritual dates from the Seleucid Period, but is written in Akkadian, and is probably copied from an earlier tablet.

poorly documented. In a bilingual text of a prayer from seventh century B.C. Nineveh said to be copied from an earlier inscription Sin-Nanna is described as "ferocious Bull, whose horn is thick, whose legs are perfected, who is bearded in lapis lazuli, and filled with luxury and abundance".[1] Models of a bearded ox were found at Ur.[2] Otherwise the evidence is scanty. In Sin's temple at Uruk bull's flesh was not to be offered to the obscure bull-god, Harru.[3] A bull-man appears on one seal to be carrying the standard of Sin, but it is probably a badly drawn Sun-standard.[4] In the huge processional relief at Malatya Sin appears third in line standing on a winged bull.[5] The Moon God's connection with the bull is thus seen to be slight, and may arise because of the likening of the crescent moon to the bull's horns. The Akkadian language certainly speaks of the "horns of the moon".[6]

Shumuqan, the god of cattle, is known from the Epic

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[1]F. Stephens in Pritchard, op.cit., p.385. Cf. E. Ebeling, in H. Gressman, Altorientalische Texte, p.241. Nanna is the Sumerian name for the Moon God, Sin is his Akkadian Counterpart.

[2]C. Woolley, Royal Tombs, Pl.107,109,110.

[3]Sachs in Pritchard, op.cit., p.344.

[4]Delaporte, Louvre, A274.

[5]Malten, op.cit., p.104 fig.26.

[6]I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Hoernermotiv in den Religionen", p.462. The same metaphor is used by the Greeks (κεραῖαι σελήνης), who also called the moon χρυσόκερως, ἑίκερως, ἀμφίκερως, ταυροκέρως (Ibid., p.463); similarly in the Latin phrases cornua lunae, and luna bicornis the same line of thought is

of Gilgamesh, and had certain bovine clothing which Enkidu copied. It may be he and not Enkidu who appears on early seals as the protector of herds, especially where the bull-man is portrayed as ithyphallic, symbolising, surely, the fertility of the beast and herd.[1] In the ritual of the Akitu Festival in Uruk the Bull God, Harru, had his place to the right of the Gate of the Allholiest next to Adad.[2] Harru would therefore seem to be the deified incarnation of Adad's attendant bull, whereas Shumuqan is the principle of bovine fecundity raised to god-head.

The motif of a cow suckling a calf appears for the first time on seals of the Third Early Dynastic Period and later in Babylonian seals.[3] In the first representation it appears among several other animals surrounding a fertility god. It is a motif that occurs in Crete and originates in Egypt,[4] but in Mesopotamia it is probably the attribute of the Mountain and Earth Mother Ninhurshag. The cow seldom appears on Mesopotamian seals.

Gods are distingushed from men on seals by the pointed hat which they wear and which has bull's horns curving outwards and upwards from its base. The point of the hat

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apparent. Lactantius, Div. Inst., 1.21 claims that, "Lunae taurus mactatur, quia similiter habet cornua".

[1]See above pp.66-67.

[2]Ebeling in Gressman, op.cit., pp.315-6.

[3]E.g. Frankfort, op.cit., Pl.XV,h and XXVI,1,l.

[4]See below pp. 237-238 and 166 respectively.

may have a series of smaller horns projecting from it. This peculiar form of head-gear first appears during the Jemdet Nasr Period, and sporadically thereafter until the Akkadian Period,[1] when it was universally adopted as the symbol of divinity.[2] Even the demons which the Sun God kills wear it.[3] Nor is it reserved solely for the gods. A seal of the Jemdet Nasr Period shows a goddess wearing a pair of horns, the forerunner of the hat,[4] although in the Akkadian Period the horned helmet is not obligatory for goddesses.[5] During the Third Dynasty of Ur even the bull-man's horns have been replaced and he is shown wearing the horned helmet.[6] Thus it is not surprising that the Akkadian King Naram-Sin wears this same helmet on two victory stelae at Tell Brak and Susa.[7] At a much later date the Macedonian kings Seleucus I Nicanor and Demetrius Poliorcetes reproduce their heads on their coinage showing short horns growing from their foreheads. Similarly Attalus I of Pergamum is called ταυροκέρως.[8]

It is clear that the horned helmets of the gods and

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[1] Ibid., p.22. [2] Ibid., Pl.XVIII - XXIII.
[3] E.g. Ibid., Pl.XVIII,d,h. [4] Ibid., Pl.V,g.
[5] E.g. Ibid., Pl.XIX,a helmeted; Pl.XXII,d without helmet; in Pl.XXII,g the goddess with the bull and winged gate symbol does not wear a helmet, but in Pl.XXII,i, an almost identical scene, she does.
[6] Ibid., pp.61,171 Pl.XXX,h.
[7] M. Mallowan, Early Mesopotamia and Iran, p.108 fig.121; H. Zimmern, Keilinschriften und Bibel, p.52 fig.9.
[8] O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, p.362; Pausanias, 10.15.3; Suda, s.v. Ἄτταλος.

kings represent the strength and might of the bull and thus symbolise the power of its wearer. Accordingly Hammurabi in the introduction to his code of laws is addressed as "Defiant Wild Bull, who kills his enemies",[1] and this becomes the standard formula for addressing the Babylonian kings. Thus Gilgamesh dwelling in Uruk "like a wild ox lords it over the people"; he and Enkidu "grappled like bulls"; against Huwawa Gilgamesh "stood like a bull on the great earth".[2] In a Sumero-Akkadian prayer of lamentation to Ishtar she is called "O angry wild ox".[3] Thus even a goddess can be called by the name of a male animal in her guise of a fighting deity. Similarly in a prayer attributed to king Isme-Dagan Ishtar is invoked as follows:"I would like to call loud upon thee, Young Bull, full of strength".[4]

This emphasis on the strength and power of the bull lies behind the many invocations to the gods in which they are apostrophised as bulls. We have already seen that Enlil, Anu, Adad, Shamash, Marduk, Sin, and even Ishtar are invoked as bulls. As might be expected the Warrior God, Ninurtu, is invoked to provide protection in the words:"I wish to support my body on the hero, like on a bull; in their midst he

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[1]Ebeling in Gressman, op.cit., p.382.
[2]Spieser in Pritchard, op.cit., "Epic of Gilgamesh", p.75 I.iv.45; p.78 II.vi.20. S. Kramer in Ibid., "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living", p.49 line 88.
[3]Pritchard, op.cit., p.384 lines 51-52.
[4]Malten, op.cit., p.106.

towers as a mighty bull raises its horns".[1] This invocation draws attention to the destructive power latent in the bull's horns. Finally an unknown god is invoked as "Mighty, Great, Wild Ox, Brave Master, high and mighty Master of the just Bull".[2] Malten thinks the Sun God may be addressed,[3] but what is important is that it could be any one of a number of deities, who are all invoked as or compared with bulls. Corresponding to these bovine similies commonly in use for addressing the gods, goddesses are often likened to cows. Thus the goddess Bau is called "the Heifer of Isin"[4] and Enkidu tells Gilgamesh,"As one alone thy mother bore thee, the wild cow of the Steer-folds, Ninsunna!"[5]

On the whole the references to the various gods as bulls are the product of a poetic and mythical imagery which lays such stress on the power and protection of the bull. When the gods are portrayed as accepting offerings, they always appear in anthropomorphic guise. Sacrifices to animals never occur. Certain gods, however, have a stronger connection with the bull than others through their close association with the other powers that the bull symbolises - mountains, the power of the sun, thunder, andvthe fertilising forces of

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[1]Ebeling in Gressman, op.cit., p.253.
[2]M. Jastrow, Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer, 1. 474.
[3]Malten, op.cit., p.106.
[4]A. Sayce, The Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia, pp.304-305.
[5]Spieser in Pritchard, op.cit., p.78 II.vi.27-28.

nature in general and rain in particular. It may be through these gods, who still retain the bull as their attribute, that the poetic invocation to gods as bulls became universal.

CHAPTER III (ii) ANATOLIA

James Mellaart, through his excavations in Anatolia and radio carbon dating of the material discovered there, has shown that the neolithic culture developed far earlier in that region than had hitherto been suspected, and that it antedates that of Mesopotamia by at least one millenium if not more.[1] He claims that:

> The neolithic civilisation revealed at Çatal Hüyük shines like a supernova among the rather dim galaxy of contemporary peasant cultures. The comparison is apt for Çatal Hüyük ... burnt itself out and left no permanent mark on the cultural development of Anatolia after 5000 B.C. (2)

It is true that the peculiar village of Catal Huyuk with its shrines or sanctuaries, no two of which are identical, has no direct descendant, but the ideas expressed in the paintings and reliefs, which these shrines portray, lived on in Anatolia to form a substratum of religious belief which was to have an appreciable influence on the religion of later immigrants into the country, and to show how deep-rooted are some aspects of religious practice, which are believed to be age-old, and of which Çatal Hüyük provides the earliest example.

Although the inhabitants of Çatal Hüyük lived in a huge village

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1.- J. Mellaart, "The Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, 1961-65", AS, 12-16 (1962-66); id., "Excavations at Haçilar" AS, 8-11 (1958-61). At least the Anatolian sites antedate any sites in Mesopotamia that have so far been discovered, but the possibility will always remain that contemporary or even earlier sites may one day be excavated in Mesopotamia itself, or for that matter elsewhere.

2.- J. Mellaart, "Earliest Civilisations of the Near East", p.77

in which every house was connected to the next by a party-wall and access to the rooms was via the roof and a ladder, and an analysis of food stored there proves that they had adopted an agricultural way of life, there is no evidence that they had yet domesticated cattle.[1] Horn cores of aurochs were found which measured up to 1.20 metres, which indicates that these beasts were still living in a wild state.[2] In fact the paintings of animals on the walls of the shrines indicate that hunting was still widely in vogue and formed a major part of the economy of Çatal Hüyük.

From the earliest level excavated (level IX) to level III (c. 5800 B.C. on Mellaart's dating) certain shrines presented enormous bulls either painted or modelled in reserve on the plastered north walls.[3] In three succeeding shrines which were superimposed on top of one another, a bull appeared in an identical position, dominating the north wall.[4]

1.- H. Helbaek, "First Impressions of the Çatal Hüyük Husbandry", AS, 14 (1964), pp.121-123.

2.- Mellaart, "Excavations at Çatal Hüyük 1961", p.51. Two animals figure prominently in the shrines, the bull and the leopard; the ram and the vulture occur to a lesser extent.

3.- Bulls only appear on the north wall, where they faced the Taurus Mountains. But Mellaart believes the windows were on the south side of the rooms because of the slope of the hill. Therefore the bull would be in the best position to receive the light and its positioning probably has no significance. The south wall was rarely painted for the same reason. (Mellaart, "Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, 1962", p.67.)

4.- In shrines IX, 8 (Id., "C.H. 1963", p.70 and pl.XIVb); VII, 8 (Ibid., p.57; figs. 18-19, pp.62-63; pl. VIIa); VI, 8 (Id, "C.H. 1962", p.67 pl. IXb) the last figure although 8 feet long has no sex indicated. Bulls are also painted on the walls of Shrines VIII, 45 (id., "C.H. 1965", p.178 pl. XLI a, b) and Shrine A VI, 1 (id., "C.H. 1962", p.67).

Cows also appear in relief in some shrines.[1] The hunting aspect is well portrayed by the drawings in two shrines, nos. F V, 1 and the shrine in level III. The former is decorated on all four walls with a hunting scene of which a huge bull forms the centrepiece, arranged so that it immediately confronts anyone entering the room.[2] In the latter a huge, six feet long bull is surrounded by a mass of smaller figures.[3]

This type of painting would seem to be a natural extension of the Palaeolithic Cave Paintings, which afford the closest parallels to the Çatal Hüyük drawings. The hunted animals figure prominently and the scenes must be expected to produce favourable results in the chase. Similarly, the purpose of a rich deposit of clay figures of wild animals, ritually broken or wounded with arrow or spear points, is self-explanatory.[4] The hunting scenes, however, disappear after level III which suggests that domestication may have taken place during that period, rendering hunting for food unnecessary.

At any rate such scenes played a minor role in the shrines. In every level the shrines are dominated by a number of bulls' heads modelled in relief on straw, wood or clay.[5] Many of these heads in-

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1.- Id., "C.H. 1963", pp.55-56 fig.14 and pl. XI, a. Shrine VII, 1. The silhouetted animal is painted blue, the only time this colour is used for wall-painting at Catal Huyuk. It is also one of the rare reliefs which occupy part of a southern wall.
2.- Id., "C.H. 1965", p.186.
3.- Id., "C.H. 1961", p.57 pl. XV a; id., "C.H. 1962", p.62. Shrine VII, 44 has paintings of leopards, ibexes and animal tracks (Id., "C.H. 1965", p.177, pls. XXV b, XXXVI a-d).
4.- Found in a pit in level VIII (Id., "C.H. 1961", p.51 and pl. VII, b).
5.- Evidence for them has been found in level X which is tentatively dated by Mellaart to c. 6,500 B.C. (Id., "C.H. 1963", p.73).

corporate the actual horn cores of aurochs, although these are not used so frequently in the earlier levels, the horns being modelled in plaster, but become more common after level VI A.[1] Model rams' heads also occur in these shrines, sometimes with actual horns, but in much smaller numbers and play only a minor role.[2] Enormous horns of aurochs were found in smaller rooms to the side of the shrines in what must have been storerooms.[3] Other bones of aurochs were also found with some horn cores and these probably formed a ritual deposit as the rooms at Çatal Hüyük were usually kept meticulously clean.[4]

The bulls' heads had been painted, in many cases several times, and exhibited a variety of patterns, the most interesting of which is a design of schematised hand impressions.[5] The hands are always coloured red and usually appear on the muzzle and cheeks. Occasionally

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1.- Ibid., p.61. Modelled bulls' heads occur in Shrines X, 1 (Ibid., pp.72-73, fig.25); IX,1 (Ibid., p.70); VIII,31 "The Red Shrine" (Id., "C.H. 1965", pp.181-2, pls.XLVI,b, XLVII,a); VII, 21 and 35 (Id., "C.H. 1963", p.64 and pp.66, 69 fig.23 respectively); VII,9 very richly decorated with 18 bulls' heads in all, three of which were superimposed above each other, and one bull's head had double horns (Ibid., pp.52-54, figs.12, 13 and pl.V,a); E VII B (Ibid., pp.47-9 figs.7-8 pls.III,c and IV,a); E VI 8 (Id., "C.H. 1962", p.61); E VI 14 (Ibid., pp.75-76 fig.17, pl.XVI); A VI 6 (Ibid., p.54, pl.VIII,b).

2.- E.g. in Shrines X,1; IX,1; VII,21 (three superimposed); VII,35; E VI,14.

3.- E.g., level VI in room next to Shrine VI,1 (Id.,"C.H. 1962", p.52) and in a room of the same level which was apparently without access (Id., "C.H. 1961", p.51, pl.V,c).

4.- Ibid., loc.cit., and "C.H. 1962", p.73. Shrine VII,21, However, was littered with animal bones but forms the sole exception to this rule (Id., "C.H. 1963", p.66).

5.- E.g., in Shrines E VI 7 (Id., "C.H. 1962", p.73 pl.XV,b), E VI 8 (Ibid., pp.67-68 fig.13:1); E VI 10 (Ibid.,p.70 fig.15 pl.XIV,a) E VI 14 (Ibid., p.75, pl.XVII,b).

they appear on rams' heads,[1] and once cover an entire wall.[2] A strange detail about these drawings is that a white circular patch is always left in the centre of the palm. This seems to be, as Mellaart points out, a stylistic reproduction of the effect produced when a hand is dipped in paint and then pressed flat against a smooth surface. The depression of the palm does not touch the surface and so a circular white patch in the middle of the imprint is produced. Clearly some magical purpose lay behind the painting of red hands on the bulls' heads. Hands were laid on these objects to procure some benefit (to ensure that the hunters caught their quarry? Or to transfer the power of the mighty beast to the toucher?), and to ensure that the link between object and toucher was not broken or erased, the hand was dipped in paint to provide an indelible imprint of the event, or else a likeness of the impression was painted on the head to effect the surer success of the magic. Possibly the red paint is a substitute for the animal's blood into which the hands may originally have been dipped. Whatever the aims of this ceremony we see that the idea common to all religions of touching a person or object to transmit from it to oneself some peculiar quality that may be contained in it, or, that by representing a desired event that event could be brought about in the future, was already practised in Çatal Hüyük in the seventh millenium.

On the ground in Shrine VII,21 beneath and in front of the two bulls' heads which dominated the east and west walls two human skulls

1.- E.g. in Shrines E VI 7 and E VI 8.
2.- J. Mellaart, Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, pp.97-98.

were found. Originally they may have been placed in baskets.[1] In a hole beneath a platform in front of a bull's head in Shrine E VI 10 human bones were found, scattered unlike any other burial at Catal Huyuk.[2] To the left of each of the bulls' heads in Shrine VII,21 was a niche with a circular hole in the bottom, which may have been used for pouring libations.[3] Such evidence points to the veneration of the bulls' heads, as the painting of red hands on them indicated, even to the point of human sacrifice.

Niches in the wall often occur near bulls' heads and in Shrine E VI 10 one in the north wall and two in the south develop into tunnels which penetrate the wall for some distance but without connecting up to the storeroom beyond.[4] In the same shrine three bulls' heads are superimposed, the lowest of which appears to be rising out of the ground, and set in a door-like frame.[5] Mellaart conjectures that the bull may be symbolic for the netherworld and conceived of as living in a cave. He also draws attention to the fact that in later Hattian mythology weather gods and fertility gods, which were both associated with the bull, sometimes disappear into holes in the ground.[6] We have already seen how ancient such beliefs can be. Moreover below a niche in Shrine E VI 10 a semi-iconic figure of a goddess

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1.- Id., "C.H. 1963",pp.66-67, fig.21.
2.- Id., "C.H. 1962", p.70, pl. XIV,b.
3.- Id., "C.H. 1963", loc.cit., in Shrines VI 8 and VII 8 on the floor under a bull's head a disc-shaped basin and a "libation hole" were found in exactly the same positions.
4.- Id., "C.H. 1962", p.73.
5.- Ibid., loc.cit.
6.- Ibid., p.79 and id., Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, p.96.

was found which consisted of a limestone concretion with a carved human head.[1] Such an object is probably part of a broken off stalagmite or stalactite and would show that the goddess was associated in a chthonic aspect with caves and the netherworld. Finds of such concretions and strangely shaped stones among deposits of figurines were quite common at Çatal Hüyük.[2]

In plaster relief only the goddess appears in anthropomorphic form; the place of the male is taken by the bull's and ram's heads.[3] The portrayal of the goddess is very schematised. Her arms and legs are raised up and stick out from her body at rightangles; sexual symbolism is absent, but attention is drawn to the navel of her huge stomach.[4] Sometimes the goddess appears as a twin entity with two heads, two bodies but only one pair of horizontally placed arms and legs. From the lower part of the body of one such dual figure in Shrine E VI 14 a bull's head protrudes with a smaller one modelled on its forehead.[5] It is quite clear that the twin goddess is giving birth to two bulls. Such an interpretation must be given to the scenes in Shrines E VI 8, E VI 10 and VII,1 where a single goddess in the usual posture is shown "hovering" over a bull's head.[6]

1.- Id., op.cit., p.93, fig.72; id., "C.H. 1962", p.79, fig. XIX,b.
2.- Id., Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, loc.cit.
3.- Ibid., pp.94-95; id, Catal Huyuk, p.101.
4.- Id., Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, p.96.
5.- Id., "C.H. 1962", p.75, pls. XVII, a, b.
6.- Shrine E VI 8; ibid., p.67; shrine E VI 10 shows the birth of a ram: ibid., p.73; shrine VII,1: id., "C.H. 1963", p.55. pl. XI,a. In shrine E VI A 50 a similar goddess had three bulls' horns laid in front of her on a small platform. (Ibid., pp.42-43, fig.4, pl.I,b.)

The bull's head in Shrine E VI 14 has red hands painted on it, and Mellaart is probably quite correct in stating that these shrines were intended to promote fertility.[1] The bull, however, by reason of its obvious powers of fertility is shown in preference to the human male to give the magic a greater chance of success. Thus the ram too is preferred to the human but plays a very subordinate role to the bull.[2]

Since the bulls' heads when they appear in a position relative to another object are either shown rising out of the ground or being born from the pregnant goddess, is it too rash to suggest that these scenes are representations of the same idea, that the Earth-goddess of Çatal Hüyük gives birth to a son in bovine form? Such a theory would square with the niches and holes that appear next to some bulls' heads, and a cave-cult of a goddess of child-birth and fertility, from whose sanctuary the stalgmitic concretions may have been brought, is

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1.- Id., "C.H. 1962", p.79.

2.- The fertility aspect of the shrines is emphasised by the rows of breasts that are modelled in relief on the walls. In Shrine E VI 8 there are two rows of breasts one above the other, nine in the upper row and four in the lower (Ibid., p.67, fig.9). Breasts also occur in shrines E VI 10 (Ibid., p.70); VII,21 (Id., "C.H.1963", p.66) six in a row; and VII,35 (Ibid., p.69 fig.23). But the most intriguing feature about these breasts is that they are modelled over the jaws or skulls of animals. Those of shrine E VI 8 contained the jaw, tusks and teeth of wild boar (Id., "C.H. 1962", p. 69 fig.10, pl.X,b); shrine VII,21 the jaw of a boar protruded from one of the breasts; shrine VII,35 two breasts enclosed a fox's and a weasel's skull; and in shrine E VI 10 the nipples were replaced by apertures from which protruded birds' beaks, each breast containing the skull of a vulture. Mellaart sees these jaws and skulls as "unmistakable symbols of death" since all the animals they belong to are scavengers (Id., Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, p.96). But why breasts should cover these symbols one can only conjecture. In some way it may symbolise the continuation of the cycle of birth and death. I can think of no parallel, however remote, to this phenomenon.

not out of the question. In Crete the cave of the Greek goddess of childbirth, Eileithyia, at Amnisos is mentioned in the Odyssey.[1] Eileithyia herself is named in Linear B tablets,[2] and to show the extreme antiquity of the cult a large amount of Neolithic pottery was found in the cave.[3]

In level VI a new phenomenon occurs in the shape of a free-standing square column of brick which incorporates at the top the horn cores of an aurochs. Mellaart aptly names them "bull-pillars".[4] They always occur at the edge of the slightly raised rectangular platforms which project from the walls, and are as common in ordinary houses as in shrines.[5] More impressive than the pillars are the "benches" - long, low, bench-like constructions into which horn cores of bulls are set in rows. The bench in shrine VI,1 had six horn cores projecting along its entire length and a seventh placed on a high pillar-like projection at the end.[6] The nearest parallels to the latter are found at Sakkara in First Dynasty Egypt. In Tombs 3504 and 3505 a feature of the superstructure which is not found before the First Dynasty are the low benches which run round the base of

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1.- Odyssey, 19, 188; cf. Strabo, 476 (10.4.8).
2.- M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, p.127.
3.- M.P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p.58.
4.- J. Mellaart, "C.H. 1961", p.57.
5.- E.g. Room VI A II,1 (Id., "C.H. 1962", p.45); Shrine VI,61: two "bull-pillars" near the N.E. platform and another stood near the remains of a wooden ladder (Ibid, pp.50-53, fig.4, pl.VI,a); Shrine E VI 8: four "bull-pillars" (Ibid., p.61); Shrine E VI 10 (Ibid., p.70); Shrine E VI 14: three "bull-pillars" (Ibid., p.75); Shrine E VI 44 (Id., "C.H. 1963", p.42). In shrine E VI 7 was the only occurrence of a "bull-pillar" which contained the horn cores of a ram instead of a bull (Id., "C.H. 1962", p.73).
6.- Ibid., p.52; Id., Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, figs. 84, 85, p.94. Other shrines also contained such benches: Shrine E VI 14, E VI A50 (Id., "C.H. 1962", p.75 and "C.H.1963", p.42)

the panelled exterior of the tombs on all four sides. On these benches were bulls' heads, modelled in clay but with real horns. There were approximately 300 heads around Tomb 3504 alone (that of the Pharaoh Uadji). Traces of blue and red paint were found on the bulls' heads.[1] As the Egyptian example is almost three thousand years later than those at Çatal Hüyük there can be no question of transmission and it would seem that the ideas arose independently. That of Egypt may be mere ostentation on the part of the deceased pharaoh or part of a belief that he would thus take his herds with him into the next world. Such a simple solution will not suffice for Catal Huyuk. The "bull-pillars" of Çatal Hüyük were placed at the edge of platforms, under which it was the custom to bury the dead. Thus Mellaart's theory that these horns served to ward off evil spirits from the dead seems probable.[2] We have already seen that in Mesopotamia a god was invoked as "a bull" for the suppliant's protection.[3] As has been said such ideas have a long history. It would be natural for the inhabitants of Çatal Hüyük to look to the bull, the strongest animal they knew and symbol of fertility, for their protection, and it was an idea that was by no means peculiar to them.[4]

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three horn-cores each; shrine VI B 70 had five horn cores (Id., "C.H. 1965", p.174).

1.- W.B. Emery, Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, 2. 7-9 pls. VI and VII; 3.6 pl. XIIIa; cf. Id., Archaic Egypt, pls. 8 and 9.

2.- J. Mellaart, "C.H. 1962", p.52.

3.- See above pp.89-90.

4.- The idea of touching the bull may convey the same idea of receiving protection from and making oneself immune to evil spirits. One thinks of some of the old superstitions which are still attached to the touching of the crucifix. The bull's horn benches surrounding the Egyptian tombs may also contain the primitive idea of the horns warding off evil spirits.

Statuettes and crude ex-voto figurines of both humans and animals have been found at Çatal Hüyük. The animal figurines never occur inside the shrines but either lie outside or are stuck into recesses in the walls, whereas human statuettes are found inside the shrines.[1] Often large numbers of clay animal figurines were deposited between the walls of shrines and other buildings.[2] A male deity with a beard appears in the early strata and is often portrayed riding astride a bull,[3] or in a sitting position.[4] But after level VI the male figure only appears in a subordinate role to the female deity in the form of new-born child, young son or paramour. He never appears apart from her and never again as an old man.[5]

Finally his demise is complete and after the beginning of level II he disappears entirely.[6] An event parallel to this phenomenon is that the hunting shrine of level III is not rebuilt in level II.[7] This evidence indicates that hunting ceased to be of major importance to the economy of Çatal Hüyük and that its place was taken by agriculture. Domestication may have taken place at this time. In the statuette of the god astride the bull we have a clear indication of

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1.- J. Mellaart, Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, p.92.
2.- Id., "C.H. 1962", p.78, pl. XVIII,a.
3.- Ibid., p.85, fig.21; the bull is heavily stylised and its head resembles those of the bulls in the shrines; id., "C.H. 1963", p.76, fig.29, pl. XV,c,d. Both these figures are from level VII.
4.- Ibid., p.75, fig. 28,b, pl. XVI,a.
5.- Id., Çatal Hüyük, p.181.
6.- Ibid., loc.cit., id., Earliest Civilisations of the Near East, p. 100: the male figure is not represented among nine statuettes from a shrine in level II. In late Neolithic Haçilar he is shown mating with the goddess. (Ibid., p.106, fig.94.)
7.- Id., Çatal Hüyük, p.176.

the equation of the god with the bull. When the god is overshadowed by the mother goddess, the bull still performs his function as the symbol of male potency, and plays an important part in the cult.[1]

At the nearby but later Neolithic site of Haçilar animal figurines are conspicuous by their absence, although a few examples do occur,[2] and the male deity appears sporadically as paramour and small child.[3] But animal bones abound in profusion,[4] a rhyton appears in the shape of a bull's head[5] and other vessels are shaped like standing and couchant bulls, as well as other animals.[6] In level VIII the paired vertical lugs on jars are often either replaced by lugs in the shape of a bull's head, or horns and ears are added to them.[7] Bucrania are also not uncommon on pottery.[8] Unfortunately all this evidence of familiarity with the bull is not enough to prove for the inhabitants of Haçilar that, as at Çatal Hüyük, the bull played a major role in their religion.[9]

1.- Ibid., p.181. An amulet in the shape of a bull's head was found in the so-called "Leopard Shrine" E VI 44 (Id., "C.H. 1963", p. 95, pl. XXV,c.)

2.- Figurines of bulls, common at other Anatolian, Neolithic and Chalcolithic sites, are rare at Hacilar (E.g. at Can Hasan, D.H. French, "Excavations at Can Hasan 1964", pp.89-90; id., "Excavations at Can Hasan 1965", p.118). Two figures of bulls were found in house C.11 in level VI. (Mellaart, "Excavations at Haçilar: First Preliminary Report, 1957", p.149).

3.- See above p 102 note 6.

4.- Ibid., p.134.

5.- From level VI (Ibid., p.143, fig. 10:6, pl. XXXII,e.)

6.- Id., "Haçilar 1960", pp.68-69, fig.27:5.

7.- Ibid., p.68, fig.27:7; id., "Hacilar 1958", p.65.

8.- Id., "Haçilar 1960", p.68, fig.27:4.

9.- Mellaart suggests (Ancient Civilisations of the Near East, p.125) that a migration took place from Çatal Hüyük and Haçilar to Tell Halaf after the destruction of the former sites, and that the refugees took with them their religion which included the cult of the bull. Chronologically this is possible but the Halafian

At Alaça Hüyük in Central Anatolia a number of Early Bronze Age tombs (c.2300-2200 B.C.) have been discovered. Numbering thirteen in all through several occupation levels the graves contained bodies buried in a contracted position, and facing the south, which was a common procedure at this time.[1] Over the bodies the skulls and legs of oxen (occasionally goats or pigs) had been placed in an orderly fashion and a row of stones had also been left above the tombs, possibly to mark them.[2] But the most important feature of the burials were the so-called "bull-standards" which were placed with the bodies in the centre of the graves.

In fact most of the animals portrayed on these standards are not bulls at all but stags. The objects found fall into three groups: flat, metal discs, usually incorporating a trellis pattern, sometimes with radial excrescences, or circular spoked pendants;[3] a simple figure of an animal, usually a stag but sometimes a bull, with its legs drawn together to fit a narrow base, onto which is attached a socket, presumably for a pole;[4] sometimes the two elements are combined to show an animal encircled by a metal hoop, from which pendants may

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pottery, especially in its designs of bucrania, would seem to be influenced by that of Haçilar or a common site, rather than to be a direct descendant. There is no proof, however, of a bull cult at Hacilar, nor for that matter at Halaf, even though the animal figures prominently on the pottery of both sites.

1.- S. Lloyd, Early Anatolia, p.96.

2.- H.Z. Kosay "Disques Solaires Mis au Jour aux Fouilles d'Alaca-Höyük," pp.160-1, fig.1.

3.- Ibid., pls. 13-17, 18,b.

4.- Ibid., pls.22; Lloyd, op.cit., pl.4; H. Bossert, Altanatolien, pl.62 nos.297-300; pl.65, nos.315-317 show animal figurines of the same era from different parts of Anatolia which are of a similar type and may have been used for the same purpose.

hang.[1] Near these objects fluted gold handles were found and it seems that these belonged to staffs on which the figures were mounted, as the terminals of standards and carried in processions.[2]

Since the standards are generally circular in shape Koşay, their excavator, does not hesitate to call them sun-symbols ("disques solaires"); moreover as some of the discs have a horn-shaped projection which rises from the base of the disc to embrace its lower half, Koşay sees this as a representation of the crescent moon.[3] Only two of these standards can really be explained as sun-symbols: one which combines a fawn with a trellised disc, which ends in radial excrescences, and provides a very striking sun-like effect;[4] and a rhomboid-shaped standard whose interior cut-out design is composed of swastikas.[5] The swastika is of course a well-known sun-symbol. Koşay thus sees the stag as a symbolic representation of the sun.[6]

But, although some of the standards are more likely to be sun-standards than otherwise, Koşay is adopting an extreme position in stating that they must therefore all be sun-standards. There is no reason to believe that all the standards portray one single concept, and that the other standards may not signify some different belief. In short the bull standards are not associated with any symbols which are unquestionably solar, and are not necessarily solarised by the

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1.- Koşay, op.cit., pls. 19,b., 20, 21. Bossert, op.cit., pl.63, nos.302, 306.
2.- Koşay, op.cit., pl.13a; Lloyd, op.cit., p.98.
3.- Koşay, op.cit., pp.162-163, pls. 17-18.
4.- Ibid., p.163 and pl.20, fig.D.1.
5.- Ibid., pl.18a; and a small gold swastika was found in tomb H (cf. Bossert, op.cit. pl.63, no.301).
6.- Ibid., p.163.

presence of the other material in the graves.

In fact a Hittite relief from Yenikoi shows a deity standing on a stag and holding a bird in his hand.[1] This god is probably the same as the one worshipped at Sarissa and Karakhna, whose name seems to mean "Protective Genius" or "Providence" and is described as "a child of the open country".[2] He is usually represented as standing on a stag and holding a falcon and a hare.

In Syro-Hittite art the stag sometimes replaces the bull as the mount of the Weather God, so much so that G. Contenau suggests that the bull as the Weather God's mount derives from Syrian sources whereas the stag is of Anatolian origin.[3] The bull, however, is well attested as the Weather God's attribute in Anatolia,[4] but Contenau is probably right in that it was there that he also acquired the stag.

Finally a late Phrygian relief from Karasu (c.1000-750 B.C.), overlooking the Euphrates, depicts a god in a tunic standing on a stag and drawing a bow. Above his head is a winged sun-disc.[5] The bow and the sun-disc may distinguish this god as Shamash, and bear out Koşay's thesis, although at such a late date syncretistic forces may have been at work and the Weather God could be portrayed, or even a descendant of the "Protective Genius". At any rate it would seem that if the stag at Alaça has any connection with the sun it may be

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1.- Bossert, op.cit., pl.136, no.570.
2.- O.R. Gurney, The Hittites, pp.137-138.
3.- G. Contenau, La Glyptique Syro-Hittite, p.145.
4.- See below pp. 112-116.
5.- C.A. Burney, "A Rock Relief from the Karasu, near Birecik", AS,8 (1958), p.218 pl.XXXIV,b.

through the Hattian "Sun Goddess of Arinna",[1] from whose relation with the stag the "Protective Genius" may have arisen in Hittite times. At any rate the standards at Alaca do not show a connection between the bull and the sun in Anatolia at this date.

The Early Bronze Age settlement at Alaca was destroyed c.2100 B.C., possibly by the Hittites, who had definitely entered Anatolia by 1900 B.C., although how soon they arrived before this date is disputed.[2] Of Indo-European stock it is practically certain that they entered Anatolia from the North-East. Two of the chief deities of their pantheon, the Weather God, Teshub and his wife Hebat, both associated with the bull, are taken from the religion of a kindred race, the Hurrians,[3] who are found to occupy Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia around 1800 B.C.[4] and later in 1500 B.C. form the nation known as Mitanni.[5] The latter's social structure appears to have consisted of an Indo-European aristocratic superstructure imposed on, or probably combined with, largely Semitic lower classes.[6] Thus their

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1.- See below p. 109.
2.- J. Mellaart "Anatolia c.2300-1750 B.C." revised fascicle of C.A.H. 1.XXIV, p.50. Gurney, op.cit., p.135. Hittites were already to be found at Kanesh trading with the Assyrians in the karum prior to its destruction c.1900 B.C. (A. Goetze "Some Groups of Anatolian Proper Names", Language, 30 (1954) p.349.ff.)
3.- J.R. Kupper "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria", revised fascicle of C.A.H. 2.I. p.42-43. Hebat's name is also written as Khepat, Hepatu, Hepit and Chipa.
4.- Ibid., pp.24-26; they had already penetrated to the extreme north of Mesopotamia by the Sargonid Period.
5.- O.R. Gurney "Anatolia c.1750-1600 B.C." revised fascicle of C.A.H. 2.VI.p.7.
6.- Kupper, loc.cit.

religion was highly susceptible to influences emanating from Syria and Mesopotamia.

Evidence for Hittite religion derives from three sources: rock-carvings in Anatolia, cuneiform texts found mainly at the Hittite capital of Boghazköi, and religious scenes incised on cylinder seals. The cylinder seal evolved in Mesopotamia. By c.1650-30 B.C. the Hittites had already conquered parts of Syria, in c.1600 B.C. they sacked Babylon,[1] and although these conquests were not repeated for 200 years the influence of these countries is firmly stamped on the Hittite seals. In the fourteenth century the Hittites were permanently involved in Syria and small Syro-Hittite states remained in being there after the collapse of the Hittite power in Anatolia.[2] Add to this the fact that most Hittite cylinder-seals have been found in Syria, and the problems involved in distinguishing between Syrian, Mesopotamian, Hittite and Hurrian elements in these seals are practically insurmountable, especially in the case of the latter two races, whose original deities and concepts of religion are little known. It is therefore more logical to discuss these cylinder seals in the section dealing with Syria.

The original inhabitants of Anatolia, the non-Indo-European Hattians, worshipped in particular a goddess known as the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, who was later installed at the head of the Hittite pantheon.[3]

1.- Gurney, op.cit. pp.15-18 and pp.24-25.
2.- O.R. Gurney, The Hittites, pp.39-41.
3.- Gurney, op.cit. p.139.

Possibly the "sun-standards" at Alaca were dedicated to her, since Arinna, although its location has not yet been discovered, was situated near Alaça.[1] It has been suggested that she was an earth goddess and that her title was merely an honorific one,[2] comparable to the Hittite kings being called "My Sun" after the Egyptian mode.[3] Indeed she seems to be one of a number of "Sun-Goddesses of Earth", deities concerned with the Underworld and the dead.[4] This is further borne out in that the Weather-God of Nerik is said to have for his mother the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, and in another place the Babylonian goddess of the Underworld, Ereshkigal.[5] Clearly these two deities could only be linked if they have some aspect in common. In this case it can only be that they have control of the affairs of the Nether world.

J.G. Macqueen in his article "Hattian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy" having demonstrated that the Sun-Goddess of Arinna was originally an earth-goddess of a type that continued to exist in Anatolia long after the Hittites, then shows that various Weather Gods (e.g. of Nerik or Zippalanda), who are her sons, are in fact Water Gods.

1.- Ibid., p.136.
2.- G. Furlani, La Religione degli Hittiti, p.29.
3.- Gurney, op.cit., pp.64-65. This title was also adopted by the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni. The two kingdoms also adopted the Egyptian symbol of royalty, the winged sun-disc, assimilated to the Babylonian sun-symbol supported by a pillar. (Ibid.,pp.211-212). Thus at Yazilikaya this symbol is supported by two bull-men, performing their usual role in Mesopotamia (Ibid. p.142, fig. 8, nos.28-29). This is one of the rare occasions that the bull-man appears in purely Hittite art.
4.- J.G. Macqueen, "Hattian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy", p.173 and note 8 for references.
5.- Macqueen, op.cit. pp.176-177.

Moreover, the famous myth of Telipinus, a god who leaves the land in anger and has to be brought back to avert a catastrophe, is paralleled in that of the Weather God of Nerik who disappears into a hole. The purpose of the hole is to communicate with the nether deities, and is therefore, as in Greek mythology, an entrance to the Underworld. More than that a hole is the place whence water issues, at the instigation of the Weather God and Earth Mother. In fact Macqueen demonstrates quite plausibly that Telipinus and the Weather God of Nerik are not vegetation deities like Adonis and Tammuz, who die with the decaying vegetation and are reborn in the spring, but water gods who have to be coaxed back in times of drought.[1]

Thus at Alaça Hüyük if certain standards represent the sun, and thus indirectly the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, might the stags not represent the "Protective Genius" and the bulls the Hattian Weather Gods-cum-Water Gods? At Çatal Hüyük we have seen that certain of the bulls' heads seem to rise out of the ground and that deep holes occur near some of the heads.[2] The inference from these observations is that at times the bulls may be imbued with chthonic characteristics which continued into the time of the Alaça graves and Hattian mythology. Macqueen argues that the bull standards at Alaça represent the Weather God (i.e. the god of underground waters and vital creativity) and that the bull surrounded by the circular hoop represents the god emerging from his hole.[3] Although three thousand years and several hundred

1.- Ibid., pp.171-179.
2.- See above pp. 97-98.
3.- Macqueen, op.cit., p.180 n.57.

miles separate Çatal and Alaça Hüyüks it is not impossible that the same ideas could exist at both places, although, of course, adapted and more sophisticated in outlook at the latter site.[1]

There is, however, another Weather God, this time a true Weather God, who only appears with the arrival of the Hittites. He is the "Weather God of Heaven".[2] The two deities are both addressed in a Hittite invocation, "Weather God of the City of Hatti, king of the sky, lord of the land of Hatti, my lord, Weather God of Zippalanda, my lord, beloved son of the Weather God, Lord of the Land of Hatti",[3] but the older Weather God of Zippalanda is now regarded as the son of and therefore inferior to the Weather God of the Sky, or, to give him his Hurrian name, Teshub. In the rock-carvings at Yazilikaya near Boghazkoi, the Hittite capital, a procession of gods meets a procession of goddesses, the former led by the "Weather God of Heaven" or Teshub, the latter by his consort Hebat. The god wears a short tunic and conical hat; he carries a mace or club in his right hand and an axe is attached to the belt at his waist; he stands on the necks of two

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1.- This theory is, of course, very hypothetical and unlikely ever to be proved or disproved. Its weakness lies in that the association of the Hattian Weather Gods with the bull has not yet been substantiated prior to the arrival of the Hittites. After this contamination with Teshub and kindred figures occurs. If new evidence were to show that the Hattian Weather Gods were associated with the bull before the Hittites arrived, then the probability of this theory would be increased.

2.- The symbols which spell this name are held by the leading god of the procession in the rock-carving at Yazilikaya (Gurney, op. cit., p.141, fig.8).

3.- Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, VI,45. I. 10ff.

bowed human figures, who are meant to represent the deified mountains, Nanni and Hazzi. He is met by his consort, Hepatu, who is supported on the back of a lioness, which itself stands on four mountains. Peering round the legs of the two human figures are two bulls wearing conical hats. Behind Teshub there is an identically attired figure standing on two mountains and bearing the ideogram "Weather God of Hatti".[1] On a relief from Malatya the Hittite king pours a libation to the Weather God, who appears in two forms - arriving in a chariot drawn by a bull, and standing brandishing his thunderbolt. Behind the king a figure restrains a bellowing bull.[2] A similar relief from Arslan Tepe near Malatya shows Teshub standing on a bull and holding a bow in one hand and a lightning fork and lead to the bull's nose in the other, while the Hittite king pours a libation to him.[3] Finally from Tell Ahmar (Kar Shalmanasser) near Carchemish a fragmentary relief shows a draped figure standing on a bull.[4]

The relief from Yazilikaya dates from the fourteenth century while the others were produced in the twelfth and eleventh centuries

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1.- Gurney, op.cit., pp.141-144 fig.8; cf. E. Meyer, Reich und Kultur der Chetiter, p.89, fig.68; J. Garstang, The Hittite Empire, pl. XXIV; L. Malten "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem Bild", p.112, fig.37; A Cook, Zeus, 1. 605, fig.476.

2.- L. Delaporte, Malatya, pl. XXIV; Gurney, op.cit., p.207, fig.17; H.T. Bossert, Altanatolien, pl. 186, no.778.

3.- J. Garstang, "Notes on a Journey through Asia Minor", Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology, 1 (1908), p.4, pl. IV; D.G. Hogarth, "Carchemish and its Neighbourhood", Liverpool Annals, 2 (1909), pl. XLI, no.3. (cf. Bossert, op.cit., pl.185 no.775; Garstang, The Land of the Hittites, pl.44; Meyer, op.cit., p.103, fig.80; Malten, op.cit., p.112, fig.38; Cook, op.cit., 1.640 fig.500). A charging bull also appears on a relief from the same place (Hogarth, op.cit., pl. XLI, no.1; Malten, op.cit., p.113, fig.39).

4.- Hogarth, op.cit., p.180 pl.XXXIX; Malten, op.cit., p.113 fig.40.

after the collapse of the central Hittite power. The former shows Teshub in his purest form in that he carries a club and stands on two mountains. In this guise he appears in Syria on cylinder seals,[1] and the worship of Hebat is attested in that country as early as the time of Abbael, king of Aleppo (c.1730-1710 B.C.).[2] Teshub is also mentioned in Babylonia during the reign of Ammisaduqa (c.1650-1620 B.C.).[3] During this period of contact Teshub acquires the attributes of the Syrian and Mesopotamian weather gods: he stands on the bull and brandishes a lightning fork or axe.[4] In the later reliefs from the neighbourhood of Malatya these influences can be seen at work. Even at Yazilikaya they may have started, since behind Hebat also standing on a feline animal is her son Sharma (or Sharruma), a beardless figure who carries a double axe in his left hand with another stuck into his waist-belt. Sharma was a Hurrian god, like Teshub and Hebat, and was identified with the Hattian Weather God of Nerik.[5] At Yazilikaya this latter figure too, like Teshub, carries an axe at his waist. Moreover from the same gallery a relief shows the deified Tudhaliyas standing on two mountains with an axe at his waist.[6]

1.- E.g. G. Contenau, La Glyptique Syro-Hittite, pl.21, 156 (cf. Malten, op.cit., p.111, fig.36).
2.- J.-R. Kupper, "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria", revised fascicle in C.A.H., p.43.
3.- H. Schlobies, Der Akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien, p.9.
4.- See below p. 140.
5.- Gurney, op.cit., pp.135, 141. He also appears in a side gallery at Yazilikaya embracing the Hittite king Tudhaliyas IV and his axe is shown at his side (Ibid., pl.15). A similar design appears on the royal seals of Muwatallis. This time however it is the bearded weather god holding a mace who embraces the king. A Babylonian convention has crept into the scene in that the god's conical hat has a series of bulls' horns sticking out from it (Ibid., p.205, figs.16,1 and 16,2).
6.- Ibid., p.143 fig.8, no.64.

Like the Weather-Gods of Syria and Mesopotamia Teshub had a bull as his regular attribute - in fact he had two. They have been mentioned in connection with the rock relief at Yazilikaya and they appear again in a relief from Malatya, in which they peer round the Weather God's legs as he stands.[1] Their names often appear in invocations and oaths sworn by the gods directly after the names of the weather gods. E.g. "The Weather God of Hatti, Seri, ^{d}Hur-ri, the God of the Camp"[2] and "Son of the Weather God, ... Se-e-ri, ^{d}Hu-u-ur-ra, the Mountain Na-an-ni, the Mountain Ha-az-zi".[3] The spelling of the bulls' names varies but they are generally called Seris and Hurris.[4] The names like those of Teshub and Hebat are Hurrian and in that language Seri and Hurri mean day and night respectively.[5] One text refers to the "Gate of Seris and Hurris": "Afterwards the King drank to the god, who is friendly to him. The king drank from his horn standing before the gate of Seris and Hurris".[6] Since the head of the Hittite pantheon and special protector of the king was Teshub (he embraces the king to signify his protection) I take the gate of Seris and Hurris to mean simply the gate of Teshub's temple rather than see in it any allegorical meaning. In fact the inventory records of Teshub's temple at Boghazköi frequently mention among its contents

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1.- Bossert, op.cit., pl.186, no.777.
2.- Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi, (K.B.) VI, 28 II 32.
3.- Ibid., I, 1 II 40-41; cf. also Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi (K.U.B.), VI 45 I 10ff. and E.F. Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, no.1 pp.28-29.
4.- In the song of Ullikummis they are called Serisu and Tella (A. Goetze in Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.123; Gurney, op.cit., pp.141, 193.)
5.- Gurney, op.cit., p.141.
6.- K.U.B., XI 22 V 12ff; cf. K.U.B., XX 42 V 13ff.

statues of bulls, many of them made of iron, but one large bull of silver and one with gilded eyes.[1] Thus when Hattusilis I sacked Khashshum, a Hurrian town in Syria, he brought back to Hattusas a horde of statues, including those of the god of Aleppo and his wife Hebat, and a pair of silver bulls, which must have represented Seris and Hurris.[2]

Sometimes a devastated city was dedicated to the Weather God by an imprecatory curse, through which it was believed to become the grazing ground of Seris and Hurris:

> I have given the enemy city to the Weather God, and, o Weather God, my lord, your bulls, Seris and Hurris are to have it as pasture and to graze there constantly. Whosoever settles the land and deprives the bulls of the Weather God of their pasture, is to be the enemy of the Weather God. (3)

Other texts refer to an unnamed bull as the son of the Weather God. E.g.: "Beloved son of the Weather God ... Bull of the City of

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1.- F. Hrozny, Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, pp.1-25; iron bulls: I i 28; ii 12, 24, 27, 34, 36, 41, 42; iii 2, 3, 8, 9; iv 11; silver bull: I i 34; bull with gilded eyes I vi 3.

2.- Kupper, op.cit., p.43; A basalt head of a bull was found on the floor of the Level VII temple at Alalakh. Its forelock and horns, which were missing, were made of some other material, probably precious metal. (C.L. Woolley, Alalakh, p.237, pl.XLIIIa). The temple was almost certainly destroyed by the Hittites about this time, and it may well have been dedicated to a Weather-God and have contained statues of bulls, which the Hittites removed to their own temples. The syncretism that had taken place by this time is apparent since Abbael, king of Aleppo, worshipped the Hurrian goddess Hebat as the consort of the Weather God Adad (see above p.113 and note 2). But Adad, the great god of Aleppo, to whom Zimrilim, King of Mari had once dedicated his statue, once he acquired Hebat as his wife lost his own identity and became Teshub of Aleppo (H.G. Gueterbock, "The Hurrian Element in the Hittite Empire", C.H.M., 2 (1954), p.390). Such events were inevitable once two deities of similar function came into contact.

3.- K.U.B., VII 60 III 17 ff.; J. Friedrich, "Aus dem Hethetischen Schrifttum", Der Alte Orient, 25 (1926), p.22.

Hattusas, of the Land of Hatti".[1] This may be a reference to either Seris or Hurris or to Teshub's son Sharma, but more likely it is an adoption of the Babylonian custom of addressing gods as bulls.[2] This usage is corroborated by a prayer of Queen Puduhepas, wife of Hattusilis III, to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, which starts, "I, Puduhepas, am a servant of thine from of old, a heifer from thy stable."[3] Here the words "heifer from thy stable" are used as a purely figurative expression.

But the bull appears in one guise that is foreign to Mesopotamia, namely, as the direct object of veneration. At the Sphinx Gate at Alaça Hüyük (c.1400-1300 B.C.) a stone relief shows a bull standing on a pediment in front of which is an altar, and being approached by the Hittite king and queen who draw near with a gesture of adoration.[4] As the bull is the sacred animal solely of the Weather God, this relief can only represent the adoration of the Weather God's cult symbol

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1.- K.U.B., VI 46 I 11ff.
2.- See abovepp. 72, 89-90.
3.- K.U.B., XXI 27; A Goetze, in Pritchard, op.cit., p.393. This prayer demonstrates the syncretism that took place between the old Hattian and the new Hittite religions. Puduhepas says that the Sun-Goddess of Arinna is known in Syria as Hebat, who was, of course, the consort of the Weather God. When the Hittites entered Anatolia they married their Weather God of the Sky to the indigenous goddess of Arinna, who is now equated with Teshub's original consort Hebat. Another example of the figurative use of bovine names occurs in a treaty between Suppiluliumas and the King of Kizzuwatna where the inhabitants of Kizzuwatna are referred to, in a metaphorical sense, as cattle: "They later went back to the land of Hatti as fugitives; but now finally the cattle have chosen their stable, they have definitely come to my country" and further on, "The people of Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle and have chosen their stable." (Gurney, op.cit., p.78.)
4.- Gurney, op.cit., pl.16; Bossert, op.cit., pl.114, no.510; Meyer, op.cit., p.77, fig.61; Malten, op.cit., p.110, fig.31; Cook, op.cit., 1.636, fig.495.

or the portrayal of the Weather God in bovine form. In fact the latter is more likely, especially in view of the fact that the bull has some peculiar body-markings in the shape of a lituus (the crook-shaped sceptre carried by the king and symbol of royalty) and two circles,[1] and the role that the bull plays in Syro-Hittite seals.[2] The prominent position of Seris and Hurris and the invocations to Bull-gods may have made it easier for the Weather God to be portrayed in a completely bovine form.

The cult of the Weather God in his Hittite guise survived the downfall of their empire and also that of the Neo-Hittite states in the remote kingdom of Urartu centred around lake Van. A massive relief dating to the seventh century shows a god standing on a bull.[3] The style is Assyrian and unfortunately part of the relief is missing so that it is not known what object the god held in his hand. The bull appears to be covered in some sort of blanket. Apart from this two bronze statues of bulls were found by peasants in Guşçi near Lake Urmia,[4] as well as a mummified skeleton of a bull.[5] When this evidence is added to that of the famous Urartian bronze cauldrons with their bull's head handles and the tripod stands which end in bull's

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1.- Cook, loc.cit., discerns some influence from the cult of Apis as regards the body markings.
2.- See belowpp.121-3, 126-132.
3.- Blocks of the relief were found built into the walls of Adilcevaz Castle on Lake Van (C.A. Burney and G.R.J. Lawson "Relief Fragments from Adicevaz Castle", A.S., 8 (1958), pp.211-216, figs.1, 2, pl. XXXIII)
4.- Representations of the successors of Seris and Hurris? (G.M.A. Hanfmann, "Four Urartian Bulls' Heads", p.206.
5.- Ibid., loc.cit., The skeleton was smashed and thrown into the lake by peasants.

hooves[1] it is apparent that the bull played a prominent part in the religion of these people, and that the worship of a Teshub-type figure was perpetuated.

1.- R.D. Barnett and N. Goecke, "The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altin Tepe, near Erzincan", pp.122-123. The idea of making a tripod's legs end in bull's hooves is much older than this. An example occurs on a clay tripod bowl found at Til Barsip (c.2000 B.C.). (Ibid., p.123.)

CHAPTER III (iii) SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The earliest evidence for cattle in the Levant is derived from a series of neolithic rock-reliefs at Kilwa in Jordan.[1] One primitively drawn ox is portrayed standing over a man who holds what may be a spear in his hand, which he thrusts into the side of the ox.[2] As at Çatal Hüyük the emphasis of these early Neolithic rock-drawings appears to be on hunting, and in one drawing an ibex has two lines leading from its mouth, which may indicate that the animal is bleeding from the mouth and has been injured in a hunt or that this is the desired effect of the drawing.[3] The drawings have been compared to similar rock-carvings found in the Fezzan in Libya.[4] Bones of oxen have also been found at pre-pottery neolithic Jericho but there is no evidence of domestication at this date.[5] In fact it is not until the Middle Bronze Age that the bull can be said to play a part in the religion of this area.

Domestication of cattle took place towards the end of the Neolithic Period in Palestine[6] and in Syria during the Amuq A-B Period and Ras Shamra level V B.[7] During the Jemdet Nasr Period a familiar

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1.- G. Horsefield and N. Glueck, "Prehistoric Rock-Drawings in Transjordan", A.J.A., 37 (1933), pp.381-386, pls. XL, XLI, XLV.
2.- Ibid., pl.XLI, 1. Cf. Tracing pl. XL,A.
3.- Ibid., p.385, fig.7.
4.- Ibid., p.383, Cf. L. Frobenius, "Art Affinities of the Fezzan Rock Carvings", I.L.N., Nov.19th 1932, p.799.
5.- F.E. Zeuner, "The History of the Domestication of Cattle", p.14.
6.- Bones of a domesticated ox were found in the lowest levels at Megiddo (Id., The History of Domesticated Animals, p.175.)
7.- R. de Vaux, "Palestine during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods" revised fascicle of C.A.H., p.23, q.v. for further references.

early Mesopotamian theme appears in Syria, in the form of the shrine and sacred herd.[1] In this same period the bull also occurs in connection with a squatting, pigtailed female figure.[2] Later on this same figure appears seated and drinking from a vessel through a straw, while the bull stands behind her.[3]

When an independent style of Syrian glyptic emerges c.2300 B.C. a variety of subjects from the Mesopotamian repertoire occur, doubtlessly due to the expansion of the Babylonian empire and political power under the Akkadian Dynasty. The Syrian engravers were deeply indebted to the art of Mesopotamia for the "conception, composition and style, and execution of the subjects of their seals".[4] The bull-man fighting the naked hero is a popular theme,[5] as is the naked hero wrestling with a bull,[6] but it is the bull-man holding a standard, or supporting the winged sun-disc that occurs most often and survives right up until the end of so-called Third Syrian Period (c.1200 B.C.).[7] Occasionally the animal file occurs,[8] and the cow suckling calf motif

1.- H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p.229, pl.XXXVIIIj; from Chatal Huyuk.
2.- Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XXXVIII,f,l.; an impression from Byblos of Early Bronze Age date (approximate to Early Dynastic Period) shows a man and a bull cut in primitive linear style (Ibid., p.231).
3.- Ibid., p.238, fig.XLf.
4.- D.G. Hogarth, Hittite Seals, pp.96-97.
5.- G. Contenau, La Glyptique Syro-Hittite, pl.35, 257: two naked heroes seize and stab a bull-man (seal in Berlin Museum cf. O. Weber, Altorientalische Siegelbilder, no.268a); pl.17, 128.
6.- D.G. Hogarth, op.cit., p.37.(Ashmolean Museum A.C.184); Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XLII,i; L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem Bild", p.110 fig.32; Contenau, op.cit., pls.9, 39; 22, 158.
7.- Frankfort, op.cit., pls.XLn, XLIIk; on a Palestinian cylinder of the Hyksos Period (Ibid., pl.XLIr); on a late cylinder of the Third Syrian Period (c.1350-1200 B.C.) (Ibid., p.290, pl.XLVf).
8.- Hogarth, op.cit., p.37 A.C.183: two registers: the upper shows three zebu moving to the left, the lower three lions moving in the same direction.

appears in the First Syrian Period (c.2300-1750) as a filling device.[1] Human-headed bulls sometimes appear, and on a wall-painting at Mari two of these creatures stand antithetically, each with one foot on a mountain.[2]

When Cappadocian glyptic started in c.2100, centred as it was on the town of Kanesh with its Assyrian trading-post or karum, it too was deeply indebted to Mesopotamian models. The earliest sphragistic implement was the cylinder seal, and the dimensions of the later Hittite seals were usually those common in Babylon under the First Dynasty, i.e. length to width equalling 2:1.[3] Like Syria Cappadocia was indebted to Mesopotamia for many of its subjects and motifs. Thus human-headed bulls, bull-men and naked heroes attacking each other and fighting wild beasts all appear.[4] But most popular of all, as in Syria, is the bull-man holding the sun-standard or the winged sun-disc.[5]

Among the earliest seals discovered in Cappadocia are some subjects and motifs which did not form part of the Mesopotamian repertoire and which continue to be popular down to the end of the second millenium. Prominent among these is the figure of a bull which stands in front of a table heaped with offerings.[6] The bull is easily dis-

1.- Frankfort, op.cit., p.254, fig.82.
2.- A. Parrot, "Les Peintures du Palais de Mari", pl.XXXIX; probably in this instance the human-headed bulls retained their original function as symbolic representations of mountains.
3.- Hogarth, op.cit., p.103.
4.- Frankfort, op.cit., pp.243-4, fig.72, pl.XL,q.h.; Hogarth, op.cit., p.52; British Museum no.562; L. Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux du Musée du Louvre, A-852, 853.
5.- Frankfort, op.cit., p.243, fig.74 and pl.XLn; Weber, op.cit., no. 247.
6.- E.g. Frankfort, op.cit.,pl.XL,n,o; p.243, fig.76; Weber, op.cit., no.234; W.H. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.309,

tinguished by the fact that it always supports a triangular construction above its hindquarters, an adjunct it retains even when the table of offerings is not placed before it.[1] This motif was always thought to be a characteristic peculiar to Kanesh but it appears on two seals which are not Cappadocian, one of which was found in excavations at Byblos.[2] After its first appearance it enjoys a wide popularity in the Syro-Hittite sphere and remains in vogue until the end of the second millenium.

Another special feature of this type of bull is that a bird is often shown perched on the pyramidal or triangular construction on the bull's back.[3] The bird is a popular subject in Syro-Hittite glyptic for use in filling in the spaces between figures. Birds also appear perched on the backs of animals. In an exceptionally fine seal two bulls are shown with interlocked horns, while two birds, which due to hunching of their shoulders and long, scraggy necks are, I think, meant to represent vultures, are perched on their backs.[4] Similarly on another seal two more birds, identically drawn, are also

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fig.973; Contenau, op.cit., pl.2,6; Delaporte, op.cit., A-871; H.T. Bossert, Altanatolien, pl.82,410.

1.- E.g. in addition to the above examples: Hogarth, op.cit., p.30 A.C. 83; Contenau, op.cit., pls.5,15; 6,22; 7,24; 10,44; Ward, op.cit., pp.307-310, figs.965-978; Delaporte, op.cit., A-853, pl.125,4a; Bossert, op.cit., pl.82,409; Weber, op.cit., no.252; Malten, op.cit., p.110; fig.29. Occasionally the triangular construction is placed in the middle of the bull's back as in Ward, op.cit., p.308, fig.968.

2.- Frankfort, op.cit., pp.248, 257, pl.XLIa,m (the latter seal was found at Byblos).

3.- E.g. Ibid., pl.XL,n; Contenau, op.cit., pl.2,6; Ward, op.cit., pp.308-309, figs.968, 973, 974, 978; Bossert, op.cit., pl.82, nos.409, 410; E. Meyer, Reich und Kultur der Chetiter, p.54, fig.44.

4.- Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XLII,m.

perched on the backs of two bulls, one of which is recumbent, the other charging with its head down.[1] A bird of indeterminate species is shown perching on a coursing bull's back on a Hittite "Gable"-seal.[2] Seals also show birds perched above the hindquarters of goats and lions.[3]

Contenau sees the prototype of this motif in a seal found at Susa, in which a man walks before a bull, on the back of which is perched a bird.[4] Frankly it is unlikely that this motif should have covered such a vast distance without leaving any trace in the intermediate countries, especially as seals from Mesopotamia are so well represented in all periods. I would regard this Susian find as an example of an experimental design, an archaeological ἅπαξ λεγόμενον as it were.[5] Moreover looking with the eye of faith Contenau declares that the birds perched upon the bulls' pyramidal constructions are eagles, the eagle is a manifestation of the male sky-god and therefore the eagle perched on top of the bull represents the god standing on top of his animal.[6]

1.- Ibid., pl.XLII,h. The motif of a bird perched on the back of a bull was probably taken over by Cypriote artists since two vases of late Mycenaean III and Sub-mycenaean style show this design. (R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art, p.117, fig.135; J.L. Myres, Painted Vases from Cyprus in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, pls.XIII,8 and XIV.)

2.- Hogarth, op.cit., p.31,A.C.112; Hogarth calls it a bird of prey.

3.- Goats: Delaporte, op.cit., pl.27,6; lions: Frankfort, op.cit., pls.XLIIg,j.

4.- Contenau, op.cit., p.144; Delaporte, op.cit., pl.30,7.

5.- Alternatively someone could have carried it all the way from Syria to Susa. The improbability of the arguments designed to connect Syria and Elam without adducing evidence from Mesopotamia shows the basic unlikelihood of any link between the two countries.

6.- Contenau, op.cit., pp.143-146.

Contenau's theory although attractive is not as simple as it sounds. To state that the birds perched on the bulls' backs are eagles smacks of a man justifying a preconceived thesis. The figures are so poorly drawn in most cases that one has to be content to state that they are simply birds. Any attempt to identify the species is doomed to failure,[1] since there is no reason to believe that the engraver in a good many cases had any intention of portraying a particular species of bird.[2] Secondly "the eagle is the representative of the sky-god". It is well-known that the eagle represents Zeus in Greece and the hawk Horus and Re in Egypt, neither of which can, except by some far stretch of the imagination, have much connection with Cappadocian and Syrian glyptic of c.2000 B.C.[3] In Anatolia the Hittite Weather God, Teshub, is seldom connected with any bird, and his Hattian counterparts never. For the Syrian Weather Gods likewise there is no connection.

Two seals (dated to the period c.1700-1200 B.C.) possibly show a tenuous link between Teshub and birds. One a haematite "hammer" seal engraved on five sides shows a seated god wearing a conical hat

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1.- The birds I identified as vultures appear on two exceptionally well engraved seals, but the bulls involved are not carrying any objects on their backs.

2.- The same arguments are reproduced with reference to the "Hagia Triada Sarcophagus" by people seeking to bolster up flimsy, preconceived ideas with specious, far-flung analogies.

3.- The Mesopotamian storm bird Zu hardly qualifies as the attribute of a god of the bright sky, although his connection with a Weather God would be more appropriate to the gods of Northern Syria. Influence from this quarter can never be ruled out, but definite proof is lacking.

with a frontal horn, who holds a trident shaped object on which perches a bird.[1] The trident has been identified as a poorly drawn triple lightning fork, which ought to make its bearer Teshub.[2] But I prefer to see the figure as the so-called "Protective Genius" whose symbol was the antler (depicted as a badly drawn trident? Or influenced by the lightning fork?) and attributes the hare and falcon.[3] The other, a cylinder seal, is unequivocal since it shows Teshub standing on three mountains and brandishing a mace in his usual posture, but carrying in his other hand a "gate-post" symbol, on which a bird alights, and half-way up which another bird clings in the manner of a wood-pecker.[4] Birds may also perch on the hindquarters of lions. Now the lion and leopard were from time immemorial the sacred beasts of the Great Mother Goddess of Anatolia and the Levant. They appear in the earliest shrines at Çatal Hüyük,[5] the goddess Hepatu (Hebat) rides a feline animal in the rock-relief at Yazilikaya,[6] and the lioness remains sacred to Cybele.[7] As far as birds are concerned doves have always been the sacred bird of the earth-goddesses of Mesopotamia and the Levant[8] and the discovery of dove-shaped pendants and terracottas in the Halafian levels at Tell Arpachiyah along with effigies

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1.- Hogarth, op.cit., p.38, A.C.196.
2.- Ibid., p.74.
3.- O.R. Gurney, The Hittites, pp.137, 144 and see above p. 106
4.- Frankfort, op.cit., p.270 fig.85; Ward, op.cit., fig.792. See below p. 139
5.- J. Mellaart, "Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, 1965", p.177, pls. XXXVa; XXXVII - XL.
6.- J. Garstang, The Hittite Empire, pl.XXIV; and see above p. 112
7.- F. Schwenn, "Kybele (Loewengoettin)" in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 11. 2258 for references.
8.- They figure prominently in the cults of Ishtar, Astarte and Aphrodite.

of the Mother Goddess shows how early the connection is.[1] Far from representing the Weather God, I believe that the birds, of whatever species, that sit on the pyramidal constructions on the bulls' backs may be the sacred animals of the Mother Goddess, who as shall be shown, appears from this period on more and more in connection with the bull.

A peculiar feature of these pyramid-bearing bulls is that they always bear curious body markings. Usually any engraving on an animal's body is designed to show the animal's muscles, but the bulls in question always bear a pattern of one or two horizontal lines crossed by multiple vertical or oblique lines. Often a herringbone pattern is produced. These patterns are often the same as those shown on the garments of the human figures on the seals.[2] Perhaps this indicates that a blanket or a similar object has been placed over the bull's body. At any rate the effect of this cross-hatching is to give the bull a very rectangular, unlifelike body. This lifeless appearance is accentuated by the fact that the bull's head is often very summarily reproduced, and its legs appear under its body in a line at regularly spaced intervals in a most unnatural manner, which gives the bull a most unreal effect, especially since the engravers of this period are quite capable of drawing bulls in a much more natural pose.

For these reasons both Contenau and Ward agree that the lifeless

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1.- M. Mallowan and J. Rose "Excavations at Tell Arpachiyah" pp.80, 87, fig.46, nos.1, 2.
2.- Cf. Delaporte, op.cit., pl.5,15; Frankfort, op.cit., pls.XL,l,o.

appearance of these bulls is due to their representing statues.[1] On a seal cylinder in Edinburgh Museum[2] a seated deity is approached by figures who make signs of worship. Behind them, in the centre of the seal, four diminutive figures appear underneath a figure of a bull in front of which is a table heaped with offerings. Between the bull and the human figures are a few horizontal and vertical lines meant to represent a platform on which the bull stands. The bull does not appear to bear the characteristic body markings of its type, and unfortunately the bull's hind-quarters have been worn away so that it cannot be determined whether or not it carries the usual pyramidal construction. The line which represents a platform or dais occurs underneath several of these bulls whether they stand before a table, or support a bird on their backs, or both.[3] Often when a bull is shown above a platform, a design of crossed animals, usually lions, appears underneath it.[4] This may, of course, be merely a filling device, but Frankfort suggests that it represents a decoration on the side of the dais.[5] Such a decoration in fact appears on the base of a god's throne on a Babylonian seal of the Guti Period.[6]

1.- Contenau, op.cit., p.85; Ward, op.cit., p.307.
2.- Contenau, op.cit., pl.2,5; cf. Malten, op.cit., p.109, fig.28.
3.- Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XL,n, p.243, fig.76; Contenau, op.cit., pls.5,15; 7,24; 10,44; Malten, op.cit., p.110, fig.29; Ward, op.cit., p.309, figs.971, 972. On certain Susian seals a stag is sometimes shown standing above a platform (Contenau, op.cit., pl.48,363; Delaporte, op.cit., pls.9,4; 34,14).
4.- E.g. Frankfort, op.cit., p.243, fig.76; Contenau, op.cit., pls. 5,15; 6,22; Delaporte, op.cit., A-853, pl.125,4a; Weber, op.cit., no.234; Malten, op.cit., p.110, fig.29.
5.- Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p.248.
6.- Ibid., p.143, fig.38.

The evidence concerning this type of bull points to it representing not a real bull but a statue. It sometimes appears behind a seated deity of indeterminate nature possibly as a filling device, although it may be conceived as the adjunct of that deity.[1] But more often it appears on its own and is approached by a human figure with a gesture of adoration.[2] In at least one seal a seated god is approached by a worshipper and interceding deity, an ordinary subject for a seal, but the bull on a dais supporting a pyramid is interposed between the two deities.[3] The impression is that the worshipper is adoring both the bull and the god, who makes a gesture of acknowledgment. Unfortunately it is impossible to identify the seated deity.

The worship of the bull has been noted in Hittite Anatolia at Alaca Huyuk, where the king and his wife approach a bull on a pedestal, and it has been remarked that the adoration of the bull is alien to Mesopotamia.[4] Add to this the fact that many of the seals in question derive from Kanesh and it appears that the same idea is represented in these seals as on the relief at Alaça. Since this worship of a god in pure animal form is extremely rare in Anatolia, it may be due to Syrian influence exerted upon the Hittites as they gained control of Syria.

1.- Ward, op.cit., p.309, figs.970, 973, 974; L. Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux de Bibliothèque Nationale, no.260.
2.- Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XL,l,n; Contenau, op.cit., pls.2,6; 7,24; Ward, op.cit., pp.307-310 figs.965-8, 971, 972, 976, 978, In figure 972 two human figures kneel in front of the bull.
3.- Contenau, op.cit., pl.5,15.
4.- See above p.116.

In addition to scenes of the bull being worshipped one seal shows underneath the usual bull with pyramid motif a man cutting the throat of a goat.[1] Thus it looks as though sacrifices were also made to this bull. Arguing along these lines Ward sees the diminutive animal figures which sometimes appear underneath the bulls as intended victims for the bull, and not as mere filling devices.[2] This is unlikely since the animals shown include a scorpion and a lion, animals which were not usually sacrificed to the gods.[3] But Ward's reason for this argument is to explain the occurrence of a prostrate human figure in a similar position.[4] Adding this evidence to two seals which show such a bull with a pair of human hands and arms projecting from the bull's chest,[5] Ward makes out a case for human sacrifice.[6] He sees the bulls as being made of metal, hollow, and with a fire burning inside. Into these the human or animal victims are stuffed and left to roast, so that we are presented with the grisly spectacle of the victim's arms protruding from the mouth of the furnace. The pyramid on top of the bull is in fact a flame. Because of this Ward calls these bulls "bull-altars". In short we have, according to Ward, the prototype of the famous bronze bull of Phalaris,[7] and the statues of the biblical Moloch and Carthaginian Melkaart, which were so designed that when a human child was placed on the statue's

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1.- Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XL,o.
2.- Ward, op.cit., p.307 cf. figs.967 (lion), 970 (ibex), 973 (three indeterminate animals); 974 (bull or lion).
3.- Ibid., p.307, fig.965 shows a scorpion underneath a bull.
4.- Ibid., p.307, fig.966.
5.- Ibid., pp.308-309, figs.968, 969.
6.- Ward suggests that the two kneeling figures of fig.972 may not be worshippers but would-be victims.
7.- Ibid., pp.309-310; Pindar, Pythians, 1.95-96.

hands it slipped off and into a pit of fire.[1] A combination of these two types of statue may be implied since there is no telling if the hands are meant to be an additional part of the bull or if they belong to some unfortunate person inside it. At any rate these seals show that the bull cannot be regarded as being alive and therefore must be a statue.

Against Ward's theory it must be stated that these bulls antedate that of Phalaris by more than a thousand years, although the Sicilian example may have Phoenician origins.[2] If the pyramid does represent a flame, how is it that a bird can be shown to perch on it? Are the other bulls with pyramids but no connection with human beings also hollow and full of fire? Or is the fire built on top of the bull and the hollowing-out of the bull a later modification? If the fire is meant to consume the sacrifice to the gods, why was it thought necessary to place a table of offerings before the bull, the usual procedure in offerings to a divine effigy?[3] These are all questions which Ward's theory leaves unanswered. In fact his theory

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1.- Diodorus Siculus, 20.14.6. See below pp. 430.
2.- See below pp. 430-1.
3.- A.B. Cook, Zeus, 3.1092, quotes from a letter he received from Lady Sterry dated 21st August 1931, in which she claimed to have been told that the Druses, an Arab tribe in the Lebanon, used a sacred calf in their worship. The calf is said to be made of wood and hollowed out inside. During one of their feasts cakes are passed through the calf, which are then considered to be blest. One is reminded of the table of offerings placed before the statue of the bull. I do not suggest that this is the ceremony which then took place over three thousand years ago, but it is an indication of the practices which could have taken place and of which all trace has subsequently been lost.

is based on just two examples out of a score or more of representations of bulls supporting pyramids, and a lone human figure lying underneath another bull. I prefer to interpret the arms which protrude from the animals as a rather bizarre method of providing a platform on which to place the offerings to the bulls instead of the usual table. As for the pyramid representing a flame, the usual Syrian and Hittite method of drawing fire is very similar to the Mesopotamian, consisting of a thin, wavy line, best represented in the Weather God's lightning-fork.[1]

Apart from the worship of the bull which carries the pyramidal construction on its back two seals show the veneration of another bull. This time the bull is depicted truer to the spirit of the Alaca Huyuk relief. In one scene the bull stands,[2] but in the other lies[3] on a raised, square construction, from the top of which lines are drawn to encompass the bull in a larger square. In front of the bull sits a figure clothed in garments not usually worn by men, who drinks from a vessel by means of a tube. The lines around the bull may be meant to show that it is in a temple precinct.[4]

1.- Cf. the flames in the Hittite seal figured in Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl.XLIII,o and the bas-relief from Malatya in J. Garstang, The Hittite Empire, fig.17; cf. the rays emanating from Shamash on the Akkadian seals (Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XXIII,a,g) and from the Hydra-type monster of the same period (Ibid., pl.XXIII,j.).

2.- Contenau, op.cit., pl.28,193 (cf. Ward, op.cit., p.243 fig.734; Malten, op.cit., p.110, fig.30). In front of the bull stands a man holding a vase above which are placed six spheres and a moon-sickle.

3.- Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XL,k. In front of the bull is a tree or branch.

4.- Malten, op.cit., p.110.

The drinker through a tube is also shown in connection with the bull on other seals, in which the bull carries a rectangular construction on its back, which is probably meant to be a shrine, since a human figure appears inside one of them.[1] In the best rendered seal of this type the figure standing inside the shrine can be identified as a naked goddess.[2] Probably the same goddess is represented in a seal which shows a seated deity enthroned on the back of a bull.[3]

Later on during the Second Syrian Glyptic Period (c.1700-1350 B.C.) in what would appear to be a development of the motif of the naked goddess inside a rectangular shrine placed above a bull's back, certain seals show a naked goddess standing on a bull's back under a canopy shaped like an inverted U.[4] The bull may be either standing or recumbent, and occasionally it is omitted completely.[5] The canopy or arch which encloses the goddess not infrequently has a pair of feathered wings attached to it.[6] The canopy when drawn in any detail appears as a trellised or rope-like construction.

During this same period a similar naked female figure appears with her arms stretched out at her sides holding what has been des-

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1.- Frankfort, op.cit., pls.XL, a,f. The human figure appears in the former seal but is too crudely drawn to determine any sex. Ibid., pl.XL,b. shows an empty rectangular shrine and a bull-man standing next to the bull and holding a sun-standard. The bull-man is so poorly drawn that it resembles a Classical Minotaur.

2.- L. Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, no.457 (cf. Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XL,e.)

3.- L. Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux du Louvre, A-927, pl.96,22. (cf. Contenau, op.cit., pl.22,161).

4.- E.g. Contenau, op.cit., pl.19,145 (cf. Ward, op.cit., p.300 fig.931) Ward, op.cit., p.295, fig.907.

5.- E.g. W.H. Ward, "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art", p.24, fig.28.

6.- E.g. Ibid., p.24, fig.29; id., The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.299, fig.930; p.301 fig.939a; Contenau, op.cit., pl.19,144.

cribed as a festoon in such a position that it resembles a skipping rope. The "festoon" passes behind her body at or just below her knees.[1] In the better engraved seals a line usually appears connecting the two sides of the "festoon" and passing behind the goddess' waist.[2] It is this line which suggests that the object which the goddess is holding is not a festoon but a robe which the goddess is withdrawing to reveal her nakedness. This conclusion is reinforced by another seal in which a goddess acts as a mediator between a male figure wearing an oval cap, and probably representing the Hittite king, and Teshub in a characteristic pose on top of his mountains. The goddess has one leg naked and the other clothed as though she were caught in the act of disrobing.[3] As the figure wearing the oval cap walks forward, so too one of his legs is shown bare since it is not covered by his cloak. In fact the earliest appearance of the goddess exposing her nakedness is on a Cappadocian seal where she is flanked on either side by two ithyphallic bull-men.[4]

Contemporary with the seals that show the naked goddess withdrawing her robe are others which show her in the same posture but standing on the back of a bull. The bull may stand or lie and a worshipper usually adores the goddess.[5] So similar is the represent-

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1.- E.g. Ward, "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art," p.28 fig.36; p.30 fig.40.
2.- E.g. Ibid., p.27 fig.35.
3.- Frankfort, op.cit., p.270 fig.85 (cf. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.299, fig.926; Contenau, op.cit., pl.19,146.)
4.- Contenau, op.cit., pl.10,45 (cf. Frankfort, op.cit., p.243 fig.75).
5.- E.g. D.G. Hogarth, Hittite Seals, p.36 A.C.179; Contenau, op.cit., pl.26,182 (cf. Ward, op.cit., p.297, fig.922; Delaporte, op.cit., pl.393); Ward, op.cit., p.296 fig.914 (cf. Contenau, op.cit., pl. 18,136; Malten, op.cit., p.111 fig.35); Ward, op.cit., p.297 fig. 916 (cf. id., "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art", p.27 fig.34).

ation of this goddess with that of the naked goddess under the canopy that the two elements are often combined to show one goddess standing on a bull and withdrawing her robe underneath a winged arch.[1] Through an analysis of the style of these cylinders Frankfort would date the earliest of them to the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty (i.e. c. 1650-1600 B.C.).[2]

That the goddess withdrawing her robe and the goddess under the winged arch are both at times connected with the bull, and that one figure can appear with the attributes of both show that the goddesses in question have either very closely related functions or that they are the same deity. Frankfort adduces the Babylonian legend of the descent of Ishtar into the Underworld in search of Tammuz, where she had to take off a garment at each of the seven gates through which she passed until she was finally completely naked, as evidence that this deity may be Ishtar.[3] Also at this time another naked goddess appears in Syria; she clasps her hands over her breasts and wears only a triangular hat.[4] She originates in Babylonia,[5] but never appears above a bull. She is probably another version of Ishtar, and Ward refers to her as "the naked Ishtar" or Zarpanit.[6]

1.- E.g. Contenau, op.cit., pl.19,140 (cf. Ward, op.cit., p.26, fig.33; id., Seal Cylinders, p.297 fig.915, p.387, fig.71k; A.B. Cook, Zeus, 1.644, fig.504). Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XLIVd shows this motif but the bull is omitted.

2.- Frankfort, op.cit., p.271.

3.- Ibid., loc.cit.; Ward, Seal Cylinders, p.387 calls her Ishkara, a Syrian variant of the name Ishtar.

4.- E.g. Malten, op.cit., p.111, fig.34; Contenau, op.cit., pl.17,128; Ward, op.cit., p.172 figs.459, 461.

5.- Ward, "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art", p.29; cf. Frankfort, op.cit., pls. XXVII,f, XXIX,k.

6.- Ibid., loc.cit.

These three goddesses all embody a common theme, in that they expose their nakedness, indicating that they are fertility goddesses. The naked goddess wearing a hat, originating in Mesopotamia, is most likely a form of Ishtar, and is never associated with the bull. But the goddess withdrawing her robe, first attested in Cappadocia, is closely connected with the goddess underneath the winged arch, and often appears standing on a bull. Finally these two goddesses amalgamate into one indicating that they are very similar in function, if not different aspects of the same goddess. They are alien to Mesopotamia and do not owe anything to that region. Ward, however, sees a connection between the winged arch on the bull's back and the winged gate which appears on the bull's back in Mesopotamian seals next to a seated female figure who is probably to be identified with Ishtar.[1] This therefore would make the goddess under the arch Ishtar. Ward's theory is, however, unlikely since the only time Ishtar is associated with the bull is in this example, which may refer to the legend of her keeping the sky-bull away from the "Gate of the Sunrise", or as has been suggested, the bull may represent a mountain over which dawn breaks.[2] In neither case can the bull be said to be an attribute of Ishtar. Moreover the winged arch motif originates outside Mesopotamia and the nude goddess wearing the triangular hat, an accepted form of Ishtar, is nowhere associated with the bull.

If, therefore, this goddess is not Ishtar, who is she? In the

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1.- Ibid., pp.25-27, fig.30. See above pp. 74-77.
2.- See above pp. 75-76

early Cappadocian seal the goddess withdrawing her robe is held on either side by two ithyphallic bull-men, producing a combination of female fertility and male potency. One is reminded of the "shrines" at Çatal Hüyük where naked, pregnant goddesses appear alongside bull's heads. Three thousand years later the two still appear together when the naked goddess stands upon her bull. There is no need to look to Mesopotamia for the origins of this conception. It has always been deeply rooted in Anatolia.[1]

When another deity appears on the same seal as this goddess it is usually the Syro-Hittite Weather God in one form or another. We have already mentioned the seal in which she introduces the Hittite king to Teshub, who stands on his mountain brandishing his mace.[2] In one often-quoted example the goddess stands on a couchant bull and withdraws her robe while approached on the right by a worshipper. On the left Teshub appears walking on two mountains and carrying in his right hand a mace and in his left a lituus and lead to the bull's nose. A bird hovers above the bull's tail.[3] Since the motif of the Weather God advancing with weapon held aloft in one hand while the

1.- What the winged arch represents is a mystery. It has been suggested that it may symbolise the earth and its vegetation (Frankfort, op. cit.,p.271; Cook, Zeus, 1.644). Cook's theory is based on the Cretan festival of the Hellotia, where the bones of Europa were carried in a huge myrtle garland. (Ibid., 1.525). Cook believes the myth of Europa was influenced by Hittite sources, as shown in these seals. (See below p.368). He also sees her not withdrawing her robe, but instead holding a flowery garland. (Ibid.,1.644).

2.- See above p.133 and note 3.

3.- Contenau, op.cit., 21,156; Ward, op.cit., p.296 fig.913; Frankfort, op.cit., p.270 fig.86; Malten, op.cit., p.111 fig.36; Cook, op.cit., 1.644 fig.503.

other holds the lead to a diminutive couchant bull is known in Syria at the same time as it appears in Mesopotamia,[1] this seal has been adduced as evidence that the bull upon which the goddess stands is in fact the bull of the Weather God.[2] Contrary to this theory, since the two deities are juxtaposed the artist may have possibly connected the god and the bull in the usual manner although the bull really has no connection with Teshub. It is also drawn much larger than is usual in this design, although the influence of the goddess, if she is the intruder on the scene may have caused the bull's size to be enlarged. Since goddess and bull are connected in Neolithic times in Anatolia, and a Cappadocian seal shows her in contact with ithyphallic bull-men, a design of a naked goddess on a bull would be a logical step in showing the fecundity of the two sexes in conjunction. On the arrival of the Weather God and his bull, a shift of emphasis may have occurred and the bull's original independence of character, as the embodiment of male generative power, may have been lost, and later amalgamated with the Weather God's animal, as his attribute and manifestation, after the god took over as the consort of the old Anatolian

1.- E.g. Contenau, op.cit., pl.22,159; Frankfort, op.cit., pls.XLIIk; XLIVl; Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres de la Bibliothèque Nationale, no.495; Ward, op.cit., p.288, fig.879. Ibid, p.288, fig. 878 (cf. id., "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art", p.18, fig.20). A god brandishing a weapon in one hand and holding in the other a bundle of weapons and the lead to a diminutive couchant bull is adored by a male figure. The inscription on the seal reads "Achlibsar, servant of the God Teshub". Thus Teshub is probably shown here being worshipped by Achlibsar, although a word of caution is needed since in Babylonian inscriptions the god named is not always the one shown on the seals.

2.- Contenau, op.cit., p.41; Cook, op.cit., 1.644.

mother goddess.

The goddess, however, also appears quite regularly in the company of a god who wears an oval hat and carries a mace or axe, and who has tentatively been identified with Amurru, the Syrian Weather God.[1] On one seal she stands underneath her arch in association with the axe, which is the attribute of the Weather God.[2] The same goddess is probably intended on another seal in which she stands on a lion and holds a mace or axe, while the Weather God approaches her standing on his bull and holding a javelin and lightning fork.[3] The confrontation between the two deities is reminiscent of the meeting of Teshub and Hebat at Yazilikaya.[4] A similar seal shows Teshub standing on his mountain holding both mace and axe next to the goddess withdrawing her robe who stands on an indeterminate animal. A bird flies above her left shoulder.[5] Unfortunately the head of the beast on which the goddess stands has been worn away, but its legs appear to end in paws and not in hooves, so it may well be a feline animal.

To recapitulate: the goddess withdrawing her robe and standing beneath an arch may stand upon a bull, is often accompanied by a Weather God (in one case the bull and god are actually connected by a leash), occasionally holds the Weather God's axe, and may therefore tentatively be identified with a goddess who stands upon a lioness and holds this weapon, and finally she may also stand upon a feline

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1.- E.g. Contenau, loc.cit., and pls.18, 137, 139; 19, 140, 141, 143; 20, 146.
2.- Ward, op.cit., p.300, fig.932 and see below p. 140
3.- D.G. Hogarth, Hittite Seals, p.41, A.C.235.
4.- See above pp. 111-112.
5.- Ward, op.cit., p.289 fig.883 (cf. id., "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art", p.31, fig.42).

animal herself. The sum of this evidence points to the goddess being Hebat, the consort of the Weather God, who acquires her husband's attributes and, on occasions, stands upon his bull.

A further point to be noticed is that this goddess is often accompanied by birds.[1] In a seal already described in which the goddess introduces the Hittite king to Teshub, two birds are seen perching on the latter's staff. I have mentioned the unique quality of this seal and the fact that Teshub is not usually associated with any birds.[2] Therefore the presence of the birds may be attributed to the advent of the goddess.[3] Moreover in the seal which shows the goddess on a bull, the lead of which is held by Teshub, a bird hovers just above the bull's hindquarters.[4] The bird then may be an attribute of the goddess equally as much as the lioness. If this is so, when a bird perches on the triangular construction carried by the statue of a bull as described above,[5] it is possible that this is a symbolic representation of the two heads of the Syro-Hittite pantheon, Teshub and Hebat. The bull represents the Weather-God while his consort's place is taken by the bird.[6]

Finally the concept of a Weather God standing on a bull seems to have originated in Syria, where it was always prevalent and first

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1.- E.g. Ward, "Hittite Gods", p.27, fig.34; p.29 fig.39; p.30 fig.40; p.31 fig.42; and references in note 3 p. 136.
2.- See above pp. 124-125.
3.- On a bas-relief from Fraktin a goddess appears holding a mirror and flanked by birds and lionesses.
4.- See above p. 136 and note 3.
5.- See above pp. 122-124.
6.- Contrary to the theory that the bird is a manifestation of the sky-god upon his particular animal.

appears during the Third Dynasty of Ur (c.2100-2000 B.C.),[1] since it does not appear in Mesopotamia prior to the First Babylonian Dynasty, when it had a profound effect on Adad.[2] Amurru, "the god of the West", and Ramman "the Bellower", both Syrian gods, regularly appear standing on a bull, a posture Teshub adopts so that the three become quite indistinguishable.[3] Ramman's name is derived from the verb ramanu - to bellow - and his connection with the bull, apart from its symbolic representation of fertility, may be due to the bull's bellowing resembling thunder.[4] The Weather God Teshub in purely Hittite art usually carries a mace as his weapon[5] and it is probably under Syrian influence that this weapon is altered to an axe, either deliberately or due to a misinterpretation of the Hittite mace. This axe becomes Teshub's major characteristic.[6] Another weapon carried by the Syro-Hittite Weather God is the javelin or spear. Fortunately it is clear that this weapon belongs to the Weather God as one seal shows a god

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1.- Contenau, op.cit., p.58.
2.- Frankfort, op.cit., p.244 and see above pp.70-71.
3.- E.g. Ibid., p.243, fig.72; Hogarth, op.cit., p.36 A.C.180; Contenau, op.cit., pls. 9,39; 10,40; 17,128; Malten, op.cit., pp. 110-111, figs. 32, 34.
4.- W. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.175; and see above pages 71-2. Cook, Zeus, 1.577 n.4 suggests the association of Ramman and the bull may involve a pun since the Akkadian word for bull - rimu was popularly taken to mean "the bellower, the roarer". That the same word could mean both bull and thunder shows how early this association must have been.
5.- E.g. In the Yazilikaya rock-carving and Frankfort, op.cit., p. 270 fig.86, etc.
6.- Ward, op.cit., p.387; cf. id., "Hittite Gods in Hittite Art", p. 22; Frankfort, op.cit., pls. XLIII,o. Teshub, enthroned, carries in one hand a double axe as well as a bundle of other weapons.

carrying both a lightning fork and a spear.[1] Occasionally the Weather God acquires the bow as his attribute, which may be due to some contamination with Shamash.[2]

The horned crown of divinity appears in the First Syrian Glyptic Period[3] but it does not become at all common until the Second Period probably due to the increased Babylonian influences following Hammurabi's conquests.[4] It is a Mesopotamian convention adopted by the Syrians. A square horned crown is characteristic of the goddesses,[5] while the Weather God often wears a round helmet with a projecting spike, the same shape as the Assyrian king's crown, to the base of which a pair of horns are occasionally added.[6] The custom of portraying the gods wearing horned head-dresses influenced Hittite art to the extent that the gods' usual conical cap acquires at its base a frontal horn, which sticks out uraeus-like.[7]

1.- Hogarth, op.cit., p.41, A.C.235, mentioned above since the god approaches the goddess standing on a lioness and holding an axe. For other examples of a Weather God on a bull holding a spear cf. Ibid., p.26, A.C.22; Contenau, op.cit., pl.23,166; Ward, Seal Cylinders, p.291, fig.897.

2.- E.g. On a rock carving at Tell Ahmar the Weather God standing on a bull holds a bow and the Hittite King pours a libation to him (D.G. Hogarth, "Carchemish and its Neighbourhood", pl.XLI no.3). Possibly the same deity is shown on a seal in the Ashmolean Museum, although the design may represent an archer hunting a bull (Id., Hittite Seals, pp.33, 64; A.C.148).

3.- E.g. Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XLI,f,j; Contenau, op.cit., pls.22, 163; 24,170.

4.- Hogarth, op.cit., p.70.

5.- Frankfort, op.cit., pl.XLIV,g, h, j, n.

6.- Ibid., pl. XLII,k; KLIV,l; C. Starr, Nuzi,2. Pl.101 shows this crown on an ivory statuette.

7.- E.g. Hogarth, op.cit., p.38, A.C.196; p.46, A.C.311; Contenau, op.cit., pls.18,139; 19,146. The convention survived into the ninth century B.C. in the rock relief at Ivriz in the Taurus Mountains, which shows Sandas wearing this cap which is ornamented with several pairs of horns (J. Garstang, The Land of the Hittites; Pl.57; A.B. Cook, Zeus, 1.594, fig.453.).

The horned human heads which appear on some Syro-Hittite seals as filling devices may represent a condensing of the design, in which the crown is omitted and horns are added to the temples.[1] The Bible mentions a sanctuary of horned Astarte.[2] But the clearest indication of the purpose of the horned crown is provided by a statement of Philo of Byblos that Astarte put on her own head that of a bull (presumably a mask) to signify her supreme power.[3] Moreover the bucranium is quite a common filling device from the Second Syrian Period onward (c.1750 B.C. - 1200 B.C.).[4]

To compliment the archaeological evidence for the role of the bull in Syrian religion there are the Ugaritic texts found at Ras Shamra in the 1930's and occasional references in the Bible. None of this material dates from earlier than the thirteenth century B.C. and as such would correspond to the seals of the end of the Second and beginning of the Third Syrian Glyptic Periods. But as many of the themes on the seals of this period are derived from ideas current in earlier periods, accordingly the myths in the Ugaritic texts also go back to an earlier date.

At the head of the Ugaritic pantheon is the father of the gods, El. He lives at the headwaters of the Two Oceans,[5] which presumably

1.- E.g. Hogarth, op.cit., p.34 A.C.154, 158. This design appears much later on the coins of the Hellenistic Kings (see above p. 88).
2.- Genesis, 14.5.
3.- Philo of Byblos, 2.24; cf. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, 1.10.31.
4.- Frankfort, op.cit., pp.272, 290, pls.XLIV,c; XLV,e,f,l; L. Delaporte, Catalogue des Cylindres du Louvre, A-920; id., Bibliothèque Nationale, no.488; Contenau, op.cit., pl.19,146; Hogarth, op.cit., p.34 A.C.152.
5.- H.L. Ginsberg in J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.129 tablet b III A.B C. line 4.

means on top of a high mountain, since that is where rivers take their source and the gods of Ugarit are said to assemble on Mount Lala.[1] He is usually addressed as "the Bull El" or "the Bull my father El" an invocatory formula reminiscent of the Babylonian usage.[2] But El is mostly the figurehead of the pantheon. The deity who figures prominently in most of the myths and to whom the majority of worshippers turned was his son Baal. Baal is often addressed as "Rider of the Clouds"[3] and when we recall an Assyrian text which refers to the Weather God Adad-Ramman as "he who rides on the storm-cloud",[4] it is apparent that Baal was also a Weather God. Accordingly Baal is responsible for sending rain and also controls the thunder and lightning.[5] He also wields two clubs as his offensive weapons.[6] As a storm-god he is sometimes equated with the more widely spread Adad and called "the Lord Baal, the God Hadd",[7] Hadd being a dialect form of Adad.

Baal, however, is more than just a Weather God. He is a god of all fertility and it therefore comes as no surprise to find that in his struggle against Mot, the god of the summer heat and sterility, Baal the god of rain and fertility is vanquished and killed.[8] With

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1.- Ibid., p.130 tablet c.III A.B. B-A line 21. One close parallel to this situation is the residence of Zeus and the other deities on Mt. Olympus.
2.- Ibid., pp.129-142, "Poems about Baal and Anath", passim and see above pp. 71-72, 80, 83, 86, 89.
3.- Ibid., p.130 tablet (2) III A.B. A lines 8, 29.
4.- E. Ebeling in H. Gressman, Altorientalische Texte, pp.248-9, and see above p. 71.
5.- Ginsberg, op.cit., p.133 tablet e II A.B. (v) lines 68-71; p.148 tablet KRTC (iii) lines 4-8.
6.- Ibid., p.131 (2) III AB A lines 12-28.
7.- Ibid., p.142 tablets IV AB (ii) lines 1-2; IV AB (iii) lines 8-9.
8.- Ibid., p.189, tablet g I AB (n) l 1-10.

his death all rain ceases and the streams dry up. Of course this state of affairs cannot be allowed to last and Anat, Baal's sister, eventually seizes Mot, splits him, burns him, winnows him, grinds him and scatters his remains for the birds to consume.[1] In fact what happens to Mot happens to the corn at the end of the harvesting season and is exactly parallelled in the Egyptian version of Set's treatment of Osiris' body. Somehow soon after this Baal comes to life again fights against Mot, who is also resurrected, and defeats him.[2] It is apparent that here we have an allegorical story of how rain and water disappear in the heat of the summer and do not return until after the harvest-period is over.

Baal's body is found in the Shilmemat-Field in the land of Dubr, where, it is stated in the Epic of Baal before a lacuna of several lines, immediately prior to his death, the god desired a cow-calf and lay with it seventy-seven and eighty-eight times.[3] Two other tablets refer to a similar happening. Anat goes to Baal's house in search of him, only to find that he is hunting in "Shimak Canebrake, the buffalo-filled".[4] She follows him, meets him and they make love in bovine form. Later on after a badly mutilated part of the text in which a buffalo is said to be born to Baal, although it is not clear whether the bovine mother is Anat or not, Anat goes to Baal's palace in the mountains and tells him that "A wild ox is born to Baal, a buffalo to the Rider of the Clouds".[5]

1.- Ibid., p.140, tablet h I AB (ii) l.4-39.
2.- Ibid., p.141, tablet h I AB (vi) l.12-35.
3.- Ibid., p.139, tablet g.I AB (v) l.18-22; (vi) l.1-10.
4.- Ibid., p.142 tablet IV AB (ii) l.1-10.
5.- Ibid., p.142, tablet IV AB ii, 11-30; iii, 1-39.

It has been suggested that the cow with which Baal mates just before his death is a hypostasis of Anat,[1] and the second, more elaborate version does seem to be an expanded doublet of the first. What is the purpose of this union? C. Schaeffer considers that the act is to ensure the increase of cattle before Baal's departure from the land.[2] Possibly, but Baal although he adopts a bovine form to emphasize his role of fertility god is not a god of cattle. Texts mention Baal feeding, among other deities, the he-lamb gods, the ewe-lamb goddesses, the bull-gods, and the cow-goddesses.[3] These gods are paralleled in Shummuqan the Sumerian god of cattle.[4] Such an act of procreation would be more appropriate to them, although, naturally, they would be profoundly influenced by the fate of the fertility god. But it is Baal's resurrection after Mot's period of ascendancy that brings the rain and makes the rivers flow.

Moreover the union of Baal and Anat cannot be explained in the usual way as a sacred marriage of the "Sky-god" and "Earth-mother" since it should occur in the Spring when the vegetation bursts forth as evidence of the union whereas in this case it takes place just be-

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1.- C. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra - Ugarit, pp.70-71. Schaeffer believes that this act is carried out by Aliyan, Baal's son, who personifies the springs and streams, but Ginsberg, op. cit., p.148 n.30 claims that he is identical with Baal. The difference is not important since it serves to illustrate that Baal, the weather-god, is thought to be responsible for all water whether it is in the sky or below or above the ground.

2.- Ibid., loc.cit. Possibly following this line of argument it could be urged that the offspring of this union, Math, is the vehicle whereby Baal chose to manifest himself after his absence.

3.- Ginsberg, op.cit., p.134 tablet e II AB (vi) 45-51.

4.- See above pp. 65 and 86.

fore Baal's death, and a version of this marriage already existed in the wedding of El and Asherah, both of whom are more suited to fulfil the requirements of the participants than are Baal and Anat. No, the union of Baal and Anat and the cow is a ritual act between the god of fertility and his spouse to ensure the continuing fertility of all animals and men. That is why Baal lies with the cow a magical number of times - seventy-seven.[1] Schaeffer's view that it is to ensure the increase of cattle is partially correct but too narrow in outlook.

The two deities assume bovine form, since the bull was the most potent animal known to man, to assure the increased efficacy of their act. Thus, although bovine metaphors are sometimes used to describe the activities of the gods of Ugarit,[2] it is not purely figuratively that El is called a Bull and Anat can boast that she "cut off El's bullock, Atak".[3] We have already seen that statues of bulls are venerated on seal-stones,[4] and there are the famous references in the Bible to the golden calf. In northern Palestine King Jereboam I set up golden calves to Baal in the cities of Dan and Bethel.[5] But the Hebrew god Yahweh, who was also a weather-god and mountain-god,[6] was

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1.- Ibid., p.138 tablet g I AB (v), 20.
2.- E.g. Baal and Mot "gore like buffaloes" (Ibid., p.141 tablet h I AB (vi), 18) but they also bite like snakes and kick like chargers (Ibid., loc.cit., lines 20-21). Possibly some influence from the Epic of Gilgamesh is at work here.
3.- Ginsberg, op.cit., p.137 tablet f.V.AB D.41.
4.- See above p. 128
5.- 1. Kings, 12.28 ff.
6.- G.A. Wainwright, "The Bull Standards of Egypt", pp.46, 48 gives many examples of Yahweh as a storm and mountain-god. E.g. Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed by fire from the Lord out of Heaven (Genesis, 19.24-25); Psalm 121.1: "I shall lift mine eyes unto the hills, whence cometh my help"; The Syrians said of the Hebrews "Their gods are the gods of the hills (1. Kings, 20; 23).

also worshipped in the form of a golden calf. Thus after Aaron made a golden calf at the foot of Mt. Sinai,[1] it is stated that "tomorrow is the Feast of Yahweh".[2] Moreover King Jehu continued the worship of the golden calves, even though he stamped out the cult of Baal,[3] and the final destruction of these images was not carried out until the reign of Josiah in the second half of the seventh century B.C.[4]

Corresponding to these religious conceptions are the figurative expressions "Bull of Israel" and "Bull of Jacob",[5] probably, as L. Malten suggests, taken over from the Canaanites (i.e. the people living around Ugarit). In the formal speech of hymns Yahweh is compared to a strong bull, who kills his enemies,[6] an invocatory appelation found both in Mesopotamia and in Egypt.[7] Malten's argument that these nomenclatures do not necessarily prove that Yahweh was shown as a bull is true, but in the light of the evidence of the golden calves being worshipped in his name it is probable that he was.[8]

In rounding off this section on Anatolia and the Levant it is instructive to discuss briefly the fate of the old Weather Gods. We have seen that from the Kassite Period onward Adad and Shamash, who had of old always been associated with the bull, become either more

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1.- Exodus, 32.1ff.
2.- Ibid.,32.5.
3.- 2 Kings 10.25-29.
4.- L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem Bild", p.119; Hosea, 13.2, relates the story of Hosea's struggle against the "kissing of the calves".
5.- E.g. Genesis, 49.24.
6.- Malten, op.cit., p.118.
7.- See above pp.89-90 and below pp.154-155.
8.- Whereas there is no evidence that the Mesopotamian gods known as bulls were worshipped in bovine form there is considerable evidence for this type of idolatry in the Near East.

confused or deliberately amalgamated.[1] The Weather God had become so solarised by the time of the Macedonian conquest of the Persian Empire that the main centre of the Weather God's worship, Baalbek, in Syria, was called by the Greeks "Heliopolis",[2] and consequently when the god was identified with Zeus he became Zeus Adados, and more commonly Zeus Heliopolitanos.[3] A similar fate had overcome Baal who was solarised by the Phoenicians to such an extent that he was regarded as a personification of the sun.[4] But these were only trends which took place around the end of the Second Millenium B.C. and later, and M. Jastrow is wrong when he states that gods such as Enlil and Yahweh acquired their bulls as attributes through early contamination with Sun-Gods.[5] The bull is the regular attribute of the Weather God and Mountain God and as such owes no debt to any Sun-God.

Monuments of Zeus Heliopolitanos are plentiful from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. Usually in the form of stone stelae or statues they show a god flanked on either side by bulls and holding a whip and a spear.[6] Another Weather God to reappear at the

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1.- See above p.85
2.- A.B. Cook, Zeus, 1.550.
3.- Ibid., loc.cit.; R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, VIII,1. 50-59.
4.- M. Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Beliefs and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, p.75.
5.- Ibid., pp.74-75. Jastrow believes that Enlil received his bulls through contact with Ninib the Sun-God of Nippur. Evidence however for Ninib's bovine attributes is scanty and if anything the borrowing was in the other direction.
6.- Extensive information on the growth and decline of the cult and numerous pictures of statues, stelae, coins, etc. are given in R. Dussaud, in Pauly-Wissowa, loc.cit.; id., "Notes de Mythologie Syrienne", R.A.,1 (1903), pp.347-382; 2 (1903), pp.91-95; Cook, op.cit., 1. 549-576; 3.1093-6. The appearance of a whip, Adad's old weapon which was superseded by the lightning fork during the

same time in a similarly contaminated form is the god Teshub. His main centre of worship was at Doliche in Commagene and he is known as Zeus Dolichaeus or Dolichenus.[1] He differs from Zeus Heliopolitanos only in that he stands as usual firmly on the back of his bull and brandishes his double-axe in addition to Zeus' own thunderbolt.[2] Both gods are adorned with plentiful symbols of the fertility which they represented, but none so old as the bull with which they were originally associated.

This syncretism also affected the Earth-Mother of the Levant. Whether she was known as Asherah, Astarte or Atargatis she became Hera, Aphrodite or, commonly to the more discriminating, simply the Dea Syria.[3] She often retains her old attribute, the lion, on statues and coins, while her husband keeps his bull.[4] As in previous ages the goddess could still be found standing on the god's bull. Thus Porphyry says ἐποχεῖται ταύρῳ Ἀφροδίτης.[5]

The situation is further complicated when the solarised Weather God's consort is made into a Moon Goddess, and the two deities are

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time of Hammurabi, is surprising. It seems as though the old motif was revived for some reason.

1.- Cook, op.cit., 1.604 and notes.

2.- For exhaustive references to the spread of this cult throughout Europe and many illustrations see Cook, Zeus, 1.604-633, figs. 478-494, pl.XXXIV; F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, V 1276-1281.

3.- Lucian, De Dea Syria, 31ff;

4.- In the temple at Hierapolis the goddess is carried by lions and the god by bulls (Lucian, loc.cit.); on coins of Hierapolis struck by Caracalla and Severus Alexander the goddess is flanked by lions and the god by bulls (e.g. Cook, op.cit., 1.586 figs.448, 449).

5.- Porphyry, De Abstinentia, 3. 16.

identified with Apollo and Artemis. A fine example of this syncretism is a relief from ed-Duweir near Tyre in which a palm tree is flanked by two bulls, behind one of which appears a moon-goddess holding the torch of Artemis, and behind the other is a sun-god, from whose head rays project and who may well represent Apollo.[1] The bulls in this relief may be connected with the Sun-God of Heliopolis and then transferred to Artemis or Selene by assimilation. But more likely the Greek Moon-goddess acquired the bull from the Syrian Moon Gods, who like Sin in Mesopotamia,[2] were associated with the bull.[3]

1.- R. Dussaud, "Notes de Mythologie Syrienne - part IV", pp.231-234, fig.21; cf. L. Malten, op.cit., p.119, fig.54.
2.- See above p. 86.
3.- E.g. the Moon-God, Uadd (see references in L. Malten, op.cit., p. 119 and note 5.)

CHAPTER III (iv): EGYPT

Very early prehistoric rock paintings from the Fezzan in Libya in the middle of what is now the Sahara Desert show the wild bulls that roamed the area at that time.[1] Much later paintings from the Gebel 'Uweinat Mountains of the same area show domesticated animals, some of which wear collars or halters, and have spotted coats, signs of domestication. Prominence is given to the udders of the cows, which shows an interest in the production of milk.[2] The discoverer of these paintings believes they were drawn by a pastoral people living in the Egyptian Predynastie Period.[3]

In the Nile Valley itself in the Neolithic Level A at Fayum (dated by radio-carbon to c.4500-4100 B.C.) bones of oxen were found but it proved impossible to tell if they were domesticated.[4] The earliest proven date for domesticated cattle in Egypt comes from Level I at Nagada during the Amratian Period. Remains of cattle of a type believed to be domesticated were found, for which radio-carbon dating gave a terminus post quem of c.3700 B.C.[5] At El Amrah clay

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1.- P. Duraud and M.L. Lavenden in L'Anthropologie, 36 (1927), pp. 409-427 ; "Saharan Rock Paintings", Antiquity, 1 (1927), pp.353-355 citing L'Anthropologie.
2.- W.B. Kennedy-Shaw, "Rock Painting in the Libyan Desert", Antiquity 10 (1936), p.176, pl.III,nos.8,9,14.
3.- Ibid., p.177.
4.- F. Zeuner, "The History of the Domestication of Cattle", p.13, in F. Zeuner and A. Mourant, Man and Cattle; id., A History of Domesticated Animals, p.221.
5.- F. Zeuner, A History of Domesticated Animals, p.222.

models of cattle were found in graves dating from c.3700-3200 B.C. From the shape of their horns the cattle would seem to be domesticated.[1]

The early kings of Egypt were proud of the cattle they possessed. An Early Dynastic slate palette in the Cairo Museum shows several cattle walking in a line,[2] and a mace-head of the first king of the unified country, Narmer, has signs and numerals representing 400,000 oxen![3] Many of the tombs of the kings of the old Kingdom, especially those of Ti and Mereruka, have wall-paintings showing cattle pulling ploughs, threshing and being milked,[4] and Mehenwetre (c.2100 B.C.) left records in his tomb claiming that he had 200 polled and 835 long-horned cattle on his estate.[5] Such scenes remained a favourite theme of tomb painters, and the tomb of Huy, viceroy of Nubia under the XVIIIth Dynasty pharaohs, for example, shows long-horned piebald bulls arriving at the Egyptian court as tribute.[6]

Stone palettes and mace-heads comprise the most important source

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1.- Ibid., p.222 fig.8:23.
2.- H. Peake and H.J. Fleure, The Corridors of Time, 3.42, fig.13.
3.- W. Emery, Archaic Egypt, p.46, fig.5.
4.- E.g. Zeuner, op.cit., pp.224-225, figs.8:25, 8:26; E. Amoroso and P. Jewell, "The Exploitation of the Milk Ejection Reflex by Primitive Peoples" in Zeuner and Mourant, op.cit., p.133 pl.XIV(c): limestone relief from tomb of Ti at Sakkara showing milking scene (c.2650-2500 B.C.). Pl.XIV(d): Mural of Eleventh Dynasty showing a child and calf both suckled by a cow (c.2000 B.C.); O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.352 fig.124: Fifth Dynasty tomb from Sakkara - mural showing cow being milked and man ploughing nearby.
5.- E.J. Boston, "Cattle Breeds in Europe and Africa," in Zeuner and Mourant, op.cit., p.108.
6.- N. de G. Davies and A.H. Gardiner, The Tomb of Huy, p.25, pls. XXIII, XXX.

of information for the religion of the Protodynastic Period. Of these the famous slate palette bearing the cartouche of Narmer shows in its bottom register a bull trampling on a prostrate human figure and destroying with its horns a walled city.[1] A fragment of another palette bears a similar scene in which a bull gores a prostrate human victim, who has a heavy, black beard.[2] Both these palettes have long been recognised as representing Narmer in bovine guise sacking a town and destroying his Asiatic enemies.

Another interesting motif, which appears on the palette of Narmer, is that of two men holding by leashes two lions whose necks are elongated and intertwined. This peculiar design is exactly paralleled on some very early Mesopotamian seals of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Period.[3] Moreover a marked Sumerian influence on Protodynastic art is so recognisable that Sir Arthur Evans remarked, "The style and even the minutest features of the bulls ... are early Chaldaean."[4] Such artistic indebtedness to Sumer and the fact that Egyptian tradition claims that the founders of the Dynastic race came from Nubia, have been regarded by some as evidence that the invaders came from the Red Sea and ultimately from some as yet undefined area, where they may have lived in contact with the Sumerians before the latter moved into Mesopotamia.[5] Be that as it may, there is no denying the close

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1.- Peake and Fleure, op.cit., p.71, fig.33; Emery, op.cit., p.45, fig.4b, pl.3a.
2.- L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem Bild", p.97, fig.11; Emery, op.cit., pl.3b.
3.- Cf. H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pls. IV f, m; V h.
4.- A.J. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 2.27.
5.- Peake and Fleure, op.cit., pp.63-68. The famous knife handle found at Gebel el Arak depicts a bearded figure dompting two lions which is completely Sumerian in its theme and style (e.g. Emery, op.cit., pp.38-40, fig.1, pl.1a).

artistic ties between the two countries, and we have already seen that the appellation "bull" as an epithet for the gods of Mesopotamia was a common one.[1] Similarly the tradition is continued in Egypt after the time of Narmer. In a song of triumph from the time of Merneptah the king is addressed, "Thou art a mighty bull, who kills the enemy, thy blow is like the Sun, who frightens away the clouds."[2] Part of Tutmosis III's victory hymn runs "I cause them (i.e. the king's enemies) to see thy majesty as a young bull, firm of heart, sharp of horn, who cannot be felled."[3] Probably it is with this idea in mind that Seti I is shown in a wall-painting in his tomb fighting against the Libyans and wearing a crown with two horns.[4] One final example of the international character of this use of metaphor and symbolism comes from a letter from the Hittite king to Ramesses in which the latter is spoken of as a bull who loves boldness.[5]

As rulers were compared to bulls, so naturally were the gods.[6] Thus Amon-Re in a papyrus that predates the reign of Akhenaten[7] is called "The Bull residing in Heliopolis[8] ... who gives life to all that is warm and to all good cattle. Bull of his mother ... the goodly

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1.- See above pp.89-90.
2.- A. Erman, Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Alterthum, pp.469, 523; Malten, op.cit., p.97.
3.- J.A. Wilson in J. Pritchard, Ancient Near-Eastern Texts, p.374.
4.- I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Hoernermotiv in den Religionen", p.465. Possibly the idea of a horned crown is copied from the Babylonians.
5.- Erman, op.cit., p.644.
6.- Probably the title was applied first to the gods and then used to symbolize the king's strength in war. There is, however, no proof of this.
7.- Wilson,in Pritchard, op.cit., pp.365-367.
8.- This epithet became a favourite one in later references to Re. E.g. in the papyrus describing the contest of Horus and Set for the rule over the two lands of Egypt (Wilson in Pritchard, op.cit. pp.14-17.)

bull of the Ennead (i.e. the Egyptian assembly of the gods)[1] ... the bull beautiful of countenance... bull of offerings." The god Min of Coptos is combined with Amon to form Min-Amon who is also a "Bull of his Mother"[2] and "firm of horns".[3] "Bull of bulls" is a title of the Sun-God found in a text on a sarcophagus,[4] whereas the moon was known as "the bull among the stars"[5] and the dead pharaoh, after he became a new king among the gods, was "the Bull of Heaven".[6] These expressions are in the main part figurative but Egyptian deities were also depicted in semi- or completely bovine form.

The slate palette of Narmer, already mentioned, provides the earliest example of an Egyptian semi-bovine deity. At the top of the palette on both sides two identical human heads appear with bull's ears and huge in-curving horns. Most Egyptologists agree that the deity represented is the goddess Hathor,[7] who at a later date was often depicted as a female with a cow's head, or with a human head but having the ears and horns of a cow.[8]

In a papyrus of mythological content dating to the XIXth Dynasty

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1.- The Ennead also sat in a broad hall called "Horus-Foremost-of-Horns" (Ibid., p.15).
2.- G. Wainwright, "Some Aspects of Amun", p.139.
3.- Wilson in Pritchard, op.cit., p.365.
4.- G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religionen des Alten Aegypten, p.203.
5.- Roeder, Loc.cit., Hymn of Cheruif to Thoth.
6.- Ibid., p.191.
7.- Emery, op.cit., pp.44, 124; E.Budge, A History of Egypt, 1.185,187.
8.- Emery, op.cit., p.124; T. Hoepfner, Der Tierkult der Alten Aegypter, p.68. A Hathor-head from Bubastis shows the goddess with cows' ears (British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture, no.768); a gold statue in Vienna Museum shows her with a woman's body and cow's head (Vienna Museum, no.138).

(c.1350-1200 B.C.) Isis asks Re for his secret name, and Re replies that he is the one who made the waters, so that the Cow "Mehet Weret" might come into being.[1] The name "Mehet Weret" means the Great Flood, the primal water itself, out of which the sky was made.[2] Re created by himself Geb, the earth, Shu and Tefnut, who represent the atmosphere, and Nut, the sky goddess. Shu and Tefnut positioned themselves between Geb and Nut, so that the Earth and Sky were separated.[3] To a people like the Egyptians who used boats as a regular means of transport the idea of the Sun travelling in a boat across the waters of the Sky is not a strange one. It is paralleled in the similar belief of the peoples of Mesopotamia.[4]

By the time of the XIXth Dynasty the Cow of the Great Flood (Mehet Weret) could be mentioned by name,[5] although Breasted[6] believes that ideas of the sky as a great expanse of water and as a cow, which faced the West, with her legs corresponding to the four points of the compass,[7] were originally independent ideas which later coalesced. Perhaps he has in mind such references to the Sun-god as "Thou approached the Ahet-Cow, and grasped her horns, and swam over Mehuret,"[8] where

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1.- Wilson in Pritchard, op.cit., p.13; Roeder, op.cit., p.140.
2.- Wilson in Pritchard, loc.cit., note 1; Malten, op.cit., p.96.
3.- Wilson in Pritchard, op.cit., p.3; J. Breasted, A History of Egypt, p.56.
4.- Cf. Frankfort, op.cit., pls.XIX,e,f; XXIV,b for the Sun-God, travelling in his boat.
5.- The Greeks rendered the name of the sky-cow (mht) as Μοὺθ, Μεθύερ (Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 56). An alternative name for this creature was Ahet (jht) (H. Prinz, Die Altorientalische Symbolik, p.24, n.2), or in Greek Ἄθυρι (Plutarch, loc.cit.).
6.- Breasted, op.cit., p.54.
7.- E.O. James, The Mother Goddess, p.59.
8.- G. Roeder in W.H. Roscher, Lexicon der Griechischen und Roemischen Mythologie, 4.1193.

there appears to be a distinct combination of the two ideas of the Sun-God travelling across the heavenly waters alone and riding across on the Sky-Cow. But this confusion is more likely to have been caused by the artistic conventions of a later date[1] rather than the clumsy welding together of two early ideas.

Moreover the idea of a Sky-Cow seems to have been very early, judging from some fragments of Predynastic palettes which show bovine heads combined with stars.[2] The most complete evidence and illustration of the myth of the Sky-Cow appears in the tomb of Seti I (c.1300 B.C.), where a hieroglyphic magical text written in an older script was placed by the side of a drawing of the Sky-Cow.[3] The Sky-Goddess Nut is shown as a huge cow, whose belly is studded with stars. The god Shu stands underneath her and holds her up with his hands, while in front of her fore-legs moves the sun-barque, in which the Sun-God stands wearing the sun-disc on his head.

Side by side with the conception of the Sky-goddess in bovine shape is that of her as a human figure, whose feet were placed in the East and who bent over to touch the earth in the West with her hands,

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1.- See below p. 161.

2.- A slate palette from El Gerzeh shows a cow's(?) head with five pointed stars on the tips of the horns and ears, and a six-pointed star above its forehead between the horns (W. Petrie, G. Wainwright, E. Mackay, The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh, p.22, pls. 6 and 7; cf. Malten, op.cit., p.94, fig.2); a Protodynastic fragment from Hieraconpolis shows the tip of a horn with a star on it (J. Quibell and F. Green, Hierakonpolis, 1.8, pl.XVIII,2; 2.48, pl.LIX,5). For a different explanation of these fragments see below page 197 n.4.

3.- Breasted, op;cit., p.55 fig.30; Malten, op.cit., p.93, fig.1. A similar drawing was found in the tomb-chamber of Ramesses III (c.1170 B.C.).

so that her body formed an arch. A wall-painting shows her in this position with stars scattered all over her body. She is supported by Shu, while Geb lies on the ground touching her toes and hands.[1] A similar wall-painting from the pronaos of a temple at Philae shows two women bending over in this position, while the space between their bodies is filled with stars. On the ground in a similarly contorted position lies Geb.[2] Breasted's theory is that all three versions of the sky - water, woman and cow - are due to three separate beliefs which coalesced and became inextricably combined. But it is rather surprising to see so many different versions of the same phenomenon originating in the same relatively small area. I think it is more reasonable to assume that the waters of heaven were thought of as the Goddess Nut, and due to the difficulty of drawing the sky as water the goddess' body was substituted instead; but at a very early date (viz. the appearance in Predynastic times of bovine heads with stars) further symbolism led to the goddess being represented by a cow.

Hathor, who, as we have seen, appears at an early date, is an alternative manifestation of the Sky-goddess, Nut. Her name means "House of Horus" and she originally seems to have been the wife of this Sun-god.[3] She is thus appropriately named for a sky-goddess. The Hathor-cow is quite well-represented in wall paintings and statuary

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1.- Breasted, op.cit., pp.54-55 fig.31; Prinz, op.cit., pl.4,2.
2.- Malten, op.cit., p.95 fig.5; Prinz, op.cit., p.16, pl.8,2.
3.- Emery, op.cit., p.124; Malten, op.cit., p.94; Hoepfner, op.cit. p.68.

and is usually shown with a sun-disc and two ostrich feather plumes between its horns, while its body is covered in stars, which are usually a peculiar quatrefoil shape.[1] Occasionally the cow is shown standing in a boat, thereby emphasizing the connection between the Sky-cow, the Heavenly Waters and the Sky-god's boat.[2]

The Egyptian Sun-god, under whatever name he went, as he made his daily trip across the sky, was widely believed to be reborn in the morning after entering the Sky-goddess Nut in the evening and impregnating her. The Sun-god was therefore self-generative and also mated with his mother.[3] Since the Sky-goddess was represented as a cow it was natural that the Sun-god should be depicted as a bull. Accordingly the self-generating Sun-god is called "Bull of thy Mother";[4] Horus is hailed as "Bull, son of a bull, born of the godly Cow"[5] and "Bull of the Eastern Mountains".[6] The Sun-god was also occasionally depicted as a bull-headed man.[7] Likewise the Sky-goddess is invoked as "The huge Ahet-cow, who bore Re",[8] and the goddess Neith of Sais, who originally had nothing to do with the sky but was later contaminated by and assimilated to Hathor,[9] is also called "The Cow who

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1.- E.g. a statue from Deir-el-Bahari (Malten, op.cit., p.94, fig.4; A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.513, fig.370c).
2.- E.g. on a wall-painting from Deir-el-Bahari (Malten, loc.cit., fig. 3; Evans, op.cit., 1.513, fig.370 A). Hoepfner, op.cit., p.170 n. 18 gives a list of many examples of representations of Hathor as a cow.
3.- Breasted, op.cit., p.54; James, op.cit., p.58.
4.- G. Roeder in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 10.1832.
5.- G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religionen des Alten Aegypten, p.91.
6.- Ibid., p.90; Malten, op.cit., p.96.
7.- Prinz, op.cit., p.30.
8.- Ibid., p.24 n.2; G. Roeder in Roscher, op.cit., 4.1193.
9.- Breasted, op.cit., p.59; James, op.cit., p.60. Her oldest symbols, the bow and arrow, would seem to connect her with hunting, possibly as a type of ποτνία θηρῶν

bore the Sun".[1]

The Pyramid Texts of the Vth and VIth Dynasties make several references to the "Bull of the Sky",[2] which appears to be another name of the Sun-god in bovine guise.[3] After the time of the Pyramids the term "Bull of the Sky" seems to have passed into abeyance, although occasionally references still occur at a later date. For example a sculpture of Nectanebo shows a group of gods among whom is a bull labelled the "Bull of the Sky",[4] and in the New Kingdom one of the planets was known as "Horus, Bull of the Sky",[5] and even in Greco-Roman times it was called "Horus, the Bull".[6]

The disappearance of this nomenclature probably coincided with the pre-eminence of the hawk, the holy bird of Horus, as the major symbol for the sun, and the increased popularity of the hawk-headed Sun-god. Thus later drawings of Sun-god and the Sky-cow sometimes show a hawk-headed youth bearing the Sun-disc above his head and seated between the horns of the Sky-god,[7] or merely a human child on

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1.- A. Erman, Die Aegyptische Religion, p.16; Malten, op.cit., p.95.
2.- K. Sethe, Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte, paragraphs 280,283, 293, 332, 397, 803, 1432, 2059, 2080.
3.- For a different interpretation of the Bull of the Sky see G. Wainwright, "The Bull Standards of Egypt", JEA,19 (1933), pp.42-52 and below pp. 192-197
4.- E. Naville, Goshen, and the Shrine of Saft el Henneh, pl.IV.
5.- H. Brugsch, Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum: Saturnus, p.65.
6.- Ibid., p.67. In the eleventh Delta nome (Cabasite) a town called Sdn worshipped a bull who was "the strong bull of the Gods" (Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 5 (1904), p.193), and who was "shining in Heaven and giving light on earth" (Ibid., p.194, no.7). This "Bull of the Gods" is obviously closely allied to the "Bull of Heaven" and is in fact mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (Sethe, op.cit., para.925)
7.- Malten, op.cit., p.95, fig.7; a similar theme is depicted in a painting from a sarcophagus of XXIst Dynasty which shows a youthful human Sun-god sitting inside the sun-disc above the head of

the back of a bull.[1] On a wall-painting from the XIXth Dynasty tomb of Sennedjem at Thebes different conceptions of the rising sun are shown side by side. A falcon-headed Re is shown enthroned on the symbol of Maat, a sun-disc above his head, while behind him Re-Har-akhti sits upon the back of a spotted calf.[2] These are representations of the early morning sun who was thought of as having just been born. The bull still retained its appeal as a symbol of power and fertility as far as invocations were concerned; e.g. Re, the Bull residing in Heliopolis.

The evidence from the tomb of Sennedjem suggests that the newly-born morning sun was thought of as a bull-calf. This would correspond to the above illustrations of the Sun-god as a young child. A magical spell found on several sarcophagi of the Middle Kingdom concludes with the words "I know the Eastern Souls. They are Har-Akhti, the Khurer-Calf and the Morning Star".[3] The connection between the Morning Star and Har-Akhti, that is "Horus of the (Morning) Horizon", and the Eastern Sky at the beginning of the day is self-explanatory. J.A. Wilson's comment therefore on the meaning of the Khurer-Calf that, "We know little about the Khurer-calf, possibly a newborn suckling

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the Sky-Cow and flanked by two lions. (Ibid., p.95, fig.6; cf. Prinz, op.cit., pp.20, 25, 31 fig.4,3.) By the Sun-god's elbow is the sign of the Sun-disc between a pair of stylized horns. This is the same symbol as Hathor carries above her head when she appears in anthropomorphic form (e.g. Malten, op.cit., p.96, fig. 9), and it is a motif derived from the sun-disc placed between the horns of the Hathor-cow.

1.- Ibid., p.96, fig.8 on a papyrus from Fayum (cf. R.V. Lanzone, Les Papyrus de Lac Moeris, pl.IV).

2.- G. Posener, A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilisation, p.240.

3.- J. Wilson in J. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.33.

calf"[1] borders on the fatuous. In connection with such illustrious company we would expect something more than "a newborn suckling calf". In a similar context in Chapter 109 of The Book of the Dead Re-Harmachis, who is an alternative version of Har-Akhti, mentions the calf of the goddess Khera.[2] Nothing is known of this last deity, but is it too much to conjecture that the two calves are in fact the same animal and that since the sun is regarded as being born anew every day they represent the newly-born Sun-god, the "Bull of the Sky"?

Since the Sun-god was born in the East and died in the Western mountains in the evening, so the spirits of the dead were thought to enter paradise in the far West. And as the sky was imagined to be a cow and the sun a bull or a calf, so the star-demons were thought of as bulls who could help or hinder the progress of the sun and the dead man's soul to the West. Thus inscriptions on sarcophagi bid "Graciously bend thy horn" and "May the bulls in the Heavenly Meadow help against the Gebga-Bird".[3] These bull-demons could be helpful or troublesome depending on whether or not they had been placated, and are not to be explained astrologically in the sense that the destructive effect of the constellations during certain seasons are symbolised in the myth of a destructive bull, as for example, may be the case in the myth of Ishtar and the Bull of Heaven.[4] Occasionally the Sun-god

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1.- Ibid., loc.cit., note 11.
2.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.171, note 20.
3.- Roeder, op.cit., pp.202-203; cf. H. Kees, Totenglauben und Jenseitsverstellungen der Alten Aegypter, pp.92, 117, and 211 n.1.
4.- See above pp.74-8. Egypt dependent upon the rising and falling of the Nile for its water supply was not concerned with the vagaries of the weather to provide it with rainfall. Since long periods

himself would be expected to help the souls' progress: "The Bull of Heaven has stretched out his hand to Thee",[1] and the Bull of Re, who has four horns, bends his western horn to let the souls pass through.[2]

Egyptian mythology regarded the Sun-god after he reached the West as travelling in his boat along a subterranean river during the night to reappear every day in the East.[3] During this time he illuminated the world of the dead. As Hathor received the Sun-god every evening so that he could be reborn in the morning, so she became a receiver and goddess of the dead.[4] She is often shown in bovine form standing on the Mountains of the West.[5] Similarly the queens of Egypt were sometimes buried in cow-shaped coffins, so that they could be made one with Hathor.[6] Herodotus reports that Mycerinus (Men-Kau-Re) of the IVth Dynasty buried his dead daughter in a hollow wooden cow, which had a golden sun-disc between its horns.[7] Chapter 162 of The Book of the Dead mentions an incantation which was spoken over a cow-amulet,[8] through which the dead in the Underworld are ensured their

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of drought were the norm rather than the exception, the Egyptians had no reason to invent elaborate myths to explain such an occurrence, which, when it happened in countries dependent upon rain for their survival, was a major catastrophe.

1.- Roeder, loc.cit.
2.- Erman, op.cit., pp.105, 114.
3.- Breasted, op.cit., p.54.
4.- Malten, op.cit., p.94; Hoepfner, op.cit. p.68.
5.- Cf. funeral stelae in British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture, nos. 470 and 630. The necropolès of many Egyptian cities were on the west bank of the Nile at the edge of the mountains.
6.- A. Cook, Zeus, 1.523.
7.- Herodotus, 2.129 ff. The cow was brought into the light yearly because the girl had asked her father to let her see the sun once a year.
8.- Predynastic amulets in the shape of a cow's or bull's head have been found quite frequently. E.g. Budge, op.cit., 1.84 no.32124; W. Petrie, "Prehistoric Egyptian Figures" Man, 2 (1902), p.17, pl.B8 shows one of 16 such amulets.

necessary warmth. The spell is directed to the god Par, who was a form of Amon-Re. A second such amulet was placed under the head of the mummy while the following words were spoken, "Amon, Amon, turn your face to the dead body of your son to make him sound and strong in the Underworld." The Sky-Cow Mehet is supposed to have made such an amulet and placed it under Re's head when he came home to rest in the evening.[1]

Cows were so holy in Egypt that they were never eaten, and in this practice the Egyptians were followed by the Libyans[2] and Phoenicians,[3] although both these races would eat oxen and even sacred bulls. Herodotus claims that the sacrifice of cows was tabooed since the Egyptians could only sacrifice "pigs, bulls and calves that are pure, and geese".[4] This claim, however, is only partly true as cows were occasionally sacrificed to the dead,[5] and the mummies of the dead were sometimes pulled into the tomb on a kind of sledge by cows, which were sacrificed there.[6] Calves were also sacrificed to the dead,[7] if, as Herodotus says, "they were pure".

1.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.170 note 19. The amulets found under mummy's heads are round plaques of bronze or linen covered with paint, on which is shown the Sky-cow, often in connection with another deity who is probably meant to represent the warming sun. Hoepfner (q.v.) gives a number of examples from various museums.

2.- Herodotus, 4.186; cf. 2.41.

3.- Porphyry, De Abstinentia, 2.11.

4.- Herodotus, 2.37. St. Jerome's claim (Adversum Jovinianum, 2,7) that the Egyptians abstained from eating beef because of the scarcity of cattle in Egypt is patently false.

5.- E.g. A grave stele from the necropolis of Abydos shows a cow and calf as offerings to the dead (British Museum Sculpture, no.96).

6.- K. Sethe, Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte, para.739 (VIth Dynasty: Pepi I); A Theban recension of the Book of the Dead shows the mummy of Queen Nethemet being pulled into the tomb by cows destined to be slaughtered as offerings to the dead (British Museum, no.758; Hoepfner, op.cit., p.70).

7. See note 5 above.

Since cows were so rarely sacrificed a large number of them must have died naturally, and Herodotus states that their bodies were thrown into the Nile.[1] This is not very likely since they would not so much pollute the river, as Hoepfner objects,[2] as be eaten by crocodiles, and the crocodile was the sacred animal of the hated god, Set. The mummified bodies of cows were found in graves at Aphroditopolis,[3] and, although these animals were probably particularly sacred to Hathor,[4] a similar less expensive burial was presumably accorded to other cows. Aelian claims that holy cows were kept in the temple of Hathor at Chusae in the nome of Hermopolis,[5] and Strabo records the cult of Hathor and the sacred cow at Momemphis in the Delta.[6] At Aphroditopolis (modern Atfih) a sacred white cow was kept in the precinct of Hathor.[7] The last-named city was originally called in Egyptian Depehet - "Cow's Head".[8]

Hathor's two main shrines were at Aphroditopolis and Dendera,[9] where she was worshipped as a cow, although the Egyptians later identified her with the goddesses Nechbit of Eileithyiaopolis, Utit of Buto, the cat-goddess Bast of Bubastis, and Neith of Sais.[10] To the Greeks

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1.- Herodotus, 2.41.
2.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.71.
3.- Malten, op.cit., p.92.
4.- Aphroditopolis was a cult centre of the worship of Hathor. W. Spiegelberg, Orientalische Literaturzeitung, 23 (1920), p.258 ff believes the cows are Isis-cows.
5.- Aelian, De Natura Animalium, 10;27.
6.- Strabo, 803 (17.1.22).
7.- Ibid., 809 (17.1.35).
8.- R. Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 1.2793.
9.- Malten, op.cit., 94; Hoepfner, op.cit., p.68. The city is also called Aphroditopolis by Strabo, 817 (17.1.47).
10.- Hoepfner, loc.cit.; J. Breasted, A History of Egypt, p.59. For

she was the goddess of love and the female principle, and was identified with Aphrodite,[1] occasionally more correctly as Aphrodite Urania.[2] Thus Aelian believes the cow to be related to Hathor because the cow feels a strong incitement to love.[3]

In identifying Hathor with Aphrodite the Greeks demonstrated that it was not so much as a Sky-goddess that they knew her (although the aspect of Aphrodite conveyed in the title Urania catered for this function of the goddess), but as a goddess of fertility and femininity, in short another version of the "Mother Goddess". It is in this capacity that she is related to the motif of the cow suckling a calf, which from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards provides a hieroglyphic sign meaning "be joyful",[4] and Hathor was the goddess of love and joy.[5] The motif first appears in a secular context on wall-paintings of Vth Dynasty tombs among other stock-breeding scenes,[6] and in tombs of the Middle Kingdom at Beni Hasan.[7] During the course of the second millenium B.C. the motif spread to Syria and Crete.[8]

Another goddess who was greatly concerned with fertility and the

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Neith as "the Cow who bore the Sun" and her original non-solar functions see above p. 159 and note 9.

1.- Herodotus, 2.41; Strabo, 815 (17.1.44); Etymologicum Magnum and Hesychius s.v. Ἀθύρ, ὁ μὴν.

2.- Aelian, 10.27.

3.- Ibid., loc.cit. The sound of a bull bellowing arouses these cows, who can hear this sound at a distance of three miles.

4.- A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 4.554.

5.- Breasted, op.cit., p.59; W. Emery, Archaic Egypt, p.124.

6.- In the Tombs of Anta (W. Petrie, Deshasheh, pl.V) and Ptahhetep (N. de G. Davies and F.L. Griffith, The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep, II, pl.XVII).

7.- P.E. Newberry, Beni Hasan, II, pl. VII.

8.- See above pp.120-1; see below pp.237-8.

female principle, and who became the most important goddess of the Egyptian pantheon by the Greco-Roman Period, was Isis. She is first mentioned in the Pyramid Texts of the Vth and VIth Dynasties,[1] and probably originated somewhere in the area of the N.W. Delta.[2] Due to the process of syncretism she was identified with Hathor,[3] and the respect in which they had common ground can be seen from the - Greek deity with whom Isis was sometimes identified, Aphrodite.[4] Like Hathor Isis' sacred animal was the cow,[5] so that the situation was ripe for confusion and amalgamation. She was occasionally represented as a cow-headed female,[6] but usually as a female figure with cow's horns.[7]

But whereas Hathor's cow represented, for the most part, the sky, Isis' cow represented the earth. Several Greek and Roman authors state that the Egyptians thought Isis was an earth-goddess,[8] and Macrobius claims that in hieroglyphic script the symbol of a cow meant the earth.[9] Apuleius says that the cow in the sacred procession of Isis at Cenchrae is the symbol of the "all-providing goddess".[10] Isis is best known for the part she plays in the myth of Osiris, her brother, whom she marries, and whose body she searches for after his

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1.- G. Roeder in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 9.2087.
2.- Ibid., 9.2085.
3.- Ibid., 9.2120.
4.- Apuleius, Metamorphoses, 11.2.
5.- Herodotus, 2.41.
6.- Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 19, explains this away by the story that Horus enraged with Isis snatched away the diadem she wore on her head, but Thoth replaced it with a helmet in the shape of a cow's head.
7.- Herodotus, loc.cit.
8.- Plutarch, op.cit., 32 and 38; Varro, Lingua Latina, 5, 10.
9.- Macrobius, Saturnalia, 1.19.13.
10.- Apuleius, Metamorphoses, 11, 11: bos, omnia parentis deae fecundum simulacrum.

death, and who after his resurrection dwells in the Nether World as lord of the dead.[1] Osiris, as lord of the Underworld, was also, as usually happened, a god of vegetation and fertility,[2] and as such he was regarded, at least by Greco-Roman times, as the spirit of the river Nile.[3]

Thus in the month of Athyr (November) when Osiris was lowered into his coffin and sent downstream, which Plutarch interpreted as the weakened, lower river flowing down to the sea, the priests draped a gilded cow in a black garment of fine linen and exhibited it for four days from the 13th to the 17th of the month. The priests mourned the recession of the Nile, the cessation of the fresh North Winds as the arid South Wind began to blow, the lengthening of the nights and the denudation of the foliage. The cow is the representation of Isis on the earth, which mourns the death of Osiris at this time of the year.[4] A similar notion lies behind the ceremony performed at the time of the winter solstice, when a cow is led round the temple of the Sun seven times. The ceremony is called the "Seeking of Osiris", since the cow represents Isis as the Earth, which yearns for water in winter.[5] Plutarch specifically states that the cow is a

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1.- Plutarch, op.cit., 12-19; Breasted, op.cit., p.58.
2.- Since the dead and corn were both placed underground they were both believed to come under the jurisdiction of the deity of the Underworld. This is a widespread belief, and for a more detailed explanation see, for example, J.E. Harrison, Themis, pp.260-334.
3.- For the explanation of how this happened see below pp.172-174.
4.- Plutarch, op.cit., 29. Cf. J.G. Fraser, The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 2.84.
5.- Plutarch, op.cit.,51. Plutarch explains the need for the cow to be led seven times around the temple because it took the sun seven months to go from the winter to the summer solstice (the Greeks

representation of Isis who is cleansed and fertilized by Osiris in the shape of the Nile.[1] Moreover the Egyptians called the Dog-Star (Sirius) the Star of Isis because its advent was a prelude to the flooding of the Nile, and they depicted it as a cow.[2] This fact may have influenced the Egyptians to show the other stars and star-demons as bulls, but, of course, the influence may have worked the other way, so that the Dog-Star was symbolised by a cow because the same animal was used to represent the other celestial bodies.

Both Herodotus and Plutarch identified Osiris with the Greek god Dionysus, because of the two gods' connections with vegetation and bulls.[3] It was probably this identification which led Phylarchus to state that Dionysus brought two bulls from India to Egypt, one of which was called Osiris, the other Apis.[4] Phylarchus seems to have been trying to connect Dionysus with the two closely associated gods Osiris and Apis.

The sacred bull of the city of Memphis was called Hapi, a name which was later rendered into Greek as Apis.[5] Manetho claims that

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counted inclusively). More likely the number seven was chosen as it had a magical significance to the ancients. Accordingly in the Biblical account of the dream of Pharaoh and interpretation by Joseph seven thin cows ate seven fat cows (Moses, 1.41). Hoepfner, op.cit., p.68 sees these cows as representing the favourable and poor floodings of the Nile.

1.- Plutarch, op.cit., 32, 38.
2.- Ibid., 38; Diodonus Siculus, 1.27; Porphyry, De Antru Nympharum, 24.
3.- Herodotus, 2.41; Plutarch, op.cit., 35.
4.- Plutarch, op.cit., 29 who dismisses the statement as absurd.
5.- E.g., Pliny, Natural History, 5.6.1. Many detailed studies of the history and interpretation of the cult of Apis have been made, most important among which are those of T. Hoepfner, Der Tierkult der Alten Aegypter, pp.76-86; R. Pietschmann in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 1.2807-1810; E. Meyer in W.H. Roscher, Lexicon der Griechischen und Roemischen Mythologie, 1.419-422.

the cult of Apis started in the reign of Caiechus (Ra-Neb), king of the IInd Dynasty,[1] whereas Aelian says that it was established by the founder of the First Dynasty, Menes.[2] The weight of archaeological evidence favours Aelian's earlier date, and contradicts Manetho's statement. A jar-sealing from Sakkara, dated to the twelfth year of King Udimu of the First Dynasty, records the "First Occurrence of the Running of Apis".[3] W.B. Emery suggests that the cult of Apis may have been in existence before the Unification and that the Kings of the First Dynasty frequently appear as bulls because for political reasons as southerners they adopted the bull of the North.[4] The cult is also authenticated for the reigns of the Fourth Dynasty kings Cheops (Khufu) and Mycerinus (Men-kau-re), and priests of Apis are shown for the first time on a Fourth Dynasty sarcophagus.[5]

The Greeks identified Apis with Epaphus, the son of the bovine Io and Zeus, who was said to have been born in Egypt.[6] The cult was extremely popular in Greco-Roman times, and in A.D.362 when a new Apis-calf was found, the emperor Julian struck a coin, which bore a picture of the bull and the inscription "Securitas Rei Publicae".[7]

1.- Manetho, frag.8; cf.9-10 (C. Mueller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 2.542-543). Caiechus is a Grecised version of the Egyptian name Ka-kau, which means "bull of the bull". (Hoepfner, op.cit. p.86; Meyer in Roscher, op.cit., 1.419).
2.- Aelian, op.cit., 10.27.
3.- W. Emery, Archaic Egypt, p.75.
4.- Ibid., p.124.
5.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.86. The sarcophagus is now in the Cairo Museum, no.964.
6.- Herodotus, 2.38, 153; 3, 27, 28; Aelian, loc.cit. For Io, Zeus and Epaphus see below pp. 395-7, 443-6.
7.- A. Cook, Zeus, 1.637, fig.496.

But in A.D.398 the emperor Arcadius published a decree banning the worship of Apis and the cult ceased.[1] Thus the cult must have clearly fulfilled a great need for the peoples of Egypt for it to last for 3,500 years.

We have seen that in other countries the bull was the symbol "par excellence" of masculine virility. Egypt is no exception to this rule. The Sun-god Re uses this imagery when he says "I am the one who made the bull for the cow, so that sexual pleasures might come into being."[2] An invocatory formula refers to a god as "Thou Bull with the thrusting limb", an obvious allusion to the animal's phallus.[3] Therefore it comes as no surprise to learn that in the Pyramid Texts the phallus of the dead man, which was considered holy, as the member of the living, through which all those alive derived their existence, was dedicated to Apis.[4] Osiris too as a deity of fertility had phallic festivals celebrated in his honour, in which models of phalli were borne in processions alongside a statue of Osiris with three members.[5] Ithyphallic statues of Osiris were also common.[6]

Sínce Apis represented sacred fertility, whenever a new Apis was found the Egyptians feasted,[7] because his appearance forbode good crops and the fertility of the flocks and herds.[8] When Apis was housed

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1.- Hoepfner, loc.cit.
2.- J. Wilson in J. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.13.
3.- G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religionen des Alten Aegypten, p.48.
4.- K. Sethe, Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte: Pepi I, para 571; Hoepfner, op.cit., p.80.
5.- Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 36. When Set rent the dead body of Osiris, his phallus fell into the river and was never found by Isis who had to make a substitute. This myth attempts to explain the reason for the bearing of phalli in the processions.
6.- Ibid., 51;
7.- Herodotus, 3.27; Aelian, op.cit., 11.10.
8.- Ammianus Marcellinus, 22.14.6. Cf. also the coin of Julian pro-

in a temporary building at Nilopolis women came and bared their bodies before him in the hope of being able to bear children by this act.[1] The "Running of Apis" is suggested by W. Emery to be a fertility rite closely associated with the Sed Festival.[2] This ceremony, of which little is known, appears to have been carried out after 30 years of a pharaoh's reign in order to boost the pharaoh's strength and thereby the fertility of the land. Thus it would have been a ritual, the origins of which go back to very early times when the physical power of the king was believed to have a proportionate effect upon the prosperity of his country. After 30 years in office he may have been removed by being put to death.[3] Diodorus tells us that when a new pharaoh was instated, Apis was yoked to a plough and guided by the pharaoh over a plot of land.[4] If this account is correct, the ceremony would be another ritual linking Apis, as the incarnation of the powers of fertility, the king, who was also thought to administer these powers, and the earth itself in a powerful ritual act to ensure continued fertility.

Apis like Osiris was identified with the river Nile, and when he died the Egyptians put his body on a raft and floated it downstream to his tomb.[5] The parallel with the myth of the dead Osiris floating down the Nile as it lowered in depth, is completed by a relief which

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claiming the security of the republic.

1.- Diodorus Siculus, 1.85.

2.- Emery, op.cit., p.75.

3.- The theory is expounded in detail in J. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Dying God, 3; 9-204.

4.- Diodorus Siculus, 1.88.

5.- Ibid., 1.96; cf. Plutarch, op.cit., 35.

shows Isis and Nephthys lamenting the dead body of Apis on board his boat, just as they lamented the dead Osiris.[1] In fact the fertile properties of Nile water were proverbial, and, so Aelian says, it was compared to a heifer.[2]

At some stage in Egyptian history, probably early on, Apis was identified with Osiris.[3] He was said to be "the image of the soul of Osiris", since on Osiris' death his soul passed into that of Apis as his earthly manifestation, and he was reincarnated through a succession of Apis bulls.[4] The centres of Osiris worship were Dedu in the Delta, called Busiris by the Greeks, and Abydos,[5] but the god soon incorporated the craftsman-god Ptah of Memphis, in whose precinct the sanctuary of Apis was built.[6] Consequently Apis was also con-

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1.- Relief in the Berlin Museum, no.7494; Hoepfner, op.cit., p.85.
2.- Aelian, op.cit., 3.33. The same author claimed that herdsmen gave their cattle as much Nile water to drink as possible, with the result that the cows in Egypt were so fertile that occasionally they had as many as five calves and regularly gave birth to twins. For the same reason Egyptian women were also very fertile, and one even gave birth to septuplets! Hoepfner, op.cit., p.172 note 26 gives a list of all the claims of the miraculous fertilizing properties of the river Nile.
3.- Diodorus Siculus, 1.21; Strabo, 807 (17.1.31.).
4.- Plutarch, op.cit., 20, 29 and 43; Diodorus Siculus 1.85.
5.- Breasted, op.cit., p.60. Diodorus Siculus, loc.cit. related that when Osiris was killed by Set, Isis gathered up his remains and deposited them in a wooden cow (βοῦς), wrapped in fine linen (βύσσος) from which Busiris derives its name. This etymology has not managed to last the test of time.
6.- Possibly it was through this fact that Ptah was assimilated with Osiris. Herodotus 2.153; Strabo, loc.cit., Ammianus Marcellinus, 22.14.

sidered to be a manifestation of Ptah, and is often called on monuments "The New Life of Ptah" and "The Second Life of Ptah".[1] Thus it is clear that Osiris the King of the Underworld, spirit of the Nile, and god of vegetation and fertility, was manifested on earth in bovine shape as Apis.

When the Apis bull died a search was made to find the god in new-born form as a calf. The new Apis was said to be recognisable by as many as twenty-nine different marks on his body.[2] Apis had to be black beyond all other bulls,[3] a phenomenon the Greeks explained as being due to the fact that exposure to the sun made creatures black and Apis was sacred to the sun,[4] a Greek pseudo-scientific explanation that probably misses the mark. More likely is T. Hoepfner's explanation[5] that Apis had to be black because Osiris was always shown this colour on wall-paintings[6] - the same colour as the Nile water and its fertile mud.[7]

Among the distinguishing marks the Apis calf had to show the most important were a white triangle on his forehead,[8] a beetle be-

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1.- Hoepfner, op.cit., pp.77, 172 note 26a; Emery, op.cit., p.124.
2.- Aelian, De Natura Animalium, 11.10. The Classical authors who dealt with the subject of the recognition and qualities of Apis are Herodotus, 3.28; Strabo, 807 (17.1.31.); Diodorus Siculus, 1.85; Aelian, op.cit., 11.10; Porphyry ap. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, 3.13; Cyrillus, In Oseam, 5. 8-9; Eudocia, Violarium, 8.15; Suda, s.v. Ἄπιδες; Pomponius Mela, 1.9; Pliny, Natural History, 8.184; Solinus, 32.17ff; Ammianus Marcellinus, 22.14.7.
3.- Herodotus, 3.28; Strabo 807 (17.1.31).
4.- Porphyry ap. Eusebius, op.cit., 3.13.2; Cyrillus, In Oseam, 5.8-9.
5.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.78.
6.- As Plutarch, op.cit., 22, agrees.
7.- Pausanias, 8.24.6.
8.- Herodotus, loc.cit.; Strabo, loc.cit.

neath his tongue[1] and an eagle on his back,[2] double hairs on his tail,[3] and most important of all a white crescent shape on his flank which denoted the moon.[4] Extant statues and paintings of Apis show the bull bearing all these marks, together with a circular orb between its horns with a uraeus or ostrich feathers.[5] On Apis-statuettes the white triangle on the animal's forehead is often marked by a small silver plate.[6] One such painting shows Apis standing with a mummy on its back, which seems to connect him with Osiris who sometimes has the name "Bull of the Kingdom of the Dead".[7]

The body markings of Apis all have a religious significance. Thus the beetle and the eagle are symbols of the sun,[8] while the triangular and crescent marks are symbols of the moon.[9] Accordingly the mother of Apis was said to have been impregnated by a ray of light from heaven[10] or from the moon.[11] Once she had given birth to Apis she was not allowed to conceive again.[12] At what time Apis was

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1.- Porphyry ap. Eusebius, loc.cit.; Pliny, loc.cit.
2.- Suda, loc.cit.; Herodotus, loc.cit.
3.- Mela, loc.cit.
4.- Pliny, loc.cit.; Solinus 32.17; Plutarch, op.cit., 43; Aelian, loc.cit. claims that the diverse colouring of Apis was taken to symbolise the diverse crops. This sounds like late aetiological reasoning, but fits in well with Apis' role as a spirit of fertility and vegetation.
5.- E.g. Cook, op.cit., 1.432, fig.310.
6.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.173 note 31.
7.- Ibid., loc.cit.
8.- The early morning sun was called Khepri and depicted as a scarab beetle (J. Breasted, A History of Egypt, p.59), while the eagle was the sacred bird of the Sun-god.
9.- Aelian, loc.cit.; Herodotus, loc.cit; Plutarch, op.cit., 43.
10.- Herodotus, loc.cit.; Aelian, loc.cit.; Mela, 1.9.
11.- Plutarch, loc.cit.; Suda, loc.cit.
12.- Herodotus, loc.cit. This may have been a sensible precaution as a cow which produced a calf which bore such markings might bear more offspring with a similar design. The priests would then

recognised by these signs is not known, nor is it clear if some signs were later added to the list to fit in with the theological speculation of the day.

Many Greek authors claimed that Apis was sacred to the moon.[1] This statement is not strictly true but reflects the fact that the Apis bull was the embodiment of the soul of Osiris, who became contaminated by and associated with the moon-god.[2] Similarly at Memphis Osiris combined with the god of the necropolis, Sokar, and Apis' temple stood in the sanctuary of Ptah, with the result that Apis became the local form of the grotesquely composite lunar deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.[3] This process was also helped by the fact that the bull's horns were regarded in Egypt at a very early time as a representation of the moon.[4]

Alternatively other Classical authors believed that Apis was sacred to the Sun.[5] Some of his body-markings were symbols of the sun and this may be due to the general syncretism that permeated Egyptian religion, and the dominance of the Sun-god, or, a direct result of these tendencies, Apis may have acquired these features through his continued contact with Ptah, who, apart from the influence exerted upon him by Osiris, was at an early stage exposed to solar

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find themselves in the embarrassing situation of having an Apis-calf born before his predecessor died. Perhaps this lesson was learned through bitter experience.

1.- Aelian, op.cit., 11.11; Porphyry ap. Eusebius, op.cit., 3.13.1; Ammianus Marcellinus, 22.14.7; Suda, loc.cit.

2.- Roeder in Roscher, op.cit., 6.138.

3.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.76.

4.- As in the case of the Sky-Cow and Hathor. See above p.159.

5.- E.g. Macrobius, 1.21.20.

contamination himself.[1]

Otto Gruppe and Eduard Meyer both contend that Apis must have been solar in character before lunar since the disc that he carries between his horns is a solar orb and not a lunar crescent.[2] But this is to miss the point completely. Even if Apis did acquire his solar characteristics before his lunar ones,[3] the important facet of his character that must be stressed is that before this he simply represented the powerful forces of fertility. Later on the bull was used to emphasise the fertile powers of the sun and moon, but it was the fertility of the Nile and nature that the animal symbolised first.

In this argument I must agree with L. Malten, that the symbolic employment of the bull to represent fertility and strength led to the growth of mythical imagery when the Egyptians turned their attention to the sky.[4] The cow of the Great Flood (Mehet Weret)[5] and the

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1.- Another likely source of solar contamination is the holy bull of Heliopolis, Mnevis, who was sacred to the Sun-god, on whom see below pp. 183-4

2.- O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religion, p.1572 note 9; E. Meyer in Roscher, op.cit., 1.420. Their view is followed by Cook, op.cit., 1.435-6.

3.- Of this there is no certainty. The fact that Osiris was identified with the moon may mean that lunar influence was exerted before that of Ptah (and possibly Mnevis), although Ptah may not have succumbed to solarisation until after Osiris became a moon-god. As there is no chronological evidence to give any information as to when these influences and changes occurred, even allowing for the fact that such processes would take place over a considerable amount of time, these questions cannot be decided until if and when more evidence becomes available.

4.- L. Malten, "Der Stier im Kult und Mythischen Bild", p.98.

5.- The Egyptians thought of the sky as an expanse of water, for which a cow was figuratively substituted (see above p.156). Their choice of animal may have been influenced by the fact that the Nile and moisture were represented by a bull (There is no proof that this idea was in vogue at this time, but it is evidently a very funda-

Bull of the Sky (the Sun) are both transplantations of earthly images to the sky. Once the phenomenon had occurred, and become an accepted part of religious imagery, the sequence of events turned a full circle, and the representatives of nature and fertility on earth were influenced, and, to a large part, solarised by their celestial counterparts, whom they were instrumental in creating.

In Apis' sanctuary at Memphis bulls bred especially for the purpose were pitted against one another with the victor being awarded a prize.[1] Such a fight may be shown in a wall-painting in which two bulls stand with their horns interlocked while two men goad them on with sticks.[2] The Egyptian predilection for bull-fights is demonstrated in the story of King Buccharis, who let the sacred bull Mnevis fight with a wild bull, so that the victor would naturally be the incarnation of the god.[3] This type of activity may indicate that bull-fights had a religious significance in Egypt.

Omens were taken from Apis' movements and habits.[4] For example he had two stalls, and if he entered one of them it was a good sign, if he entered the other it boded ill.[5] When Germanicus Caesar visited

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mental association which the Egyptians shared with other races (see above pp. 109 - 110), and which has a long history. Malten, op.cit., believes that the idea may have been due to the cult of Hathor at Dendera being influenced by the cult of a local deity in cow-form, who was later identified with Isis. But this theory is unnecessary if the connection of cow with water and water with heaven is an old one, which I believe it is. At any rate the bovine Hathor was a very early idea as we have seen from the palette of Narmer.

1.- Herodotus, 2.153; Strabo, 807 (17.1.31).
2.- O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.360, fig.125.
3.- Aelian, op.cit., 11.11.
4.- Pausanias, 7.22.4; Statius, Thebaid, 3.478.
5.- Pliny, Nat. Hist., 8.185; Ammianus Marcellinus, 22.14.8; Solinus, 32.19.

Apis in 19 B.C. the bull refused to take the food that was offered him, and Germanicus knew he had not long to live.[1]

Classical authors related a curious tale about the death of Apis. When he reached the age of 25, the priests took him to a sacred spring, where they drowned him.[2] They then mourned him until his successor was found.[3] If this account is true it is probably to be explained along the lines of the belief that as Apis grew older so his powers of fertility waned, which accordingly had a similar effect upon the fruitfulness of the land itself. After the age of 25 it may have been thought that his powers were so weak that it was better for him to be reincarnated as a calf, than to die gradually with the subsequent deterioration of Egypt's crops.[4] Certain of the Pyramid Texts give a reading as follows: "Unis (or Teti) ... lifts (on his neck) the head of Apis, which is his on this day of the strangling (a formulaic phrase for sacrifice) of the bull."[5] This is an allusion to some ceremony of which we are at present ignorant, but there is no further proof that the ceremony described refers to the drowning of Apis.

Against this account of the death of Apis several Apis-stelae have been found in the Serapeum at Memphis which mention animals of

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1.- Pliny, loc.cit.; Ammianus, loc.cit.; Solinus, 32.19.
2.- Pliny, 8.184; Ammianus, 22.14.7; Solinus 32.18; Mythologus Vaticanus 1.79.
3.- Diodorus, 1.85; Lucian, De Dea Syria, 6;
4.- For a fuller explanation of this theory see above p. 172 note 3. E. Lefebure, "La Vertu du Sacrifice funéraire (Ancien et Moyen Empire Egyptien)", Sphinx, 8 (1904), p.9 attempts to prove the validity of these statements. But see below p. 180
5.- K. Sethe, Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte: Teti 242/3; Unis 423/4.

26 years old,[1] and Diodorus mentions one Apis bull dying from extreme old-age,[2] not a very likely situation if Apis was drowned for the reasons stated above. T. Hoepfner believes that the locus classicus of this question is Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 56, where it is stated that five squared equals the number of letters in the Egyptian alphabet and years in the life of Apis.[3] Hoepfner thinks this is a confusion of the term Apis-period which denoted a period of time, "the period of the full-moon", since Apis in his association with the lunar Osiris is equated with the full-moon.[4] Apis was always installed in the Apeum at Memphis on the evening of the full-moon,[5] and the Apis-period was, claims Hoepfner a purely astronomical period of twenty-five years (309 synodical moon-months), which had a magical significance but nothing to do with the duration of Apis' life. Plutarch mentions that in times of drought animals sacred to Set were sacrificed, but that Apis was sacred to Osiris.[6] Hoepfner's conclusion about the drowning of Apis is that the Greeks knew of an Apis-period, which they thought was the duration of the animal's life, and confused this with accounts of certain animals being slain at certain times.[7]

During the Ptolemaic Period a comparatively new deity, Serapis, became an important member of the Egyptian pantheon. It is almost

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1.- T. Hoepfner, Der Tierkult der Alten Aegypter, p.84.
2.- Diodorus, 1.84.
3.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.83.
4.- Ibid., p.172 note 28 and see above p.176.
5.- Ibid., loc.cit.
6.- Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 73.
7.- Hoepfner, op.cit., pp.83-84.

certain that since Serapis was regarded as a bovine incorporation of the soul of Osiris, this god is merely an offshoot and personification of one aspect of Apis combined with the worship of Osiris.[1] This fusion of Apis and Osiris explains the compound names Ὀσόραπις, Ὀσέραπις, Ὀσίραπις ,[2] and Apis' sanctuary at Memphis called Se-n-hapi, "Place of Apis" (later in Latin the Apeum) explains the legend that the statue of Serapis was brought from Sinope to Alexandria by Ptolemy I Soter,[3] since Se-n-hapi became in Greek.[4] Another theory is that Serapis was originally the Babylonian god, Ea, whose cult title sar apsu (Lord of the Ocean) was altered by degrees to sar apis. The cult was established by the Assyrians at Sinope on the Black Sea, whence Ptolemy introduced into Egypt and deliberately identified it with Apis-Osiris.[5] Although a little strained the second theory is just possible, but it does not alter the conception (indeed it confirms it) that Serapis was the soul of Osiris in semi-bovine form, an idea already firmly established in the Apis-Osiris cult.

The close connection of Serapis with Osiris is emphasised in that Serapis was regarded throughout the Greco-Roman world as an Egyptian Hades.[6] Plutarch says, "It is better to identify Osiris with Dionysus and Serapis with Osiris",[7] although this did not prevent

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1.- See pages 173-174.
2.- O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religion, p.1576, n.1.
3.- Plutarch, op.cit., 28-29; Tacitus, Histories, 4.83-84.
4.- Eustathius ad Dionysius Periergetes, 254-255.
5.- C. Lehmann-Haupt in W. Roscher, op.cit.,4.338-364; Serapis is first mentioned in connection with Babylon (Plutarch, Life of Alexander, 73, 76; Arrian, 7.26.2).
6.- Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 28; Tacitus, op.cit., 4.83; C. Scherer in Roscher, op.cit., 1.1803-4.
7.- Plutarch, loc.cit.

Serapis from becoming so solarised that Varro can identify him with the sky,[1] and invocations were made to "Zeus, the Sun, Serapis".[2] Serapis was depicted in Egypt as a human mummy with a bull's head and sun-disc between its horns;[3] ushabti figures of this type were often buried with the dead Apis-bulls.[4]

A similar composite creature is mentioned in an Egyptian inscription from Dendera as the "Remen-t-Cow" This was a wooden statue of a cow, covered in gold plate and mounted on a pedestal. On its head it carried the sun-disc, uraeus, and ostrich feathers, on its shoulder was a beetle and its body was covered by an embroidered cloth. Inside this cow was placed the mummified body of a man with his head uncovered, which represented Osiris.[5] This cult-object although obviously connected with Osiris is possibly also associated with Hathor, in her capacity as goddess of the dead, and Isis since the inscription comes from Hathor's cult centre, Dendera, where Isis was also at home, and the dead man inside the cow could easily symbolize Osiris beneath the earth.

It is also likely, as Hoepfner points out, that the cow mentioned by Herodotus in which Mycerinus' daughter was buried, was a similar sort of cow to this, since it was brought into the light once a year when the Egyptians made lamentations for a god Herodotus did not intend to name, but who is clearly Osiris.[6]

1.- Varro, Lingua Latina, 5.10.
2.- A. Cook, Zeus, 1.188-190.
3.- E. Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians, 1.513; 2.195-198; cf. Cairo Museum no.1029.
4.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.84; cf. Cairo Museum, no.1633.
5.- Ibid., p.69.
6.- Herodotus, 2.132. See above p. 163. Of course it may not

Second in importance only to Apis was the holy bull of Heliopolis (On), Mnevis. According to Manetho the cult of this bull commenced in the reign of the Second Dynasty pharaoh Caiechus (Ra-neb),[1] as did that of Apis, and although Mnevis is not mentioned in Egyptian writings until the Twelfth Dynasty and again in the Eighteenth Dynasty Book of the Dead (99.14),[2] his origins are probably much earlier than this. Mnevis was sacred to and an incarnation of the Sun-god Re of Heliopolis.[3] He had to be bigger and blacker than any other bull, while the hair on his body and tail had to stand erect unlike that of other bulls.[4] The bull's testicles were extremely large,[5] a fact which Classical authors explained by stating that the sun is said to engender nature.[6] From this much that we know about Mnevis it is clear that the bull symbolized the fertilizing power of the sun.

A tradition stated that Mnevis was the father of Apis,[7] and he

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have been the body of Mycerinus' daughter in the statue but that of a man, in which case the parallel is complete.

1.- Manetho, frag.8 (Mueller).

2.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.87.

3.- Plutarch, op.cit., 33; Strabo, 805 (17.1.27); Diodorus, 1.84, 88; Porphyry ap. Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, 3.13; Aelian, op.cit., 11.11. The priests of Mnevis are called ἱερεῖς Ἡλίου καὶ Μνεύιδος (Tebtunis Papyrus 2.313). In an inscription in the Vienna Museum Mnevis is called "Atum of Heliopolis" (Hoepfner, op. cit., p.87).

4.- Plutarch, loc.cit., Porphyry ap. Eusebius, loc.cit.

5.- In a relief from the beginning of the New Kingdom (in the Berlin Museum, no.14,200) Mnevis appears before the high priest of Ahmosis and the bull's huge testicles are prominent (A. Erman, Die Aegyptische Religion, p.81).

6.- Porphyry ap. Eusebius, loc.cit. Hoepfner, loc.cit., thinks this remark refers to Re creating the universe out of the primaeval waters of Nut.

7.- Plutarch, loc.cit. Possibly because Apis' mother was said to be impregnated by a ray from the sun (Herodotus, 3.28) and Mnevis incorporated the Sun-god.

was also said to be sacred to Osiris. The latter statement is only true in so far as after death every holy animal (and man) passed into the realm of Osiris.[1] Mnevis was no exception and became known as "Osiri-Ur-mer" which was transliterated into Greek as Osoromnevis or Osormnevis.[2] Mnevis is represented in monuments as a black bull with solar disc and uraeus between its horns,[3] or less commonly as a human figure with a bull's head.[4]

Very similar to Mnevis was the holy bull of Hermonthis, Bacchis. He is said to have lived in the temple of Apollo[5] (i.e. the god "Month", a local form of Amon-Re),[6] and to have changed colour every hour. His hair grew in the opposite direction to that of other beasts so that it represented the sun moving in the opposite direction to the universe.[7] The bull was called "the living soul of Re"[8] and "the Bull of the Mountain of the Sunrise (Bakhau) and Lion of the Mountain of the Sunset".[9] Bacchis is shown wearing the sun-disc, uraeus, and ostrich plumes between his horns, while a vulture with outspread wings rests on his hindquarters.[10] This bull too seems to have been a representative of the fertilizing, progenerative Sun-god.

1.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.86.
2.- Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, 3. no.304.
3.- E.g. statuette in British Museum, no.11,949.
4.- E.g. Apis stele of king Necho in the Louvre, no.193.
5.- Macrobius, 1.21.20; cf. Strabo, 817 (17.1.47).
6.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.88.
7.- Macrobius, 1.21. 20-21.
8.- K. Sethe in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 2.2802.
9.- Budge, op.cit., 2.352.
10.- A Cook, Zeus, 1.436, fig.311.

An interesting feature in the portrayal of Bacchis is the vulture that perches on its back. We have seen that some Syro-Hittite seals show bulls with birds which very much resemble vultures perched upon their backs. This motif also appears in Late Mycenaean art from Cyprus. Similarly it may have influenced the design of the Syrian "bull-altars" which support triangular structures, upon which birds sometimes perch, although it has been suggested that in this instance the birds may be sacred to the Mother Goddess. Since the bird perching upon bull motif also appears in Egypt, are we to see a Syrian influence upon Egyptian art, or vice versa? Since the majority of extant examples comes from Syria it is tempting to see that place as the point of distribution. But the fact that one of the signs that Apis must bear is an eagle on his back, makes it far from certain that this is the case.

The fourth holy bull to have a proper name was Onuphis, which Egyptologists are agreed is a Grecized version of (Osiri-) Un-nefer -"(Osiris) the Good Being".[1] The bull was kept at a place too difficult for Aelian to transliterate, but it was the largest of bulls (like Mnevis), its hairs grew in a unique direction (like Mnevis and Bacchis), and it was fed on Median grass.[2] E. Budge identifies the beast with Bacchis,[3] but this can hardly be since that animal was not sacred to Osiris. T. Hoepfner's suggestion that the bull's name is possibly another title of Apis,[4] is contradicted by the description

1.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.88; Budge, loc.cit.
2.- Aelian, op.cit., 12.11.
3.- Budge, loc.cit.
4.- Hoepfner, loc.cit.,

of the bull's characteristic features. Onuphis is not to be denied his separate identity, although he probably has more in common with Apis than any other bull.

Apart from these four bulls Strabo tells us that many other towns in Egypt kept a sacred bull or cow.[1] At Athribis in the Delta there was a regional deity in the form of a large, black cow.[2] In the fourth side chamber of Ramesses III's tomb at Biban el Muluk a black bull is depicted and called Meri, while in the seventh chamber holy bulls and cows are shown.[3] All the bulls so far mentioned seem originally to have represented the power of fertility in the theology of a rustic people, before they were taken over and assimilated by the greater gods of the Egyptian pantheon.

Bulls were also associated with the very old and enigmatic god, Set, although his personal animal, as it appears on cartouches, is a peculiar, composite creature, something like a dog but with a vertical tail and high square-topped ears. Set is well-known from later mythology as the villain of the Osiris myth, who kills Osiris and fights against his son, Horus, who prevails against Set but cannot completely overcome him. Set was to become the regular source of any evil that occurred, so that the Greeks knew him as Typhon,[4] but this was not always the case. Originally Set appears to have been the local god of Ombos in Upper Egypt, since he is referred to as early as the

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1.- Strabo, 803 (17.1.22).
2.- Hoepfner, op.cit., p.89.
3.- Ibid., p.88.
4.- E.g. Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 21.

Fifth Dynasty as "the Ombite, lord of Upper Egypt".[1] Similarly he is known as the "Bull in Nubti",[2] and the expressions the "Bull of Nubt" and the "Bull of Set" are titles of the Nineteenth Dynasty[3] (Nubti being the Egyptian name for Ombos).

The Predynastic invaders who brought about the unification of Egypt worshipped Horus in the shape of a hawk, and this bird surmounts the cartouches of the Kings of the First Dynasty.[4] But in the Second Dynasty King Perabsen had his cartouche surmounted by the animal of Set,[5] and later Khasekhemui places the animals of both Horus and Set above his cartouche.[6] Set, a member of the old Egyptian Ennead,[7] seems originally to have been a god of the indigenous Egyptians, "whose cult formed a rallying-point for the dispersed people of Predynastic Egypt,"[8] and whose enmity towards Horus reflects the early days of the struggle for unification. At times it may have been politic for the Egyptian kings, such as Khasekhemui, who may have had to reconquer Lower Egypt,[9] to proclaim their allegiance to Set - hence the peculiar cartouches. But Set as the god of a conquered race was to become the arch-enemy of the god of the victors.

1.- K. Sethe, Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte, para 204; and later on the stele of Ramesses II (J. Wilson in J. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.253).
2.- Inscription of Tutmosis III (W.M.F. Petrie, Naqada and Ballas,p.68)
3.- G. Wainwright, "The Bull Standards of Egypt", p.45, citing Burton Excerpta Hieroglyphica, pl.XXXIX.
4.- W.B. Emery, Archaic Egypt, p.49, fig.9; pp.57-58 figs.18a, b; p. 59 fig.19; p.69 fig.32.
5.- Ibid., p.96 fig.59.
6.- Ibid., p.101, fig.65.
7.- J. Breasted, A History of Egypt, p.56.
8.- Emery, op.cit., pp.120-121.
9.- Ibid., p.99.

Red cattle were sacred to Set, since the god was thought to be of that colour which denoted evil, and so they were thought fit to be sacrificed as enemies of the Sun-god.[1] Classical authors claimed that the animals were scrupulously examined and if they bore so much as one black hair, they were rejected, since the Egyptians sacrificed "not what is dear to the gods, but the opposite".[2] Wall-paintings, however, show that this was not strictly true and that spotted bulls were sacrificed.[3] Probably the star-daemons in bovine form who hindered the progress of the Sun's barque and the passage of dead souls[4] were also regarded as the animals of Set, if not the god himself. Thus in the Pyramid Texts Pepi I is urged "Kill him (the bull), so that he does not kill you".[5]

Since the sun in Egypt never enters the northern part of the sky it was this area especially that Set was believed to haunt. The principal constellation in this area is the Great Bear or Plough, but to the Egyptians it was known as the "haunch" or fore-leg of an ox, owing to the hieroglyphic sign khopsh which bore the same shape.[6] Under the Eighteenth Dynasty when a reaction against Set began after the expulsion of the Hyksos[7] it was the job of the hippopotamus-

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1.- Diodorus Siculus, 1.88.
2.- Plutarch, op.cit., 31; cf. Herodotus, 2.38.
3.- T. Hoepfner, Der Tierkult der Alten Aegypter, p.72.
4.- See above p. 162.
5.- Sethe, op.cit.; Pepi I, para 183; cf. also Pepi II, paras.438, 495-6; Merenre, para 289.
6.- A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 4.436 and fig.359. Plutarch, op. cit.,21 says that Sirius was the soul of Isis, the constellation Orion the soul of Horus, and the Bear the soul of Typhon (Set).
7.- Originally Set probably had nothing to do with the myth of Osiris but was introduced into the legend to provide a reason for his

goddess Taurt (Thuaris in Greek) to guard this sinister element. The manner in which this came about seems to be as follows.

Taurt is first mentioned in the Twelfth Dynasty and portrayed in an advanced state of pregnancy, since she had much in common with Nechbit of Eileithyiaopolis as a goddess of child-birth.[1] Originally she must have been related to Set (the hippopotamus and crocodile were his sacred animals), and she was probably associated with the constellation of the Little Bear (ursa minor).[2] Owing to her close proximity in the heavens to the constellation of Set it seems that

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hostility towards Horus. Set seems to have received his bad reputation partly as a result of the propaganda of the followers of Horus, but also especially in the XVIIIth Dynasty immediately after the expulsion of the Hyksos. Since the Hyksos worshipped Set above all other Egyptian deities it was a natural reaction that those who expelled the Hyksos should further blacken the character of the god, a quisling as it were in the hands of the hated invaders, especially as he was already established as the enemy of the Sun-god. I would suggest that it was at this time that Set was made personally responsible for the calamities that annually befell Osiris. Certain Asiatic elements are discernible in the myth of Osiris as it has come down to us. When the trunk containing the body of Osiris comes to rest it is at Byblos (Plutarch, op.cit. 15), outside the boundary of Egypt but well within the area whence it is probable that the Hyksos came. Moreover when Set finds Osiris' corpse he rends and scatters it (Ibid.,18), much as one would sow corn, an action which is paralleled in the treatment meted out by Baal's sister Anat to the body of Mot (see above p.144)

Although Set may have suffered at the hands of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who were exceptional worshippers of the Sun (cf. the religious revolution of Akhenaten), he was still a popular god in some circles and a complete "volte face" took place with the next dynasty, which paid him particular reverence (Ramesses II erected a stele to Set at Tanis (Wilson in Pritchard, op.cit., pp.252-253), and two of its pharaohs were to bear his name as Seti.

1.- Evans, loc.cit.

2.- E. Zinner, Geschichte der Sternekunde, p.22.

during the Eighteenth Dynasty she was equated with Isis, and the Book of the Dead expressly states "It is the office of Isis in the shape of a hippopotamus to guard the bronze chain in the Northern Sky, where is the fore-leg of Set."[1] Plutarch hints at this change in Taurt's nature when he says "It is said that, as many were continually changing their allegiance to Horus (in his struggle against Set) Typhon's (Set's) concubine, Thueris, came over to him."[2] As Taurt was a goddess of childbirth she could be seen as protecting the newly born Sun-god.[3] Paintings from the ceilings of Eighteenth Dynasty and later tombs show Taurt holding a chain to the hind leg of a one-legged bull at which Horus levels his spear.[4]

Apart from his original home at Ombos Set was also strongly established in the Eastern Delta, since when the Asiatic Hyksos founded their capital city of Avaris, possibly on the site of the later city of Tanis,[5] they worshipped Set under the name of Sutekh, representations of whom show a distinct resemblance to the Semitic god Baal.[6] Since the Hyksos, whose chief god was Baal, out of all the Egyptian gods chose Set as being the most like him, it would seem that there

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1.- The Book of the Dead, 17.25. This statement may have been intended as a clarification of Taurt's position and a stipulation of the new role she had to play.
2.- Plutarch, op.cit., 19.
3.- Evans, loc.cit.
4.-E.g. Evans, op.cit. p.437, fig.360; p.434 fig.357 (from the Ramesseum); p.438 fig.362 (from the inner chamber of the tomb of Senmut). Occasionally the complete ox is shown (e.g. Ibid., p.437 fig.361a (from the Ramesseum). The motif remained in vogue down to the Ptolemaic Period (Cf. Ibid., p.437 fig.361d).
5.- J. Wilson in Pritchard, op.cit., p.252; A.H. Gardiner, "Tanis and Pi-Ra 'Messe: a Retraction", JEA, 19 (1933) pp.122-128.
6.- A. Gardiner, The Egypt of the Pharaohs, pp.164-165.

must have been features which the two gods had in common to make the comparison feasible. Baal as we have seen was a god of storms, mountains, the weather and fertility in general.[1]

From what has so far been said about the role of the bull in Egyptian religion it is noticeable that in one aspect Egypt differs from the three other regions discussed in that the bull is not the sacred animal or incarnation of the storm or weather-god. The simple reason for this phenomenon is the virtual non-existence of an Egyptian storm or weather-god. Unlike the countries to the North-East Egypt was dependent for its water and survival on the yearly inundations of the Nile and not upon precipitation sent by any Weather-god. Rain was, and still is, a rare phenomenon in Upper Egypt, and it usually fell on the mountains to form torrents that rushed down the wadis.[2] So rare was it that often it was regarded as an evil omen and Herodotus records that when the Persians invaded Egypt, "a wonder occurred ... rain fell on Thebes where rain had never fallen before."[3] It is little wonder that such events usually of a violent nature and accompanied by lightning and thunder were attributed to the turbulent Set.[4] Possibly it was this small facet of Set's character that the Hyksos seized upon in identifying him with Baal, but Set can hardly qualify as a storm-god in the recognised sense of the word since his concern was with the violence and abruptness, not to say awesomeness,

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1.- See above pp. 143-146.
2.- J. Yoyotte in G. Posener, A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilisation, p.48.
3.- Herodotus, 3.10.
4.- Yoyotte in Posener, loc.cit.

of a sudden desert storm, and not the wider association of rain, fertility and ultimately the sheer survival of mankind, which the Weather-God proper embodies and provides.

G.A. Wainwright has suggested that in the Delta region of Egypt, where precipitation was more common than in the rest of the country, although still a rare enough occurrence, a Weather God was worshipped.[1] In a brief resumé of the instances of the Weather God throughout the Near East and in Classical times Wainwright concludes, rightly as we have seen, that the Weather-God is associated with the bull, mountains, lightning and the thunderbolt.[2] Certain areas of Egypt, called nomes, all had their own particular standards, which bore certain religious symbols and sacred objects. Four of the Delta nomes' standards show a bull standing next to another object or sign. They are a mountain (the Sixth Xoite), a hieroglyphic sign which may represent a shield (the Tenth Athribite), a hieroglyphic sign which means to crush and may represent a meteorite (the Eleventh Cabasite), and a calf (the Twelfth Sebennytus).[3]

Of these four only the standard of the Cabasite nome has any real claim to be that of a Weather-God. The hieroglyphic sign mounted with the bull on the standard means "to break up",[4] a characteristic action of meteorites, an argument Wainwright ingeniously backs up with the observation that the standard of the nome during the Fifth

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1.- G. Wainwright, "The Bull Standards of Egypt", JEA, 19 (1933), pp.42-52.
2.- Ibid., pp.42-47.
3.- Ibid., p.42.
4.- Ibid., p.49. The sign however does not occur until the eighth century B.C.

Dynasty showed a bull and a sickle-shaped object, and that meteors on contact with the earth often break up into sickle-shaped pieces.[1] The hieroglyphic symbol also stood for iron,[2] which could be of meteoric origin and which was known as the "bone of Set".[3] If this sign is accepted as representing a meteor, then appearing as it does on the standard of the easternmost nome in an area in which the Hyksos' capital was situated, it is probable that it may be associated with a Weather-God - a relic as it were of the period of the Hyksos' domination. Whether Set was still worshipped as a Weather-God after the expulsion of the Hyksos is difficult to tell, since any connection of the god with the thunderbolt would suit his old turbulent nature.

The evidence for the standards of the three other nomes being those of a Weather-God does not survive close scrutiny. The Xoite nome's standard with its bull and mountain appears as early as the Third Dynasty.[4] In the Ptolemaic Period the patron god of the Xoite nome was Amon-Re, the sun-god.[5] Wainwright considers that Amon was originally a Weather-God, who was solarised and accepted into the ranks of the ram-gods, although he was originally derived from the much older god Min, who became a fertility god.[6]

Amon was the local deity of Thebes in Upper Egypt, who rose to

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1.- Ibid., pp.50-51 fig.10 (= N. de G. Davies and F. Griffith, The Mastaba of Ptahhetap and Akhethetep, 1.18 pl.VI,77) and fig.11.
2.- Wainwright, op.cit., p.51.
3.- Plutarch, op.cit., 62. The sign is sometimes employed in writing the name "Set" (Wainwright, op.cit., p.51).
4.- P.E. Newbery, "Two Cults of the Old Kingdom", pp.24-25 fig.9.
5.- Wainwright, op.cit., p.48.
6.- Id., "Some Aspects of Amun", pp.139-153.

prominence with the political ascendancy of his city and was incorporated with Re.[1] He may have become solarised, but whatever he was before the amalgamation it is unlikely that he was a Weather God in a land almost devoid of rain. People will only worship a deity from whom they desire to elicit benefit or respite from ills. A Weather God in Upper Egypt has as much relevance to the needs of his worshippers as a River-God in the Sahara. If he was derived, as Wainwright claims, from the god Min of nearby Coptos then in all probability Amon was a fertility-god since the early statues of Min show him as an ithyphallic man.[2] As a fertility-god it was a logical step for him to be shown as a bull, and a painting from the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu shows a holy white bull in a procession for the parents of Min.[3] A protodynastic statue of Min bears a carving of a bull climbing a mountain,[4] and another archaic carving shows a bull's head above a mountain.[5] This may well be evidence that Min was already by this period a solar deity, since the drawings graphically represent the later invocation of the Sun-god as "Bull of the Eastern Mountains", a phrase which was also used to describe Bacchis.[6] Both Min and Amon enjoyed the regular title of the Sun-god, "Bull of his Mother".[7] To return to the Xoite nome standard of a bull and mount-

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1.- During the XIIth Dynasty (J. Breasted, A History of Egypt, pp. 170-171).
2.- W. Emery, Archaic Egypt, p.125; W. Petrie, Koptos, pp.7-8. Cf. the role of the phallus in the worship of Osiris.
3.- T. Hoepfner, Der Tierkult der Alten Aegypter, p.88.
4.- Petrie, op.cit., pls.III, IV 3; cf. G. Wainwright, "The Bull Standards of Egypt", p.49, fig.9.
5.- Petrie, op.cit., p.7, pl.XVII.
6.- See above p.159 and p.184.
7.- G. Wainwright, "Some Aspects of Amun", p.139. See above p. 155.

ain - this would seem to be a logical representation of the god Amon, who came from the south where there was little rainfall as a Sun-god (although probably a fertility-god in origin) and brought with him his sign for a mountain to a flat land.

The standard of the Twelfth Nome of Sebennytus shows a bull and a calf. Wainwright would identify this animal with the calf that supports the lightning fork in Mesopotamian and related art, and with the golden calves of Baal and Yahweh.[1] The only evidence he can find to support this theory (apart from analogy) is that the name of the capital of the nome meant "The Divine Calf" and the title of the local high priest was the "warrior" whose standards showed a pair of arrows or a star.[2] By some wild analogy and logic Wainwright convinces himself that the arrows represent the weapons of the Storm-god (i.e. thunderbolts or meteorites), and thus the calf must represent the Storm-god too.[3] This argument is too thin to warrant any refutation.

The argument for the Tenth nome Athribis is even more slender. Wainwright admits that a priori from his previous "proofs" the standard should be that of a Storm-god.[4] The god of the nome was Hnt-hty, who is called "Lord of the Bull" in a Twelfth Dynasty inscription, and Tutmosis III calls him "Horus-Hnt-hty, the Bull in Athribis".[5]

1.- Id., "The Bull Standards of Egypt", pp.45-46. But calves were sacred in Egypt before this time (e.g. the Khurer Calf; see above pp.161-2). Could not one of these be represented?
2.- Ibid., p.45.
3.- Ibid., pp.46-47.
4.- Ibid., p.52.
5.- Ibid., loc.cit., citing Aegyptologische Zeitung, 40, p.145 and E. Drioton, et.al., Rapport sur les Fouilles de Medamond, 1927, p.54.

But in later times he sometimes appears with a crocodile's head, so he may have become a creature of Set. Using this as evidence for not ascribing the standard to Horus, Wainwright then repeats that the hieroglyphic sign may have represented a shield, which, by drawing the parallel of the ancilia that fell out of the sky to Numa in Rome, he claims indicates that the standard is that of a Storm-god![1]

The simple explanation of this standard is that it is the symbol of the local deity who was either a sun-god absorbed into Horus, or a solarised fertility deity - a fate that overtook many a fertility god in a land where the Sun-god was omnipotent. Wainwright's trouble seems to stem from the fact that he equates the Sky-god with the Storm-god. He usually refers to "the sky- or storm-god" and treats them as the same being.[2] To a certain extent this idea is justified - but only for certain countries at certain times. Zeus in Greece, for example, was a sky-god and also a storm-god, and A. Cook in his monumental work on the god is careful to distinguish Zeus as "God of the Bright Sky" from Zeus as "God of the Dark Sky".[3] Storm-gods by their very nature were also Sky-gods, but then so were Sun-gods. When Wainwright says that the bull of the Twelfth nome is the bull of the Sky-god, I would agree with him, but not the bull of the Sky-god who also brought rain, but the Sky-god, Horus, who was also the Sun-god.

1.- Wainwright, loc.cit.
2.- Ibid., pp.42, 44, 48, 49, 52.
3.- A. Cook, Zeus 1. Zeus as God of the Bright Sky; 2. Zeus as God of the Weather; 3. Zeus as God of the Dark Sky.

We have seen that the Bull of the Sky is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.[1] In one such passage the horn of the bull is said to "shine",[2] a fact that Wainwright seizes upon to compare with the bull of Enlil whose horns "shine like the rays of the Sun-god"[3] as evidence that this bull of the sky is, like Enlil's, a bull of the Weather-god.[4] But the analogy is not a true one since the Egyptian Sky-bull "shines", which presumably means its whole body, and can thus be equated with the sun, whereas Enlil's bull's horn shines "like the rays of the Sun-god", which is a comparison between the horns and a different phenomenon, since we know that Enlil and the Sun-god were separate deities.[5] In fact a more valid parallel might be between the Egyptian "Bull of the Sky" and the Mesopotamian "Bull of Heaven" sent against Gilgamesh. We have seen that the latter represented the blazing sun,[6] and this fits in well with what we have seen of the Egyptian Bull of the Sky.[7] Strangely Wainwright nowhere mentions that the Mesopotamian Sun-god is also closely connected with both bull and mountain, which seems to provide a closer parallel for the interpretation of the Xoite bull-standard than any Weather-god.

1.- See above p.160
2.- K. Sethe, Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte, para.183.
3.- See above p.72
4.- Wainwright, op.cit., p.44.
5.- I suspect that the shining horn of Enlil's bull may be an allusion to the lightning flash of the storm-god.
6.- See above p.77
7.- Wainwright also suggests that the Predynastic bull's head found at Gerzeh with stars attached to its horns and ears, and previously identified as a representation of Hathor (by Wainwright himself in id. and W. Petrie, The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazqunah, p.22, pl.VI,7; see above p.157), should now be seen as a portrayal of the Bull of the Sky (id., "The Bull Standards of Egypt", p.45). Nevertheless this does not make it a storm-bull as he suggests.

Wainwright's confusion of the Bull of the Sky as the vehicle of the Weather-God and the same beast as a symbol of solar energy serves to illustrate how important it is to determine the many roles the bull played in ancient religion and to distinguish between them. Briefly the role of the bull in the religions of the four areas considered can be summed up as follows. Two characteristics of the bull first arrested man's attention - its powers of fertility and its strength. Amulets in the shape of bulls or bulls' heads could thus be either prophylactic or productive of fertility. The appearance of bulls' heads at Çatal Hüyük may provide the earliest evidence for the bull as a symbol of male potency. The various sacred bulls of Egypt were responsible for the well-being of the land and the worship of their most important representative, Apis, can be traced to Protodynastic times. At an equally early stage in Mesopotamia sacred herds of cattle were ritually fed, and connected with the Earth and Mother-Goddess. The bull as the representative of male fertility was naturally associated with the Earth Mother at an early date. In fact at Çatal Hüyük there seems to be an association between an anthropomorphic goddess and a tauromorphic god; the goddess certainly gives birth to a bull. In fact in Anatolia this concept is continued in the Hattian water gods, who are the consorts of the Earth Goddess and are connected to the chthonic powers by the holes into which they disappear and emerge as springs. The idea may have been in vogue at Çatal Hüyük. Water as the force that fertilizes the earth is thereby also connected with bulls in this capacity.

Similarly in Egypt, Osiris the god of fertility was connected with the Underworld and also embodied in Serapis and Apis, of whom the latter also represented the fertility of the Nile. The primal waters from which the earth was made was also thought of as a cow.

The earth-goddesses of Asia were usually shown as anthropomorphic deities, although they do stand on bulls or can be held by ithyphallic bull men. However if the god of male potency is shown as a bull then it is logical for the Earth-Mother to be depicted as a cow. This is especially true of Egypt where both Hathor and Isis appear in this guise, although in Asia Baal in bovine shape does mate with a heifer, whose form his sister Anat is also capable of assuming.

The bull upon which the earth-mother and fertility-goddess of Anatolia and the Levant stands is often the sacred animal of her consort the Weather God. Her marriage to him is a logical step once the bull represents fertility and water, since the Weather God is seen to dispense the fertilizing rain. Sometimes a Weather God, like Teshub, may displace the earth-goddess' original consort, who may have previously been presented in a more humble vein. Thus the bull is associated with the Weather Gods Teshub, Adad, Amurru, Enlil, Yahweh, El and Baal. As we have just seen the non-existence of a bovine Weather-God in Egypt is due to the peculiar climatic conditions of that country. Possibly the combination of Weather God and bull may have been helped by thunder being likened to a bull's roar, as the name Ramman suggests. In the case of Baal the association between storms, fertility and streams is seen to be particularly close. Weather Gods are also gods

of mountains, where the clouds gather and rivers have their source, and for this reason too they may have been associated with cattle which originally roamed the hills. This point is demonstrated on Mesopotamian seal-cylinders where the figure of a bull is substituted for a mountain.

The other characteristic of the bull, its strength, is symbolized in its offensive and defensive weapons - its horns. Again as early as the time of Çatal Hüyük bulls' horns on pillars seem to be used to ward off evil spirits from the dead, a practice that may also have existed at the Protodynastic tombs of Sakkara. Similarly statues of human-headed bulls guarded Mesopotamian temples. At an early date the gods of Mesopotamia are shown wearing horned helmets. Not only does this symbolize their powers of protection towards suppliants and worshippers but also their destructive ability. Accordingly humans are shown wearing horned helmets and sprouting horns so that they assume in war the fierce characteristics of the animals they imitate. A clear example of this thinking is portrayed on the Palette of Narmer where the king is shown as a bull destroying his enemies.

Thus it is no surprise that throughout the area under discussion gods are invoked as bulls. The titles are sometimes merely figurative but certain of the gods may have been thought of as manifesting themselves in bovine shape. In the Levant and Anatolia bulls are certainly shown to have been worshipped and these probably represent the Weather God. In Egypt the worship of the sacred bull was commonplace.

That the sun was represented as and connected with the bull is possibly due more to the power of the blazing sun rather than its fertilizing properties, since the former is more prominent in lands where water is precious. Thus it is the blazing sun that is represented by the Bull of the Sky in the Epic of Gilgamesh. But probably it was the sun's fertilizing power which was responsible for Mnevis' being solarised. In Egypt where the imagery of the earth was transposed to the sky we find the sky as a cow and the stars as bulls, but in this as in the rest of their religion, the Egyptians' employment of imagery was allowed to run riot.

As strength and fertility are figuratively expressed by bulls with regard to both the Weather God and the Sun, it is not surprising that, as both deities also held sway in the sky, they should be combined to form one deity. So at the end of the Second Millenium Adad and Shamash begin to merge into one deity. Teshub also underwent the same fate, as did Baal. Thus by Greco-Roman times Jupiter (or Zeus) Adados, Heliopolitanus and Dolichenus all appear as sun gods complete with all the attributes of deities of rain and fertility, including the bull.

CHAPTER IV

THE BULL IN FERTILE, CHTHONIC AND VEGETATIVE ROLES

In the last chapter we examined in detail the sort of role the bull was playing in the religions of the various countries to the North, East and South of Crete and the Aegean basin. In this study we were greatly helped in interpreting the archaeological evidence available to us by various inscriptions, invocations, and religious and mythological texts. Unfortunately when one comes to Crete and the Aegean, although writing was practised there in the second millenium B.C. as it was throughout the Near East at the same time, one finds oneself having to work under completely different conditions. The only documents to be preserved (if indeed there was ever any other type) are all in short tablet form and mainly comprise a list of inventories.[1] They cover a long period of time,[2] and although written in two different languages, one of which is still to be deciphered,[3] they only shed, and probably will only shed, a little

1.- Except for a few inscriptions on jars (M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, p.109).

2.- The hieroglyphic script covers the periods MM I - MM III (c.2000-1650 B.C.), which then appears to have been superseded by the linear script known as Linear A, which lasted from MM.IIIb - LM.I (c.1650-1450 B.C.), (Ibid., pp.31-32). Linear A was itself superseded by Linear B in the period LM.II (c.1450-1400 B.C.). (Ibid., pp.28, 37), although the circumstances of the discovery of the Linear B. tablets by Evans have been called into question by L.R. Palmer, who believes that they should be dated to c.1150 B.C. (L. Palmer, Mycenaeans and Minoans, pp.173-320).

3.- Linear B was deciphered by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick as a form of Mycenaean Greek and this achievement has been accepted

light on the problem in question. If there were any Minoan historical records and decrees, or religious texts they have all perished without trace - an unlikely event considering the mass of inventory tablets which have survived. The Minoans presumably used religious hymns and incantations, so we must postulate either that they were not written down or that they were written on perishable material.[1]

This anomaly of Minoan life is paralleled in the fact that there were no free-standing temples in the Minoan world, even though the other civilised nations, with which Crete was in contact, all had them. There were certainly shrines which stood on their own in the country or on mountain-tops,[2] as far as we can judge from representations of them on seals, and there were also the celebrated cave-sanctuaries[3], some of which remained popular from Neolithic right

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by all but the most sceptical (see S. Hood, The Home of the Heroes). On the other hand Linear A is claimed to be Luvian, a language allied to Hittite, by L.R. Palmer, Mycenaeans and Minoans pp.327-353 and "Luvian and Linear A", TPS,1958, pp.57-100, whereas C. Gordon is convinced that it is an early form of Phoenician (see Ugarit and Minoan Crete, pp.29-39; id., The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilisations, pp.206-217, 300-303), and S. Davis contends that the language is "indisputably Hittite" ("The Decipherment of Linear 'A'", in Incunabula Graeca 27 Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, fasc.6, pp.90-110), as is that of the Minoan hieroglyphic script,(id., "Cretan Hieroglyphs: A Minoan Hittite Archive", in op.cit., pp.111-126; id., The Decipherment of the Minoan Linear A and Pictographic Scripts.)

1.- Ventris and Chadwick, op.cit., pp.109-110, give a list of the pros and cons of the likelihood of widespread literacy and the nature of the writing materials.

2.- M.P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, pp.265-272, figs. 130-136.

3.- E.g. the caves of Arkolochori, Kamares, Patso and Psychro and the Idaean and Dictaean Caves. (Nilsson, op.cit., pp.53-76).

down to Roman times.[1] But they can hardly be termed temples in the sense that we know the word, at least no more than a wayside shrine to the Madonna in Italy could be said to be a church. There were also shrines incorporated into the great palaces of Crete, but as far as can be told they were mainly small structures which took up little space in proportion to the rest of the building.[2]

This is not to say that the Minoans were not particularly concerned with religion. In fact the opposite is true. They were devoutly religious, like most peoples at this time, as we can see from their gem and seal engraving, sculpture and fresco-painting. The event for which they have rightly remained famous, the bull leaping, probably had its origins in some powerful religious rite for which both men and women were prepared to risk and sacrifice their lives.[3] But again one feature of the Minoan religion that is so outstanding that Sir Arthur Evans was able to notice it as early as the turn of the century, is its marked aniconic character. In his work "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult" Evans pointed out the large role played by trees, pillars and stones in Mycenaean and Minoan scenes of a religious nature.[4] In considering that trees, pillars, stones and other inanimate objects were the seat of some magical forces, or possessed by certain powerful spirits, which for multifarious reasons

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1.- The Cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos yielded several late Roman lamps (Ibid., p.461).
2.- Ibid., pp.77-116.
3.- See below pp. 343-358.
4.- A. Evans, "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult ", JHS, 21 (1901), pp.99-204. When the article was written Evans did not know of the separate culture on Crete and had yet to coin the term "Minoan".

had to be worshipped, the Minoans were acting no differently from the peoples whose religious beliefs we have just studied. What is remarkable about the Minoan religion is not that such worship was performed (it would be more surprising if it had not), but that by the time of the second millenium B.C. it still baulked so large among their religious practices. In fact for the Minoan religion to be so little advanced along the road from the worship of aniconic objects to anthropomorphism at a time when Crete enjoyed wide contacts with the then civilised world, is nothing short of an anachronism.

Such a conservative and backward-looking religion points, I think, to further implications. The Minoans may have been insular in so far as their religion was concerned, but where building was concerned they were content to introduce into the island a palace style derived from abroad - probably from Syria or southern Anatolia.[1] The earlier palaces which were erected as early as 2000 B.C.[2] or as late as 1850 B.C.[3] according to one's views, were destroyed c.1700 B.C. and immediately rebuilt on a much grander scale. This juncture (the start of MM.IIIb) is taken by some as the date of the invasion of Crete by the Luvian speakers, who introduced Linear A.[4] But this theory leaves many questions unsolved. For example, why were the invaders content to introduce their language and possibly a new style of building construction and nothing else? Had it not been for the

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1.- See above Chapter II, pp. 38-40; 43-44.
2.- J.D.S. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, pp.96-97; J.W. Graham, The Palaces of Crete, p.7.
3.- D. Levi, "Classificazione della Civilità Minoica", p.121; Palmer, op.cit., p.360.
4.- Palmer, op.cit., pp.341-342.

philologists most archaeologists would not have known, indeed did not know, that this invasion had taken place. Some even explained it away as the original Minoans rebuilding their palaces themselves on a more grandiose scale after their destruction by a more than usually disastrous earthquake.[1] No new pottery style was introduced and the old styles continued to change and evolve gradually,[2] and, as far as can be seen, no new religious concepts or practices were introduced from outside.

In a previous chapter it was seen that Neolithic and Early Minoan Crete was merely an offshoot of the culture of the Anatolian mainland.[3] Subsequently we saw that when the people in Anatolia were overrun by the Hittites the religions of the two races coalesced to form a synthesis in which the Hattian mother-goddess (with possibly her weather-cum-water gods) was very prominent, but that the head of the pantheon was the Hittite (or Hurrian) father-god and weather-god Teshub, with his various associates and attributes.[4] This example serves to show the resilience of the indigenous beliefs, although the religion of the invaders may be still very much to the fore. One would thus expect a similar chain of events to have occurred in Crete if a race akin to the Hittites had invaded a largely indigenous Anatolian people. That this did not happen can be explained either be-

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1.- Pendlebury, op.cit., pp.149-154. But now taking the opportunity to employ the architectural designs the Minoans had observed abroad. (See above p.205 n.1).

2.- Ibid., pp.158-164. Minor changes do occur and MM.III shows if anything a decline of the high standard of MM.II.

3.- The problems of a very early migration from Egypt has been discussed and found to be unlikely (see above pp.14-27).

4.- See above pp.107-108.

cause the invaders did not arrive in great numbers, became a ruling caste who quickly assimilated the beliefs and customs of the natives, and were unable to stamp their own identity upon the culture they had just entered,[1] or because the Luvian invasion exists only in the minds of certain philologists.

Under these circumstances one should expect to find that the religion of Crete will contain some very primitive ideas - ideas that had not yet been veiled by a sophisticated mythology. It is also extremely unlikely that any complicated system of theology had yet come into operation. We know from the Linear B tablets that the Mycenaeans had introduced the majority of the later Greek gods into Greece some time during the second millenium,[2] and had brought them to Crete perhaps as early as 1450 B.C., but definitely by 1400 B.C.,[3] but it is extremely difficult to discern the influence this may have had on Minoan religion. The Mycenaeans introduced gods different from those of the Minoans, although so complete was the "Minoanization" of the Mainland that from their art it is difficult to differentiate between the two.[4] It is not likely that the Minoan religion would have been

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1.- If Linear A is proved beyond all possible doubt to be a form of Luvian then it seems to me that certain events along these lines must have taken place.

2.- Ventris and Chadwick, op.cit., pp.125-129; and see M. Gerard-Rousseau, Les Mentions Religieuses dans les Tablettes Myceniennes.

3.- If the Mycenaeans occupied Cnossos from 1450-1400 B.C. (as claimed by many scholars including A.J.B. Wace and C.W. Blegen, Excavations at Mycenae, 1939; W. Taylour, The Mycenaeans, pp.167-168) then the tablets would date from this period. But if they caused the partial destruction of the palace in LM.III and then occupied it (as Palmer, op.cit., pp.173-320 claims), they must date to c.1150 B.C.

4.- Evans thought that during MM.III colonists from Crete established

greatly influenced by anything the Mycenaeans had to offer, if we can argue from the innate conservatism of that religion. Not, that is until LM.III, the last possible period for the arrival of Mycenaeans in Crete.

Generally speaking any object found in Crete and dating to before LM.III should give a true picture of the religious practices of the island, but finds of a mainland origin or from sites in the Aegean may be subject to extraneous influences and should be treated with caution if they add anything radically different to the picture of Minoan religion.

Returning briefly to the question of religious conservatism, it is extremely unlikely that any religious beliefs or concepts of the other neighbours of Crete would have gained a footing on the island unless they bore a close relationship to the beliefs already in vogue there. Certainly foreign influence can be discerned in the field of Minoan religion but it only touches the fringe and not the main stream of religious practice, and anything to do with religion that the Minoans imported seems to have been specially adapted to fit in with their current religious views.[1]

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an empire on the Greek Mainland (id. "The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life, JHS, 32 (1912) pp.277-297; The Palace of Minos, 1.23-24); he was followed by Pendlebury, op.cit., pp. 286-287. But this theory has fallen out of favour and it now seems that the culturally impoverished Mycenaeans provided an eager market for Minoan goods and works of art, which they later imitated successfully. The legends preserved in the Atheman tradition of the punitive raids of Minos indicate however that some attempt may have been made by the Minoans to exploit their neighbours to the North.

1.- I am thinking in particular of the Egyptian goddess Taurt, upon whose duties as goddess of childbirth and overseeing the "Soul

Since the contemporary records of the Minoans and Mycenaeans provide us with little help in elucidating the role of the bull in Minoan religion, we have to turn for help to the mytholigical material contained in the writings of certain classical authors. Here of course the dangers cannot be too emphatically stressed. Most of the evidence that survives was written down more than a thousand years after the events which they purport to describe, while nearly all are based on other literary sources which have since been irrevocably lost. Apart from the general error which is bound to creep into these accounts, there is the added danger that classical authors will interpret the legends and myths, in the form in which they receive them, according to their own personal beliefs or philosophical methods of the day. These opinions can of course be evaluated for what they are worth and either discarded or endorsed. But just as in copying manuscripts, as the unintelligent scribe will make mistakes that are easy to spot and rectify, but the clever scribe will make what he thinks are corrections to the text which only serve to make the original text of the archetype even harder to determine, so an

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of Typhon", I have touched briefly (above pp.188-190). I believe that Evans, op.cit., 4.430-446, figs.354-369, is correct in claiming that this goddess provided the direct inspiration for the so-called Minoan genius, which appears on so many seals. Possibly it was through the Minoans' love for hybrid figures on seals (see D. Hogarth, "The Zakro Sealings", pp.76-93, for multiple examples of composite creatures), that the Taurt-style genius became popular throughout Crete. But I believe that Evans was wrong when he saw astral connections taken over from Egyptian theology in a seal that shows a genius carrying a stag with two star-shaped objects in the foreground. (Evans, op.cit., 4, 441, fig.364.) Similarly in a sealing in which a genius walks behind a human-legged lion in front of which appear two bovine hind legs, I think Evans goes too far in describing those legs as "a reminiscence of the 'ox-leg' or khopsh sign of Set" (Ibid. 4.441, fig.365).

author, who holds obviously late opinions on an old legend, which he states after giving the facts of that legend, or worse, rewrites the legend to conform with his explanation of it,[1] is less of a menace than an author whose work contains legend and myth interspersed with explanatory notes; especially if the latter serves as the source of another author's work, in which it is reproduced as pure legend or fact, after which the original work disappears to leave us extra details of a myth or legend from a later source, the origin of which we are unable to trace.[2] Thus in using classical authors to help in interpreting the religion of Minoan Crete the rule to follow is that the earlier the author the more likely is his account to have a better bearing on the truth.[3] But such information cannot be admitted if it

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1.- For example Plutarch, Theseus, 16 and 19, following the euhemerist tradition of Demon and Philochorus, offers the explanation of the Minotaur as being the admiral of Minos' fleet who happened to be called "Bull". But even this explanation is followed by one "scholar" who claims that "The first Achaean king of the island (sc. Crete) (legendary tradition gives him the name of Taurus, or Bull, and equates him with Zeus) made an expedition to Tyre, etc., etc." (J. Zafiropulo, Mead and Wine, pp.11-12).

2.- What is, I believe, an example of this second type is a very late lexicographical note to the effect that the words ἀδιούνιος ταῦρος was the Cretan name for the sun (I. Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, 1. 344), since when it wanted the site of a city to be changed, it led the way in the form of a bull. If this claim is not just sheer invention on the late author's part, then his source must be one that is lost to us, and all sorts of influences could have been at work on it in the meantime, so that acceptance at face-value of such late "throw-away" lines as these should be subject to the utmost caution.

3.- Again, if one can apply an analogy from the tradition of manuscripts, if two manuscripts contain variant readings it is not always the later manuscript which contains the worse readings, if that manuscript itself is copied from a source more faithful to the archetype. Thus is mythology a work of first century A.D. date may be more useful if it is based on a lost work of the sixth century B.C. than a first century B.C. work based on a work

runs counter to what the archaeological evidence tells us about the religion of the Minoans and Mycenaeans.

In the large Neolithic "tell" under the Palace of Cnossos cattle bones have been found in all levels including the earliest.[1] Their excavator believes that the remains are those of domesticated animals, since the earliest inhabitants of Crete were already settled farmers living in permanent villages or towns.[2] The bones are those of the indigenous breed of cattle, called Bos Creticus, a short-horned variety as is borne out by the representations of it in figurines. Clay and terracotta figurines of a variety of animals, but predominantly cattle, occur in the upper levels of the Neolithic mound at Cnossos,[3] one of which can definitely be identified as a bull.[4] One interesting feature of these deposits is that female human figurines greatly outnumber male figurines, although the numbers of each are not great and several are of an indeterminate sex.[5]

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of fourth century B.C. date. Ultimately of course all mythological works that survive glean their material from other works until one arrives back at the original oral tradition. So in a sense all sources should be subject to the same scrutiny.

1.- J.D. Evans, "Excavations in the Neolithic Settlement of Knossos, 1957-60, Part I", p.140; id.,"Cretan Cattle-Cults and Sports" in A. Mourant and F. Zeuner, Man and Cattle, p.139.

2.- Ibid., loc.cit. (cf. also V.G. Childe, The Dawn of European Civilisation, p.22.)

3.- Id., "Excavations in the Neolithic Settlement of Knossos", p.238. Most of the cattle figurines come from level IV, although what may be a bull's head was found in level V (Ibid., p.226 fig.60, 23). Levels III and II also produced cattle figurines (Ibid., p.226, figs. 60 nos.17-19, 22, 24, 25 from level IV; fig.60, 20 from level III; fig.60,21 from level II). Cf. also A.J. Evans, The Palace of Minos at Cnossos, 1.44, fig.11, 4a,b.

4.- J.D. Evans, op.cit., p.226, fig.60,26 (from level IV).

5.- Ibid., pp.236-237, and figs. 62-64; A.J. Evans, op.cit., 1.45-47, fig.12.

Figurines of cattle were also found in the neolithic levels of several cave sanctuaries,[1] and this was a custom which far from dying out increases greatly during the Middle Minoan Period,[2] some caves only coming into use as sanctuaries for the first time during this period.[3] Most of the cave-cults died out after the Late Minoan Period, although some did survive to the Geometric Period and later.[4] and the Cave of Zeus on the summit of Mount Ida did not come into use until the Geometric and Orientalizing Periods.[5] During this whole period votive bovine figurines were being deposited inter alia

1.- E.g. a votive bull was found in the Neolithic level of the Cave of Eileithyia (Heraclion Museum, no.2734).

2.- E.g. The Cave of Patso, where several figurines of bulls and goats were found (M.P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, pp.67, 460).

3.- E.g. The"Dictaean" Cave of Psychro consists of a double cave, an upper chamber whence came the majority of the bovine figures and a lower chamber which contained almost all the human figurines. It appears that the upper chamber was used at the end of the Middle Minoan Period, and the lower one came into use during the Late Minoan Period when the cave was most used. (D.G. Hogarth, "The Dictaean Cave", pp.114-116; R.M. Dawkins, "The Excavation of the Kamares Cave in Crete", p.33; Nilsson, op.cit., pp.63-64). Votive bronze bulls and a small chariot drawn by oxen(Heraclion Museum, no.417) were among the finds (S. Alexiou, Guide to the Archaeological Museum of Heraclion,p.68, where the finds are said to be from the Idaean Cave instead of the Dictaean; Hogarth, op. cit., p.108 fig.39.) A bronze figurine of a bull was found by chance in the cave at a much later date (Cretica Chronica, 1 (1947), p.637). The votive bulls of the Middle Minoan period are uniformly shown in a standing position (A.J. Evans, "On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure", p.247.)

4.- The Cave of Psychro was used up to the Geometric Period (Dawkins, op.cit., p.33); but the Cave of Patso continued into Classical times, when it was known as the Cave of Hermes Cranaeus. (F. Halbherr, "Scoperti nel Santuario di Hermes Craneo", p.913); and the Cave of Eileithyia endured until Roman times (see above p.204 note 1).

5.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.65. Bronze votive figurines of bulls were found, and a number of charcoal layers containing burned animal bones as well as several ox-skulls with horns attached (F. Halbherr, "Scavi e Trovamenti nell'Antro di Zeus sul Monte Ida", pp.689-768).

in these caves, showing not only the continuing use of the sanctuaries but possibly a continuation of religious thought and practice. One point of interest is that the same types of object are not reported from all the cave-sanctuaries, in some of which figurines of cattle are conspicuous only by their absence.[1] From this it would seem that certain caves were deemed sacred to a deity or deities who were primarily concerned with cattle in one form or other, whereas other cave sanctuaries were not sacred to such deities and figurines of cattle had no place in them.

Apart from the cave sanctuaries, there were also sanctuaries placed near the summit of mountains, of which the most famous are at Petsofa and Juktas. These sanctuaries are commonly known as "peak sanctuaries" and date from MM.I.[2] Both these sanctuaries had common features in that the votive figurines found in them were mingled with a mass of charcoal and ashes - evidence that they had been thrown onto fires. Besides male and female human terracottas, those of cattle predominated, although almost every conceivable species of animal was represented. Limbs of both humans and animals

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1.- The Kamares Cave, or Mavrospelion, managed to produce only three objects of a votive nature - two oxen heads, and the body of what looks like a pig (Dawkins, op.cit., p.32; cf. L. Mariani, "Antichità Cretesi", Monumenti Antichi, 6 (1895) p.333, pl.X, 20, 22, 24). Likewise the Cave of Arkolochori, while producing innumerable knife-blades and double axes, failed to yield one votive figurine (J. Hazzidakis, "An Early Minoan Sacred Cave at Arkolokhori in Crete", pp.44-46). The cave had, however, been previously ransacked by peasants, but it is unlikely that they could have destroyed all trace of votive figures whether of metal or clay. (Ibid., p.37.)

2.- A.J. Evans, op.cit., 1.151; Nilsson, op.cit., pp.70-71.

also occurred, and clay horns of oxen were quite numerous.[1] Apart from these two shrines similar figurines were found on the acropolis of Pano Zakro,[2] and nearby figurines of oxen and clay horns were also found in fire-reddened earth.[3]

In contrast to the large numbers of cattle figurines found at both cave and peak sanctuaries such objects are noticeably absent from almost all Minoan graves, houses and palace shrines. It is true that clay figurines resembling oxen were discovered in burials outside the tholos tombs at Kumasa,[4] and irregular finds of figurines of cattle have been made at Palaikastro,[5] Mallia, Sitia and other places,[6] but the Palace of Cnossos yielded only one bronze figurine of a bull.[7] This scarcity is even more marked when it is compared with the mass of bovine figurines from the cave and peak sanctuaries. Such concentrations of this type of figurine are only paralleled by one other Minoan site - the LM.III "Piazzale dei Sacelli" at Hagia

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1.- Petsofa: J.L. Myres, "The Sanctuary Site of Petsofa", pp.356-358; cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.151-153, fig.111. (cf. Heraclion Museum, nos. 9844-5, 9847, 9849). Juktas: Evans, op.cit., 1.153-159; Nilsson, op.cit., pp.71-72.

2.- Evans, op.cit., 1.151; Nilsson, op.cit., pp.70-71; the finds are now in the Ashmolean Museum, some of which have been published by L. Mariani, op.cit., p.176, fig.5; p.182, fig.17.

3.- R.C. Bosanquet, "Excavations at Palaikastro II", p.276. Fragments of bulls' heads and a small votive bull were found at the peak sanctuary of Cophinas (Asterousia) and date to the Middle Minoan Period (Heraclion Museum nos.14114-20 and 14122 respectively).

4.- S.A. Xanthoudides, The Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara, p.42, pl. XXX, 4309, 5049.

5.- R.M. Dawkins, "The Excavations at Palaikastro II", p.292; Alexiou, op.cit., p.79.

6.- Alexiou, op.cit., p.71: Heraclion Museum all numbered 2033; ibid., p.41: H.M. nos.16569.

7.- Evans, op.cit., 4.3. The figurine was found in a pit among a mass of votive pottery under the S.W. Columnar Chamber.

Triada.

This site, called the area of the little chapels by its Italian excavators, is situated to the West of the Villa of Hagia Triada and produced a great mass of votive objects of bronze and terracotta, of which bulls and cows formed the majority.[1] The bronze figurines were very small,[2] but on the other hand the terracotta animals were quite large, although only surviving in fragments, and were painted red or brown in Late Minoan and Subminoan styles.[3] Certain of the larger terracottas had wheelmade bodies with handmade limbs, a process which originates about 1200 B.C.[4] and is exemplified in a terracotta bull of LM.III date from Phaestos.[5]

Such a concentration of bovine figurines from a site which was neither a cave nor a peak sanctuary is exceptional in Crete, where inhabited sites have produced so few of these objects; but a clue to the appearance of the Hagia Triada deposit may lie in its date. None of the votive material unearthed can be dated earlier than LM.III and during this same period the site was reoccupied after its destruction

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1.- L. Banti, "I Culti Minoici e Greci di Haghia Triada", pp.52-54. Apart from the usual standing bulls and cows, one figurine showed a cow suckling a calf, and fragments of votive horses were found (ibid., pp.53-54, figs.36-38; Heraclion Museum, nos.3122-3124). The other finds included male and female figurines, composite monsters, small bronze double-axes, and "horns of consecration".

2.- Ibid., p.52. cf. Heraclion Museum, case 102.

3.- Ibid., pp.52-53, figs.31-35 (cf. H.M. nos.3105-3111; 3115-6; 3118; 3121; 3129; 3142-4, etc.). Of most of them only the head or body survives.

4.- R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art, p.127.

5.- Ibid., p.127 fig.154. The front half of a similar bull was also found at Phaestos (Heraclion Museum, no.1765).

at the end of LM.Ib, when a megaron was built over part of the villa.[1] Since the megaron is a characteristic building of the Mainland this indicates that the site was inhabited after a break by Mycenaeans, to whom the votive deposits must be attributed. This squares well with what is known of the Mycenaean customs of depositing votive figurines on the Mainland.

Schliemann found numerous terracotta oxen at Tiryns[2] and Mycenae, seven hundred from the acropolis of the latter alone,[3] which he took to be effigies of Hera in cow-shape.[4] His conclusions are open to doubt but the Argive Heraeum, which appears to have been built over a Mycenaean palace, has yielded a few terracotta bovine figurines from the Mycenaean levels,[5] and bronze figurines of cattle from the Hellenic strata.[6] This continuity of cult has been observed at several of the major cult-centres of Greece. At Delphi rich Mycenaean remains have been found under the foundations of the temple of Apollo, including several votive figurines of cattle,[7] and in the area of the Marmaria a votive bronze bull came to light in the Geometric stratum.[8] Similarly bovine figurines of Mycenaean date were found under the temple of Apollo at Amyclae, which was said to incorporate the tomb of Hyacinthus, the pre-Greek god whose position Apollo usurped.[9]

1.- J.D.S. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, pp.228, 240-241; D. Mackenzie, "Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilisation,"p.220.
2.- H. Schliemann, Mycenae and Tiryns, pp.10-12, figs.2-6; id., Tiryns, p.164 pl.XXIVa,b.
3.- H. Schliemann, Mycenae and Tiryns, pp.73-74, figs.114-119.
4.- Ibid., pp.19-22.
5.- C. Waldstein, The Argive Heraeum, 2.23.
6.- Ibid., 2.201-203, pl.75, nos.23-27.
7.- P. Perdrizet, Fouilles de Delphes, 5.14-15, fig.61.
8.- B.C.H., 46 (1922), pp.506-9.
9.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.470-471; M.N. Tod and A.B. Wace, A Catalogue

Finally 150 terracotta figurines of bulls were found among a great heap of Mycenaean remains which was deposited as a result of the process of levelling the ground to rebuild the temple of Aphaea on Aegina in Hellenic times.[1]

These deposits of votive animals from Mycenaean town and palace sites are in complete contrast to the custom on Crete, all of which points to the votive deposit in the "Piazzale dei Sacelli" being due to beliefs introduced by the invading Mycenaeans. Another feature which distinguishes the Mycenaean from the Minoan religion is that the latter rarely buried figurines especially those of cattle with their dead,[2] whereas this is a common custom in Mycenaean inhumations.[3] M.P. Nilsson points out that where more than one female figurine occurs they are always accompanied by bovine figures, and that as far as Mycenaean tombs are concerned the poorer the grave the larger the number of figurines buried in it. From this he justifiably concludes that the figurines are offerings to the dead for use in the afterlife.[4]

The large deposits whether from caves, peaks or palaces must of

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of the Sparta Museum, pp.236, 244.

1.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.306, 472; H. Thiersch in A. Furtwaengler, Aegina. Das Heiligtum der Aphaia, 1.374, pl.109. More or less every Mycenaean site has produced votive bovine figurines in varying quantities e.g. Very few were found in the site of Pylos (C.W. Blegen, The Palace of Nestor, 1.141, 234, 247, 184, 186; 2. fig.301, nos.1-3, 10, 13), which contrasts dramatically with a deposit found at Hagia Triada, south of Hagios Georgios in the Argolid (Nilsson, op.cit., p.307; Arch. Anz., 28(1913), p.116).

2.- The figurines found in the burials at Kumasa may be the exception to this rule.

3.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.307.

4.- Ibid., loc.cit.

necessity be of a different nature, and may be votive representations of the actual animals, which the donor is too poor to give, or of which there are too few to spare. Miss Banti[1] is clearly right in rejecting the theory of E. Sjoeqvist that the figurines at Hagia Triada are representations of the deity,[2] since bovine figurines are not the only type to occur. G. Thomson's suggestion that the figurines of cattle represent the diseased beasts of the owner, who makes models of them which he dedicates to a deity of healing,[3] is more plausible especially as such customs were practised in Hellenic times,[4] and at Petsofa human heads and limbs pierced for suspension were found with the animal figurines.[5] This prompted Thomson to draw the parallel again with a Hellenic custom of devoting effigies of the ailing parts of the body to a god of healing.[6] But M.P. Nilsson has again pointed out that only separate limbs and heads occur at Petsofa, not to mention figurines cloven from groin to neck, which would seem to indicate that some other explanation of these figurines may be necessary.[7] At any rate such an explanation would only apply to the

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1.- L. Banti, "I Culti Minoici e Greci di Haghia Triada", p.64.
2.- E. Sjoeqvist, "Die Kultgeschichte eines Cyprischen Temenos", p.318. Sjoeqvist's argument is concerned with the Cypriote sanctuary of Hagia Eirene, but the circumstances of the cult carried on there are similar to those of Hagia Triada. Miss Banti herself believes that the cult at Hagia Triada was that of a protecting goddess of agriculture.
3.- G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, p.246.
4.- Cf. L.R. Famell, Cults of the Greek States, 1.5.9. At Hyampolis in Phocis whatever cattle were pronounced sacred to Artemis were said to remain free from disease (Pausanias, 10.35.7.).
5.- J.L. Myres, "The Sanctuary Site of Petsofa", p.358.
6.- Ibid., loc.cit. W.H.D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings, p.211.
7.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.74. But see below pp.234-235.

peak sanctuary of Petsofa. The other deposits would still need to be explained.

Probably most votive figurines of animals dedicated at Greek temples were donated in lieu of the actual animal sacrifice. For example the sixth century temple of Dictaean Zeus at Palaikastro produced small bronze figures of oxen.[1] Possibly a continuation of a Minoan cult was practised here since the temple was built over the remains of the Minoan town, in which a larger proportion of votive cattle than is usual in Minoan city-sites came to light.[2] Bronze figurines of oxen were a favourite votive gift to Zeus, probably because the animals were so often sacrificed to him.[3] Near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea a bronze bull dated to the middle of the fourth century B.C. was discovered with the dedicatory inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ.[4] The practice of inscribing the dedication on the side or flank of the votive animal begins in the sixth century B.C.[5] A late sixth or early fifth century bronze bull from the acropolis at Sparta bears the inscription ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΣ along its back.[6] Other votive bulls of bronze and lead from the sanctuary of the Cabeiri in Boeotia dating to the second half of the fifth century bear inscriptions which,

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1.- R.C. Bosanquet, "The Temple at Palaikastro", p.66. Also found were four shields of Orientalizing type, miniature armour and tripods. But see below p. 399
2.- See above p. 214 n. 5
3.- See below p. 233 n. 4.
4.- H.N. Couch, "An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull", pp.45, 47, figs. 1-2.
5.- Ibid., p.46.
6.- W. Lamb, "Excavations at Sparta 1927: Bronzes from the Acropolis, 1924-7", pp.89-90, figs 4, 13. Figure 4,15 shows another example of a bronze votive bull of the same date but without any inscription.

probably due to religious conservatism, are written in an archaic style.[1]

The discoveries at the sanctuary of the Cabeiri (also called the Cabirion[2]) are most important since they produced almost 500 lead and bronze figurines, most of which were of bulls, although not all of them bore inscriptions.[3] This provides the closest parallel to the votive deposits at the Mycenaean sites and Minoan cave and peak sanctuaries. It is also interesting to note that this quantity of votive animals comes not from a temple of a major deity but from the relatively obscure demi-gods, the Cabeiri.

Tradition has it that the Cabeiri originated in Phrygia and the area around the Hellespont.[4] In the minds of classical authors the Cabeiri were inextricably mixed up with three other groups of demi-gods - the Corybantes, the Idaean Dactyls and the Curetes.[5] The Corybantes had their great cult centre on the island of Samothrace, and although probably different in origin from the Cabeiri were identi-

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1.- B. Graef, "Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben: Gegenstaende aus Bronze und Blei", p.369, pl.14, 1,2,3. P. Girard, "Un Nouveau Bronze du Kabirion", pl.XX shows a bronze ox with the inscription written on it in boustrophedon style.

2.- Pausanias, 9.26.1.

3.- Graef, op.cit., pp.365-9. Girard, op.cit., p.158 n.2 and A.H.P. de Ridder, Les Bronzes Antiques du Louvre, 1. figs.177, 180-182, pl.19 list a number of votive bronze bulls now in the Louvre which probably came originally from the sanctuary of the Cabeiri.

4.- The Cabeiri are said to be most honoured in Imbros and Lemnos, and the cities of the Troad, (Strabo, 473 (10.3.21)).

5.- For the utter confusion that must have existed between these groups Strabo's account of their origins and connections, taken as it is from conflicting earlier sources, most of which attempted explanations and inter-relations of the four groups, is most illuminating (Strabo, 471-2 (10.3.19-22)).

fied with them,[1] since the latter were also known as the Samothracian Gods.[2] The Idaean Dactyls are also said to have come from Phrygia where they lived on Mount Ida and were attendants of the Great Earth Mother, Cybele or Rhea.[3] The last of the groups, the Curetes, provide the clue for unravelling the intricate network of threads which connected all four groups in the minds of the ancients. Strabo reports a tradition that the Idaean Dactyls were the parents of the Corybantes and Curetes.[4] Now the Curetes are firmly established on Crete in Greek myth as the ministrants of Rhea, who drowned the cries of the infant Zeus in the Dictaean Cave with the clashing of their arms as they danced;[5] but Strabo can still quote authorities who claimed that the Curetes were summoned from Phrygia to Crete by Rhea.[6] Strabo himself, however, has enough good sense to see that this piece of mythologising has come about through the existence in both Phrygia and Crete of places, and especially mountains, having the same name. Thus there is a Mount Ida in both places,

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1.- Strabo, 472 (10.3.19).
2.- E.g. Philostratus, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, 2.43. See O.Kern, "Kabeiros und Kabeiroi" in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 10. 1423-1437.
3.- Strabo, 473 (10.3.22).
4.- Ibid., loc.cit.. O. Immisch in W.H. Roscher, Lexicon der Griechischen und Roemischen Mythologie, 2. 1587-1628 actually treats the Corybantes and Curetes in the same article.
5.- Callimachus, Hymn to Zeus, 51-53; Strabo 468 (10.3.11), 472 (10. 3.19); Apollodorus, 1.1.7. Other sources stated that the Curetes were Acarnanians or Euboeans according to Strabo (463 (10. 3.1.)) cf. 465-7 (10.3. 6-8), and Homer (Iliad 9.529; 14.116-7) mentions them as Aetolians who lived in the region of Pleuron.
6.- Strabo, 472 (10.3.19) says that Hellanicus in his Phoronis calls the Curetes "Phrygians". Euripides in the Bacchae, 120ff manages to connect the Curetes with the Corybantes and Phrygia.

and Dicte is the name of a mountain in Crete and place in Phrygia.[1]

But it took more than a mere chance of identical names in different localities to connect the Curetes with the three other groups, all of whom seem to have a Phrygo-Thracian origin. All four groups were the attendants and ministrants upon one form of the Great Earth Mother. The Curetes and the Idaean Dactyls, as has already been stated, attended upon Rhea in Crete and Cybele or Rhea in the Troad respectively, the Corybantes or Cabeiri in Samothrace were ministrants of Rhea or Demeter,[2] and the Cabirion in Boeotia was only seven stades from the grove of Demeter Cabeiria and Kore.[3] Both on Samothrace and Lemnos, and at the Cabirion in Boeotia mysteries were performed;[4] only initiates were allowed to enter the grove of Demeter Cabeiria.[5] The Corybantes, Cabeiri and Curetes were renowned in mythology for their ecstatic dancing which gave their names to actual dancing steps.[6]

To return to the votive bronze bulls found at the Cabirion. The Cabeiri, ministrants of the Earth Mother, this time in the guise of Demeter, and ecstatic dancers were without much doubt deities of

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1.- Strabo, 472 (10.3.20). The name Ida, like the other famous and widespread name for a mountain Olympus, is certainly of pre-Greek origin and must date from a time when the regions concerned were inhabited by the same pre-Greek race (J. Schmidt, "Olympos" in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 18.258; Buerchner, "Ida" in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 9.858; A Fick, Vorgriechischen Ortsnamen, p.10)

2.- Strabo, 472 (10.3.19). H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, p.170.

3.- Pausanias, 9.25.5.

4.- Strabo, loc.cit and Pausanias, loc.cit; cf. 4.1.5.

5.- Pausanias, 9.25.5.

6.- Strabo, 470 (10.3.13); 473 (10.3.21).

fertility.[1] Macedonian coins show Cabeiros standing by an altar and holding a cornucopia.[2] Herodotus states that the Athenians were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and that they were taught to do this by the indigenous Pelasgians, who used to live in Samothrace, and that anyone initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri would take his meaning.[3] Ithyphallic statues of Hermes have been found on both Samothrace and Lemnos.[4] The introduction of the Pelasgians into Herodotus' narrative is his method of demonstrating how old he thought cult of the phallic Hermes and the mysteries of the Cabeiri must be. Probably he is not far wrong since the phallic herm as a magic symbol of fertility is a continuation of a very primitive idea, by no means confined by the boundaries of Greece. It is therefore of great significance that in the sanctuary of these primitive gods of fertility and increase, who are associated with the primitive phallic Hermae, some of the bronze votive bulls should be shown to be ithyphallic.[5] From this evidence it would seem to be a fair inference that the Cabirion in Boeotia, if perhaps not a sanctuary of demi-gods who watched over herds, was at least sacred to deities of fertility who acquired a special dispensation for ensuring the increase of cattle.

Similar to the practice of dedicating votive bulls at the

1.- Rose, op.cit., p.172.
2.- A. Cook, Zeus, pp.108-9, figs.79-81.
3.- Herodotus, 2.51.
4.- O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 10.1424-5, 1443.
5.- B. Graef, op.cit., p.369.

Cabirion was that at the sanctuary of Ptoan Apollo, also located in Boeotia, where another group of votive bronze bulls was found,[1] This sanctuary of Apollo was situated on a mountain, which was called after the hero Ptous,[2] whose name has not been successfully explained by philologists attempting to derive it from Greek stems, and it is therefore probably of pre-Greek origin.[3] On a large scale the Plataeans dedicated a statue of an ox in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi in gratitude for the victory over the Persians, and the Carystaeans of Euboea also set up a bronze ox in the same place made out of spoils from the Persian War.[4] Why did they both choose to dedicate statues of oxen? Pausanias suggests that one of the benefits the dedicators secured by expelling the invaders was the freedom to tilltheir own soil.[5] But he is only guessing. It may be coincidence, but two of the Mycenaean sites upon which Apollo's temples were later founded have yielded numerous votive cattle - Delphi and Amyclae.[6] The latter was originally sacred to the pre-Greek god, Hyacinthus, who, to judge from his name and mythology was a minor vegetation god.[7] Delphi, before the days of Apollo, seems to have been sacred to the Earth Mother,[8] but the custom of dedicating votive cattle continued there until Geometric times when they were intended

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1.- H.N. Couch, "An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull", p.46 n.2; W. Lamb, Greek and Roman Bronzes, p.104.
2.- Pausanias, 9.23.6.
3.- G. Radke in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 23.1889.
4.- Pausanias, 10.15.1. and 10.16.6. respectively.
5.- Ibid., 10.16.6.
6.- See above p. 216
7.- Euripides, Helen, 1469-1475; Apollodorus, 1.3.2; 3.10.3; Pausanias, 3.19. 4-5; L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 4.125, 264-267, 419-420.
8.- Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 3.300-304; Apollodorus, 1.4.1;

for Apollo.[1]

Whatever attributes Apollo was later to acquire it is clear that either before his entry into Greece or directly as a result of it he either was or became a deity whose special responsibility was the protection of herds and flocks. This is merely one natural step further from being a god who ensures the fertility of the animals. His true nature shines through when in recompense for the slaughter of the Cyclops, he serves Admetus king of Pherae as a herdsman and the cattle accordingly thrive and increase prodigiously in number.[2] A doublet of this story is provided by the legend that he also served Laomedon, king of Troy, as a herdsman, only this time for hire.[3] When he did not receive his reward he retaliated by sending a pestilence against the city.[4] In fact throughout Greece in classical times Apollo is well attested as a god of herding. He was known by the epithet Nomios at Epidaurus[5] and in Arcadia[6] and Corcyra,[7] and Servius claims that the bucolic song was sacred to Apollo Nomios,

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Farnell, op.cit., 3.9; 4.180.

1.- See above p. 216

2.- All Admetus' cows and ewes produced twins (Apollodorus, 1.9.15; 3.10.4. Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, 47-54), which is the sort of thing that would be expected of a fertility god.

3.- Iliad, 21, 441-457 says that Poseidon fortified the walls of Troy and Apollo tended Laomedon's cattle on Mt. Ida, but earlier in the epic they are both said to fortify the walls (Iliad, 7.452-453). Perhaps Apollo's later change of employment is due to the popularity of the legend concerning his work for Admetus.

4.- Apollodorus, 2.5.9.

5.- Farnell, op.cit., 4.123; Eph. Arch., 1884, col.27. Inscription of 2 B.C. Ἀπόλλωνος Νομίου Νίκων Διοκλέους πυρφορήσας.

6.- Cicero, De Deorum Natura, 3.57.

7.- Apollonius Rhodius, 4.1215-7.

from the time that he attended the herds of Admetus.[1] He also had his own famous herd which Hermes stole.[2] On the banks of the river Carnion in Arcadia near the Messenian border, there was a temple of Apollo Κερεάτας, the god of horned cattle,[3] while the Boeotians called the god Γαλάξιος believing that the abundance of milk in their herds and flocks was due to the presence of the god in their midst.[4] Nor was Apollo only concerned with cattle, since the epithets Epimelios at Camira, Poemnios and Arnocomes on Naxos, and Napaeos on Lesbos[5] show that he was also thought of as a protective deity of sheep. H.J. Rose has already pointed out that the bow and the lyre are ideal

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1.- Servius ad Eclogarum Proemium. Pausanias, 7.20.3, says that at the sanctuary of Apollo at Patrae there was a bronze statue of Apollo standing with one foot resting on an ox's skull. Pausanias believes that this is a reference to the time he herded cattle for Laomedon. This would be a rather obscure way of alluding to a legend that had no particular relevance at Patrae; but I think Pausanias is on the right lines in that it has some connection with Apollo's pastoral aspects, probably in the narrower sphere of protecting and ensuring the reproduction of the local herds.

Another interesting point is that Theseus, according to Plutarch, Theseus, 14 and Diodorus, 4.59, sacrificed the Marathonian bull to Apollo. The reason for Apollo's being selected as deity to whom this magnificent specimen was immolated must surely be that the god had a special responsibility for the herding of cattle, especially as there were deities who could logically lay a greater claim for the bull to be dedicated to them; Athena for example, as patron goddess of Attica (in fact Pausanias, 1. 27.10, does say the bull was sacrificed to her), or Poseidon, who sent the bull in the first place (Apollodorus, 2.5.7; Pausanias, 1.27.9), and who was reputed to be the real father of Theseus (Plutarch, op.cit., 3.).

2.- Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 17-18, 68ff.

3.- Pausanias, 8.34.5. Farnell, loc.cit., hazards the opinion that the god may have been imagined as horned himself.

4.- Plutarch, De Pyth. Orac. 409 A.

5.- Macrobius, Sat., 1.17.43.

attributes for a god of pasturing flocks to possess.[1]

A very illuminating story said to come from Polemon is preserved by a scholiast on the Iliad, 1.39. Crinis, the priest of Apollo at Cryse in Mysia, had in some way annoyed the god who punished him by sending a plague of mice which ruined his crops. When his anger relented Apollo visited Ordes, Crinis' head-herdsman, was entertained as a guest and shot all the mice. Having accomplished his mission the god then produced a cult-statue which he told Ordes to show to Crinis, who upon learning the truth, founded a temple to Apollo, called the Smintheon. The story, a palpable aetiological myth, is however also depicted on certain Roman coin-types of Alexandria Troas, which have the founding of the Smintheon as their subject. The coins show a cave above which is the cult statue of Apollo Smintheus, and in front of which stands a man, presumably Ordes, who raises his right hand in a gesture either of adoration or amazement. Behind him a bull gallops off in fright with its head turned back towards the cave.[2]

If we examine this myth carefully, two important points emerge. Why does Apollo's head-priest employ a herdsman, whom Apollo visits? Answer, because the cattle that Crinis owns, belong, in fact, not to him but to the god Apollo, whom he serves.[3] Therefore here also he

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1.- Rose, op.cit., p.136.
2.- G.F. Hill, "Apollo and St. Michael: Some Analogies", p.134, figs. 1a-c.
3.- The chief god of Gargara in the Troad was Apollo, whose head appears on the obverse of the city's coins, while on the reverse a bull is shown (5th-3rd century B.C.). (Hill, op.cit., p.137, fig.2).

had a holy connection with cattle. Secondly when offended Apollo can send a pestilence, as he did against Laomedon and against the Greeks at Troy.[1] Moreover among a pastoral people if an animal becomes sick then it is thought to have happened because the god who usually protects them is angry and has sent a pestilence instead. Accordingly, as Apollo sent the mice so he shot them to rid his followers of the plague. Gods who send pestilence are often also gods of healing, and it is no accident that in Greek mythology Apollo is the father of the god of healing, Asclepius.[2]

From this brief survey of the role of Apollo it is clear that one of his functions (perhaps his original function) was to promote fertility within the herd and to protect it from disease, which he himself could send if offended.[3] In his fertility aspect he closely compares with the Cabeiri.

The coins of Alexandria Troas, mentioned above, show Apollo's cult statue standing above a cave, away from which runs a bull. G.F. Hill, while recognising that the bull must belong to Apollo's sacred herd, is puzzled by the bull's action on the coin. His explanation that perhaps Ordes found the statue of Apollo by following a runaway bull,[4] does not explain the fact that the bull is heading away from

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1.- Iliad, 1.8-67.
2.- Homeric Hymn to Asclepius, 1ff; Pindar, Pythians, 3.8ff; etc.
3.- In Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, when a general blight has struck the country the chorus (lines 151-167) calls upon Apollo to release them from their sufferings, which include sterility of crops and herds (lines 35-36).
4.- Hill, op.cit., p.138. However for cattle playing the "leading" role in foundation myths see below pp. 434 n.1.

and not towards the statue. In any case we are not told that this was how Ordes acquired the statue and must therefore assume that it was not. The reaction of the bull and Ordes' gesture of surprise in raising his hand suggest to me that the statue has just materialised as it were "out of thin air". This still leaves, as does Hill's explanation, the cave to be explained. The reason for this feature to be included in the coin-die seems to me to be that the cave served as a suitable place for stabling the god's cattle when they were not allowed to roam the countryside in winter[1] - that is why it was such a good place for Apollo's statue to appear. As for the runaway bull, it serves to heighten the dramatic effect of the scene, while demonstrating to the viewer the nature of the cave.

The engraver of the coin-die was probably influenced in his design by the myth of Mithras who was ordered to slay the great bull that had escaped from its cave.[2] The similarity is hardly coincidental. The custom of keeping cattle in suitable caves appears to have been practised in Persia to judge from this Mithraic version, but at any rate it is certainly well established in Greek mythology. Hermes steals the cattle of Apollo in Pieria and takes them to Pylos where he hides them in a cave.[3] This cave is probably the same one

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1.- Compare for example the story of the herdsman and messenger in the Oedipus Tyrannus of how the two of them used to meet on the slopes of Cithaeron with their flocks in the summer before returning with them in the autumn to Corinth and Thebes (Lines 1132-1139).

2.- Mithras eventually caught and killed it just as it had re-entered the cave. (F. Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, pp.21-39, figs. 4-6, 9-10; A.B. Cook, Zeus, 1.516-518, figs.389,390).

3.- Homeric Hymn to Hermes, 68ff; Alcaeus, Hymn to Hermes; Apollodorus, 3.10.2. The theft also forms the basis of Sophocles satyr-play the Ichneutae.

as Neleus and Nestor are said to have used to stable their cattle.[1] When Heracles is travelling through Italy with the cattle he lifted from Geryon, they are stolen from him in turn by Cacus, who also hides them in a cave.[2] A cave on the island of Euboea called the "cow's crib" and said to be so-called because Io gave birth there to Epaphus,[3] probably derived its name from its previous status of a cattle stall, while the flocks of the Sun-god at Apollonia are specifically said to be kept in a cave during the winter.[4]

To recapitulate briefly on what has been ascertained so far. Among the many facets of Apollo's character, he emerges as a god who protects cattle from all harm including disease, which he controls, and ensures their increase; he replaces pre-Greek vegetation and fertility gods like Hyacinthus and Ptous, and where his cult centres are built over Mycenaean sites votive figurines of cattle are found. His affinities to cattle are most pronounced in the Troad and Boeotia, where a group of demi-gods, the Cabeiri appear to have a special responsibility for fertility and the increase of cattle. They are also closely connected to the Curetes.

The Curetes as we have seen were thought by some to originate in Phrygia, although this is unlikely. Like the Cabeiri they attended

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1.- Pausanias, 4.36.3.
2.- Virgil, Aeneid, 8.193-275. Cacus is said to have dragged the cattle backwards into the cave so that Heracles would not be able to track them down. The account seems to be a doublet of the story of Hermes' theft of Apollo's cattle, since he put shoes on the cattle so that they should not leave tracks.
3.- Strabo, 445 (10.1.3).
4.- Herodotus, 9.93.

the Earth Mother and were renowned for their ecstatic dancing. There are also three late inscriptions, all from the neighbourhood of Gortyna, which refer to the Curetes as "Guardians of Kine".[1] One of which from the mountain village of Hagia Barbara runs, "Ertaeus, son of Amnatus, to the Curetes, guardians of Kine, fulfils his words and makes a thank offering."[2] This inscription shows that it is in their specific aspect as guardians of cattle that Ertaeus makes his thanks to the Curetes. The reason for his gratitude must therefore be concerned with his cattle in some way or other, either the Curetes having cured them of some illness, as would befit "guardians of Kine", or perhaps they helped them to have numerous offspring, because the Curetes were also deities of fertility. This is apparent from the famous Hymn of the Curetes from Palaikastro. The hymn, engraved on a stele and found near the temple of Dictaean Zeus, was written down in the second or third century A.D., but the numerous archaisms in the text show that it was copied from sources which must date at least 500 years earlier.[3] Accordingly the material contained in the inscription is much older than the inscription,. and the thought is also too archaic to have been composed even in the third century B.C. and must therefore be considerably earlier. Among other things the Curetes are bidden to leap for full jars, fleecy flocks, fields of

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1.- R.F. Willetts, Cretan Cults and Festivals, p.209; Inscriptiones Creticae, 1.25.3. (first century B.C.); 1.31.7 and 8 (second-first century B.C.); R.C. Bosanquet, "The Palaikastro Hymn of the Kouretes", p.353.

2.- G. de Sanctis, "Nuovi Studii e Scoperte in Gortyna, III", Mon.Ant. 18 (1907), p.346; J.E. Harrison Themis, p.54; A.B. Cook Zeus, 1.471 n.4.

3.- Bosanquet, op.cit., pp.340, 353; G. Murray "The Hymn of the Kouretes", p.365.

fruit and for the hives to bring increase.[1] Thus the Curetes like the Cabeiri were deities of fertility, who were attendant upon the Earth-Mother, and who had particular regard for the well-being of cattle.

At the beginning of the Hymn of the Curetes Zeus is invoked to lead them on their dance as the Megistos Kouros.[2] Here we have entered the realm of the Cretan Zeus, the god who was born and died, the Eniautos Daemon, the year-god, who is born in the Spring with the growth of vegetation and dies with its decay, a god who served the Earth-Mother in a subsidiary role as son, lover and husband, and whose worship is very widespread over a number of countries as a succession of scholars have shown.[3] That the Curetes have their origin in Minoan Crete is something of which there is little doubt

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1.- Bosanquet, op.cit., pp.342-348; Harrison, op.cit., pp.6-9; Murray, op.cit., pp.356-359.

2.- Miss Harrison seized upon this detail as the starting point for her book Themis in which she expounded the theory that the Curetes are the youths of the tribe, who die and are reborn in the primitive rites of tribal initiation, and of whom the Megistos Kouros is a projection. That the word "Curetes" was derived from the Greek word κοῦρος "a youth" was posited by the ancients (Strabo, 468 (10.3.11) 473 (10.3.21); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 2.70) and this explanation is accepted by many philologists. (E.g. W. Aly, Philologus, 70 (1911), p.463; E. Curtins, Grundzuege der griechische Etymologie, p.148). If this explanation stands, then it is easy to see how they either developed into demi-gods of fertility or became identified with already existent deities (Themis, pp.26-27). Other etymologists both ancient (e.g. Strabo, 466 (10.3.8); Etymologicum Magnum s.v. Κουρῆτες and modern, (U. von Wilamowitz, Euripides Herakles, 1.84) derive the word from the stem κείρειν - to cut.

3.- J.G. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris; M.P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, pp.533-583; G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, pp.149-294; etc.

since from Minoan art we can see that the primary deity was an Earth-Mother type, associated with mountains,[1] connected with ecstatic dancing[2] and to whom the male deity, when he appears, is subordinate.[3]

The Hymn of the Curetes, "the Guardian of Kine", was found near the temple of Dictaean Zeus, "the Megistos Kouros", whose origins reach back to Minoan times and whose temple was built over the remains of a Minoan town in which a number of votive bulls were found. The practice was continued in Classical times.[4] Apollo, a god of herding, took over from the Eniautos Daemon Hyacinthus at Amyclae to whom figurines of cattle were devoted. He also seems to have

1.- A.J. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 2.809, fig.528; Nilsson, op.cit. pp.352-3, 388-396. Nilsson adds a salutary warning that one should not try to explain all the appearances of female deities as examples of an all-embracing Mother-Goddess, but that one should be prepared to distinguish different goddesses, each of whom had separate spheres of operations. But an Earth Mother figure connected with mountains is well attested for Crete. Cf. also the name of the Cretan goddess Dictynna, whose name is probably connected with Mt. Dicte (cf. P. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 5.584.)

2.- A.W. Persson, The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times, pp.33-38; Nilsson, op.cit., p.256, fig.124; pp.267-8, figs.131-133; p.275 fig.138; Evans, op.cit., 1.432, fig.310c; id., "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult", pp.176-177, figs.52-53.

3.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.256, fig.123; p.351, fig.161; Evans, op.cit., pp.170-171, figs.48, 51; id., The Palace of Minos, 3.463, fig. 324; Harrison, op.cit., p.208; W.K.C. Guthrie, Early Greek Religion in the Light of the Decipherment of Linear 'B', p.40.

4.- See above p.214. In this case the cattle figurines could have been dedicated in lieu of sacrifices to Zeus, which was the usual Greek custom. But, depending on how deeply rooted was the worship of "Dictaean" Zeus, the temple may have replaced the cave sanctuaries as the place to devote thank offerings to the protector of cattle, or models of cattle to be cured.

usurped the place of Ptous, who was associated with a mountain in Boeotia and may also have been a cattle-daemon.[1] At Delphi the custom of donating bovine figurines, started in Mycenaean times and continued down to the Geometric Period. The Curetes are associated with the cave on Crete in which Zeus was born and where they drowned his cries. In Greek mythology we have seen that caves were thought of as an appropriate place in which to stable cattle. Is it coincidence that in the cave and peak sanctuaries of Minoan Crete innumerable votive figurines of cattle were found? Moreover the cave of Patso in Classical times was regarded as sacred to Hermes Cranaeus,[2] the stealer of Apollo's cattle, who hid them in a cave, and of whom phallic statues were made in association with the Samothracian worship of the Cabeiri, the ecstatically dancing ministrants of the Earth-Mother and deities of fertility, who were always associated with the Curetes by the ancients, and whose sanctuary in Boeotia produced around 500 votive figurines of bulls.

To sum up, these inter-connected series of facts which started with the examination of the large deposits of votive cattle at Minoan cave and peak sanctuaries point to their being dedicated to some protective deities of cattle, who, if they were not called Curetes, at least were their predecessors as "guardians of Kine". In addition if, as has been suggested, the model heads and limbs found at the

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1.- Yet another fertility god in Boeotia at Tanagra was known by the Greek name of Bucolus (cowherd) (Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 40).

2.- Hermes was known as Epimelios (keeper of flocks) at Coronea in Boeotia (Pausanias 9.34.3.).

sanctuary of Petsofa were intended for a deity of healing, then this tallies well with the sort of activity that is associated with a "guardian of Kine", who, if we may argue from the analogy of Apollo, was a provider of increase in cattle and controller of disease, before the advent of the Olympian deity. Moreover, as regards the fire-reddened earth with which the figurines at Petsofa were mingled, in classical times at Messene all animals from oxen to birds were sacrificed to the Curetes by being flung onto a fire.[1] A similar holocaust was also given at Patrae to Artemis Laphria,[2] who protected animals from disease and is closely connected to the Cretan deities Dictynna and Britomartis. There is a possibility that this custom may have survived from Minoan times.

Returning to Minoan archaeology and moving from figurines to amulets we find that the bull's head is commonly used in this field. Mention has already been made of some examples.[3] A Minoan vase now in the Louvre shows what appear to be bulls' heads suspended by chains, and these are probably portrayals of amulets.[4] That they were found in large numbers in the tholos tombs of the Messara is an indication that they were of a prophylactic nature and left there to avert evil influences. That a prophylactic amulet was made in the shape of a bull's head is well in keeping with what is known of the bull as a symbol of strength and protection in the Near East.

1.- Pausanias, 4.31.9.
2.- Ibid., 7.18. 11-13.
3.- See above p.23
4.- E. Pottier, "Documents Céramique du Musée du Louvre", p.230, fig.7.

Although S. Xanthoudides believes that the examples from the Messara originated in Egypt,[1] and E. Pottier claims an Elamite origin for the Cretan amulets,[2] examples of this type of amulet are so widespread throughout the ancient world, as well as appearing in the Neolithic stratum at Cnossos,[3] that their manufacture probably derives from a train of thought common to all prehistoric peoples. The amulets may possibly have been worn as fertility charms rather than prophylactics if late evidence from Roman times can be admitted of an amulet in the form of a bull's head with two phalloi under its jaw.[4] Here the bull's genitals rather than its horns are the focal point.

Perhaps it was for prophlactic purposes that Early Helladic gold pins sometimes had their heads shaped in the form of a bull's head,[5] while bull-head pendants of gold and precious stones[6] which were popular items of jewellery throughout Minoan times probably owe their esteem to the more mundane amulets. Similarly gold earrings in the shape of bull's heads may ultimately owe their design to the same idea.[7]

1.- S.A. Xanthoudides, The Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara, p.123.
2.- Pottier, op.cit., p.239. Solely on the evidence of a vase fragment from Susa in which a bucranium seems to be suspended by a line.
3.- See above pp. 23 and 28
4.- I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Hoernermotiv in den Religionen", p.469 n.3.
5.- R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art, pp.71-72 fig.78. The pin formed part of a collection of jewellery said to come from Thyreatis and now stolen from the Berlin Museum.
6.- R.B. Seager, Excavations on the Island of Mochlos, p.78 fig.XXIIa and pl.X: of amethyst from tomb XXII. Examples in gold have been found at Cnossos, Mallia, Hagia Triada and Olounda (Heraclion Museum cases 87 and 101).
7.- Heraclion Museum, case 101; cf. R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art, p.173 fig.215.

Although domestication probably took place during the Neolithic Period it is not until the beginning of the Late Minoan Period that there is a vogue for depicting on seals general scenes of herding and domestication in addition to the more common scenes of hunting, animal combat and bull-sports.[1] There is no reason to suppose that these scenes are anything but secular, but they serve to illustrate the large part that cattle played in the lives of the Minoans. Favourite scenes include men leading oxen,[2] milking,[3] two recumbent oxen one of which is about to rise,[4] and a bull or cow licking its hind foot or scratching its head with its hoof.[5] A more interesting motif is that of a cow suckling a calf. As we have seen this motif first appears in Fifth Dynasty Egypt where it is associated with Hathor.[6] It spreads to Syria where it is associated with Ishtar[7] and survives in Mesopotamia until the ninth century in ivories found outside the Assyrian palace at Arslan Tash and at Numrud.[8] The motif is first attested in Crete during the Middle Minoan Period in the faience

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1.- A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 4.563.
2.- Ibid., 3.188 fig.132 (cf. V. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p.125, pl.10, 247); Evans, op.cit., 4.564, figs.533, 535; p;565 fig.536 (cf. Kenna, op.cit., p.132, pl.12,300).
3.- Evans, op.cit., 4,564, fig.534; Kenna, op.cit., p.57 fig.119.
4.- E.g. On a clay sealing found at the entrance to the Royal Tomb at Isopata (Evans, op.cit., 4.562 fig.530,a); a sealing from the Royal Tomb at Cnossos (Ibid., 1.694, fig.515). A banded agate lentoid purchased in Athens (Ibid., 1.695 fig.517); Kenna, op.cit., p.59 fig.124) presents an almost exact replica of the design on two lentoid intaglios from Vaphio (Eph. Arch. 1889, pl.X, 9, 10).
5.- Evans, op.cit., 4.560-1 figs.523-525, 527.
6.- See above p.166.
7.- See above pp.120-121.
8.- Ibid., 4.555-6, figs.516, 517. Evans thinks he can detect Minoan influence on these ivories.

plaques from the Temple Repositories.[1] From then on it occurs frequently, especially in the Late Minoan Period.[2] Whether it had any special religious importance or just formed a very pleasant secular design is hard to say. It appears in Crete at a later date than in Syria and it is impossible to determine whether the Minoans adopted the design direct from Egypt or through a Syrian intermediary. Because of its association with Hathor and Ishtar Evans believed that it was associated with a Cretan form of the Great Mother Goddess.[3] There is no reason why this should not be so, but similarly not all the depictions of this motif need have a religious significance. However a terracotta cow with suckling calf was found among the bovine figurines in the "Piazzale dei Sacelli" at Hagia Triada,[4] and since there is reason to believe that this sanctuary was one of a deity who promoted fertility in flocks and herds, the figurine may have been dedicated to produce the desired situation depicted in it.

Another popular design is that of a lion bearing down its prey, which is usually either a stag or a bull. Non-religious in nature the motif appears at the beginning of LM.I and remains in vogue until the end of the Mycenaean period.[5] The design probably reached Crete

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1.- Ibid., 1.510-512 figs.366-369. The two plaques show a cow suckling a calf and a goat suckling a kid (Heraclion Museum nos.68 and 69 respectively).
2.- On seals Ibid., 4.533 figs.512-515; the design also appears on the handle of a bronze mirror from a Mycenaean tholos tomb at Arkhanes (Heraclion Museum, no.352).
3.- Ibid., 4.552.
4.- L.Banti, "I Culti Minoici e Greci di Haghia Triada", p.52.
5.- The development of the motif is fully dealt with by Evans who illustrates his work with examples from Crete, the Greek Mainland and Cyprus (The Palace of Minos,4.527-540, figs.479-491).

from Syria where it was adopted from Mesopotamia.[1] The latter country had represented combats between animals since the Jemdet Nasr Period,[2] but the Aegean innovation was to inject a more lifelike quality into the figures by drawing them in more natural attitudes, whereas the Mesopotamian artists had portrayed them in the usual standing position. Both the cow suckling calf motif and lion attacking bull indicate that Minoan Crete towards the end of the MM Period was becoming more receptive to ideas from outside.

Two seals showing a motif allied to the last are of greater interest. A green jasper signet said to come from Crete shows a large bull whose back is attacked by two symmetrically arranged griffins, between whose beaks a sign appears which Evans recognises not merely as a vegetable symbol but also a linear sign for wheat.[3] Similarly a seal in the Ashmolean Museum shows a young bull running and being attacked by two lions, between which the same symbol appears.[4] The design recalls that of two figures of Imdugud attacking a bull on Mesopotamian seals,[5] and the inspiration for the seal may have come from that quarter. But the important feature of these seals is that the vegetable symbol appears to grow out of the bull's back at the point where the griffins seize it. Of course the sign may be a filling device or a representation of a tree which stands behind the bull, so that in either case it gives the appearance of growing out of the

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1.- See above p.40
2.- See above p.63 ; cf. Evans, op.cit., 4.528, fig.473.
3.- Ibid., 4.652 fig.611; cf. Kenna, op.cit., p.137; pl.13, 342.
4.- Kenna, op.cit., p.138; pl.13, 350.
5.- See above p.79 n.1.

bull's wound, but in view of its identification as a corn sign this is unlikely. Moreover, the need for a filling device is not great (in fact in one seal it is squeezed in between the two griffins), since the three animals take up nearly all the space on the seal.

If these seals do show corn growing from the body of a dying bull then they have a strange parallel. According to Mithraic lore all useful herbs and plants sprang from the body of the bull that Mithras slew; the vine sprang from its blood, and corn from its spinal marrow,[1] the exact part of the wounded bull from which the corn sprouts on the Minoan seal-stones. Although this latter point is probably pure coincidence it does show that the death of the bull in Crete is connected with the birth or rebirth of vegetation.

This belief is probably behind the painting on the famous Hagia Triada Sarcophagus. The salient features show on one side a dead or dying bull lying on a table with blood from a wound in its neck dripping into a pitcher on the floor. On the other side a priestess pours a red liquid from a pitcher into a larger jar placed between two leafy poles which are surmounted by double-axes. The second scene appears to be a continuation of the first and since in the first the priestess stands before an altar and a brown leafless pole surmounted by a double-axe, it is reasonable to assume that the red liquid being poured from the pitcher is the bull's blood.[2] Petersen has suggested that the act of pouring the blood makes the pole change colour and

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1.- F. Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, pp.39, 136.
2.- J.E. Harrison, Themis, p.162.

sprout leaves.[1] In other words it is a spring festival designed to help the vegetation burst forth, by coming into contact with the life-blood of the fertilizing bull.

The sacrificial table upon which the bull lies in the Hagia Triada sarcophagus is paralleled by several which are shown on Minoan gems. They usually support the bodies of bulls, which may still have the sacrificial weapon sticking in them, while the severed heads of previous victims are sometimes shown underneath the table.[2] One of these seals is of greater interest since a palm-tree bends over the dead body of the bull.[3] To modern eyes the effect produced seems to be that the tree is sorrowing over the death of the bull. However this can scarcely have been the intention of the Minoan engraver, but the idea that the death of the bull meant the renewal of life for the tree may be contained in this seal. In fact a number of Minoan gems which depict bovine subjects also have if not a palm tree contained in the design[4] at least palm-leaves as filling devices or standing pars pro toto.[5] Nevertheless it would be rash to read too much into these seals. One should instead note the appearance of bulls with trees in contrast to their rare occurrence next to pillars or columns,[6]

1.- E. Petersen, "Der Kretische Bildersarg", pp.163-165.
2.- Evans, op.cit., 4.41-43, figs.25,26; 4.568 fig.542b; Kenna, op.cit. p.136 pl.13,332; M.P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p. 195 fig.62, pl.I,6.
3.- Evans, op.cit., 4.41 fig.24; A.Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, pl.II, no.22.
4.- E.g. A.S. Murray, "Pierres Gravées Archaiques", pl.XX,8; Evans, op. cit., 4.609 fig.597B, m.
5.- A.B.Cook, "Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age", p.126 n.255; British Museum Catalogue of Gems, nos.72, 74.
6.- Cf. Eph. Arch., 1907, p.178 and pl.VIII, 117; Nilsson, op.cit.p.251.

which in Minoan religion may often represent the aniconic seat of some deity.

The pouring of libations certainly played a major part in Minoan religion,as can be seen from the number of libation tables that have survived,[1] and the pictures on seals of libations being poured,[2] not to mention the evidence of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus itself. A libation table from a MM shrine at Phaestos has its rim decorated with incised spirals and miniature figures of bull.[3] Again this design may be merely decorative and have no further significance, but libation tables do not usually carry any design so the choice of bulls as a decoration may be significant. Moreover two clay cylindrical tubes of LM.III date from Kannia,[4] of a type called by Evans "snake tubes", which appear to have been used for receiving libations,[5] are also decorated with the head of a bull. Three similar tubes were found in a shrine at Gournia and have their handles surmounted by "horns of consecration", which are stylised representations of bulls' horns.[6]

In view of this association between the bull and receptacles for libations, whether it is purely artistic or not, it is interesting to note that some Minoan and Mycenaean pitchers also have a decoration

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1.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.123-133.
2.- Ibid., pp.146-148 figs.53-56.
3.- L. Penier, "Scavi della Missione Italiana a Phaestos 1902-3", Mon. Ant., 14 (1904), p.405 and pl.XXXVI; Nilsson, op.cit., p.125, fig.36.
4.- S. Alexiou, A Guide to the Archaeological Museum of Heraclion, p.84.
5.- Evans, op.cit., 4.140-8 figs.110-114.
6.- B. Williams in H. Boyd-Hawes, Gournia, pp.47-48, pl.XI nos.11-13; cf. Nilsson, op.cit., p.81 fig.14; cf. Heraclion Museum no.563 from Prinias. For the "horns of consecration" see below pp. 250-258.

of bulls' heads or bucrania along the rim.[1] This evidence should be treated with caution, however, since bulls' heads have always been a favourite design for ornamenting pottery, as the pottery of the Halafian Period shows.[2] If therefore the evidence so far adduced to support the testimony of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus that the bull was intimately concerned with the pouring of certain libations is inconclusive, how is one to regard rhyta fashioned in the shape of bulls?

The most primitive bovine shaped rhyton so far discovered in Crete comes from the tholos tomb at Lebena (EM.II). The rear part of the bull's body ends in a funnel for pouring in liquid while the exit hole is in the mouth and a handle projects from the animal's back.[3] During the subsequent period, EM.III, rhyta in the true shape of a bull make their first appearance on Crete. The inlet hole is usually in the middle of the animal's back or the top of its neck, while the outlet hole is in the mouth, although minor variations do occur.[4] Examples of this type of rhyton are confined to the South

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1.- Pottery fragments with bull-head relief along the rim have been found in the Dictaean Cave along with the votive bulls (Heraclion Museum, case 92, no.2120); a Minoan bronze hydria from Curium in Cyprus is decorated with running bulls around the rim and bulls heads are grouped in threes below each handle (Evans, op.cit., 4. 456-7, figs.381-2); bucrania also appear along the rim of a Mycenaean vase (Eph.Arch., 1888, pl.7); a LM.III ring vase from Karphi has three bulls' heads projecting from it (G.M. Young, "Archaeology in Crete", JHS 58, (1938), p.237), and the same feature is found in some imported Mycenaean rhyta from Ras Shamra (C. Schaeffer, "Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra - Troisième Campagne", pls. IV.1,3.)

2.- See above p. 57.

3.- Alexiou, op.cit., p.35 case 4. A Protogeometric rhyton from Koures parallels this specimen in every detail and provides a remarkable parallel. (Heraclion Museum, case 145, no number).

4.- One peculiar example from Sitia has a head at both ends of its body (Heraclion Museum, no.16579).

of the island, in the tholos tombs of the Messara[1] and at Phaestos,[2] and in the East at Mochlos,[3] Sitia[4] and Cophinas,[5] and although they enjoy an extensive vogue throughout this area the type dies out inexplicably at the end of MM.I.[6] For some reason, however, a revival took place and the type reappears during LM.I at Pseira[7] and continues to be in use during LM.III.[8]

The bull-rhyton from Mochlos has some markings in dark-brown paint on its body which seem to depict a type of harness composed of large circular pieces of material joined together with long strips of chord to form a network over the animal's body. This example has a parallel in a LMIb bull-rhyton from Pseira, in which the bull's body is shown to be covered by a kind of red-painted net, while the rest of the animal is coloured orange-red or purple, which is an

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1.- Platanos, Tholos B: rhyton in form of couchant bull with black and white spotted body marking - dated to MM.I (S.A. Xanthoudides, The Vaulted Tombs of the Mesará, p.44, pl.XXX, no.4986); a standing bull-rhyton of the same date (Ibid., p.95 pl.LIa, no.6869); heads of two more bovine rhyta were found as well as a solid terracotta figure of a bull, 9 cm. high (Ibid., p.96 and pl.LIa, no.6872). Porti: standing bull rhyton found in a MM. pithos which contained a body; the head is unnaturally long and narrow and the outlet hole is on the side of the neck. (Ibid., p.62 pls.VII, no.5053 and XXVII, no.5053).

2.- A. Evans, "The 'Tomb of the Double Axes'", p.90; Heraclion Museum case 34, nos.10167-9.

3.- R.B. Seager, Explorations on the Island of Mochlos, p.60 figs. 28, IX,4 and 29, IX,4. The animal's eyes as well as its mouth are perforated (Heraclion Museum, no.6850).

4.- Heraclion Museum, nos.16588-9, 16591.

5.- Heraclion Museum, no.14121.

6.- G. Karo, "Minoische Rhyta", pp.262-3.

7.- E.g. R. Seager, Excavations on the Island of Pseira, pl.IX.

8.- Fragments of rhyta in the shape of the complete animal of LM.III date were found in the Dictaean Cave (D.G. Hogarth, "The Dictaean Cave", p.104 fig.33; Heraclion Museum no.2175).

archaic survival, being an imitation of MM.I-II polychrome ware.[1] For some reason these bulls seem to have worn a kind of coat or blanket over their bodies, and Evans suggests that we have here a parallel to the pictures of bulls on Cappodocian and Syro-Hittite cylinder seals whose bodies are covered in a herringbone pattern and which Ward calls "bull-altars".[2] Chronologically the example from Mochlos and the earliest Syro-Hittite seals appear about the same time, but that they depict the same custom is dubious. There is good reason to believe that the bulls shown on the cylinder-seals were meant to be statues,[3] while the rhyta represent live animals. Perhaps blankets were placed over the bulls' bodies to help them to cool down after some physical exertion, as is done today to horses after a race. That this strenuous activity may have been participating in bull-sports is suggested by two bull-rhyta from the tholos tombs of the Messara. One of EM.III/MM.I date from area Δ at Kumasa shows a three-legged bull with one diminutive figure of a man clinging to each horn while a third is sprawled across the animal's forehead.[4] The other example of the same date from Tomb II at Porti shows a

1.- Seager, op.cit., p.23 fig.7; Evans, The Palace of Minos, 2.259 fig.154b; Heraclion Museum no.5413.
2.- Evans, op.cit., 3.206; and see above pp. 126-129.
3.- See above p. 127.
4.- Xanthoudides, op.cit., p.40 pls.II and XXVIII no.4126; A. Reichel, "Der Stierspiele in der Kretisch-Mykenischen Kultur", p.92, fig.11; L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem Bild", p.136 fig.88; Evans, op.cit., 1.188, figs.137,b.c; Heraclion Museum no.4126: This vogue for the addition of small figures to pieces of pottery is shown in two vases and a fragment found in the same area at Kumasa in which a human figure is stuck to the side of the neck of the vase (Xanthoudides, op.cit., pl.XXVIII, nos.4115-7).

diminutive figure clinging to the bull's left horn while traces of a check pattern can still be seen on the animal's body.[1]

Evans argues that the complete bull rhyton was derived from Mesopotamia through a Syrian or Anatolian intermediary and adduces as a parallel an early Sumerian couchant bull-rhyton from Erech.[2] If the Minoan craftsmen did get their inspiration from this quarter, then it may well have been through Cyprus, acting as an intermediary, where zoomorphic vases including figures of bulls were found in Copper Age Tombs[3] and continue until the end of the late Minoan Period,[4] but it is unlikely that these influenced the Minoan examples, since the outlet in the Cypriote vessels is usually above the animal's neck, whereas Minoan rhyta nearly always have the perforation in the mouth. Anatolia may possibly have been the source of inspiration, theriomorphic vessels being found at Hissarlik Level III,[5] and two silver rhyta in the form of stags from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae may be Anatolian imports,[6] but the evidence for foreign influence on the Minoan rhyta is slight and they probably developed independently of other countries.

1.- Ibid., p.62 pls.VII and XXVII no.5052; Reichel, op.cit., p.93; Malten, op.cit., p.136 fig.89; Evans, op.cit., 1.188 fig.137a; 2.260 fig.155; id., "The Tomb of the 'Double Axes', p.91 fig.96; Heraclion Museum no.5052.

2.- A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 2.240-262, fig.156 and p.265.

3.- L.P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, pl.VIII shows two examples from Dali.

4.- Evans, "The Tomb of the 'Double Axes'", p.93; cf. British Museum Excavations in Cyprus, p.37, fig.65 from Tomb 67 at Enkomi; B. Murray, Excavations in Cyprus, pp.35, 45, 47.

5.- Evans, op.cit., p.90.

6.- G. Karo, Die Schachtgraeber von Mykenai, pls.CXV, CXVI: H.T. Bossert, Altanatolien, pp.17-18, pl.3, nos.8-9 who compares them with rhyta in the form of a lion (p.42 pls.79, no.398, 80, no.402) and a horse (pls.79, no.397, 80,,no.403) from Kültepe. These examples are, however, much later than the earliest Minoan rhyton.

Soon after the disappearance of the complete bull rhyton the aesthetically more pleasing bull's-head rhyton makes its first appearance, which probably accounts for the former's demise. The majority of these rhyta which are still extant can be ascribed to the Period MM.III and later, but one fragment made of clay and found in the "Room of the Stone Pier" at Cnossos in a mixed stratum of MM.II and III sherds was painted in a flourishing polychrome style, which should allocate it to the MM.II period and thus make it the earliest example yet found.[1] Numerous examples of this type of rhyton have been found mainly on Crete, but also on the Mainland. It appears that they were made of metal, although only one example has so far been found,[2] and of stone,[3] but the majority that have survived are cheaper copies in clay and faience of varying degrees of workmanship.[4] That these rhyta existed in large numbers is proved by some Linear B inventory tablets.[5]

1.- Evans, op.cit., p.89; id., The Palace of Minos, 1.237.
2.- In Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae, but Karo argues that it is a Minoan import (G. Karo, "Minoische Rhyta", p.251, pls.7 and 8). Cf. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 2.530 fig.333; Malten, op.cit., p.128 fig.66; National Museum at Athens, no.384.
3.- Two examples in black steatite have been found in the "Tomb of the Double Axes" at Cnossos (Evans, "The 'Tomb of the Double Axes'" p.52 fig.70; Malten, op.cit., p.128 fig.65) and in the Little Palace at Cnossos (Evans, op.cit., p.80 fig.87a,b; id., The Palace of Minos, 2.528 fig.330; Malten, op.cit., p.128 fig.64).
4.- Karo lists all the bull's head rhyta discovered by 1911 (op.cit. p.249ff) and Nilsson, op.cit., pp.144-5 enumerates several of the more famous finds from various sites. Apart from clay rhyta from Cnossos, Phaestos, Gournia, Mochlos, and Palaikastro two examples in faience have been found at Zakro (Heraclion Museum, nos.478, 479).
5.- Evans, Palace of Minos, 2.533 fig.336.

Obviously considered to be artistic masterpieces many of these rhyta made of metal are portrayed on the walls of Egyptian tombs as the gifts of the Men of Keftiu to the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs.[1] All these rhyta have their inlet hole in the top of the neck with the outlet in the mouth. Throughout the LM.III Period when a rapid decline of lifelike representation in Minoan art sets in to give way to a more stylised form, so the bull's head rhyton degenerates into a mere parody of its old style. Most of these late rhyta are provided with handles so that they can be hung up, a convention that was in practice during the previous periods although never really popular.[2] Many LM.III rhyta have been found on Rhodes, Carpathos and the adjacent islands which may have developed their own style at this stage.[3] Again Evans postulates that the Minoan bull's head rhyta are derived from Mesopotamian models via a Syrian intermediary and adduces examples to show that such objects were manufactured in Mesopotamia a thousand years before their appearance in Crete.[4] Bossert however considers that as with the bull rhyta Anatolia is their source of inspiration,[5] but Evans' view is probably correct since

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1.- Ibid., 2.534-6 figs.337, 339, 340 from the tombs of User-amon, Rekhmere and Menkheper're-senb.

2.- E.g. H. Boyd-Hawes, Gournia, pl.IX,20; E. Pottier, "Documents Céramiques du Musée du Louvre", p.117, pl.XXIII,nos.1,2, two bull's head rhyta with handles from Ligortyno (cf. British Museum,no.A.281)

3.- Carpathos: W.R. Paton "Vases from Calymnos and Carpathos", pls.83, 9, 10; Rhodes: Karo, op.cit., pp.259-260 figs.11,12. A late Hittite rhyton (c.1000 B.C.) from Ain Tab, now in the Ashmolean Museum is based on the Cypriote style. (Evans, "The Tomb of the 'Double Axes'", p.94 fig.97).

4.- Evans, Palace of Minos, 2.262-4 fig.157 from Erech.

5.- Bossert, op.cit., p.42 pl.77 no.387 from Ceramo in Caria; pl.146 no.625 from Alaça Hüyük. The Anatolian examples are themselves derived from Mesopotamian rhyta. Cf those found at the Assyrian karum at Kanesh (S. Lloyd, Early Anatolia, p.121).

certain markings on the Minoan rhyta can be paralleled on examples from Mesopotamia.[1]

In view of the large part the pouring of libations played in Minoan religion how far are we justified in seeing rhyta in the shape of bulls as cult implements? Perhaps one should first remember that bovine rhyta are not the only animal-shaped vases to appear in Crete, although they are the most common. Rhyta in the shape of lions' heads are not rare,[2] and others represent stags, a horse with a load, and a hedgehog.[3] These other examples should be borne in mind when considering statements like that of Miss B. Williams that bovine rhyta may have been used to pour bull's blood in religious rites.[4] Her parallel of the early Chinese offering blood in a bronze vessel made in the shape of the animal sacrificed,[5] although accepted by Glotz,[6] is too far removed to carry much weight. Robert's suggestion that the blood of the beheaded bull-god was drunk from the silver bull's head rhyton found at Mycenae[7] becomes an absurdity if taken to its logical conclusion that lion's blood must have been drunk out of the lion's head rhyta, and what is one to make of the hedgehog rhyton? If the If the objection is raised that the latter are purely decorative while the former is a cult implement then any argument based on these lines

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1.- On the patterns and significance of these markings see below pp. 435-442.
2.- Karo, op.cit., pp.254-5, figs.4-7 and pl.(gives an exhaustive list of the lion's head rhyta found up to the time of his writing.
3.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.144.
4.- B.E. Williams in H. Boyd-Hawes, et.al., Gournia, p.48.
5.- Ibid., p.52.
6.- G. Glotz, The Aegean Civilisation, p.273.
7.- C. Robert, Die Griechische Heldensagen, 1.345.

must ipso facto be subjective and therefore of little value. Maybe all animal rhyta are of a religious nature although used not to pour the blood of the animal they depict but some other liquid. Karo argues that some of the rhyta were too heavy to be used to pour drinks and must therefore have a religious significance.[1] Either all are associated with religion or none is; one cannot have it both ways. Nilsson treating the question with his usual admirable caution refers us to the archaeological evidence. No Minoan carving or painting shows any libation being poured from an animal-shaped rhyton, the only type of vase to be figured in this role being a high-necked, high-handled vessel.[2] Although this is an argumentum ex silentio, which subsequent finds may disprove, certainly in the case of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus where a bovine rhyton should be used to pour the libation according to previous arguments, it is not. One should not, however, be too emphatic in denying the religious nature of bovine rhyta since in nearby Anatolia a Hittite ritual pertaining to the "Festival of the Warrior God" specifically stipulates that two silver bull's head rhyta be employed.[3] Thus literature has preserved what art has not, and the same may have been true of Crete where extant literary records are few.

With regard to the type of vase that Nilsson suggests may be a cult implement it is featured on one seal placed between the "horns

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1.- Karo, op.cit., p.270.
2.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.145-153, fig.52-60.
3.- A. Goetze in J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.360.

of consecration".[1] On the other side of the seal a bull struck by a javelin is portrayed. Dare we see any connection between these two sides in view of what we know from the Hagia Triada sarcophagus? Other seals show this type of vase and a variation with two handles standing next to "horns of consecration".[2] That the "horns of consecration" are in fact stylised bulls' horns is put beyond all reasonable doubt by a pithos from Salamis in Cyprus which bears a design of alternating bucrania and "horns of consecration" both with a double axe placed between the horns.[3] In spite of Evans' early recognition of this cult symbol[4] various other explanations of these horns have still been proposed. However none of these explanations that the horns of consecration represent human arms raised in an attitude of adoration,[5] or a mountain, being derived from the Egyptian

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1.- British Museum Catalogue of Engraved Gems, p.3 pl.22a; Nilsson, op.cit., p.146 fig.52; Evans, op.cit., 4.450 fig.375a.

2.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.149 fig.57; Evans, op.cit., 4.448-9 figs. 372a, c; 373a,b.

3.- A Evans, "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," p.107 fig.3; Nilsson, op.cit., p.169 fig.70.

4.- Evans, op.cit., p.135-138. His explanation is accepted by R. Dussaud, La Civilisation Préhellénique, p.389; A.B. Cook, Zeus, 2.538; B. Schweitzer, Gnomon, 4 (1928), p.171-193.

5.- This theory was first put forward by Miss B. Williams in Boyd-Hawes, op.cit., p.48, where she noted a "striking similarity" between the horns of consecration and the position of the arms of Minoan portrayals of adorant figures, and compared them to Predynastic Egyptian figurines whose arms are held in a similar position. R. Zahn in K.F. Kinch, Fouilles de Vroulia, p.34 n.1, follows the same line of argument, while O. Crawford, The Eye Goddess, pp.46-47 compares LBA pottery from Sicily and S. Italy, found in connection with Mycenaean ware (pls.9, 11a, b), and Sixth Century pottery (pl.15) which both have horn-like projections that he sees as a blending or confusion of two distinct things - the horns of a bull-god and the uplifted arms of a worshipper. Miss Williams, loc.cit., also suggests that the Earth Mother in Crete may have taken the form of a cow, as she did in Egypt, and that a reminiscence of the goddess is contained in the

hieroglyphic sign for a mountain,[1] or the moon, being related to Late Bronze/Early Iron Age European Mondbilder,[2] or that they are derived from pot-stands or fire dogs which stood on altars,[3] carries any conviction.

Of those who accept Evans' explanation of the "horns of consecration" as stylised bull's horns W. Kristensen[4] goes one step further when he maintains that the bull is the symbol of the earth whence comes fertility, thus the horns represent the fertile earth; the Minoan custom derives from Egypt where the four points of the compass were called "the horns of the earth", and Herodotus states

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curious attitude of adoration. Even today the Dinka negroes carry out a "cow-dance", in which the women raise their hands to look like the horns of cattle (F. Zeuner, "The History of the Domestication of Cattle" in id. and A. Mourant, Man and Cattle, p.14). If this was also a custom in Crete then the "horns of consecration" would still represent bulls' horns, not a gesture of adoration representing bulls' horns.

1.- As suggested by P.E. Newberry, "Two Cults of the Old Kingdom", pp.24-29. W. Gaerte, "Die Horns of Consecration", pp.81ff. supports Newberry's theory which he expands. The "horns of consecration" as representations of mountains are thereby symbols of the Minoan Mother Goddess who is akin to the Magna Mater of Anatolia. His attempts to distinguish different types of "horns of consecration" are not very successful (pp.74-80).

2.- R. Paribeni, "Corni di Consecrazione della Prima Eta del Ferro Europea", pp.304-310 figs.1-7, suggests that the Minoan horns of consecration present a striking analogy to terra-cotta and stone crescents (mondbilder) found in Switzerland, Italy, Austria and Hungary. Any link between the two seems to me to be extremely tenuous.

3.- Thus explaining why the horns of consecration developed from a practical appliance because they were constantly associated with sacrifices. So claims H. Sjoevall, "Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen "Horns of Consecration"", pp.185-192, but unfortunately no fire-dogs have been found in the Neolithic or Early Minoan Periods, when they should appear for the "horns of consecration" to develop by MM.II.

4.- W.B. Kristensen, De Heilige Horens in den Oud-Kretenzichen Godsdienst, pp.74 ff.

that the dead bulls are buried in the ground with one or two horns projecting. When the bull has decomposed a boat comes from Prosopitis, an island in the Delta, from the town of Atarbechis, where there is a temple of Aphrodite; the remains of the bulls are dug up and taken to the island for burial.[1] What may be confirmation of Herodotus' statement comes from an Egyptian cemetery at Turra where many bulls' skulls were found with the horns pointing upwards and only lightly covered with sand.[2] We have already seen that bulls' horns set into benches surrounded First Dynasty tombs.[3] A.B. Cook compares the modern custom of the Dinka negroes whose chiefs have outside their huts a heap of mud shaped and known as a bull, which has bull's horns stuck into it.[4] This construction is a shrine for ancestral spirits to inhabit, and Cook believes that it developed into a horned altar on which food was placed, and that a similar evolution is behind the "horns of consecration" in Crete.[5]

With regard to this argument it should be noted that Kristensen's first statement is, as far as can be told, erroneous. Throughout the Near East and Egypt the bull was not the symbol of the fertile earth, instead the cow was, because the earth was always considered to be female, as the previous chapters have shown, and the succeeding chapters will attempt to show that the same applied to Minoan Crete and Hellenic Greece.[6] Moreover Herodotus' statement that the animals

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1.- Herodotus, 2.41.
2.- T. Hoepfner, Der Tierkult der Alten Aegypter, p.76.
3.- See above pp. 100-101.
4.- A.B. Cook, Zeus, 1.508-9 figs.373-6.
5.- Ibid., 1.510.
6.- See above pp. 166-167 and below pp. 388-390.

concerned were bulls is suspect since, as has been said, his allegation that dead cows were disposed of by being thrown into the Nile is highly dubious,[1] and the town Atarbechis is named after Hathor (also mentioned as Aphrodite), whom one would expect to look after dead cows. Cook's analogy is not close enough to be used unhesitatingly, and one suspects the intrusion of totemistic elements. In fact if one searches for parallels to the Cretan "horns of consecration" in objects that are not real bulls' horns and have no practical purpose then it is to Anatolia and not Egypt that one must look.[2] Furthermore against the introduction of "horns of Consecration" into Crete from Pre- or Protodynastic Egypt it must be stated that prior to the representations of this symbol in MM.II,[3] the only object so far discovered to fit this description is a model in red clay of EM.II date from Mochlos.[4]

M. Nilsson believes that Evans' name for these objects is apt because "they are neither cult objects venerated in themselves nor the place for offerings, a kind of altar in the ancient sense, but they are the place of consecration where objects of cult are laid."[5] This he deduces from Minoan art, in which "horns of consecration" are also shown to surmount various buildings where by their very

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1.- See above p. 165
2.- For the origin of the "horns of consecration" in Anatolia see Appendix.
3.- C. Picard, Les Religions Préhelléniques, p.106.
4.- R.B. Seager, Explorations on the Island of Mochlos, p.82 fig.48, M.31. The object (19cm. long with the two end projections 9 cm. high) is not likely to be a representation of a boat, since its outside surface is crescent shaped whereas the back is quite flat. It differs radically from contemporary clay models of boats (cf. Heraclion Museum no.3570).
5.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.183-4.

position they cannot have performed this function. In these cases Nilsson believes that the "horns of consecration" denote the sacred nature of the building, and adduces the parallel of the Christian cross appearing not only on the altar but also on the roofs of churches; but they may also have become an ornamental feature.[1] Although Nilsson deals thoroughly with the subject of the "horns of consecration" he never asks the question "Why, if these are representations of bulls' horns, are they used in this manner?" The answer to this question is, I believe, both simple and plausible. These representations of bulls' horns were set above shrines as a prophylactic to ward off evil influences. This procedure would be in accord with the general beliefs of the Eastern Mediterranean as a whole during this period, while bull-head amulets, of a possible prophylactic nature, occur in Crete from Neolithic/EM times.[2] To use Nilsson's own analogy the Christian cross is also thought to be a very potent weapon in averting evil. As for the transference of these horns to secular buildings this was not for mere ornamentation but again for the very practical purpose not so much of protecting the building against the evil eye as guaranteeing its very existence in a land shaken so often by earthquakes.[3] This in itself is reason enough for sacred objects to be placed between the "horns of consecration" where no evil could affect them to nullify the desires they were em-

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1.- Ibid., pp.184-5. A. Evans, Palace of Minos, 3.84, agrees with his first conclusion.

2.- See above pp. 23, 28 and pp. 235-6 Cf. also the gesture of mano cornuta still practised in Italy as protection against the evil eye (Crawford, op.cit. p.47).

3.- For an expansion of this theory see below p. 313.

ployed to effect.[1]

But is there more to it than this? Apart from vases what objects also appear between the "horns of consecration"? The most usual object to appear between the horns is a branch or a new shoot of a plant.[2] One seal from Cydonia shows a youthful male deity standing between the horns and approached on either side by a winged goat and a Minoan genius carrying a pitcher.[3] The only other symbol to be shown in this position is the double axe, and the significance of this will be discussed later.[4] When the sacred vessels stand next to "horns of consecration" plants are always shown either between the

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1.- Various people have suggested the "horns of consecration" are in fact derived from horned altars, many examples of which can be cited for the Mediterranean area as a whole during most periods (cf. W. Deonna, "Mobilier Délien II Βωμοι κεραυκοι", pp.381-447 who gives extensive examples including the stele of the god Salm of Teima now in the Louvre which shows the head of a bull below the horns of the altar (p.412 no.130). Since bulls were sacrificed at altars it was natural that their horns should be used to ornament the altar as a constant reminder to both god and man of the piety of the sacrificer. The practice of hanging up the head of a sacrificed ox was common in Greece so that Theophrastus, Characters, 7 can say that the man of petty ambition is eager βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλῶσαι. That this custom gave rise to the "horns of consecration" in Crete is not impossible.

2.- E.g. On a gem from the Idaean Cave (Evans, op.cit., 4.210 fig.162; id., "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult", p.142, fig.25; Nilsson, op.cit., p.153 fig.61); on a bronze tablet from Psychro (Evans, Palace of Minos, 1.632 fig.470; Nilsson, op.cit., p.171 fig.72); and on other gems from Crete (Evans, op.cit., 4.345 fig.289c; 4.449 fig.373a, b; V. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p.148 pl.18, 3P (from Palaikastro showing a palm tree growing from the 'horns') and Phylakopi (Nilsson, op.cit., p.171 fig.73).

3.- Evans, op.cit., 1.708 fig.532; 4.467 fig.392; Nilsson, op.cit., p.148 fig.56.

4.- See below pp.306 and 311-313.

horns or next to the vessel,[1] and on some seals just vessels and plants are shown.[2] That the two were shown together so often because the sacred shoots were ritually watered, presumably to ensure the rejuvenation or growth of the vegetation, is proved by an onyx lentoid from Vaphio in which two genii are about to water three shoots which spring from the "horns of consecration".[3] Because this theme is so often portrayed in whole or in part in Minoan-Mycenaean art, I think it likely that the god who takes the place of the sacred plant, on the gem from Cydonia, is a vegetation deity. What better attributes for him to have in heralding the spring than the libation pouring genius and the rampant goat.

The constant connection of plant and "horns of consecration" gave rise to an artistic innovation whereby the horns themselves are transformed into a vegetable motif.[4] In a cornelian cylinder from East Crete the "horns of consecration" placed above a raised platform have become two shoots while a double-handled vase is symmetrically placed on either side and a bull's head appears above the 'horns'.[5] Once again we return to the same trinity of bull, vegetation and libation. If the bull's blood was used in a spring festival to guarantee the rebirth of vegetation by pouring it onto a

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1.- E.g. Evans, op.cit., 4.449 figs.373 a, b (between the horns). Ibid 4.447-8 figs.372a, c (next to the vessel).
2.- Ibid., 4.447-9 figs.370a-c; 372b; 373c; Nilsson, op.cit., p.149 fig.58.
3.- Evans, op.cit., 4.453 fig.378; id., "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult", p.101 fig.1; Nilsson, op.cit., p.146 fig.53.
4.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.172 figs.75, 76; British Museum Catalogue of Engraved Gems, pl.I, 25 and 26.
5.- Evans, op.cit., 4.496 fig.434.

sacred plant, then the "horns of consecration" may have played a more symbolic than prophylactic role in that they represented the body of the bull from which the plant took its life. Thus the plant shown on a seal to grow from the body of the bull which is attacked by two griffins conveys the same idea. Confirmation of this belief would seem to come from a seal in the private collection of R. Graves. The design shows a central palm-tree with a priestess and smaller tree to the left while on the right a large bull lies on the ground and the body and hindquarters of a bull protrude from beneath the tree's foliage.[1] Graves' explanation of the scene that the large bull is the Bull of the Old Year which has been poleaxed while the New Year's Bull-Calf is born from a date cluster,[2] is rather fanciful although it has some support from later Greek customs.[3] I prefer to see the seal as part of the circle of ideas that is under discussion. The main part of the seal shows a bull suspended from a tree, and the second bull may be another victim destined for the same fate, or else the seal may show a sort of strip-cartoon sequence in which the bull lies on the ground and next is suspended from the tree. The purpose of suspending the bull was presumably to ensure that its blood and its fertilising force came into contact with the tree, in other words a variation of the scene depicted on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus.

In fact this seal provides the missing link in the argument

1.- R. Graves, The Greek Myths, p.10.
2.- Ibid., Loc.cit.
3.- See below pp. 283-5, 290-1, 294-5, 298-9.

Miss Harrison proposed fifty years ago.[1] Believing that the object of the ceremony shown on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus was to bring the bull's blood - its fertilising force or mana as she calls it - into contact with the mimic trees, she cites as a possible parallel the custom said by Plato to have been carried out on Atlantis.[2] In the middle of the sanctuary of Poseidon on Atlantis stood a column on which the laws of the land were inscribed. At regular intervals a bull was led to the top of the column and sacrificed against it so that its blood was applied to the inscription. As it is generally regarded that Plato based this story on some ancient ritual, and fresh evidence is accumulating about the catastrophic eruption of Thera which must have flooded and buried large parts of Crete,[3] the possibility that Atlantis may be a dim recollection of Minoan Crete cannot be ruled out. Accordingly this custom or one like it may have a Minoan origin.

A more striking example of this type of sacrifice is shown on very late Roman coins of Alexandria Troas or Ilium. On a copper coin of Julia Domna in front of a statue of Athena a cow is suspended from a pillar.[4] Coins of Faustina also show a cow suspended in mid air from a sacred olive tree in front of a statue of Athena while a man apparently sitting in the tree prepares to cut the cow's throat

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1.- J.E. Harrison, Themis, pp.163-165.
2.- Plato, Critias, 119 D.E.
3.- See the report of the Cretological Conference in Ἡ Καθημερινή, April 14th, 1966. J.V. Luce, The End of Atlantis.
4.- H. von Fritze, "Zum Griechischen Opferritual", p.58 fig.1. cf. Harrison, op.cit., p.164 fig.32.

with a knife.[1] The coins from Ilium and the account of Plato both are so similar to the scene on the gem in Graves' collection that although the evidence is very late they are probably lineal descendants of the Minoan custom.[2] What may be an adaptation or variation of this cult practice is related by Pausanias.[3] The Messenians worshipped Aristomenes as a hero and once a year the bull to be sacrificed to him was taken to his tomb and tied to a pillar which stood on his grave. The bull being wild would not stand still and if in its attempts to escape the bull shook the pillar, it was a good omen. If the pillar did not shake, it was a bad omen. At this juncture we must return to the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and consider the remainder of the design on it.

On the same panel as the design of the priestess pouring the bull's blood into the pitcher beside the leafy poles, but not part of that design since the colouring of the background provides a sharp contrast to that of the adjacent scene, and the action proceeds in the opposite direction, a draped male figure stands before a small construction by a tree, while three men bring him two calves and a

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1.- Von Fritze, op.cit., p.58 fig.2; cf. Harrison, op.cit., p.165 fig. 33c. A.B. Cook, Zeus, 1.533 fig.406 features a similar coin from his own collection. He also suggests that a custom related by Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, 3.200-209 and said to take place on the Circaean Plain in which male corpses were hung from trees and wrapped in ox-hides (Ibid. 1.534) may be a variant of this custom.

2.- In India the sacrificial mithan is sometimes killed by strangulation. A construction is made of wooden poles from which the animal is dragged up into a sitting position by a noose around its neck with the end of the rope attached to a cross pole above its head (F. Zeuner and A. Mourant, Man and Cattle, pl.XVIIb).

3.- Pausanias, 4.32.3.

boat. Whom does this figure represent? Since the figure appears on a sarcophagus it is safest to assume that he is the dead man standing before his tomb. What then of the gifts brought to him? The boat is a puzzle. No satisfactory explanation of relevance to the scene has yet been proposed. Paribeni's suggestion that it is an accretion from Egyptian religion to provide the dead man with transport in the Underworld is possible but lacks corroborating evidence.[1] Perhaps it is not such a strange gift for a sea-faring islander to receive. The calves, claims the same author, are to revive his strength and life with their blood.[2] Possibly, but we must now re-examine the sarcophagus as a whole. What is the connection between this scene and the other? Ceremonies designed to help the rebirth of the vegetation in the spring and sacrifices to the dead are by no means unconnected. As the dead man is buried under the earth so he is thought to come into contact with the powers of the Underworld which are responsible for sending up the vegetation. He therefore helps the vegetation daemons in fertilizing the earth. That such daemons existed in Minoan times is shown, I believe, by the gem from Cydonia that has just been discussed. As the dead man's powers are not inexhaustible they have to be renewed by calves being sacrificed at his tomb for him to receive their fertilizing power.

This train of thought can best be understood by an examination of the Greek cult of heroes. The more valiant the man had been while

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1.- R. Paribeni, "Il Sarcofago Dipinto di Haghia Triada", pp. 47-49.
2.- Ibid., pp. 25-27

alive the more 'mana', or potent force, he could exert as a hero dwelling beneath the ground. To renew this a bull or a ram was slain so that its blood ran into a trench dug into or near the hero's tomb. The animals had to be black as befits the Underworld.[1] Thus the Thessalians are said to have sent a black and a white bull annually to Achilles' grave in the Troad. The black bull was sacrificed in the manner described to Achilles the hero, while the white one was sacrificed on the shore to Achilles the god.[2] Similarly once a year the archon of Plataea slew a black bull for the Greeks who died at Plataea and prayed to Zeus and Hermes Chthonius.[3] A rich man of Elatea even provided in his will that a bull should be sacrificed periodically at his tomb and games held.[4] Whether this custom is Minoan or Greek is difficult to tell, especially as Mycenaeans may have been responsible for the Hagia Triada internment, but such beliefs are to be expected among people who inhume their dead, and the practice may have arisen independently. In this method of sacrifice the Greeks treated heroes in the same manner as they did the god of the Underworld, Hades or Pluto, in his capacity of sender of vegetation. Thus at Nysa in Caria where Hades was said to have abducted Persephone a black bull was annually sacrificed at his temple.[5] Near Syracuse there was a pool called Cyane where the same event was commemorated by an annual festival in which bulls were drowned in

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1.- For black rams sacrificed to heroes see Pausanias, 1.34.5; 5.13.2; 9.39.6.
2.- Philostratus, Heroica, 20, 25 ff.
3.- Plutarch, Life of Aristides, 21.
4.- CIG. 3 no.128.
5.- Strabo, 650 (14.1.44).

the pool as a public sacrifice.[1]

That heroes were thus responsible for the fertility of the land is proven beyond doubt by the statement of Pausanias that when the sun was in the constellation of Taurus the Thebans placed a guard on the tomb of the heroes Zethus and Amphion lest men from Tithorea in Phocis should remove earth from the tomb and place it on that of Phocus and Antiope, in which case the land of Phocis would be fertile but that of Thebes less so.[2] The Theban heroes would guarantee the fertility of all the Theban territory but the earth from their own tomb would be especially fertile, so the taking of one sod from this place would be enough to divert magically their fertile powers to the Phocian land.

It is no coincidence that this act had to be done while the sun was in the constellation of Taurus, nor is it a coincidence that Aries and Taurus cover the month in which Spring occurs. The names of the two constellations originated in Mesopotamia, although probably not as G. Thomson suggests through the ceremony of the Babylonian New Year Festival performed on the day of the vernal equinox and possibly including the sacrifice of the Bull of Anu, after which the constellation in which the sun appeared at that time was named,[3] but rather for the more mundane reason that the impulse to mate seizes

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1.- Diodorus Siculus, 5.4.
2.- Pausanias, 9.17.4-6.
3.- G. Thomson, "The Greek Calendar", pp.54-55; id., The Prehistoric Aegean, pp.111-114. Followed by R.F. Willetts, Cretan Cults and Festivals, p.108. In the fourth and third millenia during the vernal equinox the sun's position was in Taurus, but c.1900 B.C. it moved out of Taurus into Aries.

animals at this period of the year and the bull was as we have seen the favourite symbol of male potency. Granted Thomson's theory, how are we to account for the constellations of Ram and Bull occurring at the same time of the year? At what time this name for the constellation was introduced into Greece is impossible to determine. On April 20th the sun enters Taurus,[1] which coincides with the spring sowing in Greece, and its leaving heralded storms.[2] A Roman cameo neatly depicts the constellation as a bull with the three Graces as givers of increase standing between its horns and seven stars representing the Pleiades above its back.[3] At both Cyzicus and Sinope a month was called Ταυρεών.[4] At which period of the year this fell is unknown, but most probably it was a spring month. The sexual prowess of both bulls and cows as with other races was not missed by the Greeks, as one can tell by Aristotle's observations.[5] It is very significant that Greek comedy turned to the word ταῦρος to stand for phallus,[6] and young girls are said to be ἀταύρωτοι (innuptae).[7] The word was also in use to describe other sexual parts and activities.[8]

At certain funeral games held in honour of heroes the prize was an ox to be sacrificed to the hero. At the Pythian Games the Greek

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1.- Ovid, Fasti, 4.715-720.
2.- J.G. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece, 5.58.
3.- Harrison, op.cit., p.205 fig.53; O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.368 fig.127.
4.- Keller, op.cit., pl.356; CIG, 1.4157.
5.- Aristotle, History of Animals, 5.2 (540a, 6-7); 6.18 (572a 8ff and 31 ff); 6.21 (575a 13ff).
6.- Scholiast ap. Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 217; Suda, s.v. ταῦρος.
7.-Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 244; Aristophanes, loc.cit.
8.- E.g. τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον (Photius, s.v. σάραβον, ταῦρον; Suda, s.v. σάραβον; Hesychius, s.v. ταῦρος); ὄρρος (Pollux, 2.173); παιδεραστής (Hesychius, s.v. ταῦρος).

states contended with one another to provide this bull, sometimes valued at 300 staters.[1] An inscription states that τοῦ βοὸς τιμὰ τοῦ ἥρωος ἑκατὸν στατῆρες Αἰγιναῖοι.[2] Is the relevant part of this statement to be translated as "the price of the ox of the Hero" or "the price of the ox, the Hero"? Normally the first translation would be usual but the second receives support from a curious invocation from Elis. Plutarch in one of his Greek Questions asks why the women of Elis summon Dionysus to be present among them with his bull-foot.[3] Fortunately Plutarch preserves the hymn which runs ἐλθεῖν ἥρω Διόνυσε, / Ἀλείων ἐς ναὸν / ἁγνὸν σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν / ἐς ναὸν / τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων. / Ἄξιε ταῦρε, ἄξιε ταῦρε Plutarch's reasons for Dionysus being a worthy bull do not concern us here and will be discussed later.[4] Dionysus could assume bovine shape, but it is the relationship of Dionysus the hero to the bull which is of importance.[5] Plutarch also relates how in Argos Dionysus is called the bull-born and is summoned out of the water at Lerna by the blowing of trumpets, while a lamb is cast into the water for Hades.[6] This ceremony re-

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1.- C.F.W. Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, 1.145, line 32.
2.- CIG, 1.1688 line 32.
3.- Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 36. Διὰ τί τὸν Διόνυσον αἱ τῶν Ἠλείων γυναῖκες ὑμνοῦσαι παρακαλοῦσι βοέῳ ποδὶ παραγίγνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτάς; Cf. id., De Iside et Osiride, 35.
4.- See below pp. 286-288
5.- Since the vocative ἥρω does not occur elsewhere A.B. Cook, Zeus, 2.932, suggested the emendation ἥρ' ὦ which is accepted by Harrison, op.cit., p.205, although she had previously accepted the original reading (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p.437). F. Schwenn, Gebet und Opfer, pp.9-12 accepts the original reading and adduces parallels for Dionysus as a hero, which make this reading seem plausible. Perhaps the form ἥρω for the vocative is a local variant.
6.- Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 35.

sembles that carried out at the pool of Cyane near Syracuse where bulls meant for Hades were drowned. Both these places were thus thought of as entrances to the Underworld, and at the Alcyonian Lake at Lerna Dionysus was supposed to have descended to the Underworld to bring back his mother Semele.[1] Dionysus in these cults is seen to act as a chthonic deity being called forth doubtlessly to bring back the vegetation with him. In fact he encroaches on the duties that were the concern not only of the god of the Underworld but also of the heroes.

Dionysus' relationship with heroes and their chthonic responsibilities is clearly revealed at Delphi where the Thyiades celebrated the festival of the Herois, part of which was the ἀναγωγή Σεμέλης when Dionysus descended to fetch up his mother.[2] Could it therefore be that the βοὸς τοῦ ἥρωος at Delphi is none other than the hero Dionysus who is summoned at Elis? In fact it seems as though Dionysus after his arrival in Greece usurped the position of certain local heroes. Thus in Sparta a nameless hero is said to have shown Dionysus the way to Sparta and had a special temenos near the god's temple.[3] In Olympia on the Altis there was an altar of "the hero",[4] who may be the Dionysus invoked by the Elean women.

The sixteen women who sang this invocation were also priestesses of Hera.[5] They were divided into two choruses called Physcoa, after

1.- Pausanias, 2.37.5-6.
2.- F. Schwenn, op.cit., p.9.
3.- Pausanias, 3.13.7; Schwenn, loc.cit.
4.- Pausanias, 5.14.8; Schwenn, op.cit., pp.9-10.
5.- Plutarch, De Mulierum, Virtute, 251E.

an Elean woman beloved of Dionysus who bore him a son and was the first to worship him,[1] and Hippodamia, after the famous wife of Pelops in whose honour a foot race was held every four years between virgins, the winner being known as the Hippodamia of the year.[2] This connection between the bovine Dionysus heros and the priestesses of Hera has not gone unnoticed, and it has been suggested that the foot-race decides who shall be the bride of Dionysus in a sacred marriage to ensure the land's fertility,[3] that the name Hera is merely the feminine form of Heros, meaning "lady", and that originally the sacred marriage was that of a bovine Hera to a bovine hero, who later became Dionysus.[5] Thus Petersen who sees the figure on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus as Dionysus is not so far wrong since the cults of both heroes and gods of fertility are seen to be interwoven, although Petersen's methods of arriving at his conclusion do not take this into account.[6]

The chthonic aspects of Dionysus' character fit in well with what is known of this deity. He was originally a fertility god whose

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1.- Pausanias, 5.16.5.
2.- Ibid., 5.16.2.
3.- J. Harrison, Themis, pp.230-1.
4.- Suggested by F.C.A. Fick and F. Bechtel, Die Griechischen Personennamen, pp.361, 440; W. Prellwitz Etymologische Woerterbuch der Griechischen Sprache, p.177. An exvoto from Thrace shows a horse-rider with a woman by his side and the inscription Κυρίῳ Ἥρωι, Ἥρᾳ . . . Αὔλου Τράλεος εὐχήν which seems to indicate that the dead man is called ἥρως and his wife ἥρα. (S. Wide, "Chthonische und Himmlische Goetter", p.263).
5.- Wide, loc.cit.; for sacred marriages in which either or both partners assume bovine shape see below pp. 394-399.
6.- E. Petersen, "Der Kretische Bildersarg", p.162. His main thesis that the god is standing before his temple, is closely draped because he is Dionysus "Phalles" and the tree beside him marks him as "Dendrites", destroys any chthonic connection with the scene.

responsibility for one plant in particular led him to become a god of wine. Accordingly the Orphic Bacchus, with whom the mystic is made one, is the ancient god of life and nature and no reference to wine appears in the Orphic confession.[1] Both Herodotus and Plutarch identify Dionysus with the great Egyptian fertility god Osiris, and claim that the Orphic and Bacchic rituals are really Egyptian.[2] Plutarch also says that he is called Hyes because he is the lord of moisture,[3] and Varro adds that he was not only recognised in the juices of fruits such as the grape but also in the sperm of living creatures.[4] The phallus played a major part in Dionysiac worship, although in time the lustful side of his nature was relegated to the satyrs and sileni.[5]

It was inevitable then that a god of such functions in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean should acquire the bull as his attribute. Thus Greek vases show him amid his maenads holding a vine branch and riding on a bull.[6] In fact Dionysus was supposed to be able to manifest himself as a bull. Thus in Euripides Bacchae Dionysus is said to be born as a ταυρόκερων θεὸν and is invoked to appear as a bull; after Pentheus has imprisoned the god he finds in the cell not a beautiful young man but a raging bull; when led forth to Cithaeron

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1.- J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p.509.
2.- Herodotus, 2.81; Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 13, 28, 34, 35; Diodorus, 3.74, combines the two by making Dionysus the son of Zeus and Io and being born in Egypt where he discovered the mysteries. (cf. Ibid., 1.11)
3.- Plutarch, op.cit., 34.
4.- Varro, ap., Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 7.21 (cf. also 6.9 and 7.2).
5.- W.F. Otto, Dionysus, pp.164-165.
6.- W. Technau, "Die Goettin auf dem Stier", p.80.

in his madness the same person says to the god "Καὶ ταῦρος ἡμῖν πρόσθεν ἡγεῖσθαι δοκεῖς, / καὶ σῷ κέρατε κρατὶ προσπεφυκέναι. / ἀλλ' ἦ ποτ' ἦσθα θήρ. τεταύρωσαι γὰρ οὖν."[1] Sophocles refers to βούκερως Ἴακχος and Euphorion to Ἴη ταυροκέρωτι,[2] while ταυρωπός is both an epithet of the god and of wine.[3] Athenaeus says that he is called a bull by many poets.[4] The bull also served as a suitable symbol for the raging frenzy as experienced by Bacchic devotees maddened with wine.[5]

Both Plutarch and Athenaeus say that Dionysus was represented by many Greeks as a bull and that there was a bull-shaped statue of the god at Cyzicus.[6] On a red-figure vase he appears as a calf-headed child seated on a woman's lap,[7] while later representations show him as a child with grape clusters round his head and a bull's skin and head hanging down his back.[8] A. Cook suggests that the name Bacchus is borrowed from the Egyptian holy bull Bacchis, helped by the bovine form of the god and his fertilising powers. He believes that the name was taken over by Greeks living in Libya and passed on to Greece proper.[9] I cannot accept this theory, since although Dion-

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1.- Euripides, Bacchae, lines 99; 1017; 616-619; 920-922 respectively.
2.- Sophocles, frag. 874 (Nauck); Euphorion, frag., 14 (Mueller). Cf. Horace, Carmina, 2.19.30; Tibullus, 2.1.3; Propertius, 3.17.19. Nonnus uses these epithets frequently.
3.- Orphic Hymn, 29.4 and Sophocles, Ion (frag. 9 (Bergk) respectively.
4.- Athenaeus, 476 A. cf. Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 36.
5.- Along with such other animals as the lion, panther and lynx; cf. Euripides, Bacchae, loc.cit.; Otto, op.cit., pp.110-111, 166
6.- Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 35; Athenaeus, loc.cit.
7.- F. Lenormant, "Dionysus Zagreus", Gazette Archeologique, 5 (1879), pl.3.
8.- Arch. Zeit., 9 (1851), pl.XXXIII;
9.- Cook, op.cit., 1.438.

ysus was identified with Osiris, Bacchis was holy to Re and not to Osiris.[1]

One more link between a god of fertility responsible for the growth of vegetation and the bull is that in countries with a developed agriculture an animal is required as a beast of burden and for pulling the plough. When the ox was used for this purpose it increased its standing as an embodiment of all fertility. The association of corn-ear and bull in Mithraic religion has been noted,[2] to which can be added the appearance of both objects on a variety of Greek coin-types.[3] The earliest Mesopotamian seals also reveal this combination.[4] It therefore comes as no surprise to learn that Dionysus was the first to yoke an ox and to institute the sowing of crops.[5] As he did with the hero, so Dionysus may have taken over this responsibility from some local figure like Bouzyges of Athens. Athenian lore had it that Bouzyges was the first man ever to plough with a pair of oxen,[6] and that the original plough was dedicated on the Acropolis.[7] The Athenians observed three sacred ploughings, at Sciron, at Raria and at the foot of the Acropolis, the so-called Bouzygios.[8] Bouzyges was in fact the eponymous ancestor of the clan Bouzygae who were responsible among other duties for keeping the sacred oxen that

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1.- See above p. 184.
2.- See above p. 240.
3.- L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischen Bild", p.139; British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Ionia, pl.XVIII,4.
4.- See above p. 62
5.- Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 36; Diodorus 3.64; 4.4. Because of this Diodorus says that he was called κεραστίαν
6.- Hesychius s.v. Βουζύγης; see J. Toepffer in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 3.1094-1096.
7.- Scholiast ap. Aeschines, De Falsa Legatione, 78.
8.- Plutarch, Coniugii Praecepta, 42.

ploughed at Eleusis.[1] A red-figure crater shows Bouzyges ploughing and being watched by two figures one of whom can be identified as Athena, who apart from her usual attributes holds six ears of corn.[2] Possibly Bouzyges was transferred from Eleusis to Athens, and from the patronage of Demeter to that of Athena.[3] Certainly Athena was connected with ploughing to judge by her cult titles of Boarmia (she who fits the plough) in Boeotia[4] and Boudia (she who binds the oxen) in Thessaly[5] although the sources for this material are late. Aelius Aristides says that she taught men the use of the plough,[6] while a similar story was told in Argos of how Hera obtained the name Zeuxidia, when the King of Argos first yoked oxen to the plough, dedicated a temple to Hera "the goddess of the yoke", and called the ears of corn "the flowers of Hera".[7]

So precious were good working oxen in Greece that they were seldom sacrificed, so that when ritual demanded one of these animals for a victim a reason had to be invented for the strange choice. Pausanias explains the sacrifice of such an animal by the Thebans to Apollo of the Ashes as follows. The custom arose when the man sent to fetch the ox had not arrived, so, with time running short, an ox was unhitched from a wagon and slaughtered instead.[8] So much more valuable

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1.- IG., 3.71, 294; CIG, 3.1 no.273; Eupolis, Demoi, frag. 7 ap. Aristides, Oratio, 46.129.
2.- Cook, op.cit., 3.607, pl.XLV.
3.- Cook, loc.cit.
4.- Lycophron, Alexandria, 518-520 with Tzetzes and Scholiast ad.loc.
5.- Ibid., 359-360 with Tzetzes ad loc; Eustathius ad. Iliad, p.1076, 28 citing Stephanus of Byzantium.
6.- Aristides, Athena, 1. p.20
7.- Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. ζευξιδία.
8.- Pausanias, 9.12.1.

was a plough-ox that in Phrygia it was said to be capital offence to slay one.[1] Columella says that the same rule applied at Athens, while Varro agrees and adds that this was also the case in the Peloponnese.[2] Pliny says that in the old Roman days the offence was punishable by exile.[3] So when two plough-oxen were sacrificed at Lindos on Rhodes at an altar of Heracles called the Bouzygon curses (βουζύγιοι ἀραί) were hurled at the slayer,[4] the reason for this being that Heracles had once taken by force a plough-ox to be sacrificed, and was cursed by its owner.[5]

Dionysus seems to have been worshipped first of all in the Thraco-Phrygian area,[6] although his cult was adopted at an early stage in Greece as can be seen from the Linear 'B' tablets.[7] In that it was an ecstatic and mystic religion concerned with a god who was born, lived as a youth and died, it closely resembled the worship of Zagreus and Cretan Zeus who seems to have developed out of the old Minoan religion.[8] Since the myths relating to these figures are all syncretistic it is impossible to distinguish which elements belong

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1.- Aelian, Nat. An., 12.34; Var. Hist., 5.14; Aratus 132 and Scholiast ad loc.; Diogenes Laertius 8.20.
2.- Columella, 6. Praef. 7; J.G. Frazer, A Commentary on Pausanias, 2.304, thinks the statement is inferred from the ritual of the Bouphania (q.v.); Varro, De Re Rustica, 2.5.4.
3.- Pliny, Natural History, 8.70; 8.180.
4.- Lactantius, Inst. Div., 1.21.31. According to the Suda s.v. βοῦθος, βουθοίνας and βουζύγης were all names of Heracles, which may possibly refer to this cult (v. F. Schwenn, Gebet und Opfer p.101.)
5.- Philostratus, Heracles, 2.24.
6.- O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 5.1011-1013.
7.- M. Gerard-Rousseau, Les Mentions Religieuses, pp.74-76; M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, p.127.
8.- W. Guthrie, Early Greek Religion in the Light of the Decipherment of Linear B, p.40.

to the Cretan side and which to the Thraco-Phrygian. It is clear, however, that the major practice of Dionysiac worship took the form of a biennial communal feast of raw bull's flesh, which was called the omophagia or omophagos dais.[1] Dionysus himself was known as Omadios, Omestes, and Omaeos,[2] and Sophocles calls him Taurophagus.[3]

The explanation of this strange custom was that when the young Dionysus/Zagreus was sitting on the throne of Zeus, the Titans, encouraged by Hera, lured him away and attacked him. The child changed shape into a lion, horse, snake, tiger and finally bull, and while in the latter guise the Titans killed him with knives, cut him up and ate him.[4] Accordingly in mythology the followers of Dionysus seized and rent with their bare hands a living bull (the sparagmos), which they then ate,[5] while in practice the bull was killed in the usual manner before being devoured raw. Goats sometimes suffered the same fate.[6] This ritual hinges on the fact that the bull which is slain is thought to be a manifestation of the god and that by eating the animal the worshipper becomes entheos, that is the god is

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1.- J. Schmidt in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 18.380-382.
2.- Omadios: Porphyry, De Abstinentia, 2.55; Omestes: Plutarch, Themistocles, 13; id., De Cohibenda Ira, 13; Omaeos: Porphyry, loc.cit.; Orphic Hymn, 30.5; 52.7.
3.- Sophocles, Tyro, frag. 607 (Nauck) in Scholiast ap. Aristophanes, Frogs., 360.
4.- The various sources of the Dionysus/Zagreus myth are all given in E. Abel, Orphica, pp.230-236, and appear to be based on lost poems attributed to Orpheus. cf. Diodorus, 5.75; Nonnos, Dionysiaca, 6.155-206.
5.- Euripides, Bacchae, 734-747; id., Cressae, frag.472 (Nauck) ap. Porphyry, op.cit., 4.19. Firmicus Maternus, De Errore Profanarum Religionum, 6.
6.- Aeschylus, Edoni, frag.64 (Nauck) ap. Hesychius s.v. ἀιγίζειν· διασπᾶν

able to enter him and possess him. Hence the Orphic myth that after eating Dionysus/Zagreus the Titans were slain by an enraged Zeus, who hurled his thunderbolt at them. From their ashes man sprung and thus had part of the divine essence in him, which had to be replenished every two years by eating the god in bovine form again.[1]

It is doubtful if the first people to indulge in bovine omophagy had such a comforting theology to explain their action. We have seen how the bull was thought to be the embodiment of fertilizing force 'par excellence', and how this mana carried in its blood could be used effectively to promote generation in plants. The omophagia is a logical extension of this train of thought in that the best way to transfer this fertility and strength from beast to man is by consuming the animal, if not when still alive, then as shortly after its death as possible so that the vital force does not have time to wane. "The idea that by eating an animal you absorb its qualities is too obvious a piece of savage logic to need detailed illustration".[2] Suffice to quote Porphyry then that those who wish to acquire the spirits of prophetic animals swallow the most effective part of them, e.g. the hearts of crows, moles and hawks.[3]

One question that must be asked is did the god grow out of the festival? Miss Harrison and L. Malten certainly think so.[4] The bull that suffered this fate may originally have been anonymous, but that

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1.- O. Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, nos.210ff.; Harrison, op.cit. p.490.
2.- Harrison, op.cit., p.486.
3.- Porphyry, De Abstinentia, 2.48.
4.- J. Harrison, Themis, pp.136, 156; Malten, op.cit., p.138.

he should be associated with and even become a god of fertility is no more than could be expected. For example six boundary stones all from the region of Thespiae are inscribed in late characters ΘΕΟΥ ΤΑΥΡΟΥ,[1] which O. Gruppe thought referred to a bovine Dionysus, whereas A. Plassart prefers Poseidon, and A. Cook is content to cite Moschus, who makes Europa say to her mount πῇ με φερεῖς, Θεόταυρε .[2] As positive proof is lacking any one of these deities could be intended, but since such confusion would be bound to arise if an Olympian deity was invoked I prefer to see the inscriptions referring to a nameless god who manifests himself as a bull. Or rather that a deity has evolved from whatever ceremony this bull took part in, and was not assimilated into one of the Olympians.

A ceremony similar in intent to that of the omophagia is the taurobolium as practised by the adherents of Mithras and Attis. A pit was dug into which the celebrant descended. Then a lattice work construction was laid over the pit on which a bull was killed so that the blood cascaded down and drenched the man below.[3] In this way the celebrant received the life and strength of the animal, not by eating, but by bathing in its blood, the vehicle of its vital energy. In Mithraism it became a renovation, temporary or permanent, of the soul.[4]

1.- CIG. 1.1787; A. Plassart, "Inscriptions de Thespies", p.393 nos. 8-12; Cook, op.cit., 1.464, fig.321.

2.- O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie, p.1425 n.4; Plassart, op.cit. p.394; Cook, op.cit. 3.1086 citing Moschus, 2.135.

3.- The taurobolium is vividly described by Prudentius, Peristreph, 10.1076. Criobolia also took place, v. F. Cumant in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 4.1718-9.

4.- F. Cumant, The Mysteries of Mithra, p.180. R. Duthoy, The Taurobolium, p.115.

In view of what has been said of bull's blood as a source of vital energy it comes as a surprise to learn that the ancients generally regarded it as a poison. Aristophanes certainly speaks of it in such a way as to infer that it was a widely held belief in Athens that it was a poison,[1] and Psammetichus, Cambyses brother, Midas, Aeson and Hannibal[2] are all said to have died from drinking it. The most famous suicide of all by this means was that of Themistocles, who is said to have drunk the blood of the bull sacrificed to Artemis Leucophrys at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander.[3] But on the other hand Aristotle merely says that the bull has the thickest and blackest blood of all viviparous animals,[4] while other authors recommend it as a cure for blood-spitting and consumption.[5] Possibly the answer to how this myth was propogated is provided by a custom carried out in Achaea. Pliny says that at Aegira the priestess of Ge drank bull's blood before descending into a cave to prophesy,[6] whereas Pausanias says that the woman who holds the office must be chaste and she proves this by drinking bull's blood.[7] Possibly Pausanias was in-

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1.- Aristophanes, Knights, 83-84.
2.- Cf. Diodorus, 4.50.1; Apollodorus 1.9.27, and see W. Rescher, "Die Vergiftung mit Stierblut im Classischen Altertum", pp.158-162.
3.- Plutarch, Life of Themistocles, 31; Scholiast ad Aristophanes, Knights, loc.cit. A coin of Antoninus Pius from Magnesia shows him standing with a patera in his hand next to the dead bull (A. Rhonsopoulos, "Das Monument des Themistocles in Magnesie", p.22.)
4.- Aristotle, Hist. An., 3.19.
5.- Aelian, Nat. An., 9.35; Dioscurides, De Cura Morborum, 167.
6.- Pliny, Nat. Hist., 28.147.
7.- Pausanias, 7.25.13.

fluenced in his statement by the reputation of bull's blood as a notorious poison, although both statements may be true. Drinking the blood was the means of attaining divine possession, as much as was taking part in the omophagia, (but in this instance for the purpose of prophecy[1]), and only ritually pure people could drink it safely at specific times. If then it was consumed at other times by the uninitiated, might it not be thought to change its benificent powers for deadly ones?

To return to the omophagia, it is extremely unlikely that the bull is a substitute for human sacrifice. Stories like the one told by Firmicus Maternus that the Cretans to assuage the wrath of a tyrant over the death of his son celebrated his death biennially by performing on a bull everything the boy did or suffered,[2] can be dismissed as aetiological fiction. More substantial than this is the account from Tenedos, where in the cult of Dionysus Anthroporrhaestes (The Man Slayer) a new-born calf bound in buskins was struck by a double axe and the man who wielded the axe was pelted with stones until he reached the sea.[3] Porphyry also states that on Chios a man was torn to pieces in honour of Dionysus Omadius[4] and we must not forget the fate of both Pentheus and Orpheus.[5] Does this mean that the

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1.- The custom also applied to the priestess of Apollo Pythios at Argos, although the sanctuary may also have belonged originally to earth. (L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 3.12.)
2.- Firmicus Maternus, op.cit., 6.
3.- Aelian, Nat. An., 12, 34. The calf's mother was kept and tended, and when she calved was treated like a woman in child-birth.
4.- Porphyry, De Abstinentia, 2.55.
5.- Euripides, Bacchae, 1043 ff; Pausanias, 9.30.5, et. al. Possibly the death of Dirce, said to honour Dionysus above all other gods, and dragged asunder by two bulls, is influenced by Dionysiac ritual. (Pausanias, 9.17.6.)

bull was a surrogate for a man? I think not. The reason for the bull's being eaten was for the celebrants to acquire the special powers of the bull. Only the bull could impart them not a man. But the bull also embodied the god. This is neatly shown in the Tenedian cult where the calf is dressed in buskins, the characteristic apparel of Dionysus.[1] If it is true that a man was butchered in this way, then the act may be due to a perversion of the ritual after its origins and purpose had been forgotten, possibly by some twisted logic, such as Firmicus reveals, that as the bull is a substitute for man, therefore let us revert to the original practice. The embodiment of the god in the bull may have helped this reasoning.

As the Great Mother Goddess is accompanied by a coterie of ecstatic ministrants such as the Cabeiri and Corybantes, so Dionysus is followed by female devotees, the maenads. In their enthusiastic rapture the maenads, as their name implies, rave. This is easily explained through their drinking large amounts of wine and thereby becoming entheos by another means. Dionysus can also send madness to distract his persecutors. But are these people the outright opponents of his cult that Greek mythology makes them? Pentheus' opposition has been mentioned, but that of Lycurgus is more interesting. According to Homer the Thracian king pursued and slew the maenads with an ox-goad (βουπλήξ) while Dionysus in fright plunged into the sea.[2] A red-figure crater in the Naples Museum shows Lycurgus using a double

1.- See Aristophanes, Frogs, 47.
2.- Iliad, 6.132-6.

axe on his children.[1] Is this the weapon to which Homer refers, and not a goad? Dionysus is shown on a black-figure amphora holding this same weapon and sitting on a bull,[2] while the axe that struck the calf at Tenedos is shown on coins of c.420 B.C. and later next to a grape cluster.[3] Similarly Butes, another Thracian King, is also said to have pursued the maenads with an ox-goad, whereupon he too was driven mad by Dionysus and jumped into a well.[4] Was this act of pursuing the maenads with a goad or axe that of a hostile enemy or part of Dionysiac ritual? Why should this particular weapon be chosen?

Lycophron talks of the κεραοφόρους γυναῖκας of Dionysus Laphystius who frequented Mt. Cissus in Macedonia, and the scholiast adds that they wore horns in imitation of the god.[5] When Dionysus maddened the Proetides[6] they roamed the forests thinking that they were cattle.[7] Another tradition claims that they were maddened by Hera,[8] who also afflicts in this way Heracles, Athamas, Ino, Dionysus himself and Io.[9]

1.- J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p.368.
2.- A. Cook, Zeus, 1.661, fig.600.
3.- Ibid., 2.658.
4.- Diodorus Siculus, 5.50.
5.- Lycophron, 1237 and scholiast ad.loc.
6.- Apollodorus, 2.2.1 citing Hesiod.
7.- Virgil, Eclogue, 6.47.49 and Servius ad.loc. The view of G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, p.227 that the Proetides' madness was epilepsy which was believed to be caused through possession by an animal (hence its name θηρεία νόσος (Harpocration, Morb. Sac., 4)) while plausible, is unlikely in view of the number of cases of madness and bovine manifestations and transmogrifications connected with Dionysiac religion.
8.- Apollodorus, loc.cit., citing Acusilaus.
9.- Heracles: Euripides, Hercules Furens, 967ff; Athamas and Ino: Apollodorus, 1.92.2; 3.4.3; Pausanias, 1.44.7; 9.34.7; Dionysus: Euripides, Cyclops, 3ff; Apollodorus, 3.5.1.; Io: Aeschylus, Prometheus Vinctus, 786ff.

The power to send people mad seems to have been the prerogative of the chthonic powers,[1] of which Hera was probably one;[2] so was the ability to inspire oracle-givers and send dreams,[3] until it was acquired by the Olympians.[4] Io was in fact not actually sent mad but attacked by a gad-fly sent by Hera after Zeus had turned her into a cow.[5] It has long been suggested that as Io and the Proetides either become or think they are cows at the instigation of Hera, the priestesses of Hera at Argos were known as "cows".[6] This is quite possible and is paralleled by the priestesses of Artemis at Brauron being called "bears".[7] It further implies that the priestesses identified themselves with the animal specially connected with the deity.[8] Moreover Io, the bovine priestess of Hera, is watched over by Argos, the eponymous hero of the land,[9] who is said to have slain a bull that was laying waste the Arcadians' land and donned its skin.[10] He is also credited with introducing agriculture into Argos.[11] With regard to Io he merely acts as a cowherd or bucolos.[12]

There is ample evidence to prove that the priests of Dionysus'

1.- See S. Wide, "Chthonische und Himmlische Goetter", p.261.
2.- See below, p. 387
3.- Hera had an oracle near Corinth (μαντεῖον παλαιόν Strabo 380 (8.6.22))
4.- Cf. Apollo's wresting of Delphi from Pytho; Zeus in Iliad, 1.63 is said to send dreams.
5.- Aeschylus, Suppliants, 291ff.
6.- Cook, op.cit., 1.441.
7.- Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 645 with Scholiast ad.loc.; For other such nomenclatures see Cook, op.cit., 1.442-444.
8.- Ibid., 1.453.
9.- His grave was shown at Argos (Pausanias, 2.22.5).
10.- Apollodorus, 2.1.2.
11.- Polemon, frag.12 (C. Mueller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 3.119).
12.- Cook, op.cit., 1.458.

cult were known as bucoloi in many places,[1] and the title Archibucolos Dei Liberi appears on inscriptions from Rome.[2] The same name is also given to priests in the service of Sabazius and Iobacchus,[3] and in Aristophanes' Wasps a character can say "You are an ox-herd to the same Sabazius as I."[4] Since the priests of Dionysus and other gods, with whom he was associated, were called cow-herds, then it is easy to see why the maenads thought they were cows. Having gorged themselves at the omophagia they had made themselves "cows" by eating the divine bull. Did the priests, the "cow-herds", then chase them and round them up using ox-goads? Were the maenads beaten with these weapons to induce fertility very much as at the Roman Lupercalia when barren women were struck with thongs of wolf-hide to make them fertile?[5] It appears that both Lycurgus and Boutes (ox-herd) may not have been the opponents of Dionysus' cult but his own priests carrying out the sacred ritual.[6]

1.- O. Kern "Βουκολοι" in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 3.1013-1017, and E. Rohde, Psyche, p.272 n.35, between them collect all the references.
2.- Rohde, loc.cit.
3.- At Perinthus an inscription mentions Σπέλλιος ἀρχιβούκολος Εὐήθις (Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 3.1015); at Apollonia-on-the-Euxine a late inscription mentions βουκόλος, λικνοφόρος and other mystic titles (CIG 1.2052); at Athens an inscription stating the duties of the Iobacchi mentions a priest called the (I.G. 1.737).
4.- Aristophanes, Wasps, 10 τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρ' ἐμοὶ βουκολεῖς Σαβάζιον
5.- Livy, 1.5.
6.- I suspect that behind the story of Ajax's madness and slaying of the Achaeans' herds (Sophocles, Ajax, 51-65) in mistake for their leaders there lies a dim recollection of this same type of ritual. The chorus (lines 172-3) suggests Artemis Tauropolos as the agent in causing his frenzy, but for no particular reason, unless as the Scholiast suggests Artemis is thought to send the madness in her capacity of moon-goddess and the epithet Tauropolos is apt in view of Ajax's attack upon the herds.

Other gods also had priests with bovine names. The archibucolos of Apollo Smintheus, mentioned above purely in his role of herdsman,[1] may well have been a priest of Apollo as well, although his name and duties would stem from the necessity of looking after the sacred animals of the god of herding. The young bachelors who poured the wine at the festival of Poseidon at Ephesus were known as "bulls",[2] and as with Artemis' "bears" this appears to be a simple identification with the god's favourite animal. A strange Spartan custom of making youths of over six years old eat and sleep in communities called "herds" (ἀγέλαι), while the age-classes were divided into "herds of oxen" (βοῦαι) led by "herd-leaders" (βουάγοι)[3] does not seem to have any religious connections, but to be a merely figurative expression. The explanation of the nomenclature as a survival of totemism[4] is improbable, since in that case one would expect the different groups to be named after different animals and not to refer to the same one.

In the legend of Catreus and Althaemenes the latter, warned by an oracle that he will slay his father, leaves his native Crete and settles in Rhodes, where after a long time his father, anxious to leave his kingdom to him, arrives. Mistaken for a pirate he is pelted with stones by Althaemenes' ox-herds (βουκόλοι), his cries are drowned by the baying of dogs, and he is finally killed by Althaemenes.[5]

1.- See above p.227
2.- Athenaeus, 425 c citing Amerias; cf. Hesychius s.v. ταῦροι and ταυρία · ἑορτή τις ἀγομένη ποσειδῶνος.
3.- Xenophon, Respublica Lacedaemoniorum, 2.11; cf. H. Michell, Sparta, p.168.
4.- R.F. Willetts, Cretan Cults and Festivals, p.45.
5.- Apollodorus, 3.2.1-2.

Catreus' ox-herds play an important role in this story, which may have developed out of a religious ritual. Bucoloi can be the name of a class of priest, and the ritual pelting with stones of a man who has killed an ox, until he reaches the sea occurs in the ceremony of Dionysus Anthroporrhaestes on Tenedos.[1] In this way the man acts as a scape-goat taking the pollution of blood-guilt with him into the sea. In the Catreus legend the fact that he has just landed and is pelted by bucoloi suggests that the legend may in fact conceal a ritual of this sort.

At Athens there was a clan called the Butadae or Eteobutadae, which was named after an eponymous ancestor, Butes,[2] and which had an ox-head as its symbol often displayed on its shields.[3] The priestess of Athena Polias was drawn from their ranks, as was a priest known only as Butes.[4] Hesychius claims that this priest officiated at the ceremony of the Bouphonia,[5] but he may have confused the name with that of the officiating priest Βουθύτης.[6]

The Bouphonia or Diipolia seems to have been an important event in the Athenian religious calendar, although by the time of Aristophanes it was considered to be an antique festival.[7] The fullest

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1.- See above p. 277
2.- Suda s.v. Βούτης ; Apollodorus, 3.15.1; Pausanias, 1.26.5.
3.- G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, p.121 fig.5 shows a vase-painting of an ox-head on a shield. An ox-head also appears upon the Attic coinage, when the influence of the clan was at its zenith. (Ibid., loc.cit.).
4.- Scholiast ap. Aeschines, De Falsa Legatione, 78 and Suda, loc.cit. Cf. I.G. 2. 1656 (= CIG 3.302).
5.- Hesychius s.v. Βούτης
6.- W. Hyde, "The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law", p.158. Cf. Suda, s.v. Βουθύτης ; Athenaeus, 660 A.
7.- Aristophanes, Peace, 420; Clouds, 984-5.

account of the ritual is preserved in Porphyry, and said to derive from Theophrastus. Corn or wheat-cakes were placed on the altar of Zeus Polieus and oxen were driven round it. The first animal to taste the food was promptly slain with an axe. Another man slit its throat with a knife and the ox was flayed and its flesh distributed to all and eaten. Its hide was then stuffed with straw, sown up and yoked to the plough. The man who had struck the ox dropped the axe and ran away. A trial was held in which the axe was acquitted. An elaborate ritual was held prior to the sacrifice of the ox in which girls brought water for a man to whet the axe and knife, while another handed them over to the ultimate slayer and flayer. All these in turn blamed the other until the man who slit the animal's throat blamed the knife, which, unable to reply, was condemned and thrown into the sea.[1] Of the ancient writers who describe this ceremony Pausanias makes little attempt to explain what he doesn't understand. Porphyry, however, gives an aetiological explanation that Sopater or Diomos, a Cretan (others call him Thaulon),[2] being in Athens and watching a communal bloodless sacrifice, was so incensed when an ox ate one of the cakes that he picked up an axe and slew it. He fled

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1.- Porphyry, De Abstinentia, 2.29-31 citing Theophrastus; Pausanias, 1.24.4; 1.28.10, who says that the axe was tried and condemned; Aelian, Varia Historia, 7.3; scholiasts ad. Aristophanes, loc.cit.; Hesychius, Suda, Etymologicum Magnum s.vv Βουφόνια and Βουτύπος. Cook, op.cit.,3.581-2 figs.407 and 408 shows two vase-paintings of four bulls surrounding an altar with an olive (?) tree in the background, which he thinks may depict the Bouphonia.

2.- E.g. Scholiast ad. Iliad., 18.483; Androtion frag.13 (Mueller, op.cit., 1.372) ap. Scholiast ad. Aristophanes, Clouds, 985; Suda, s.v. Θαύλων ; Hesychius, Θαυλωνίδαι

to Crete having buried the bull and a plague ensued at Athens. To escape pollution Sopater suggested that the whole city do the deed, and that he be made an Athenian citizen so that they make themselves share in the murder.[1] As Farnell says this is "the explanation of a vegetarian defending a thesis."[2] Moreover the story is inconsistent, as Cook points out,[3] since Sopater had no need to flee as he was an alien anyway. The connection of Sopater with Crete has led some authors to believe that the Bouphania is a relic from Minoan times,[4] although there is no other evidence to support this theory. In fact the only ritual analagous to this ceremony, the Ταυροφόνια took place at Anaphe in the Cyclades in honour of Apollo Agelatas.[5]

A vast amount of literature has appeared on the subject of the Bouphonia, from which many conflicting conclusions have been drawn.[6] Before discussing these views one must consider the method of selecting the victim, since this has a direct bearing on the nature of the ritual itself. All authorities agree that bulls were allowed to wander round the altar and the first to eat the cakes or corn was sacrificed. In other words this was the means by which the victim chose itself. I think we can therefore rule out such statements that this is the act of the bull as the corn-spirit taking possession of

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1.- Porphyry, op.cit., 2.29.
2.- L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 1.88.
3.- Cook, op.cit., 3.592.
4.- J. Harrison, Themis, p.176 n.3, 208; Cook, op.cit., 3.604, although earlier (3.593) he attributes the connection between Sopater and Crete to Theophrastus' knowledge of the part which both bull and axe played in Minoan religion, and believes that he hazarded a transference of cult.
5.- I.G., 3. 249.
6.- Cook, op.cit., 3.598-601 summarises the majority of them.

its own,[1] or that it strengthens the animal's magic powers prior to being eaten communally.[2] Plutarch says that meal was regularly set before bulls prior to their sacrifice to see if their souls were pure. If they did not take the food they were unfit to be sacrificed.[3]

Allied to this way of thinking are the stories of animals' presenting themselves for sacrifice. Thus at Cos an ox selected itself by some sign of willingness to die every alternate year and devoted itself at the altar of Zeus Machaneus.[4] Similarly at Stratonicea an ox went of its own accord to the priest of Zeus Panamaros and led him to the altar, where it devoted itself.[5] During the seige of Cyzicus by Mithridates a black cow left its pasture, swam across the sea, galloped through the city gate to the altar of Persephone, and so enabled the usual sacrifice to take place.[6] In the same war when Lucullus crossed the Euphrates one of the sacred cows of Persian Artemis (Anat) went to a rock held sacred to the goddess, and lowered its neck for Lucullus to sacrifice it.[7] At Eryx in Sicily animals from the sacred herds of Aphrodite were said to come of their own accord every day of the year and stand by the altars, if anybody

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1.- E.g. J. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Spirits of Corn and Wild, 2.6.
2.- F. Schwenn, Gebet und Opfer, p.110.
3.- Plutarch, De Defectu Oraculorum, 50. Probably when Agamemnon sacrifices a bull to Zeus and sprinkles it with grain (Iliad, 2. 421-438) he is only as Leaf suggests (Companion to the'Iliad', p. 77) offering both meat and fruits of the earth to the god, and not using this as a means of selection.
4.- W. Paton and E. Hicks, The Inscriptions of Cos, pp.88-90 (= SIG 1026).
5.- G. Cousin, "Inscriptions du Sanctaire de Zeus Panamaros", p.21 no.18 lines 15-22.
6.- Plutarch, Life of Lucullus, 10; Porphyry, op.cit., 1.25.
7.- Plutarch, op.cit., 24.

wanted to sacrifice one.[1] Finally at the festival of St. George at the monastery of Ilori in the Caucasus as late as the nineteenth century an ox entered the monastery and offered itself for sacrifice.[2] The monks were said to eat the bull's flesh "avec grande ardeur et dévotion, ni plus ni moins que si c'était la Communion",[3] and keep parts of it as an effective medicine.

All these examples occur outside the Greek Mainland but the beliefs they contain are Greek as can be seen by the ceremony at Hermione in which a huge bull which ten men could not master is led to the altar by the aged priestess of Demeter Chthonia.[4] Such stories also occur in the Bible.[5] The Greeks seem to have thought that the animals who acted in this way were guided by the deity to whom they were about to be sacrificed. But in one of Plutarch's Greek Questions he asks "Who is the consecrator among the Delphians", to which he gives the answer that the consecrator is not the man who sacrifices when a "holy man" is appointed but the victim itself.[6] Here there seems to be no god to do the sending, but rather that the god is embodied in the bull which devotes itself.[7] Accordingly in the

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1.- Aelian, Nature of Animals, 10.50.
2.- F. Cumont, "St. George and Mithra 'The Cattle Thief'", pp.63-65, who believes that the ceremony was held originally in honour of Mithras.
3.- Cumont, op.cit., p.65 quoting J. Chardin, Voyage de Monsieur le Chevalier Chardin en Perse et Autres Lieux de l'Orient, p.78, who visited the monastery in 1672.
4.- Aristocles, ap. Aelian, op.cit., 11.4.
5.- Cf. Isaiah, 53.7; Jeremiah, 11.19; 1. Samuel, 6.14.
6.- Plutarch, Quaest. Graec. 9.
7.- At Delphi this god may have become Dionysus since the holy men (ὅσιοι) offered a secret sacrifice in the sanctuary of Apollo when the Thyiades awaken Liknites (Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 35).

ritual of the Bouphonia Zeus Polieus is conspicuous by his absence, the dominant role being assumed by the bull itself. There was in fact a bronze statue of a bull erected on the Acropolis by the Areopagus, which seems to have been called simply "the bull on the Acropolis",[1] and it passed into proverb as a thing to be admired.[2] That this is a statue of the bull of the Bouphonia, erected to perpetuate the blessings that stem from it, has been conjectured, in which case Zeus must be viewed as acquiring a nominal control over this festival at a later date.[3]

So far we have a bull that presents itself for sacrifice, which indicates that the animal itself embodies the god before a late attempt is made to attach it to Olympian cult. Another feature to emerge is that a communal meal is made of the carcase. A ritual which has many features in common with the Bouphonia is that of the sacrifice of a bull to Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia-on-the Maeander.[4] A selected bull was dedicated to Zeus Sosipolis at the new moon of Cronion (October - November), nurtured during the winter and sacrificed on the 12th Artemision (March - April). Pieces of the bull were then distributed among the assembled worshippers, as in the Bouphonia. Immediately prior to the slaying of the bull the sacrificing priest prayed on behalf of the city, the land, the women and children, and the grain, fruit and cattle, in short for the total

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1.- Pausanias, 1.24.2; Hesychius, s.v. βοῦς ἐν πόλει
2.- Heniochus ap. Athenaeus, 396 D.
3.- Schwenn, op.cit., p.111.
4.- The ritual is preserved in an inscription from Magnesia (O. Kern, Inschriften von Magnesia, no.98).

welfare of the state. This is an appropriate prayer to Zeus Sosipolis (Saver of the State'), and affords a good parallel to Zeus Polieus ("He of the City") of the Bouphonia. The latter epithet is also applied to Zeus in a festival at Cos. Twenty-seven bulls, one one for each division of the three Dorian tribes, were driven up to the altar of Zeus Polieus, and the one which "bent itself" was chosen.[1] In other words the special bull had to give a sign of its suitability. There is no record of whether a communal feast was held of his flesh. In the Magnesian festival images of the twelve Olympians were carried at the head of the procession, but they are intruders since a ram is sacrificed to Zeus, and a he- and she-goat to Apollo and Artemis, while the others get nothing. As far as the bull is concerned they are irrelevant.

Another such tauriform god sacrificed annually for the good of the state and eventually assimilated by Zeus may be behind the figure of Zeus Olbios (i.e. Zeus, God of Welfare). He is first mentioned in Aeschylus' Suppliants, where the chorus of Danaids invoke him as the god who touched Io and became the father of their race.[2] Aeschylus appears to have chosen the epithet Olbios because he believed that Zeus had intercourse with Io in the form of a bull, and Zeus Olbios was tauromorphic. This is apparent from a votive relief discovered at Sestos,[3] which shows a human figure standing with a

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1.- Paton and Hicks, op.cit., no.37 (= SIG, 616); cf. SIG, 1025. A similar festival took place at Miletus where there was a Διὸς βοῦς (Hesychius s.v.).

2.- Aeschylus, Suppliants, 524-537.

3.- E. Bey, "Relief Votif du Musée Impérial Ottoman", p.523 Pl.V. Another representation of the god may be provided by coins of

patera in his hand and sceptre and eagle of Zeus by his side. He has, however, a bull's head and represents, as the inscription tells us, Zeus Olbios. The dedication was made ὑπὲρ βουῶν and in the relief the god is offered grapes and fruit. He seems to guarantee as his name suggests the welfare of the state. It seems that he did this in a familiar way if we can interpret the scene beneath the main figure, in which an ox is tethered to a stake near a blazing altar and a man about to smite the bull raises an axe above his head, as a typical Bouphonia scene.

Thus at Athens, Magnesia, Cos, and possibly Sestos, there was a communal feast of a bull, which was later acquired by a Zeus, whose epithet refers to his guardianship of the state. The name Sosipolis occurs elsewhere only in Crete[1] and at Elis, where Pausanias says that the statue of Sosipolis was of a boy holding the horn of Amalthea, i.e. a cornucopia.[2] This too squares well with the prayer of the sacrificing priest at Magnesia; Sosipolis provides for the state; by that way he saves it. Athenaeus relates that a procession was held in honour of Dionysus by Ptolemy Philadelphus, in which an actor carried the horn of Amalthea and his name was Eniautos.[3] From this it has been suggested that the oxen slain at the above festivals

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Olbia on the Black Sea which show a horned head with long hair and sometimes bull's ears. (Cook, op.cit., 3.656 figs.464-9; E.H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, p.478, pl.III, 4,5). Cook, loc. cit., believes Zeus Olbios is depicted, whereas Minns prefers the river god Hypanis or Borysthenes.

1.- Scholiast ad. Aratus, 5.46.

2.- Pausanias, 6.25.4.

3.- Callixenus of Rhodes, ap. Athenaeus, 198 A.

were originally known as Sosipolis or Polieus, and that they were the incarnations of the year-spirit, the eniautos daemon, the agathos daemon or vegetation spirit, whose death meant prosperity for those who partook of his flesh.[1] As Zeus is a late addition to the ritual, it is probably of pre-Greek origin and thereby possibly Minoan. That Zeus took over from these bovine year-gods may explain the enigmatic inscription said to have been inscribed on Zeus' tomb in Crete: "Here lies a large ox, whom men call Zeus".[2] Cook's contention that the Bouphonia may have a Carian origin, although he adduces evidence for Carian settlement around Athens, is not very convincing.[3]

There were other communal feasts besides these. For example at Cyrene at the festival of Apollo Carneos many bulls were slaughtered and eaten at a communal meal,[4] and at Colophon a communal bull sacrifice was held to Apollo Clarios by representatives of the thirteen cities of the Ionian league.[5] Possibly such festivals may have been derived from clan feasts in which all the members of the clan are spiritually joined together by partaking of a communal meal.[6] Many scholars have also seen in these feasts a survival of totemism in which the tribe unites once a year to eat its sacred animal, from whose flesh they otherwise abstain, since by dying the animal ensures

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1.- J. Harrison, Themis, pp.156, 206; Schwenn, op.cit., pp.116-119; O. Kern and P. Stengel, Griechische Opferbrauche, p.132.
2.- Palatine Anthology, 7.746 ὧδε μέγας κεῖται βοῦς, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι.
3.- Cook, op.cit., 3.569.
4.- Pindar, Pythians, 5.77.
5.- On a coin of Imperial Date: British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Ionia, pl.VIII, 5; Harrison, op.cit., p.153, fig.29.
6.- Cook, op.cit., 3.596-8, argues that the Bouphonia was originally a clan-festival of the Ceryces of Eleusis; cf. also Thomson, op. cit., pp.51, 122.

its followers' survival and its own procreation. This theory although popular at the turn of the century has now largely gone out of favour,[1] since concrete evidence for the practice of totemism in the Aegean basin or among Indo-European speakers is lacking. Moreover if the many communal feasts of bulls are totemic, then other tribes should celebrate by eating their own particular totemic animal. That instances of this nature do not occur indicates the weakness of the totemic argument.[2]

There was another occasion when a communal meal of a bull was held, which sheds a further light on these ceremonies. At the various games held throughout Greece the victor led a procession which ended in the sacrifice and eating of a bull. This custom is attested for the Ishmian, Pythian[3] and Olympic Games. At the latter Empedocles, being a Pythagorean and disapproving of flesh-eating, having won the chariot-race is said to have made a confectionary bull and distributed that instead.[4] We have already seen that the winners of the foot-race run between virgins at the Heraea at Elis received a share of the cow sacrificed to Hera.[5] The four great Greek games were all thought to be held to commemorate or appease a dead person near whose tomb they were held; the Olympic Games in honour of Pelops

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1.- See Ibid., p.51; Farnell, op.cit., 1.88; Hyde, op.cit., p.166; Harrison, op.cit., pp.118-150; W. Smith, The Religion of the Semites, pp.304 ff, severely criticised by W. Schmidt, The Origin and Growth of Religion, pp.108-9.

2.- Unless one includes the omophagy of goats, which seems, however, to be an offshoot of bovine omophagy.

3.- Pindar, Nemeaus, 6.41; frag. ap. vitam Pindari ex schol. Ambros. πενταετηρὶς ἑορτὰ βουπομπός.

4.- Athenaeus, 5 E.

5.- See above p.267.

or Oenomaus; the Nemean for Archemorus; the Ishmian for Glaucus; the Pythian for Pytho, the snake.[1] Funeral games were held in honour of and as a tribute to Patroclus,[2] and historical figures who were later worshipped as heroes.[3] During the historical period the veneration of the dead seems to have been the prime motive, but we have seen how the dead became heroes, and how a hero was believed to have influence with the chthonic and vegetative powers.[4] Moreover, there is evidence that the vegetation deity Dionysus was known in places as the "Hero", who took on bovine shape.[5] Although bulls were sacrificed to heroes, they also seem to have been called "heroes" themselves.[6] Nameless bulls figured in many cults, whether on their own or loosely attached to Olympian deities.[7] Their function is to die, so that by their death their "power" can be transmitted through their blood and flesh to the land and the people. They reinforce the power of the hero, but also, if eaten, can sustain the living. In other words they ensure man's continued existence. The communal feast sees to it that as many as possible share in these benefits, whether it be the community as a whole as in the case of the ox sacrificed to Zeus Sosipolis or the Bouphonia, or a coterie of mystics as in the omophagia. The two types of celebration are in fact only

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1.- Clement of Alexandria, 2.34; Pindar, Olympians, 1.79; Apollodorus, 3.6.4; Ovid, Met., 1.437 ff; Hyginus, Fab., 140.
2.- Iliad, Book 24.
3.- E.g. Miltiades, Brasidas, Timoleon (E. Cornford, in Harrison, op.cit., p.213)
4.- See above pp. 261-263
5.- See above pp. 265-267
6.- See above p. 265
7.- See above pp. 284-6, 289-290.

variations of the same belief, which develops out of similar primitive ideas about fertility and vegetative reproduction.

But not all these factors are present at the same festival. For example, there is no "hero" mentioned in the Bouphonia, although Sopater is said to have buried the bull to conceal his crime.[1] The Bouphonia seems to have been an annual sacrifice of a bovine eniautos daemon whose flesh was eaten by all to acquire a share in the benefits that it bestowed. This, however, does not explain why the bull should be sacrificed on 14th Scirophorion (June-July). The date, however, coincides with the end of the Attic threshing season, and it has been suggested that the bull is a representative of the corn-spirit, suffering everything that happens to the corn including being cut down, flayed and eaten.[2] It is clear that the practice of slaying the eniautos daemon and the corn-spirit stems from the same circle of beliefs, and there is no reason why one ceremony should not merge into the other, or at least that elements from one should be drawn into the other until it is impossible to disentangle the two.[3] The stuffing and yoking of the ox's hide seems to indicate a mimic resurrection of the life of the new year, and as such would

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1.- Porphyry, op.cit., 2.29 τὸν μὲν βοῦν θάπτει (Σώπατρος)

2.- W. Mannhardt, Mythologische Forschungen, pp68 ff, he is followed by J. Frazer, The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn and Wild, 2.4-16 who also adduces more parallels; M.P. Nilsson, Griechische Feste, p.27. H. von Prott, "Buphonien," Rheinische Museum, 52 (1897), pp.200-204 rejects this theory since he believes that the threshing season does not fall at this time of year.

3.- Cf. the corn that grows from bull Mithras slays (above p. 240) and the general connection between the plough-ox and the harvest. (above pp. 270-1)

be appropriate to the career of both eniautos daemon and corn-spirit.

Yet one part of the ceremony still remains to be explained, the fact that there is such a feeling of guilt over the slaying of the bull that celebrants go to extraordinary lengths to exonerate themselves. Usually there was no such feeling over the death of a vegetation daemon, so some other explanation is necessary. Some of the reasons proposed for it are clearly untenable. Mommsen taking his cue from Pausanias, who says that during the Cecropian period only bloodless sacrifices were permissible,[1] suggests that the festival was changed at the beginning of the Erechthean period when blood sacrifices were introduced. Prior to this the slaying of an ox was murder, and therefore atonement had to be made.[2] This argument is based on late authors such as Porphyry, who believed in a golden age from which men declined. Pliny, for example, says that Prometheus was the first to slay an ox.[3] Since the golden age existed only in the minds of poets, this argument must collapse. In fact the word βουφονεῖν in Homer contains no indication of murder, but merely means to slay an ox for eating purposes.[4] The theory that the bull was a surrogate for a man[5] can be refuted by the same arguments that were used against the bull of the omophagia being a similar substitute.[6]

1.- Pausanias, 1.26.5; 8.2.3.
2.- T. Mommsen, Griechische Feste, p.512 ff; followed by P. Stengel, Opferbraeuche der Griechen, pp.212-3.
3.- Pliny, Nat. Hist., 7.209.
4.- Iliad, 8.465-6 and scholiast ad loc.
5.- Suggested by von Prott, op.cit., p.187 ff and curtly dismissed by L. Deubner, Attische Feste, p.171.
6.- See above pp. 277-278.

Another theory is that primitive man fears the ghost of the great beast that he has killed and to prevent it from harming him goes to elaborate means to absolve himself and to propitiate the beast by stuffing its hide and pretending that it is not dead.[1] Frazer has collected a mass of examples of this practice, but none from Europe or Greece.[2] Miss Harrison suggests that the ceremony of the Stepteria may contain such thinking, and the rule of exile and purification for homicide are enforced on Apollo for his murder of the snake, Pytho.[3] It is also true that animals and inanimate objects in Greece could be tried for crimes like human beings.[4] But even if these primitive ideas still lingered on in Greek thought, it does not explain why such a feeling of guilt was attached to the Bouphonia, whereas other communal feasts were free from it.

Miss Harrison and A. Cook both see the Bouphonia as being connected with the Hersephoria which took place on the preceding day (13th Scirophorion), and which was a dew-gathering festival. As this took place on one of the hottest days of the year it may well have been a rain-inducing ceremony. Both authors suggest that the Bouphonia was also designed for this effect.[5] The act of pouring water on the axe is seen not, as Porphyry explained, for the purpose of

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1.- Smith, op.cit., p.602; Schwenn, op.cit., pp.99-109.
2.- Frazer, op.cit., 2.204-273.
3.- J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, pp. 112-114.
4.- Hyde, op.cit., 152-175, 285-303. When a boy fractured his skull and died by striking his head on a statue of a bull erected in the Altis at Olympia, the Delphic Oracle advised that the ceremony for involuntary homicide be performed over it. (Pausanias, 5.27. 6).
5.- J. Harrison, Themis, pp.172-174; Cook, op.cit., 3.601-605.

whetting it, but as a magic rain-charm, in which the weapon of the storm-god is watered to produce rain.[1] Cook believes that this axe is the Attic counterpart of the Minoan double-axe, or labrys, which, he maintains, was the weapon of the storm-god.[2] Even if the Minoan double-axe is the weapon of the storm-god, which is by no means certain,[3] there seems to be no connection between it and the implement used by Greeks for sacrificing bulls. It is the normal sacrificial implement, and not peculiar to any one deity. Moreover Zeus only wields the double-axe at Labranda, where he seems to have acquired it from Teshub,[4] his weapon throughout Greece usually being the thunderbolt. The act of casting the knife into the sea, a symbolic gesture of ridding the country of pollution, is also interpreted as a rain charm.[5] But this theory leaves the rest of the ceremony unexplained. By picking on only two incidents of the ritual the whole has been neglected and distorted. If the Hersephoria was designed to make it rain, why not repeat the procedure the next day and so on until effective, rather than celebrate the Bouphonia the day after?

To explain the Bouphonia all details of the ritual must be accounted for. What has so far been ignored is that after the ox-hide is stuffed it is yoked to a plough. If this is mere pretence that the bull is still alive to avoid its wrath, or a symbolic resurrection or rebirth of the new vegetation daemon then the act of stuffing

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1.- Ibid., 3.604; Harrison, op.cit., p.173.
2.- Cook, op.cit., 3.604-5.
3.- See below, pp. 302-314.
4.- See below pp. 302 and 314 n.1. As he also acquired it as Zeus Dolichenus and Heliopolitanus.
5.- Cook, op.cit., 3.605.

the skin would suffice. If it is yoked to a plough the inference is that this is the work it is expected to do. More than that, this is the work it used to do. In fact the ox sacrificed at the Bouphonia is a plough-ox. We have seen how highly prized were plough-oxen in the ancient world, and that it was said to be a capital offence to kill one.[1] If curses could be hurled at the priest who sacrificed a plough-ox to Heracles on Rhodes,[2] then how appropriate that at Athens someone or something had to be condemned for a similar deed. In one respect of course the custom of protecting a plough-ox by this punishment was a practical and not a religious one, but, although practised for logical reasons, like the Egyptian custom of not eating cows because they produced milk and offspring,[3] it may have led to the plough-ox acquiring a quasi-religious sacrosanctity. This was not a status acquired by the bovine species as a whole,[4] but statements such as those of Pliny that "socium laboris agrique culturae habemus hoc animal"[5] and Isidorus that "iuvencus dictus eo quod iuvare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda",[6] while not etymologically correct, do show the great value that was attached to plough-oxen.

To sum up the Bouphonia, then, a bull which probably embodies a god, as it selects itself for sacrifice, is communally eaten so that as many as possible can share the powers of the beast and the benefits

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1.- See above pp. 271-2
2.- See above pp. 272
3.- See above pp. 164.
4.- So in that respect the theories of U. von Wilamowitz, Die Glaube der Hellenen, 1.296 and Deubner, op.cit., p.172, are wrong, although they see the ox of the Bouphonia as a plough-ox.
5.- Pliny, Nat. Hist., 8.70.180.
6.- Isidorus, Origines, 12.1.28.

they confer. The bull in fact embodies the eniautos daemon, and what is more fitting than that a plough-ox which would start the Attic new year by ploughing the fields should finish it by being eaten at the end of the threshing season. By employing an animal that had been so intimately concerned with the production of the year's produce, the Athenians further ensured that as much magical force or 'mana' as possible was passed on to them. But in killing a plough-ox to get these extra benefits they had broken an unwritten law. Justice therefore had to be done, and seen to be done, hence the condemnation of the unfortunate knife.

CHAPTER V

BULLS CONNECTED WITH WATER AND UNDERGROUND STREAMS

In the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae Schliemann found more than fifty figures cut out of gold plate depicting an ox-head with a double axe implanted vertically between the horns.[1] This same design is also featured on a LM.I vase from Pseira,[2] and a broken seal found in the N.W. Treasury House at Cnossos.[3] A vase from Salamis in Cyprus shows this design alternating with that of the double axe implanted between the horns of consecration, thus indicating that the latter are stylized bulls' horns.[4] Two larnakes, one from Episkopi the other from Palaikastro,[5] show the double axe between horns of consecration, and the design is not uncommon. Variations of this design include a gem from Argos,[6] on which a double axe is suspended haft uppermost above a bull's head and between its horns, and a clay sealing of MM.III date from Cnossos,[7] in which by linking the horns of a bull's head with cross-lines the outline of a double axe is produced. It has

1.- C. Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations, p.249 fig.249; National Museum at Athens nos.353, 354.
2.- R. Seager, Excavations on the Island of Pseira, pl.VII.
3.- A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 2.619 fig.338; V. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p.61 fig.337; L. Malten,"Der Stier in Kult und Mythischem-Bild", p.129, fig.72.
4.- See above p. 251.
5.- Episkopi: M. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischer Religion, pl.XV, 1; Palaikastro: R.C. Bosanquet, "Excavations at Palaikastro I", pl.18.
6.- Evans, op.cit., 1.435, fig.312c; Malten, op.cit., p.129, fig.73.
7.- Evans, op.cit., 1.699 fig.522b; Kenna, op.cit., p.43, fig.71; Heraclion Museum, no.152.

been suggested that miniature double axes were used as stoppers for the inlet hole of the bull's head rhyton which is usually placed between the horns,[1] but there is no evidence that this was so. Nevertheless it is clear that there was an intimate association between bull and axe in Minoan times.

The simple explanation of this association is that the double axe was the implement used to sacrifice the bull and thereby through constant use in ritual was elevated to a position of special sanctity and worshipped in itself.[2] A variant on this theory is that the design implies that the bull is about to be sacrificed.[3] Unfortunately for this viewpoint nowhere in Minoan art is the double axe shown in any connection with a sacrifice or dead animal. Where dead animals lie on tables the sacrificial weapon, if shown is a sword or knife and not an axe.[4] C. Picard argues against the double axe being used for this purpose because in extant examples the axe-head is heavy, whereas the shaft, judging from the hole pierced in the head, would be too weak to support it for striking purposes.[5]

But the favourite explanation of this phenomenon, which is sometimes incorporated into the sacrifice theory,[6] is that the bull is

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1.- E. Gilliéron in the foreword to P. Wolters, Katalog der Wuerteembergischen Metallwarenfabrik; cf. also the reconstructions in G. Karo, "Altkretische Kultstaetten," p.125; id., "Minoische Rhyta", p.252 fig.3.
2.- Malten, op.cit., p.138.
3.- B. Williams in H. Boyd-Hawes, Gournia, p.53.
4.- Evans, op.cit., 4.41 figs.24 and 26 (see above p. 241). M. Nilsson The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p.195, argues that the dagger not the double-axe was the Minoan sacrificial weapon.
5.- C. Picard, Les Religions Préhelléniques, p.200.
6.- A. Cook, Zeus, 2.539.

the vehicle of the storm-god, while the axe is the representation of the thunderbolt or lightning. We have seen that the bull is regarded as the storm-god's animal for various reasons in the Eastern Mediterranean area,[1] and that one in particular, Teshub, does wield an axe as his weapon.[2] Furthermore there is a Carian or Lydian word labrys which means a double-axe, and from which the Carian town Labraunda was named.[3] The chief deity of this place in classical times was Zeus Labrandeus, who presumably took over the cult from a native deity, and who is shown holding not a thunderbolt but a double axe.[4] Connected also to this word is the name Labyrinthos, which would seem to mean "the place of the double axe".[5] Etymologically there can be little objection to this correlation, and the figure behind Zeus Labrandeus may be Teshub himself.[6] So the argument runs if the Palace of Cnossos is the Labyrinth, the Place of the Double Axe, the wielder of this axe must be a pre-Greek sky-god,[7] and when the axe appears between a bull's horns it is equivalent to the calf

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1.- See above, pp. 68-73; 112-116; 138-141; 193.
2.- See above, pp. 111, 113, 140.
3.- Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 45; Nilsson, op.cit., p.223, citing J. Schaefer, De Jove apud Caros Cultu, p.355; M. Meyer, "Mykenische Beitraege II", p.191; cf. R. Ganszyniec "Labrys" in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 12.286-307.
4.- Plutarch, loc.cit.; cf. R. Ganszyniec "Labraundos" in ibid. 12. 277-282.
5.- P. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischer Sprache, p.404.
6.- Or a female deity since Plutarch says that the labrys originally belonged to Hippolyte, the Amazon queen, and Omphale. But if one believes with W. Leonhard, Hettiter und Amazonen, that the Amazons are a distorted reminiscence of the Hittites, then the labrys could be the weapon of their god Teshub.
7.- Cook, op.cit., 1.635; 3.606; G. Wainwright, "The Bull Standards of Egypt", p.43; A. Lesky, "Hellos-Hellotis", p.165.

of Adad supporting the lightning fork on its back.[1] This argument, however, seemingly convincing, omits certain relevant details.

Except for one gem from Melos where it appears in the hand of a winged daemon,[2] the double axe is never held by men but only by women. Thus a woman wearing a hide dress carries it over her shoulder in a MM.III gem from Cnossos,[3] and a similarly attired female on a sealing from Zakro[4] appears to stand in front of one and worship it, but the design is worn at this point and she may be holding it. On a mould from Palaikastro[5] a woman in a flat cap holds a double axe in both hands, while two seal-stones from Kalkani near Mycenae[6] show between two lions a goddess holding above her head two objects resembling the cross-pieces of candelabra, which Evans called snake-frames,[7] and above which is a double axe. Of these representations only the last is indisputably that of a goddess, while the others could be deities or priestesses. The fact that the double axe is only handled by women makes it extremely unlikely that it is the thunder-weapon since this is a male prerogative. L Malten, however, recognising this difficulty interprets the snake frames as images of lightning, and suggests that the goddess is connected with Athena,[8] who, as Aeschylus in the Eumenides emphasises, is unique among the

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1.- Malten, op.cit., p.130.
2.- Cook, op.cit., 2.544 fig.419; Nilsson, op.cit., p.220 n.25, for stylistic reasons declares that the gem is not of Minoan or Mycenaean origin.
3.- Evans, op.cit., 1.435 fig.312a.
4.- Ibid., loc.cit. fig.312b; Nilsson, op.cit., p.157, fig.64.
5.- Eph. Arch., 1900, pl.IV,2; Nilsson, op.cit., p.225 fig.112.
6.- Evans, op.cit., 4.170 figs.133b, c; Nilsson, op.cit., p.360 fig. 172; Malten, op.cit., p.130 fig.74; a gem from Ialysus shows a similar design (Evans, op.cit., 4.169 fig.131).
7.- Evans, op.cit., 4.168.
8.- Malten, op.cit., p.130.

Hellenic goddesses in bearing lightning.[1] We would then be faced with a storm-goddess, a not impossible situation since the Hattians believed in a Sun-Goddess of Arinna (tutelage of the sun was among the Indo-Europeans and Semites always a male preserve), and Crete and Anatolia appear to have had early ethnic ties.[2] If the goddess was thought to have control over a bull as the embodiment of storms then the relation of the two with the double axe is explained.[3] But this is speculation with little to substantiate it, although not to be dismissed for that reason alone.

When it is not being held or associated with the bull, the double axe is usually set up on a pole or shaft in a position where it appears to be worshipped.[4] The double axe is seen by some to be the aniconic image of the sky god, so that when held by a goddess it symbolises the union of the two deities.[5] By an extension of this theory whenever the axe appears on top of a long pole, the pole is said to be the aniconic representation of the goddess and the two are again shown in unison.[6] An argument on similar lines is that the double axe head itself combines the two deities in its twin parts, and Evans adduces as proof of the bisexual axe the double axe of Tenedos, which he sees as a lineal descendant of the Minoan axe, and which appears

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1.- Aeschylus, Eumedides, 827.
2.- See above pp. 108-110 and pp.9-12.
3.- Ishtar sends the Bull of Heaven against Erech, but it is not usually under her control (see above pp.76-77.
4.- Cf. the double axes on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus; on a gold ring from Mycenae it is said to hover in mid air but may well be meant to be erected behind the figures standing in the foreground. (cf. Nilsson, op.cit., p.347 fig.158).
5.- Picard, op.cit., p.201; Lesky, op.cit., p.166.
6.- Cook, op.cit., 2.533.

on one side of Tenedian coins, while the other shows a janiform head consisting of combined male and female profiles. The latter is thus the "anthropomorphic equivalent" of the former.[1]

These arguments, however, all stem from the preconceived idea that the double axe is the weapon of the sky god. Since no sky-god is ever shown holding it, this difficulty is evaded by suggesting that it is an aniconic symbol for the god, who never appears in anthropomorphic guise. To the objection that the symbol never occurs in a celestial context, but is held by goddesses, it is interpreted as the union of sky and earth deities and Indo-European and Semitic analogies are invoked. As if this were not enough the head and haft of the axe (surely inseparable elements of any such implement) are said to represent separate deities; or these are seen in the axe head itself. As for the Tenedian axe it is the weapon that strikes the bovine incarnation of Dionysus, the βουπλήξ of his cult, and from c. 420 B.C. a grape cluster is constantly associated with it.[2] This axe is therefore associated with a vegetation cult, and it has never seriously been suggested that Dionysus is a sky-god. In fact it is in this last respect that the Tenedian axe more closely resembles its Minoan counterpart. The leafy shafts supporting the double axes on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus clearly point to its connection with vegetation. Double axe designs on several vases have their hafts decorated to resemble leafy branches or even flowers.[3] Are these

1.- Evans, op.cit., 2.276; cf. Cook, op.cit., 2655 figs.583-588.
2.- Cook, op.cit., 2.658.
3.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.204-208 figs.98-103.

designs merely ornamental or symbolic? In the discussion about the objects that appear between the horns of consecration we saw that shoots and plants were most often displayed, but that after these the double axe was the commonest object; the horns themselves could also be shown as vegetation motifs.[1] The relationship of the bull to vegetation has been fully discussed, and the fact that horns of consecration are stylised bull's horns noted. Is it then mere artistic decoration that on the jar from Pseira,[2] in which a double axe appears between the horns of a bull's head, the haft of the axe is shown to end in a lily flower? The double axe certainly seems to have its feet firmly planted on the ground.

Of course the sky-god earth-goddess union theory is used to explain this combination. The same theory is also applied to account for the numerous examples of double axes being carved on the pillars in the subterranean crypts of Minoan palaces. Nilsson has listed the majority of these occurrences;[3] they are not the only marks to appear on these pillars, and also appear on stone blocks on walls[4] (where the theory of earth-goddess sky-god union cannot apply); most of them almost certainly would not be seen, either being covered with plaster, or being carved on the top of a block of stone upon which another was placed.[5] They were therefore carved before erection and since they form part of the extant remains can be dated to MM.III

1.- See above pp.256, note 2 and 257.
2.- See above p.300 note2.
3.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.215-216, and notes 98-7.
4.- E.g. In the western Magazines at Cnossos (Evans, op.cit., 1.449 fig.322).
5.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.247.

and LM Periods. The theory that they are mason's marks, carved on the blocks while still in the quarries,[1] is unlikely since some blocks have more than one mark on them,[2] while others have none. Pyramidal bases, which are known to have supported the hafts of double axes, have also been found in these crypts,[3] which are strange places in which to erect the aniconic image of the Minoan sky-god. In addition small vats and pits are often situated in the crypts, which, although Nilsson believes they were used for drainage purposes,[4] may have been used to receive libations.

Other marks also appear on stone blocks, of which by far the commonest is in the shape of a trident. In fact at Phaestos it outnumbers the double axe sign,[5] and is especially numerous in the area of the North Entrance Passage at Cnossos.[6] The trident was, of course, an important cult symbol in Hellenic times, when it was the attribute of one god only, Poseidon. An archaic Corinthian pinax shows the god holding this weapon and riding a horse,[7] and there are many other representations of the god holding it. In both the Iliad and the Odyssey Poseidon is referred to as the Earth-shaker (Ἐννοσίγαιος and Ἐνοσίχθων) on numerous occasions,[8] and he is said

1.- F. Chapouthier, Écritures Minoennes au Palais de Mallia, Ét. Crét. 2.75 ff.
2.- Three blocks in the East Pillar Room at Cnossos have 17 such incisions (Evans, op.cit., 1.425, Supp. pl.X.).
3.- E.g. at Cnossos in the South East House. (Ibid., 1.427-8 fig.307), and in the Little Palace (Ibid., 1.425, 438).
4.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.248.
5.- Picard, op.cit., p.201.
6.- Evans, op.cit., 1.364, 394. It also appears in other parts of the Palace (Ibid., 1.401, 2.290, 3.244), and at Mallia (Ibid., 2.323).
7.- E. Pernice, "Die Korinthischen Pinakes im Antiquarium der Koeniglichen Museen", p.23 fig.14.
8.- Enumerated in E. Wüest, "Poseidon", in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit.,

to have sent the disastrous earthquake which devastated Sparta in 464 B.C., because some escaped Helots who had taken refuge at his altar at Taenarum were put to death.[1] It was with his trident that the Greeks believed Poseidon caused earthquakes, either striking and splitting the land with it,[2] or using it to churn up the sea,[3] or even prising up mountains with it as a lever and rolling them into the sea to form the Aegean Islands.[4] From Homeric down to Roman times the god and his weapon were responsible for all seismic activity.[5] Some classical authors see the origin of the trident as a fish-spear,[6] a reasonable contention as it is held by a sea-god, but A. Cook argues that it is analogous to Zeus' thunderbolt, and quotes examples of triform lightning forks which occur in the Near East.[7] Admittedly both thunderbolt and trident can be hurled at the ground to shatter what they are aimed at,[8] but Poseidon is in no way assoc-

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22.455-6. Ἐνοσίχθων 23 times in Iliad, 18 in Odyssey; Ἐνοσίγαιος 20 times in Iliad, 6 in Odyssey.

1.- Aelian, Varia Historia, 6,7. Cf. Thucydides, 1.128; Pausanias, 8.25.1.

2.- Iliad, 20. 57-59.

3.- Aristophanes, Clouds, 566-8.

4.- Callimachus, Hymn to Delos, 4.30-35.

5.- Exhaustive references to Poseidon's earth shaking have been collected by E. Wuest, op.cit., 22.480-481. But Zeus also could shake the earth when he wished, cf. Iliad, 1.528; Aeschylus, Prometheus Vinctus 1080-1. Buried giants were also though to cause earthquakes, but not until the Hellenistic period; prior to this they were associated only with volcanic action (Cook, op.cit., 3.3 notes the references). That underworld deities should cause earthquakes is a natural belief (cf. Ibid., 3.4-5).

6.- E.g. Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes, 132; Hesychius s.v. ἰχθυόκεντρον. This view is also taken by M. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, 1.417 and H. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, p.75 n.104.

7.- Cook, op.cit., 2.786-798; also the view of U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Der Glaube der Hellenen, 1.213; O. Kern, Die Religion der Griechen, 1.198-9.

8.- Poseidon shatters with his trident the rock on which the Lesser Ajax is sitting (Odyssey, 4.506).

iated with the sky.

To return to Crete, Evans excavating the Palace of Cnossos was aided in establishing his pottery sequence by the accumulation of easily distinguishable strata formed from the debris of successive buildings on the same site which had been destroyed and had collapsed. Since the structures were immediately rebuilt and the native pottery styles continued to develop without the intrusion of new ones, Evans concluded that foreign invasion was not responsible for these catastrophes, but that they were the work of a succession of earthquakes. In the 500 years or so between the end of MM.Ia and LM.Ia Evans saw evidence of no less than six major earthquakes, some of which were quite severe.[1] The island, lying as it does in the path of a seismic fault, has since Minoan times to the present day been shaken by countless earthquakes.[2]

In view of this constant seismic activity one would expect to find evidence in Minoan religion of attempts to appease and check these terrifying powers. The subterranean lustral basins may have been designed for such ceremonies of appeasement[3] but there is no proof of this. There is however evidence that ceremonies of appeasement were carried out at Cnossos. Two houses adjacent to the S.E. wall of the Palace of Cnossos appear to have been destroyed by earthquake at the end of the Period MM.III a. In fact the house nearer

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1.- Evans, op.cit., 2.319-320.
2.- A number of the more famous are recorded in Evans, op.cit., 2.313-322, and Cook, op.cit., 3.1-2.
3.- Suggested by Evans, op.cit., 2.322.

to the palace walls was flattened by huge blocks of masonry, which fell from the walls and were discovered in the house, which was consequently called "The House of the Fallen Blocks".[1] Both this house and its neighbour were not rebuilt but filled in with rubble and abandoned. In the other house crushed underneath the filling rubble were the remains of two bulls' skulls and portable terracotta altars.[2] Evans reasonably concludes that both this house, called "The House of the Sacrificed Oxen", and its partner were abandoned to the subterranean powers as an expiatory offering.[3] In this the sacrifice of the bulls probably played a part and Evans refers to the words of Homer that "in bulls doth the Earth-shaker delight".[4]

I believe that it is not coincidence that in the only ritual connected with earthquakes that has so far been recognised, the bull plays a significant part. Many people believe that earthquakes are caused by subterranean animals when they move, and the Moslems of Tashkent believe that this animal is a bull.[5] Such a belief may stem from the fact that the noise created by an earthquake resembles the roaring of a bull. Evans, who experienced an earthquake at Cnossos in 1926, likened the noise to this sound,[6] and Euripides also says that an earthquake Poseidon sent made a roar like a bellowing bull.[7]

Since earthquakes fall within the sphere of the chthonic powers, which in Crete were embodied in a female deity, it might well have

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1.- Ibid., 2.296-7 fig.173.
2.- Ibid., 2.301-2, fig.175.
3.- Ibid., 2.302-3.
4.- Iliad, 20.405; γάνυται δέ τε τοῖς (sc. ταύροις) Ἐνοσίχθων
5.- Evans, op.cit., 2.324.
6.- Ibid., 2.316.
7.- Euripides, Hippolytus, 1215-6.

been she who was thought to control them. This line of thought receives confirmation from Syria where Anat stamps her foot so hard that the earth quakes.[1] But by an extension of this reasoning if the roaring noise of the earthquake conjures up in people's minds the image of a subterranean angry bull, then it is an easy step to suppose that the goddess unleashes this bull to wreak havoc. We have seen that the double axe is held by the goddess and also implanted between the bull's horns. It is also associated with the earth in several vegetation motifs and is clearly the Earth-goddess' attribute. Could it be that this is the weapon with which she strikes at the ground and at the foundations of buildings whenever she causes an earthquake, and that when the weapon appears between the bull's horns it signifies that this bull is the bull that is unleashed to cause the earthquake? In other words the bull and axe combined symbolise the goddess' destructive power.

Of course not every time a double axe is shown being set up or worshipped should we read into it some earthquake prevention ceremony. Rather it is the emblem of the Earth-goddess and symbol of her power, very much as when Zeus holds his thunderbolt and Poseidon his trident it indicates the greatness of these deities and shows wherein their strength lies. These weapons can be unleashed to devastating effect, but if the gods are respected their powers are held

1.- H.L. Ginsberg, "Poems about Baal and Anath" e II AB (v) 1.83 in J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p.133.

in check. As was indicated in Mesopotamia when Ishtar sent the Bull of Heaven against Erech[1] these frightening powers exist but are controlled by benevolent gods. If, however, these gods are annoyed with mankind then they can punish it by giving them free rein.

The axe as the earthquake weapon may have been derived from its use as an implement to cut down trees. Since tree trunks were used as pillars in the Minoan palaces, their collapse during a seismic shock could be attributed to a wielder of a subterranean axe. At least the axe forms a convincing vehicle for this symbolism. The bull with the axe implanted between its horns embodies the power of the emblem it bears. Possibly this artistic motif derives its inspiration from Egypt. During MM.II/III Periods the Minoans incorporated several Egyptian themes into their art, for example papyrus clumps, the Minoan genius from the goddess Taurt, and scarab-seals.[2] The borrowing was not slavish and the Egyptian material is employed as a source of inspiration. In Egyptian art Apis and Mnevis are depicted with ostrich feathers and the solar disc between their horns, showing that they were incarnations of the solar powers.[3] In other countries bulls are shown with various devices on their foreheads[4] but not between their horns, except, that is, in Crete where the double axe appears in this position. It is not impossible that the Minoans adapted this design to their own requirements and replaced the solar orb with the double-axe?

1.- See above pp. 46-47
2.- See above pp. 30-1, 34.
3.- See above pp. 175 and 184.
4.- See below pp. 437-8, 440.

What then of the double axe incisions on walls and pillars? From what has been said these must be viewed as prophylactic signs dedicating the building to chthonic powers so that they do not destroy what is already their own, but will protect it instead. Thus there was good reason to set up double-axes on their stands in the pillar crypts, and this reasoning could explain why in an enigmatic fresco fragment objects shaped like double-axes appear to be stuck into the top of ordinary house-pillars.[1] One could not take too many precautions where such strong forces were concerned.[2] If the whole Palace of Cnossos was consecrated to these powers then the name 'Labyrinth', or "Place of the Double Axes", would be singularly appropriate.

Should the trident marks also be seen as prophylactic signs depicting a variant earthquake weapon? Evans anticipates too quickly when he suggests that the large number of trident signs in the area of the N. Entrance Passage may be an indication that it is also the Sea Gate.[3] For Evan's theory to be acceptable, a trident-bearing sea-deity would have to be proved to exist at this period, and of such a deity there is no evidence. Similarly although it is tempting to assert that, because in classical times the earthquake weapon was a trident, and since trident-marks are found in conjunction with the signs of the earthquake weapon, the double-axe, in Minoan palaces,

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1.- Evans, op.cit., 1.443, fig.319.
2.- Ample reason why the protective horns of consecration should appear above secular as well as religion buildings.
3.- Evans, op.cit., 1.394; 4.995.

Poseidon took over the Minoan earthquake weapon, the trident, as his attribute. Unfortunately there are two serious objections to this theory: firstly why in that case does Poseidon not wield the double axe since it is the more prominent earthquake weapon? Secondly there is as yet no proof either through art or in metal examples like those of the double axes that the Minoans knew of the trident. One would expect it to appear in similar circumstances to the double axe. That it does not occur at all, probably indicates that it did not exist as a three-dimensional object, but only as a linear sign. It looks as though Poseidon must have acquired the trident from elsewhere.[1] The trident marks could be roughly drawn symbols for a double axe implanted between a bull's horns, but this is unsubstantiated hypothesis.

Since most of the seismic faults traceable in Greece occur near the sea L. Farnell thinks it is not surprising that the Greek god of earthquakes was also the god of the sea.[2] It would be difficult in a land like Greece for earthquakes not to occur near the sea, but when they do they are almost certainly bound to be accompanied by tidal waves. Euripides appreciated this fact. When he made Poseidon send an earthquake against Hippolytus it was accompanied by a huge wave that swept in from the sea bearing a roaring bull on its crest.[3]

1.- Certain Alexandrian coins of Mylasa show a double axe combined with a trident. (Cook, op.cit., 2.577, figs.486-7) It is tempting to see this as a vindication of my theory that the double axe equals the trident as the earthquake weapon. However this evidence is very late and is more convincingly explained as the weapons of the two gods who together comprised the composite deity Zenoposeidon of Mylasa - viz. Poseidon and Zeus Labrandeus. (Ibid., 2.582)

2.- L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 4.7-8.

3.- Euripides, Hippolytus, 1214 κυμ' ἐξέθηκε ταῦρον, ἄγριον τέρας.

The roaring of the sea may have helped to shape the image of a sea bull in men's minds, just as some authors explained away bovine river gods as symbolic for the roaring of their waters.[1]

Poseidon at any rate was believed to be able to assume bovine shape, according to Hesiod who calls him ταύρεος Ἐννοσίγαιος Tzetzes commenting on the passage says that he acquired this name in Boeotia because of the number of bulls which were sacrificed to him annually.[2] We have seen that "in bulls doth the Earth-shaker delight". In the Odyssey he is said to go off to the land of the Ethiopians to receive his hecatomb of bulls and rams;[3] when Telemachus reaches Pylos the people had gathered on the shore to sacrifice a bull to Poseidon;[4] Teiresias tells Odysseus that he will be reconciled with Poseidon when he has walked with his oar so far inland that it is mistaken for a winnowing fan whereupon he must sacrifice a bull, a ram and a boar to Poseidon.[5] Pausanias relates that the statuerof a bull was erected by the Corcyraeans at Delphi because a bull continually left its herd, went to the sea-shore and bellowed. The herdsman followed and saw the water teeming with fish, but the Corcyraeans could not catch them until on the advice of Delphi they sacrificed the bull to Poseidon.[6] The relationship of bulls to the sea is explained by Cornutus who says that jet black bulls were sacrificed to Poseidon because they are the same colour as the sea,[7] to which Servius adds

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1.- See below p. 319
2.- Hesiod, The Shield of Heracles, 104, and Tzetzes ad loc.
3.- Odyssey, 1.25.
4.- Ibid., 3.5-8.
5.- Ibid., 11.127-131; 23.274-8.
6.- Pausanias, 10.9.3.
7.- Cornutus, 22.

that "tempestati atras pecudes, candidas serenitati immolant".[1] Coins of Sybaris and Poseidonia show Poseidon on one side and a bull on the other.[2] At Ephesus the cup bearers at his feast were called bulls,[3] and Hesychius says that a feast of Poseidon's was called the Ταύρεια. Erechtheus, an Attic divinity or hero with whom Poseidon seems to have been assimilated, received yearly sacrifices of bulls and rams,[4] and there is evidence that the tribe Erechtheis sacrificed a bull to Poseidon and Erechtheus.[5]

A favourite method of sacrificing to Poseidon was to fling live bulls into the sea. The Tirynthians are said to have followed this custom,[6] as did the founders of a colony on Lesbos.[7] Alexander the Great sacrificed bulls and flung the carcasses into the Indian Ocean as offerings to Poseidon.[8] Horses, Poseidon's other favourite animal, were also flung into the sea alive.[9]

But apart from being a sea-god, Poseidon also had control over all springs and rivers. Thus he was known as Κρηνοῦχος (lord of the spring),[10] and sent the stream of Dirce near Thebes.[11] When Inachus declared that Argos belonged to Hera in her contest with Poseidon, the god dried up all the springs in retaliation.[12] At the

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1.- Servius ad Aeneid, 3.21.
2.- Cook, op.cit., 2.795 figs.762-3.
3.- See above p. 282 and Hesychius, s.v. Ταύρεια· ἑορτή τις ἀγομένη Ποσειδῶνος
4.- Iliad, 2.550-1.
5.- CIG 4 no.556c.
6.- Theophrastus ap. Athenaeus, 269 D, E.
7.- Plutarch, Septem Sapientium Convivium, 163 B. Suda s.v. περίψημα discusses this practice.
8.- Arrian, 6.19.5.
9.- Dio Cassius, 48.48 says that Sextus Pompeius flung horses into the sea for Poseidon; Servius, ad Georg., 1.12 says that the Illyrians annually drowned horses.
10.- Cornutus, loc.cit.
11.- Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes, 307-310.
12.- Apollodorus, 2.1.4; cf. Pausanias 2.15.5. Inachus being a

sacred river Alpheus the Pylians sacrificed bulls to both Poseidon and Alpheus.[1] Sacrifices to rivers sometimes followed the procedure of the sacrifice to the sea-god, in which live animals were sacrificed by being drowned. The Trojans threw five horses into the Scamander and sacrificed many bulls to it,[2] and Tiridates prepared to sacrifice a horse to the Euphrates.[3] Probably the drowning of bulls at the pool of Cyane near Syracuse, where Pluto was said to have carried off Persephone, is related to this custom of river-sacrifice.[4]

Usually it was the river-gods themselves and not Poseidon, that were worshipped by the various Greek states, and the cult of the sacred river Achelous in North West Greece spread to Attica, Megara, Myconos and Metapontum.[5] Macrobius citing Ephorus says that Achelous was worshipped nearly everywhere in Greece on instructions from Dodona.[6] These river gods were all thought of as assuming bovine or semi-bovine shape. Euripides calls the river Cephissus ταυρόμορφον,[7] while Timaeus claims that the famous bull of Phalaris was only an effigy of the river Gelas.[8] But usually river-gods were shown in two forms. Either as an androcephalic bull, as Achelous is shown in

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river-god of Argos should really have owed his allegiance to Poseidon.

1.- Iliad, 11.728.
2.- Ibid., 21.131-2.
3.- Tacitus, Annals, 6.37.
4.- See above p.266.
5.- Attica: Plato, Phaedrus, 230 B; Megara: Pausanias, 1.41.2; Myconos: SIG.373.35; Metapontum: fifth century coins show river god and inscription Ἀχέλοιο ἄεθλον (B. Head, Historia Numorum, p.63)
6.- Ephorus ap. Macrobius, 5.18.6.
7.- Euripides, Ion, 1261.
8.- Timaeus ap. scholiast ad Pindar, Pythians, 1.185.

his fight against Heracles on a red-figure vase standing on all fours with huge horns, a human head and water spouting from his mouth.[1] Standing human-headed bovine river-gods are very common on coins from Sicily and Italy,[2] and parts of Greece.[3] Or, more simply, as a horned male figure. Aelian says that this is how the Athenians pictured the Cephissus,[4] and it is again a favourite theme of Greek colonies in the West and the Black Sea.[5] A less common representation of river-gods was as a bull-headed man.[6] Euripides calls the river Ocean ταυρόκρανος,[7] and Iris is said to have a bovine head, supposedly because the rainbow empties into rivers.[8]

Aelian says that the Stymphalians likened the rivers Erasinus and Metope to bulls, as do the Lacedaemonians the Eurotas, the

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1.- J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p.434 fig. 133 (= Arch. Zeit., 16 (1883), pl.11). Now in the Louvre. Sophocles almost describes this vase when he describes Achelous as ἀνδρείῳ κύτει βούπρῳρος (Trachiniae, 12-13).

2.- E.g. on coins of Alontion, (spouting water from its mouth), Catana, Entella, Gela, Laos, Neapolis, Metapontum, Selinus, Styella and Tauromenium (the coins of the latter sometimes show just a bull and the concomitant symbol is usually a bunch of grapes so that the god Dionysus may in fact be represented); Farnell, op.cit., 5.251, 456 n.84.

3.- On coins of Acarnania and Ambracia (Farnell, op.cit., 5.454 notes 65, 66).

4.- Aelian, Varia Historia, 2.33.

5.- The West: Adranon, Camarina, Catana, Laos, Metapontum, Naxos, Piacus, and Selinus; (Ibid., 5.251, 456-7 nn.84, 85); Black Sea: Ister and Olbia (Ibid., 5.454 n.62). Farnell believes that the coins of the latter city show the river Borysthenes or Hypanis, but Cook suggests that the figure may be Zeus Olbios (Zeus, 3. 655); Macedonia: Amphipolis (Farnell, op.cit., 5.454 n.63).

6.- Possibly river-gods were more commonly shown as androcephalic bulls to avoid confusion with the Minotaur.

7.- Euripides, Orestes, 1378.

8.- Plutarch, De Placitis Philosophorum, 3.5. Possibly this statement is due to confusion between Iris and Isis.

Sicyonians and Phliasians the Asopus and the Argives the Cephissus.[1] Near Troezen there was a river Hyllicus, which was originally called Taurius,[2] and a tributary of the Alpheus was called Bouphagus after the hero Bouphagus, and had its source at Bouphagium in Arcadia.[3] The name Bouphagus, "Ox-Eater", may be derived from the method of sacrificing bulls to rivers by drowning. In Homer the Scamander roars like a bull,[4] and many later authors said that the Greeks thought of river gods in bovine shape because of the roaring of the water.[5] Farnell says that "the water-bull is an Aryan conception, and was more in vogue with the Hellenes than was the water-horse".[6] While this is true and is endorsed by I. Scheftelowitz[7] who states that "die goettlichen Wassermaenner der deutschen Mythologie haben Stier-formen", the idea was not exclusive to the Indo-Europeans. Apis in Egypt, for example, embodied the fertility of the Nile, bovine Baal and his son Aliyan in their struggle against Mot represented the streams and springs, and the Hattian water gods may have assumed bovine shape.[8]

That river gods should be represented as bulls, apart from any similar noises the two may make, is not surprising, especially in hot countries, since the river is the source of the fertilizing water

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1.- Aelian, loc.cit.
2.- Pausanias, 2.32.7; Athenaeus calls it Taurus (122A).
3.- Pausanias, 5.7.1; 8.26.8; 8.27.17.
4.- Iliad, 21.237.
5.- Strabo, 458 (10.2.19); Aelian, op.cit., 12.57; Cornutus, 22; Porphyry ad Horace, Odes 4.14.25; Scholiast ad Hesiod, Shield of Heracles, 104.
6.- Farnell, op.cit., 4.22.
7.- I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Hoemermotiv in den Religionen", p.455.
8.- See above pp. 110, 111 n.1, 143-4, 145 n.1, 172.

so vital to man's existence, and the bull as the symbol of fertility is common to many races. This conception is well illustrated by the girls of the Troad who bathe in the river Scamander and say, "Scamander, take my virginity".[1] The idea is clearly that the fertile waters of the river impregnate the girl so that she becomes a bride (νύμφος) of the river, a mortal incarnation of the nymphs (νύμφοι).[2] This custom may well account for the heroines in legend who bore children to the river-gods. By bathing in the river before consummating the marriage to their husbands the girls would ensure that the children subsequently born would have a magical affinity to the land.[3] Probably for this reason Poseidon received the cult title Nymphagetes (Leader of the Nymphs),[4] and a relief from Paros dedicated to the nymphs shows the figure of a human-headed bull which is probably a river-god.[5] Artemidorus says that dreams of rivers, marshes or nymphs are a good sign of offspring.[6]

Pausanias states that after having intercourse with Poseidon in the shape of a horse Demeter bathed in the river Ladon after which she was known as Demeter Lousia.[7] The ritual act of bathing in a stream after intercourse to purify one's body was practised by several Greek goddesses, this was how they were believed to regain

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1.- Aeschines, Epistolae, 10.
2.- Porphyry, De Antru Nympharum, 12.
3.- Farnell, op.cit., 5.423; the wooing of Deinira by Achelous may well be a legend that developed out of this ritual (Sophocles, Trachiniae, 9-14).
4.- Cornutus, 22.
5.- Farnell, op.cit., 5.250.
6.- Artemidorus, 2.38.
7.- Pausanias, 8.25.4-5.

their virginity.[1] Their cult statues were also ritually immersed.[2] Consequently the different rivers of Greece called Parthenios, etc., were said to be those in which the goddesses had bathed.[3] But we have also seen that pregnancy was thought to be induced by bathing in the fertile river. Accordingly the myth of Poseidon and Demeter's union and the goddess' bath in the river may possible refer to the same act. The bath in this case may not be a ritual purification but the act of union between the earth-goddess and the river god, especially as Poseidon assumes equine shape, in which he would be a suitable hypostasis of the river. Similarly in Elis at Letrini and Olympia the goddess Artemis was called Ἀλφειαία,[4] and at the mouth of the river Alpheus Ἀλφειωνία or Ἀλφειούσα.[5] Pausanias explains away the epithet by a story that Alpheus fell in love with Artemis and pursued her but failed in his attempt.[6] A doublet of this story

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1.- Aphrodite bathes at Paphos (Odyssey, 8.270-275); Hera bathes every year at Nauplia in a spring called Canathus (Pausanias, 2. 38.2.); Callimachus wrote a hymn entitled The Bath of Pallas; Hera was also said to have bathed in the Mesopotamian river Alorras after her union with Zeus (Aelian, Natura Animalium, 12.30).

2.- The Argive women took the image of Athena and shield of Diomedes (the Palladium) and washed them in the river (Scholiast ad Callimachus, op.cit., 1 and 37); the image of Cybele was immersed at Pessinus, probably in the river Gallus (Arrian, Tactica, 33, 4); in Germany the image of the earth-mother Nerthus was washed in a remote lake and the slaves who attended the ceremony were swallowed up by the waters of the lake (Tacitus, Germania, 40).

3.- E.g. Samos was said to have been called originally Parthenia after the river Parthenios in which Hera bathed (Strabo, 457 (10.2.17); Scholiast ad Apollonius Rhodius, 1.187); Artemis bathed in the river Parthenios in Paphlagonia (Scholiast ad Nonnus, 8.115); cf. Stephanus Byzantinus, s.v. Παρθένιον, Παρθένιος,

4.- Pausanias, 5.14.6; 6.22.8; 6.22.10. A temple of Artemis Ἀλφειώα also stood in Ortygia, Syracuse (Scholiast ad Pindar, Pythians, 2. 11.)

5.- Strabo, 343 (8.3.12).

6.- Pausanias, 6.22.9.

is that of Alpheus' love for one of Artemis' nymphs, Arethusa, the name of a spring in both Elis and Syracuse, whom he also pursued, and catches.[1] In these myths there is an element of later Greek rationalisation. The Greeks knowing Artemis to be a virgin goddess may have been perplexed by a story that told of her union with Alpheus, so the love story was invented with Alpheus failing in his attempt. But the cult title Alpheia gives the lie to this story. Similarly the river Bouphagus in Arcadia is said to be named after a hero whom Artemis shot as he made an attempt on her virtue.[2] Here too the story may cover up an older myth of the union of Bouphagus and Artemis.

These legends of amorous river-gods who select for their would-be brides divine or semi-divine personages, are probably nothing more than a means of emphasising the fertility of the rivers. In the case of Demeter a natural union of river god and earth goddess which provides the means for man's existence. Probably it is for this reason that many people who sacrificed to Demeter made a preliminary offering to Achelous as the representative of all rivers.[3] The fertility of rivers is expressed in another way, when the river gods are associated with the cornucopia. In his struggle with Achelous Heracles wrenched off one of his horns[4] and to retrieve it Achelous offerred him in return the horn of Amalthea.[5] Amalthea was said to be the daughter of

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1.- Pausanias, 5.7.2; Ovid, Metamorphoses, 5.577-641.
2.- See above p. 319.
3.- B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, Oxyrrynchus Papyri, 2.221 col.9.
4.- In the red-figure vase mentioned above (p. 318 n.1) one of Achelous' horns is shown lying on the ground; cf. Apollodorus, 2.7.5; Diodorus, 4.35.3-4.
5.- Pherecydes ap Scholiast ad Sophocles, Trachiniae, argumentum; Apollodorus, loc.cit.

Harmonius who had a bull's horn which supplied food or drink in abundance. She is obviously connected to the goat Amalthea which suckled Zeus and is said to have produced milk and ambrosia from its horns.[1] The swapping of Amalthea's horn for Achelous' indicates that the latter's was also of this nature. It would indeed provide an apt symbol of the river's powers of fertility - a bovine horn filled with the produce its waters enable to be grown.[2] In fact coins of the Sicilian city of Assorus show the naked river god Chrysas standing and holding an amphora and a cornucopia.[3]

A cult epithet which shows this side of Poseidon's nature is Phytalmios ("The Nourisher").[4] It enjoyed an extensive vogue and occurs at Athens, Ios, Erythrae, Rhodes and Cnidos.[5] Cornutus appreciates the logic behind this name when he says that Poseidon acquired the title because of the moisture in the ground which nourishes everything that grows and is apparent inside it.[6] Again this is but a logical extension of the belief that the god of rivers and seas should also be the god of the moisture in the ground, which is of vital necessity for the generation of all plants. But Cornutus' explanation goes further than this in suggesting that Poseidon's influence extends to the very sap inside the plants. This one would perhaps expect to

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1.- Callimachus, Hymn to Zeus, 48-49.
2.- On an Attic bell-crater Zeus holds the cornucopia, while Heracles helps himself to some fruit from it. (A. Cook, Zeus, 1.pl.XXXI).
3.- Farnell, op.cit., 5.456 n.84.
4.- Alternatively spelt as φυτάλι(μ)ος or φυταίλμος
5.- References collected in J. Schmidt, "Phytalmios" in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 20.1175; cf. Farnell, op.cit., 4.6.
6.- Cornutus, 22: ἐπεὶ τοῦ φύεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς γιγνόμενα ἡ ἐν αὐτῇ δηλονότι ἰκμὰς παραίτιός ἐστιν.

come under the control of a vegetation god, such as Dionysus, and it is surely more than coincidence that he too should be known by the epithet of "Phytalmios".[1] In fact in providing nourishment and promoting the growth of vegetation the activities of the two deities overlapped. Plutarch clearly appreciated this when he said that the two gods were lords of τῆς ὑγρᾶς καὶ γονίμου ἀρχῆς .[2] Support for this view comes from a black-figure amphora in the Wuerzburg Museum which portrays Dionysus riding a bull, carrying a vine and pouring wine from a cantharos.[3] On the other side a bearded figure is riding a white bull and holding a branch and a fish. We are left in no doubt as to who this person is meant to be since a trident protrudes from over his left shoulder.[4] The vase-painter seems to have had in mind some interrelation of the gods of moisture and generation.

If Poseidon seems to be encroaching on the preserve of Dionysus, then the compliment is returned. We have mentioned that Dionysus and his persecutors lept into lakes or wells and that he was summoned by trumpets from the water at Lerna,[5] but apart from this Dionysus also enjoyed the cult title, Pelagios ("Lord of the Sea").[6] Needless to say this title also belongs to Poseidon.[7] Dionysus' adventures with the pirates who tried to kidnap him and were turned into dolphins[8] is

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1.- Schmidt, op.cit., 20.1176.
2.- Plutarch, Quaestiones Conviviales, 675 F.
3.- Farnell, op.cit., 5.252, pl.XXXIXa; Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p.435 fig.134.
4.- Farnell, op.cit., 4.57, pl.Ia; cf. W. Technau, "Die Goettin auf dem Stier", p.83.
5.- See above pp. 265, 278-9.
6.- J. Schmidt, "Pelagios" in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 19.224.
7.- Ibid., loc.cit.
8.- Homeric Hymn to Dionysus, 7.1 ff.

another example of the god venturing into realm that is not generally regarded as his concern.

In the gradual extension of his powers to the sea, possibly checked by the existence of a fully-developed sea-god in Poseidon, Dionysus indicates the line of development that Poseidon may have taken. By Roman times Dionysus was almost exclusively the god of wine, but we have seen that it was only through the particularising of this one important plant out of so many for which Dionysus, as vegetation god, was responsible, that led to the adoption of this extreme position. Similarly it has been suggested by many scholars that Poseidon was a god of the procreative forces embodied in the moisture of the earth, springs and rivers, and that only by an extension of his province to include all waters did he gain sovereignty of the sterile sea.[1] But once this position had been attained it eclipsed the god's previous functions, many of which may have been transferred to Dionysus, or similar vegetation deities. If Poseidon arrived with the Greeks[2] from a landlocked area he may well have been upgraded from god of moisture and rivers to sea-god once the Greeks took to the

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1.- Farnell, op.cit., 4.6. H. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, p.63; J. Harrison, Themis, p.171.

2.- Poseidon's name is generally accepted as being of Greek origin but nothing like agreement has yet been reached on its meanings. Etymological interpretations derive the first syllable from the sort of stems contained in words such as πόσις, ποταμός and ποτόν and the last as equal to Zeus so that the name means "Water-Zeus" or something similar (H. Ahrens, "Ueber den Namen der Poseidon", Philologos, 23 (1866), pp.1-27); others see it as a form of πόσις Δᾶς meaning "husband of Da", Da being an old, possibly pre-Greek word for earth (as in Demeter). This would correspond to his cult title Gaiaochos ("embracer of Earth") (P. Kretschmer, "Zur Geschichte der Griechischen Dialekte" Glotta, 1 (1909), 27-28). See E. Wuest, "Poseidon" in Pauly-Wissowa, op.cit., 22.450. On

sea, just as the Romans without a sea-god of their own equated him with the water deity Neptunus, who also had to take to the sea.[1]

Both Poseidon and Dionysus, being partly complementary in function, have as their attribute, to emphasize the fertile powers at their disposal, the bull. But Poseidon, as lord of the sterile sea, with which he floods the Thriasian Plain,[2] also has the same attribute. Although the roaring of the sea or the earthquake bull (if the Greeks believed in this creature or took over the idea from the Minoans) whose image the noise of seismic convulsions, often accompanied by tidal waves, and sent by the Earthshaker, helped to create, may have been responsible for Poseidon's bovine companion, there is a definite possibility that the Greek sea-god acquired the bull as his attribute when it represented the fertilising properties of fresh water.

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the other hand Jane Harrison firmly believes that Poseidon was a Minoan deity (Mythology, p.37), but there is no evidence to substantiate this theory.

1.- Rose, loc.cit.

2.- Apollodorus, 3.14.1.

CHAPTER VI

MINOAN AND GREEK BULL SPORTS

Plato in the Critias tells an interesting story of how the ten kings of Atlantis secured the bull to be sacrificed over the column which was engraved with the laws of the land.[1] In the centre of the island was a sanctuary of Poseidon in which his sacred bulls roamed freely. The kings entered the sanctuary, prayed to the god that they might capture a victim that was pleasing to him, and hunted the bulls without weapons until one was caught.[2] That this tale is not pure invention by Plato is adequately born out by a custom from India. In Assam the mithan, the most highly valued sacrificial animal, is allowed to roam wild in the jungle until it is required for sacrifice, whereupon men are sent out to capture one.[3] There is, however, a good deal of evidence that the capture of bulls by unarmed men was practised much nearer to Greece in Minoan Crete - a significant point for those who believe Atlantis to be a dim recollection of that culture.[4]

From a close examination of the colouring of the bulls depicted on Minoan frescoes F. Zeuner states that their piebald hides indicate domestication. The curvature of their horns also leads him to this

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1.- See above p. 259.
2.- Plato, Critias, 119 D, E.
3.- C. von Fuerer-Haimendorf, "The Social Background of Cattle Domestication in India" in F. Zeuner and A. Mourant, Man and Cattle, p.145.
4.- E.g. J. Luce, The End of Atlantis, pp.40, 182-3.

conclusion.[1] But both he and Miss S. Cole agree that these animals were feral cattle, that is, domesticated stock which were allowed to roam and had reverted to a form resembling the ancestral aurochs.[2] As for their horns which are extremely long, these cannot have developed out of the indigenous short-horned Cretan species (bos creticus), since domestication tends to reduce not increase the length of horns. Since evidence for long-horned cattle in Crete is lacking before MM.I we must concur with J.D. Evans[3] that the long-horned species were introduced into Crete at the beginning of this period. Whether this importation was intended to produce better stock or provide animals more suitable for bull-sports is impossible to say, but clearly these beasts were allowed to roam in a semi-wild state until they were needed for sacrifice or participation in contests.[4] In this at least the parallel with Atlantis is a close one.

If the bulls that were to be captured were needed to be sacrificed or take part in any 'sports', then obviously they would have to be taken alive and uninjured. This in itself would rule out the use of weapons against them. Therefore subterfuge would have to be resorted to, and this is what we find on one of the Vaphio Cups[5] which

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1.- F. Zeuner, "The History of the Domestication of Cattle" in Zeuner and Mourant, op.cit., p.14.
2.- Ibid., loc.cit.; S. Cole, The Neolithic Revolution, p.27.
3.- J.D. Evans, "Cretan Cattle-Cults and Sports" in Zeuner and Mourant, op.cit., p.138.
4.- Ibid., p.142; G. Glotz, The Aegean Civilisation, p.295.
5.- National Museum at Athens no.1759 and illustrated in numerous publications cf. Eph. Arch., 1889, pl.9; H. Bossert, Altkreta, pp. 177-179 pls.243, 245 and 247; A Evans, The Palace of Minos, 3. 179 fig.123 B.

shows in strip-cartoon style how a decoy cow is used to entice the bull into a standing position long enough for a man to creep up and tether its hind leg. The other Vaphio Cup shows a more usual method in which a bull has been driven into a net stretched between two trees.[1] A clay sealing from Hagia Triada[2] shows this same detail as a bull stumbles on reaching the enveloping net. A sealing from the same place[3] shows a bull with a net pattern above and in front of it as though the bull is about to hit the net, and a seal in the Ashmolean Museum[4] shows the same scene a split second later as the net stretches on impact on either side of the bull. Probably a third sealing from Hagia Triada[5] interpreted by Evans as a bull butting a fence represents the same scene with only the supporting ropes of the net shown.

On this second Vaphio Cup two other bulls are also shown. One has escaped the net and is running away; the other has brushed aside one of his would-be captors but another has managed to jump onto the bull's head and has wrapped his arms and legs around the bull's horns. Presumably the weight of the man's body weighed down the bull's head and brought it to the ground, where other hunters could help to overpower and fetter the bull. This spectacular method of capturing bulls was a favourite theme of Minoan artists. We have seen

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1.- National Museum at Athens no.1758; Bossert, loc.cit., pls.242, 244 and 246; Evans, loc.cit., fig.123A.
2.- D. Levi, "Le Cretule di Haghia Triada", p.103, fig.81; Evans, op. cit., 4.574, fig.553; V. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p.51, fig.97.
3.- Kenna, loc.cit., fig.98.
4.- Ibid., p.123, pl.10,236 (A.M. 1938. 1018).
5.- Evans, loc.cit., fig.554; Levi, op.cit., p.101, fig.76; Kenna, op.cit., p.51, fig.96.

that on two MM.I bull rhyta from the Messara diminutive figures cling to the animal's head and horns,[1] and it is clear that the scene represents the capture of the bull. Certain seals also show this scene, although the engraver, possibly for the sake of clarity in the confined space in which he has to work, shows the action immediately before the hunter wraps himself round the bull's horns. Thus the man who has leapt from behind, and above the bull is shown facing the back of its head with one arm extended to grasp a horn, and his body stretched out in mid air above the bull's back.[2] In this suspended position one of the leaper's knees is usually bent so that he gives the appearance of kneeling on the bull's back.[3] This exact position is adopted by the so-called acrobat in a fresco fragment from Tiryns.[4] A. Reichel[5] even suggests that the figure is in fact kneeling on the bull's back. For this reason I prefer to see the fresco not as yet another picture of bull leaping, but of the capture of a feral bull.

If these seals are true recollections of actual events how did the men get into a position to attempt such leaps? Perhaps the simplest answer is that they jumped from the vantage point of a nearby

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1.- See above pp.245-6
2.- Kenna, op.cit., p.125, pl.10.248 (AM.1938.1078); a tree branch appears in the field as it does on a similar gem, although in this instance the leaper's body is more elongated (H. Heydemann, Arch. Anz.,4 (1889), p.190; cf. A. Reichel, "Die Stierspiele in der Kretisch-Mykenischen Cultur", p.90, fig.7).
3.- E.g. Kenna, op.cit., p.125, pl.10.249 (AM.1938.1079); cf. a haematite seal in the British Museum in which the flying figure receives support from a man standing in front of the bull, who grips one of its horns. (A.S. Murray, Arch. Anz., 5 (1890), p.69; Reichel, op. cit., p.90, fig.9.)
4.- H. Schliemann, Tiryns, pl.XIII; G. Rodenwaldt, "Tiryns", 2, pl. XVIII; A. Evans, "On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure", p.249 fig.3a.
5;- Reichel, op.cit., p.89 and fig.6.

tree. The Vaphio Cups show that the bulls frequented wooded places and two of the seals discussed have a tree-branch in the field.[1] Moreover other seals show the leaper descending at a much steeper angle to grasp both the bull's horns in his arms.[2] A MM.III seal now in the Ashmolean Museum[3] shows a bull drinking from a square-ended trough on which a lattice-work pattern of a diagonal cross inside a square appears. The bull supports itself by its hind legs while the lower parts of its fore legs and muzzle are inside the trough as it drinks. At this point a man has leapt from above to seize the bull round the neck. His body is in an almost vertical position and one leg is characteristically bent. Evans who acquired the seal immediately called it "a bull caught while drinking at a tank". This is by far the simplest explanation,[4] and possibly such troughs may have been built in the woods where the feral bulls roamed, in positions that would afford plenty of cover for a sudden attack by hunters. This would also provide a place which the animals would frequent in

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1.- See above p. 330 n. 2.

2.- E.g. Reichel, op.cit., pl.II 4; A. Furtwaengler, Antike Gemmen, 1, pl.II 17; cf. Evans, Palace of Minos, 4.609, fig.597A,n.

3.- Kenna, op.cit., p.108, pl.8.202 (A.M.1938.964); A. Evans, Palace of Minos, 1.377 fig.274; Reichel, op.cit., p.87 fig.4; A. Cook, Zeus, 1.498 fig.361; Furtwaengler, op.cit., 1, pl.VI 9.

4.- J. Graham, The Palaces of Crete, p.78 calls this explanation "hardly possible", adding "Surely no bull would drink in such a fashion, nor would a Minoan artist have so represented him." To which one could add that no bull ran at the "flying gallop" but this is how the Minoan artists showed him. Graham's explanation (p.79) that the "trough" is a "blind step", which he sees as the object in the north west corner of the central court of Phaestos, and which he explains as a stepped refuge for cornered acrobats who, once the bull has begun to clamber up the steps after them, could vault over its head to safety, is unsatisfactory since the seal shows the muzzle and fore-legs of the bull to be inside the structure. Who ever heard of a hollow step?

order to drink, thereby making them easier to track down. Cook, however, believes that the scene depicted on the seal took place inside the courtyard of one of the Minoan palaces since the pattern on the end of the trough also occurs on the painted stucco preserved on two recesses on either side of the northern entrance to the Central Court at Phaestos.[1] But all this proves is the authenticity of the seal. The pattern was surely not exclusive to the central courts of Minoan palaces. Both Cook and Kenna also believe that the man is vaulting over the bull.[2] But the posture of the man gives the impression not of a half-completed somersault but that the whole weight of his body is forcing down the bull's neck. That this impression is the intention of the artist is shown beyond doubt by the recent discovery at Katsamba of an ivory pyxis.[3] The design on it shows a bull charging two armed men who run away, the one nearer to the bull aiming his spear at it. But at the same time a man has dived from above to grasp the bull by its horns exactly in the manner of the man who seizes the bull at the trough. The background is one of rocks and birds flying overhead so this can hardly be an acrobatic performance, but the finale of the hunt. Perhaps the two armed men were used to goad and entice the bull into a position where the other man could leap upon it. The fact that they are armed may seem to run counter to the previous arguments that the hunters wished to capture the bulls

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1.- Cook, loc.cit., and cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.373 fig.271. Cook sees the design as a labyrinth pattern, but his arguments for this are far from convincing.
2.- Cook, loc.cit.; Kenna, loc.cit.
3.- S. Alexiou, Guide to the Archaeological Museum of Heraclion, p.62.

alive, but this need not be so, since the arms were probably only used as defensive weapons in the last resort, which is how they seem to be employed in this case.

Once the bull had been pounced upon it would have to be overpowered by physical force before it could be tethered and led away. The man who landed on its neck would be in the best position to do this having as it were a stranglehold on the bull, which would also be stunned from the impact of the man's descent. With the bull in such a dazed state, the man could more easily get a firm grip on it and by twisting its head hold it until it could be secured. At any rate he would have to keep his position and hold on tight to avoid being gored by the bull.

A seal from the Fifth Magazine at Cnossos,[1] unfortunately countermarked by a barred S sign, shows a man on his knees who has pulled down and back the head of a standing bull. One arm is held over the bull's nearer horn, which he grasps near to its root, while the other hand presses firmly against the animal's lower jaw. The man's kneeling position may be due to the artist's desire to show the moment immediately after impact before the man has had a chance to rise. Two seals from Mycenae[2] show this same scene except that the man is

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1.- Evans, op.cit., 3.231, fig.163; 4.617, fig.604 b; id., "On a Minoan Bronze Group", p.258 fig.10; Kenna, op.cit., p.558, fig. 123; p.147 pl.17, 52 S (A.M. 1938 1080).

2.- One of banded agate: Evans, Palace of Minos, 3.231 fig.162; id. "On a Minoan Bronze Group", p.259 fig.11; Reichel, op.cit., p.90 fig.8. The other of green jasper: A. Evans, Palace of Minos, 3. 231 fig.164 A; 4.474 fig.400; id., "On a Minoan Bronze Group", p.259, fig.12; Reichel, op.cit., pl.II.5. Cf. also a haematite seal in the British Museum showing the same theme: British Museum Catalogue of Gems, Pl. A no.75; Reichel, op.cit., pl.II.1.

standing, but still maintaining the same hold on the bull with one hand pressed against its jaw and the other holding one of its horns, so that the bull's head is forced downwards and backwards. A cornelian seal from Phaestos[1] bears a poor representation of this design. A man half-kneeling seizes a bull by the tips of both horns. The bull stands in an attitude like the conventional cow-suckling-calf motif with its head turned back.

Most authors are quick to point out that this bull-grappling is a different sport from that of bull-leaping.[2] Several concede that the former took place in the open whereas they believe that the latter was celebrated inside the confines of the central courts of the Minoan palaces.[3] But they view the bull-grappling either as the sort of sport that is practised today in wild west rodeos, or as a means of breaking in the bulls prior to the bull-leaping.[4] None of them connects this wrestling with the actual capture of the bull itself,[5] although they concede that the bulls are semi-wild and have to be caught. Once it is conceded that the bulls had to be caught alive, then this wrestling becomes an integral part of their subjugation and ultimate capture. This is not to say that bull-grappling was not practised on captured animals whether as a competition or part of the process of breaking them in (but surely they were not broken in for

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1.- L. Savignoni, "Scavi e Scoperte nella Necropoli di Phaestos", Mon. Ant., 14 (1904), p.626, fig.97b; Reichel, op.cit., p.91 fig.10.
2.- E.g. Evans, Palace of Minos, 3.204; Reichel, op.cit., p.90.
3.- Ibid., loc.cit.; Glotz, op.cit., p.295.
4.- Evans, loc.cit.; Glotz, loc.cit.
5.- J.D. Evans, op.cit., p.142, however does connect bull-grappling with the capture of the beasts.

the bull-leaping, since if docile beasts were required why let them roam the hills in a feral state?), or even so that the would-be capturers could practise their holds so that the correct ones could be perfected. Such skills would have to be acquired if the hunters were not to be seriously gored or trampled.

These bull-grappling scenes then may be part of the hunt or a training session. Other seals show a feat that may have been practised by apprentice bull-leapers. A seal from Praesos[1] shows a man swinging himself over from one side of a couchant bull's back to the other by grasping hold of the bull's horns. Other seals show the same feat performed by the man holding onto only one of the bull's horns with one hand.[2] These leaps are clearly different from the usual bull-leaping,[3] but may have formed part of the acrobats' training.[4]

The capture of bulls by unarmed men who wrestle them into submission became part of the tradition that survives in Greek mythology. Heracles for his seventh labour is sent to Crete to capture a maddened bull which was devastating the country. This he accomplished with his bare hands.[5] Apart from the reason that the bull was a danger to property and life, there could hardly be a more faithful account of the method of catching bulls in Minoan Crete. Further confirmation

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1.- R. Bosanquet, "Excavations at Praesos I", p.252 fig.25; cf. Kenna, op.cit., p.61 fig.134; Reichel, op.cit., p.89 fig.5.
2.- A. Persson, The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times, p.96 fig. 22; Eph. Arch. 1907 pl.7.61 cf. Reichel, op.cit., pp.88-89.
3.- As Reichel, op.cit., p.90, says.
4.- Glotz, loc.cit., thinks the participants are members of an acrobats' school.
5.- Apollodorus, 2.5.7; cf. Diodorus, 4.13.4.

of this practice is provided by the legend of Theseus' capture of the Marathonian bull.[1] That the proper setting for this exploit is also Minoan Crete is suggested by the fact that the bull is said to be the same one that Heracles caught and subsequently released in Argos, whence it wandered to Attica,[2] and that the Cretan Androgeos, a son of Minos, was killed in his attempts to overpower the beast.[3] Jason's wrestling of the Colchian bulls may also be based on these sports.[4] It has been suggested that Theseus' capture of the Marathonian bull is only a doublet of Heracles' exploit and is based directly upon it.[5] More likely the two represent independent traditions about Minoan bull-wrestling. The two bulls may have later become one and the same beast through syncretistic influences, just as the bull itself is identified with Europa's bull, or Pasiphae's bull, or the bull sent to Minos by Poseidon,[6] if the mythographer does not consider the last two to be the same animal.

Some authors see the wrestling of the Marathonian bull as being another version of Theseus' killing of the Minotaur.[7] But the two legends are totally different in character, whatever one's interpretation of the Minotaur legend. The Minoan seals sufficiently demon-

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1.- Apollodorus, Epitome, 1.5; Pausanias, 1.27.10; Plutarch, Theseus, 14.
2.- Pausanias, loc.cit.; Apollodorus, 2.5.7.
3.- Apollodorus, 3.15.7; Pausanias, loc.cit.
4.- Apollonius Rhodius, 3.1278 ff; Apollodorus, 1.9.23.
5.- E.g. G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, p.383; H. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, p.265.
6.- Acusilaus says it was the bull that ferried Europa over the sea for Zeus (ap. Apollodorus, 2.5.7); Diodorus, loc.cit., says it was the bull of which Pasiphae was enamoured; and Apollodorus, loc.cit., citing unspecified sources also equates it with the latter.
7.- E.g. Thomson, loc.cit.

strate that the legend of the Marathonian bull could be derived from an historical practice. To read into it an allegorical story of the destruction of Cnossos by the Achaeans is going farther than the evidence permits. Similarly it is ludicrous to suggest, as does C. Robert,[1] that Heracles' struggle with the Cretan bull represents the later Dorian invasion of Crete, when a much simpler, far less dramatic and more plausible explanation exists. Since bull-wrestling took place in Minoan times, why should not legends of heroes wrestling bulls be a recollection of historical fact?

Although the practice of capturing feral bulls by leaping upon them and wrestling them into submission may have died out with the destruction of the Minoan culture, in Hellenic times men still wrestled bare-handed with bulls. The feat was now closely connected to the subsequent sacrifice of the bull in a religious festival. Whether this is a legacy from Minoan times or of independent origin is impossible to tell. The first mention of this practice comes in Homer where he compares the death cries of one of Achilles' victims to the bellowing of the bull that is dragged by young men to the altar of Poseidon Heliconius.[2] Hesychius may be referring to a similar practice when he explains Κερατεσσεῖς as "those who drag the bulls by the horns".[3] An Arcadian clan called the Cynaethians held a feast in the winter at the sanctuary of Dionysus, in which young men, their

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1.- C. Robert, Griechische Heldensage, 1.679; followed by L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischen Bild", p.137.

2.- Iliad, 20, 403-5 ἤρυγεν ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος/ ἤρυγεν ἑλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἄμφι ἄνακτα/ κούρων ἑλκόντων; cf. Strabo, 384 (8.7.2).

3.- Hesychius s.v. Κερατεσσεῖς· οἱ τοὺς ταύρους ἕλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων· καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ κεραελκεῖς.

bodies greased with oil, selected a bull from the herd, lifted it up bodily and carried it to the sanctuary.[1] At Nysa in Lydia, where Hades was said to have abducted Persephone, there was an annual festival in which the young men stripped naked and carried a bull to the cave of Charon, which was situated directly above the temple of Hades and Kore. There they set the animal down and it immediately collapsed dead.[2] A coin of Nysa, struck by Maximus, shows six naked figures carrying aloft a bull.[3] The story of Cleobis and Biton drawing their mother to the temple of Hera in her ox-cart is well-known;[4] but Pausanias relates another story in which, when the Argives were driving cattle to Nemea to sacrifice to Zeus, Biton held up a bull and carried it himself. A statue of him bearing the bull was set up at Argos in the sanctuary of Lycian Apollo.[5] Aelian hints at this selection and bare-handed mastery of a bull to be led for sacrifice when he tells of how at Hermione the priestess of Demeter Chthonia brings the largest cows from the herd to the altar, where they allow themselves to be sacrificed. He quotes Aristocles who says that a bull that ten men could not master is led to sacrifice by the priestess alone.[6] These last two anecdotes indicate that the custom of overpowering a bull and forcibly leading it to sacrifice was more common than might be expected.

1.- Pausanias, 8.19.2.
2.- Strabo, 650 (14.1.44).
3.- A. Cook, Zeus, 1.504, fig.366.
4.- Herodotus, 1.31; Pausanias, 2.20.3; Plutarch, Consolatio ad Apollinam, 14.
5.- Pausanias, 2.19.5. citing Lyceas of Argos.
6.- Aelian, Natura Animalium, 11.4.

Probably the most renowned instance of this custom took place at Eleusis, where the Athenian ephebes selected bulls and wrestled with them until they lifted them off the ground before leading them to sacrifice. This is specifically stated in an honorary inscription from Attica which says that ἐπο[ιήσ]ατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄρσεις τῶν βοῶν ἐπάνδρως ἐν τῇ Ἐλευ[σῖνι τῇ θυ]σίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πρ[οηροσιοίς][1] Another inscription also refers to this custom,[2] and it is recorded by Artemidorus.[3] These same ephebes also selected and led to sacrifice the bulls for other festivals,[4] including the bull to be sacrificed to Dionysus on the eve of the Great Dionysia.[5] There is no evidence whether the latter was accompanied by wrestling and lifting the bull into the air or not, but it may have been since it was practised at Eleusis. It helps to explain the popularity of the legend of Theseus' wrestling with the Marathonian bull and leading it to Athens to be sacrificed. The ephebes at Eleusis in fact were enacting all that had been done by Theseus.

At Ephesus too the young men contested against bulls,[6] but what form this competition took is not known. C. Picard[7] believes that

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1.- I.G., 2.471 lines 78-79.
2.- I.G., 2.467, ἤραντο δὲ τοῖς Μυστηρίοις τοὺς βοῦς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ θυσίᾳ.
3.- Artemidorus, 1.8, καὶ ἐν Ἀττικῇ παρὰ ταῖς θεαῖς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν (sc. ταύροις ἀγωνίζονται)
4.- I.G., 2.471 lines 9-10, ἤραντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς βοῦς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς προηροσίοις καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς καὶ γυμνασίοις.
5.- C.I.G., 2.4098 line 12. ἐπέμψαν τοῖς Διονυσίοις ταῦρον ... ὃν καὶ ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ πομπῇ,
6.- Artemidorus, loc.cit., ταύροις ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ παῖδες Ἐφεσίων ἀγωνίζονται.
7.- C. Picard, Ephese et Claros, p.343; L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 4.25, and A. Cook, "Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age", p.130 believe that the Thessalian taurokathapsia was mirrored in the Eleusinian and Ephesian sports, but A. Persson, op.cit., p.142, and L. Ziehen, "Ταυροκαθάψια" in Pauly-Wissowa, op. cit., new series, 5.25 see no evidence for any connection.

the Ephesian festival and the one at Eleusis were derived directly from the Thessalian taurokathapsia,[1] in which men on horse-back chased bulls and by leaping upon them and twisting their necks killed them. The only reason to connect these three customs is that Artemidorus mentions the three festivals together.[2] Presumably he selected these three as the most famous examples of bull-sports, since he also says that such sports were practised elsewhere. But he never suggests that they were connected or that one was derived from another. Although the precise nature of the Ephesian custom is not known, the Thessalian and Eleusinian rites are clearly different. In the former the object was to leap from a horse and kill the bull, whereas in the latter our sources nowhere mention horse-riding as part of the ritual, and the bull has to be wrestled to exhaustion and then raised aloft. Moreover the Thessalian bulls died on the spot, but the Eleusinian bulls had to be overpowered so that they could later be led to sacrifice. A. Persson[3] thinks that the leading to the altar was the more important part of the ritual, but the bull-wrestling undertaken by the ephebes (young men also took part in the Ephesian version) was an obvious demonstration of their physical prowess, and its origins may go back further, possibly, even to Minoan times.

Two inscriptions from Didyma near Miletus describe a person as "driver of the ox to Zeus Hyetius".[4] A.Evans thinks this βουγία is a

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1.- See below, pp. 360-363
2.- Artemidorus, loc.cit.
3.- Persson, op.cit., p.150;
4.- C.I.G., 2.2880; B. Haussoullier, "Le Culte de Zeus a Didymes", in Melanges Henri Weil, p.148.

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release it may have had to have been subdued before being driven to the altar, although our sources are silent on this matter. If we can argue from analogy, at Caryanda in Caria an inscription[1] records the name of a man who was bull-starter (ταυραφέτης) at a certain festival[2] held there and whose duties included releasing several bulls at the beginning of some contest,[3] of which the exact nature is unspecified. This ritual is seen by some to be a direct transplantation of the Thessalian taurokathapsia to Caria, since the finest bull is said to be released for the hunt.[4] But the nature of this hunt is not defined, nor is any mention of horses made. Moreover in the Boegia at Miletus Zeus' ox is set free prior to being driven to his altar and the ritual bears no resemblance to the taurokathapsia.[5] In Atlantis the kings led or drove their bull to the sacred pillar but first, of course, we are told they had to catch it. In writing his account Plato may have been influenced in this detail by such rituals as those of Miletus and Caryanda, but probably his source of inspiration came from nearer home.[6] Although the ephebes wrestled with and raised aloft bulls at Eleusis, our sources state that this feat was

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1.- P. Lebas, Asie Mineure, no.499 5 ff.
2.- An inscription from nearby Mylasa mentions a festival called the ταυροφονία which may refer to the same event (Ibid., no.404).
3.- Ibid., no.499, ἀφῆκεν ταύρους πλείονας.
4.- E.g. Ziehen, op.cit., p.25; cf. Lebas op.cit., no.499 ἀφῆκεν ταῦρον κάλλιστον εἰς κυνήγιον
5.- Reichel, op.cit., p.99 and Malten, op.cit., p.135, believe the two customs are not related.
6.- This is not to say that his story of bull-wrestling on Atlantis may not be a vague reminiscence of events on Minoan Crete, but that the bare bones of the myth may have been clothed by extra details gleaned from rites current at the time of writing.

performed at other festivals and sacrifices.[1] Moreover the ephebes also escorted (which is another way of saying drove) the bull which was sacrificed to Dionysus on the eve of the Great Dionysia.[2] Perhaps this was one of the other festivals which started off with a preliminary wrestling bout.

Although the evidence for bull-wrestling by naked youths prior to the leading or driving of the ox to the altar is circumstantial for many of the festivals under discussion, it does indicate that the two acts comprised the interdependent parts of a specific type of ritual. Possibly in the original custom the bull, once overpowered, had to be carried all the way to the altar,[3] but this part may have been altered in many cases (for practical purposes where long distances were involved) to the easier method of driving the animal. I believe that the connection between driving and carrying animals to sacrifice is well illustrated by the story of Biton, who picked up and carried a bull, when the Argives were <u>driving</u> cattle to sacrifice to Nemean Zeus. Biton may not have been merely showing off his own strength, but reviving the old custom of carrying animals to the altar.[4]

To return to Crete and Minoan bull-sports. The bull-leaping in which an acrobat by some means somersaults over the back of a

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1.- See above pp. 337-8
2.- See above p. 339 and note 5. Pindar, <u>Olympians</u>, 13.19 calls Dionysus "Bull-driving Dithyramb", σὺν βοηλάτᾳ ... διθυράμβῳ.
3.- As was still done in some festivals (see above p.338).
4.- His statue in Argos, if he is not an historical character, may have served as a reminder to the people of the physical prowess of the earlier Argives before the ritual was changed.

charging bull is obviously of a different nature from the method of bull-catching by springing upon the animal's horns, and bull-wrestling. The latter can be seen to have a practical purpose, whereas the former is concerned with entertainment or religion, or probably both. The capture of bulls by unarmed men is attested for MM.I by the two rhyta from the Messara showing the diminutive figures clinging to the bull's horns,[1] Bull-leaping on the other hand cannot yet be dated by artistic evidence prior to MM.III, although fresco fragments found below the "Kasella" floor of the XIIIth Magazine at Cnossos,[2] which show part of the head of a bull, the flying locks of an acrobat and an audience, indicate that they were celebrated early in MM.III before the earthquake in the middle of that period. Most authors are careful to distinguish between bull-catching and wrestling, and bull-leaping. A. Reichel suggests that bull-leaping developed out of the bull-catching,[3] which is a possibility especially as in both cases men are shown leaping towards the bull's horns. But on the other hand since the capture of the bulls may be connected with their subsequent appearance in the bull-leaping sports, these bulls being of a feral nature, the two events may be the constituent parts of the one ceremony, in which case one need not be derived from

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1.- See above pp. 246-6.
2.- A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.527-9 fig.385. Evans believes that evidence for bull-leaping in MM.II is provided by fragments of painted bulls and human figures found among the "Spiral Frescoes" of the earlier E. Hall of Cnossos (Ibid., 1.375-6, fig. 273). The evidence is, however, inconclusive since the fragments could come from a bull-catching or wrestling fresco. They are too few in number to tell.
3.- Reichel, op.cit., p.96.

the other. If this is so then the capture of bulls in MM.I could be evidence for bull-leaping in that period.

The art of bull-leaping is illustrated on several surviving Minoan frescoes and gems. From these Evans produced a diagrammatic scheme to show how he believed the leap was executed.[1] The acrobat runs head on towards the bull and grasps its horns in either hand; the bull then raises its head in an effort to toss the acrobat but thereby giving added impetus to his leap, so that he is raised high above the bull's head. He then releases the horns, which means that he automatically turns a back somersault to land with his feet on the bull's back, from which position he can either jump straight off or complete another somersault to land on the ground, where he is caught by a person specially posted there to assist him. The feasibility of this feat was questioned by Professor Baldwin Brown who sought "professional" advice from a wild west rodeo participant. His conclusions were that the acrobat could not get sufficient balance for a somersault if he grasped the bull's horns. Moreover a charging bull raises its head sideways and gores at anything in front of it. A further point is that anyone performing such a leap would land behind the bull not on its back.[2] If the objection is raised that the bulls may have been specially trained not to act in this way, then the difficulty arises of why, if well-trained animals were

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1.- A. Evans, "On a Minoan Bronze Group", pp.252-3 fig.5, reproduced in id., The Palace of Minos, 3.223-5 fig.156.
2.- Ibid., 3.212.

required, the bulls were feral and had to be caught. Evans accepts these criticisms of his theory but is still loth to omit it from the Palace of Minos. Consequently he illustrates a Minoan bronze statue which shows an acrobat, having completed a leap, standing on a bull's back but leaning backwards so that his long hair touches the top of the bull's head to form a support for the acrobat's own head.[1] Evans' diagram is then inserted to show "the idea of the performance as conceived by the modeller of the bronze group".[2] This is, however, specious reasoning, for if the figure is made to lean further backward than is natural to provide a support for his head, as Evans himself argues, then similarly his feet can be planted on the bull as a support for the rest of his body. (Obviously the bronze figure of the acrobat could not "float" in mid-air above the bull's back.) In a model in the round there has to be some point of contact between the two bodies even if there was no contact in reality. In fact this statuette is the only example from Minoan art, that I am aware of, which shows the acrobat's foot in contact with the bull's back.

Once it is admitted that the Minoan artists were not reproducing photographically the sequence of the action of bull-leaping, then Evans' diagrammatic plan falls to the ground. What the artists show is the general impression of bull-leaping. We cannot expect pin-point accuracy of detail. No-one believes that Minoan bulls ran at

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1.- Ibid., 3.221 fig.155; cf. 2.651 fig.461; Id., "On a Minoan Bronze Group", pp.247-8 figs 1 and 2 a-b; Malten, op.cit., p. 134 fig.86; R. Higgins, Minoan and Mycenaean Art frontispiece. The statuette is now in the British Museum.

2.- A. Evans, Palace of Minos, 3.222.

the "flying gallop" but this is how they are usually represented in art. Similarly the size of the bull in relation to human figures is also exaggerated. For example three men cling to the forehead and horns of the bull-rhyton from Porti. To show this the artist had to make the men out of proportion to the bull. Some of the bulls being wrestled on seals are probably drawn proportionately larger than they were in reality.

But whether the acrobats landed on the bull's back or on the ground behind is not of great importance. What is more important is the manner in which they started their leaps. Evans' diagram shows the acrobat standing between the bull's horns, grasping one in either hand. Where does he get this information from? It is based, he claims, on the action depicted in the "taureador fresco" from Cnossos,[1] a fragmentary design which shows a female acrobat grasping the horns of a charging bull, a male figure in mid-leap and a female standing behind the bull to catch the male figure. It is the first figure that concerns us here. The bull's left horn appears to pass under her left armpit and she grasps it with her left hand.[2] In other words she is placed not between the bull's horns but to the side of them. Two other fresco fragments show bull's horns together with human hands which do not grasp the horns but are tightly clenched.[3] If they are from figures who grasp the bull's horns in this manner then we can see that once this hold is established, if the bull were

1.- Ibid., 3.213 fig.144.
2.- This section of the fresco is seen enlarged in ibid., 3.214 fig.145
3.- Ibid., 3.215-6, figs.146 and 147.

to raise its head upward violently, the acrobat would be catapulted upwards over the bull's back in a position very similar to that of the male figure in the "taureador fresco" to land feet first behind the bull.

Unfortunately no other material so far discovered shows the start of the leap. There are numerous illustrations of acrobats in mid-air above the bull's back,[1] and some of acrobats descending feet first behind the bull.[2] In other words there is no evidence for Evans' contention that the acrobat started his leap between the bull's horns, grasping one in each hand. And yet despite Brown's objections to the feasibility of this feat and Evans' reluctant concurrence, through the latter's diagrammatic plan this method of leap-

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1.- E.g. On a gold ring from Arkhanes (Ibid., 3.230 fig.154; Persson, op.cit., p.65, pl.18; Malten, op.cit., p.134, fig.85); two bronze rings from Asine (Persson, op.cit., p.66 fig.16); agate seal from Mycenae (Eph. Arch., 1888, pl.X.35; Reichel, op.cit., p.86 pl.II.2); various fresco and relief fragments from Cnossos show parts of bulls and human limbs but the action could be bull-catching or bull-leaping (Evans, op.cit., 2.620-1 fig.389; 676-7 fig.429; 3.172-5 figs.117-120; 3.209 fig.143); fresco fragment from Orchomenus (H. Bulle, Orchomenus, pl.XXVIII,8); a vase fragment from Mycenae (M. Mayer "Mykenische Beitraege I. Stierfang", p.72; Reichel, op.cit., p.86 fig.1); two sealings from Gournia (H. Boyd-Hawes, Gournia, p.54 fig.30,3); sealings from Cnossos - Temple Repositories (Evans, op.cit., 1.694 fig.514; 3.218 fig. 149); Corridor of the Bays (Ibid., 1.686 fig.504,d; 3.219 fig. 153; Malten, op.cit., p.133, fig.80); three sealings from Zakro (D. Hogarth, "The Zakro Sealings", pls.IX,96 and 97; X, 123; p. 86 fig.27; Evans, op.cit., 1.686 figs.504 a-c; 3.219 figs.151 a and b, 152; Malten, op.cit., p.133 figs.81-83); an agate from the Peloponnese, now in the Ashmolean Museum shows two acrobats leaping over two bulls (Evans, op.cit., 3.218 fig.150; Kenna, op. cit., p.125 pl.10.246 (A.M. 1938. 1077)).

2.- Two fresco fragments from Cnossos show a man and a woman descending. Part of the bull's hoof is visible behind the man's leg. (Evans, op.cit., 3.217 fig.148 and pl.XXI).

ing has become accepted as a fact. As recently as 1962 J. Graham in his book The Palaces of Crete says quite definitely that the acrobat faced the bull head-on and seized its horns.[1] The following year J.D. Evans wrote "the acrobats faced the charging bull, grasped the horns lowered to toss them".[2] He obviously has reservations about this feat since he adds in a footnote, "It has been asserted that this would be an impossible feat, but the Minoan representations of if are conclusive proof that it was performed." It certainly was performed, but did not start in the way he describes. An arm flung over one of the bull's horns is far different from both horns being grasped in the acrobat's hands. It brings the level of the performance down from the superhuman to the heroic. But the "taureador fresco" is the only extant example of the start of the leap. The idea that the horns were grasped in the hands has also been nurtured by the erroneous interpretation of a number of seals which show the acrobat above the bull's back and holding onto one horn. Such illustrations are, I believe, more convincingly explained as examples of bull-capturing[3] rather than bull-leaping. For example A. Reichel[4] explains as bull-leaping the design on a ring in the National Museum at Athens in which a man hangs in mid-air over the back of a running bull, his head facing the back of the bull's neck, while one hand

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1.- J. Graham, The Palaces of Crete, pp.75 and 82. R. Hutchinson's book Prehistoric Crete was published in the same year and repeats this method of bull-leaping (page 265), although it was revised in 1968.
2.- J.D. Evans, op.cit., p.141.
3.- See above pp. 329-333.
4.- Reichel, op.cit., p.88 pl.II,3.

holds one of the animal's horns and the other is placed against its neck. But this is completely the wrong position for anyone attempting a leap over the bull's back to be in at this stage since his back should be the side of his body nearest the bull. The man is in fact shown in the ideal position for catching bulls.

Of the seals that I have examined which show figures suspended in the air over the back of bulls, those which show the figure grasping one of the bull's horns invariably have him facing the ground and are better explained as bull-catching scenes. Where there is no contact between beast and man the scene is one of bull-leaping. Therefore we are left with only the "taureador fresco" which shows contact between the acrobat and bull's horn. Even here the horn is not held but tucked under the armpit. The acrobat would not have to let go but at a certain point when the bull raised its head would be sent off on a natural somersault. Possible this type of leap was only executed by the most daring or proficient of acrobats. The more regular way may have been to run towards the bull and at the last moment leap into the air and perform a somersault, so that when the acrobat descends the bull has passed safely underneath. Of course the bull would have to be running fast and the acrobat would have to jump high, but the general impression in art would be that the man had leapt over the full length of the bull, although the actual length of his jump would be no more than a few feet, if that. Moreover this feat is certainly not impossible since it is practised today in parts of Iberia and the Camargue.

Nevertheless the sport would still be dangerous but the difficulty would not be in attempting to grab the bull's horns but in timing the jump. Jumping too late would mean risking being caught by the bull before getting airborne, but becoming nervous and jumping too soon would mean that the bull would not be given sufficient time to run underneath and the acrobat might thus impale himself on the beast's horns on his descent. A design on a steatite rhyton from Hagia Triada[1] shows just this mishap. The bull has raised its head in the air and the acrobat lying on his back has been impaled. I believe this demonstrates that such unassisted leaps as just described were performed, since the scene seems to show the moment of impact, when the man having almost completed his somersault is still facing skywards as his back hits the bull's horns. Had he been attempting to grab the bull's horns and missed he would still have been gored but the horns would have entered the front of his body, not the back. Several seals show men being tossed to the side by angry bulls,[2] but the action involved could be connected with bull-catching, wrestling or leaping.

Something that has been mentioned in the account of bull-leaping

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1.- A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.688 fig.508; 3.224 fig.157; Reichel, op.cit., p.93 fig.12; Malten, op.cit., p.135 fig.87.

2.- E.g. On pottery fragments from Mycenae and Athens (M. Mayer, op. cit., pp.72-80; Reichel, op.cit., p.93 fig.13); seal from Smyrna (Evans, op.cit., 1.432, fig.310a; 3.225 fig.158; Malten, op.cit., p.134 fig.84); seal in the National Museum at Athens (no.6526); an engraved gold bead from Thisbe showing this design is probably a forgery since the man's genitalia are shown, something that never appears on Minoan or Mycenaean art (Evans, op. cit., 3.226 fig.159; Kenna, op.cit., pl.21 (A.M. 1938. 1114).

is that both sexes participated in them. This information is derived from the frescoes, since the Minoans followed the Egyptian custom of painting the bodies of the men red and the women white.[1] Two women appear on the taureador fresco, and other fragments show female participants;[2] but the human figure in the Tiryns fresco[3] is also female which means that, if our interpretation of the scene is correct, women also participated in catching bulls. On seals it is impossible to distinguish the sexes. This is because both sexes are dressed in the same garments, which merely consists of the male attire of the cod-piece. The hair-style is also identical. Why the girls should wear male attire is not clear, although obviously the usual Minoan female dress of the flounced skirt could not possibly be worn in these sports. For convenience the male style may have been adopted, without any conscious attempt to identify the women with the men. Women competed in athletics at Sparta,[4] while Atalanta took part in the Calydonian boar-hunt.[5] In a country like Minoan Crete where women certainly enjoyed many privileges and are prominent in cult scenes, it may have been quite natural for them to participate in these sports.

Some authors have tried to see references to these female acrobats in Greek mythology. G. Glotz thinks the legend of Europa stems from female acrobats being carried on the backs of bulls,[6] but the

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1.- See above p. 35
2.- See above p. 347
3.- See above p. 330
4.- Plato, Laws, 805 D-E; Plutarch, Apophthegmata Laconica, 227E; H. Michell, Sparta, pp.45-49.
5.- Apollodorus, 1.8.2.
6.- G. Glotz, The Aegean Civilisation, p.297.

origins of this myth are much older and more fundamental than any later misinterpretation of Minoan bull-leaping.[1] Most authors, however, believe that the bull-sports influenced the development of the Minotaur legend,[2] at least in so far as the bovine creature inside the Labyrinth that killed human beings is a distorted recollection of the bull-sports held inside the central court of Cnossos, in which acrobats died.

This hypothesis begs two questions, whether the Palace of Cnossos is meant by the Labyrinth, and the location of the bull-leaping. The first question is outside the scope of this thesis, although the general consensus of opinion inclines towards this view, whatever the individual opinions on the meaning of the word "labyrinth"[3] As for the second question evidence for the sports taking place inside the central courts is provided by a fresco fragment from Mycenae in which women are shown looking out of a window at some event.[4] Also found with this fragment was another showing the back of a bull and the hands of a turning acrobat. If the two fragments are from the same fresco, which seems probable, then the sport could obviously be viewed from the palace windows, which in turn would make the courtyard the likeliest arena. Similar fresco fragments found in

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1.- See below pp. 364-372, 379-380

2.- M. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p.322; R. Burrows, The Discoveries in Crete, pp.128-130; Evans, op.cit., 1.189-190; 3.191 Evans suggests that the bull frescoes of the North Entrance Passage may have survived to influence the Minotaur myth.

3.- But see the cautionary article of W. Roúse, "The Double-Axe and the Labyrinth", J.H.S., 21 (1901), pp.268-274.

4.- G. Rodenwaldt, "Die Fragmente der Mykenischen Wandgemaelde", pl. IX; cf. Evans, op.cit., 1.444, fig.320.

the "Deposit of Ivories"[1] at Cnossos and showing parts of bulls and architectonic reliefs indicate the same location. These fragments together with the suitability of the courts for such sports by confining the bull in a closed space and providing the spectators with adequate safety, added to the total lack of remains of any structure that might be an arena,[2] are enough to convince Pendlebury, Graham,[3] and others[4] that the bull-leaping was practised within the confines of the central courts. One seal from Gythium in Laconia[5] shows a man completing a leap over a bull, which is attacked from below by a dog. A branch in the field may represent an outdoor setting. The seal's design is unique, and in the face of the other evidence can hardly be taken as evidence for the bull-leaping taking place outside the palace.

Another question raised by the acceptance of the theory that the bull-leaping is reflected in the myth of the Minotaur concerns the significance of the Athenian tribute of seven maidens and seven youths sent to the Minotaur every nine years.[6] Were these compelled to take part in the bull-leaping? The question gains added point since girls as well as men are shown as bull-leapers. A. Persson[7]

1.- Evans, op.cit., 3.207-8, figs.141-2.
2.- Temporary wooden structures built outside the towns for this specific purpose cannot, of course, be ruled out, but there is no evidence to indicate their existence.
3.- J. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.187 n.3; Graham, op. cit., 76-78 enumerates a number of features of the central courts of Phaestos and Hallia which suggests that all the openings to the court could be sealed off when necessary.
4.- E.g. Nilsson, loc.cit.; J.D. Evans, op.cit., p.141.
5.- Kenna, op.cit., p.120, pl.9.209 (A.M. 1938 1074)
6.- Plutarch, Theseus, 15; Apollodorus, 3.15.8; Pausanias, 1.27.10; Diodorus, 4.61.3-4.
7.- Persson, op.cit., p.97.

thinks that prisoners of war were compelled to take part in these sports, whereas A. Evans[1] believes the participants were the equivalent of Minoan ephebes, since they do not differ in dress or physical characteristics from the rest of the population. But this point cannot be resolved until two more basic questions have been answered: what was the purpose of the Minoan bull-leaping? Was it religious or secular?

The bull-leaping is hardly likely to have been purely hedonistic in intent, although as time progressed the spectacular side of it may have had more appeal to the spectators than any religious overtones, just as in Hellenic times dramatic and agonistic contests became more divorced from their religious origins. So if it was religious in origin, what did it hope to achieve? L. Malten[2] sees the sports as human sacrifice to appease a dead man's spirit (Androgeos?). Originally the victims were indiscriminately butchered by the priest, but then the practice is mollified to become a contest between the living and the dead. When the leap over the bull's horns is unsuccessful the dead have their victim, but when successful the jumper goes free. Malten sees the legend of the Minotaur and Theseus as representing the period in which the unqualified offering has been mollified with the advent of the agonistic stage. A. Diels[3] too sees the human sacrifice as the primary element and the leaping as a whole as a primitive offering of atonement. F. Zeuner[4] suggests

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1.- A. Evans, op.cit., 2.232.
2.- L. Malten, op.cit., pp.136-137; cf. id., "Leichenspiel und Totenkult", pp.302, 337-8.
3.- A. Diels, "Das Labyrinth" in Festgabe für Harnack, pp.63 ff.
4.- F. Zeuner, "Summary of the Symposium Man and Cattle", in id. and

that the sports may be designed to placate the god of earthquakes. J.D. Evans[1] thinks they may possibly be connected with Poseidon. A. Cook and F. Marx[2] suggest that the sports are designed to symbolize or secure man's mastery over the waters of Poseidon. C. Picard[3] suggests that the bull-leaping may have been a form of initiation into the priesthood. Quot homines, tot sententiae. The theories concerning Poseidon must be discounted since there is no reason to connect the sports with him or any Minoan predecessor he may have had.[4] Malten's thesis is rather fanciful and begs more questions than it answers. Picard's suggestion is quite possible, in which case the participants would not be reluctant prisoners of war.

A. Cook has a second attempt at explaining bull-leaping. He believes that the high-point of the sports is the acrobat's contact with "the horn of the sacred bull".[5] He goes on, "The bull is a beast pre-eminently charged with fertilizing force. Its force is gathered up and culminates in its horns ... Anyone who grasps the bull's horn ipso facto obtains a share in its peculiar power."[6] Unfortunately

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Mourant, op.cit., p.164.

1.- J.D. Evans, op.cit., p.142.

2.- A. Cook, "Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age", p.130; F. Marx, "Der Stier von Tiryns", p.123.

3.- C. Picard, Les Religions Préhelléniques, p.144.

4.- The argument runs that the Thessalian taurokathapsia were held in honour of Poseidon; the taurokathapsia were descended from the Minoan bull-sports, thus the latter were in honour of this deity. But there is no proof of connection between the Thessalian and Minoan sports (see below p.361).

5.- A. Cook, Zeus, 1.499.

6.- Ibid., 1.500; Cook advances in support of his theory a gem from Orvieto (fig.362) which shows a god standing between two Minoan genii which he dompts by either touching their heads or grasping their ears. Cook, however, misinterprets the seal as a man grasping the horns of two bulls or bull-like figures; the serrated backs of the animals he takes for palm trees.

for this theory we have seen that the grasping of the bull's horns has been greatly exaggerated by many authors. Although several seals show men grabbing bulls' horns this is only a practical expedient in bull-catching and wrestling to prevent the participant being maimed or killed. In bull-leaping the animal's horns were something for all but the most daring to avoid. Cook's main observation that the bull's horns represent the acme of its potent force is true, as the origin of the cornucopia shows, but they are more frequently the symbols of its enormous strength.[1] H. Thiersch suggested that the protracted conical rhyta with handle on one side at the top which were carried in religious ceremonies, were representations of a bull's horn.[2] He postulates that the earlier models of clay and stone[3] were copied from the original models made out of horn. It must be stated, however, that no rhyta made of bull's horns have ever been found on Crete, and even the early examples are very stylized. The Cypriote rhyton mentioned by Thiersch, which is made of clay in the shape of a bull's horn with a widening of its diameter before the rim,[4] does come from Cyprus not Crete, and is so far unique. Although we know that the Germans drank out of bulls' horns,[5] the custom is not attested for Minoan Crete, and Thiersch's theory, though attractive cannot as yet be substantiated.

Is there any clue to their nature in the Minoan representations

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1.- See above pp. 89-90.
2.- H. Thiersch, "Kretische Hornbecher", p.78.
3.- Ibid., loc.cit., figs.31-32 Clay rhyta from Gournia; fig.33 conical rhyton in stone.
4.- Ibid., p.80, fig.34 now in the Louvre.
5.- Thiersch, op.cit., pp.82-84 gives several examples.

of the sport? The bull usually appears proportionately larger than the acrobats showing that he is the focal point of the artist's interest. But to argue that this makes him sacred in any way[1] is invalid. More important, however, is that in some reproductions where minor details are visible, the bull is seen to be ithyphallic.[2] The bull may thus be demonstrating that it is the symbol of reproductive force and generation. If the bull is consciously drawn as ithyphallic by the Minoan artists then A. Persson may well be right that the Minoan bull-sports are "the great official spring festival".[3] In this case Picard's explanation of entry into the priesthood by ordeal would seem to be the most satisfactory explanation of the bull-leaping, or perhaps it was just performed "in honour" of some deity without intrinsic benefit to the community being derived from the actions in the ring. Perhaps the fact that seven virgins were sent by the Athenians to the Minotaur and that women took part in bull-leaping is a red-herring. Too much may have been made of it since in Greek mythology outlandish monsters always have a predilection for nubile virgins. Such was to be the fate of Hesione and Andromeda.[4]

Despite the uniqueness of the Minoan bull-sports attempts have been made to see their derivation in the customs of other countries. A. Evans considers that the sports were derived from Western Asia

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1.- As does A. Evans, "On a Minoan Bronze Group", p.250.
2.- E.g. On the bronze statuette in the British Museum; on the gold signet-ring from Arkhanes; on the ring from Smyrna; and possibly on the taureador fresco.
3.- Persson, op.cit., p.91.
4.- Hesione: Apollodorus, 2.5.9; Diodorus, 4.42; Scholiast ad Iliad, 20.146. Andromeda: Apollodorus, 2.4.3; Hyginus, Fabula, 64. Cf. also the story of St. George and the dragon.

Minor.[1] His sole evidence for this assertion is a Cappadocian seal impression[2] showing a kneeling bull carrying a construction on its back, in front of which is a man who has fallen head first to the ground. Also shown is an acrobat standing on his head with his hands on the ground for support. The fallen man has obviously been pitched out of the seat on the bull's back. The meaning of the seal is enigmatic but clearly it has little in common with Minoan bull-leaping. No other Cappadocian seals show anything that can be construed as bull-sports. Similarly wild is Evans' claim that the origins of Minoan bull-wrestling may be veiled in the legend of Gilgamesh's wrestling match with the semi-bovine Enkidu.[3] Possibly cylinder seals showing Enkidu and Gilgamesh (or the bull-man and naked hero) fighting each other or bulls and lions influenced the Minoan seal engraver, but the bull-wrestling in Crete was real and hardly derived from Sumerian mythology. The only other place in the Eastern Mediterranean where bull-sports are known to have existed in the second millenium B.C. is Egypt,[4] but these were of a crude nature in which bulls were pitted against each other and goaded on with sticks. Evans says that the Egyptians indulged in a more ferocious custom in Predynastic times in which prisoners of war were

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1.- A. Evans, Palace of Minos, 1.15 n.3.
2.- T. Pinches, "The Cappadocian Tablets belonging to the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology", no.23 pp.77-78.
3.- Evans, op.cit., 3.450; id., "On a Minoan Bronze Group", pp.256-7; the same theory is also advanced by Picard, op.cit., p.199.
4.- See above p. 178. The sport continued to be popular in Egypt for a long time. The fictional life of Alexander the Great tells of how princess Candace of Meroe sent him 300 fighting bulls (O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.361).

exposed to wild bulls.[1] It seems however that he is misinterpreting the Palette of Narmer[2] which shows the king in bovine form goring and trampling his enemies. Most likely the Minoan bull-sports were truly indigenous and owe no debt to external influences.

As for the survivals of Minoan bull-sports, apart from the Hellenic custom of bull-wrestling before sacrifice already mentioned, some scholars see the Thessalian taurokathapsia as a survival of the bull-leaping.[3] Its centre of diffusion was Larissa where, Artemidorus tells us,[4] only the noblest-born citizens participated in it. Up until Roman times the evidence for the nature of the taurokathapsia is confined to a few inscriptions and coin types of Thessaly. Of the latter a fifth century coin-type of Larissa shows a Thessalian youth wrestling a bull by its horns, while on the reverse is a galloping horse.[5] Fourth century Thessalian coins show on their two sides a galloping bull and a mounted rider.[6] The sports therefore seem to have been the same as Pliny[7] and Suetonius[8] described in Roman times. A man on horseback pursued the bull until it was exhausted, then leapt upon it, grabbed its horns and twisted its neck to break it. The phrase ταῦρον πεφειράκοντας which occurs in a

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1.- Evans, Palace of Minos, 3.232.
2.- See above p. 183.
3.- E.g. Evans, op.cit., 3.229; Picard, op.cit., p.144.
4.- Artemidorus, 1.8, ἐν Λαρίσσῃ πόλει Θεσσαλίας οἱ τῶν κατοικούντων εὐγενέστατοι
5.- Cf. A. Cook, Zeus, 1.497 n.4 fig.360; B. Head, Historia Numorum, p.254 fig.175. The youth has probably just dismounted.
6.- Cook, loc.cit. lists the many illustrations of these coins.
7.- Pliny, Natural History, 8.182: Thessalorum gentis inventum est, equo iuxta quadrupendante cornu, intorta cervice tauros necare.
8.- Suetonius, Vita Claudii, 21: Thessalos equites qui feros tauros per spatia agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt. Cf. Dio Cassius, 61.9.

Thessalian inscription probably refers to the taurokathapsia, as may the word βουθήρας of numerous North Greek inscriptions.[1]

Such then is the nature of the taurokathapsia. It is quite clear that it is completely different from the Minoan sport. In fact the only thing they have in common is the bull. In the Minoan sport an unarmed man on foot risked his life to perform a stunt in which the bull was not harmed. In the taurokathapsia a mounted man hunts the bull until such a time as he can kill it with little risk to himself. Picard suggests that in taking over the sports the Thessalians introduced the horse and the killing of the bull. But this is hardly a slight modification. It is a radical alteration, the killing of the bull being completely alien to the Minoan tradition. A gold gem said to be from the Mycenaean site of Thisbe does show a man stabbing a running bull with a sword-thrust into the cervical vertebrae.[3] The man, however, wears a wreath and a kind of chain terminating in star-shaped ornaments hangs down from his shoulders. A. Evans[4] calls the man a Minoan matador, but the validity of the gem has been seriously questioned[5] and since the design and the man's dress are unique it is probably a forgery. Since the Minoan and Thessalian bull-sports thus have no common ground it is more likely that the taurokathapsia is a

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1.- H. Lolling, "Mittheilungen aus Thessalien", p.346 inscription (a).
2.- Picard, loc.cit.; A. Reichel, op.cit., pp.95-96, believes the two sports are totally different customs; he is followed by Malten, op.cit., p.135, as usual without acknowledgement, and Cook, op. cit., 1.497.
3.- Evans, op.cit., 3.226 fig.160; 4.40 fig.23.
4.- Ibid., 4.41.
5.- Kenna, op.cit., pl.21 (A.M. 1938.1113) considers it to be of doubtful authenticity.

different custom rather than an adaptation of the Minoan sports which changes their nature completely. As J.D. Evans says, "Cattle sports are, of course, liable to arise in any community in which cattle-raising plays an important part in the economy."[1]

Heliodorus has a late and fanciful explanation of the origin of the taurokathapsia in which a certain Theagenes was about to sacrifice a number of selected bulls, when they broke loose and had to be recaptured.[2] The taurokathapsia are generally regarded as being held in honour of Poseidon,[3] although this is nowhere stated. The circumstantial evidence is, however, very strong since Poseidon was especially revered in Thessaly and the bull and horse were his sacred animals, although an inscription from Larissa mentions a bull-fight taking place for Zeus Eleutherius.[4] They must have lost any religious significance they had when Caesar introduced them into Rome as a new type of gladiatorial contest for the arena.[5] Those participating in the sport were known as ταυροκαθάπται.[6] Claudius and Nero renewed the experiment[7] which seems to have caught on since a medallion of the time of Theodosius shows a man holding a bull's horns,[8] and Heliodorus wrote about the taurokathapsia at this time. These Roman sports seem to have developed ultimately into the corridas of the Iberian peninsula

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1.- J.D. Evans, op.cit., p.140.
2.- Heliodorus, Aethiopica, 10.28-39.
3.- E.g. by L. Preller, Griechische Mythologie, 1.446, in honour of Poseidon ταυρέος ? M. Nilsson, Griechische Feste, p.80.
4.- I.G., 2.528.
5.- Pliny, loc.cit., primus id spectaculum dedit Romae Caesar dictator.
6.- C.I.G., 2759b; I.G. 3.114.
7.- Suetonius, loc.cit.; Dio Cassius, loc.cit.
8.- M. Mayer, "Mykenische Beitraege I: Stierfang", p.74.

and Southern France.[1]

The taurokathapsia also spread to Asia Minor where inscriptions record it at Aphrodisias in Caria, Ancyra, Sinope and Smyrna.[2] From the last city a Greco-Roman relief entitled was found which shows various stages of the sport.[3] One man is just leaving his horse and grasping the bull's horns, and another is twisting a bull's neck on the ground. Other riders are also shown. A Greco-Roman relief from Naxos in the British Museum[4] shows what is probably a Roman-style wild beast contest in which a man on foot carrying a lance menaces a bull. This is probably unconnected to the taurokathapsia proper. Finally Seneca mentions a stunt in which women and children jump upon bulls and run along their backs unharmed.[5] Martial confirms this custom and adds that boys ran along the beast's back and hung from its horns, although he does add the detail that the performer is armed and the event takes place in the arena.[6] Certainly these performances are unconnected with the taurokathapsia and would be more akin to our circus acts, since Seneca mentions this custom as one of a number of examples of fierce animals being tamed.

1.- Cook, op.cit., 1.498.
2.- Aphrodisias: C.I.G.,2759b; Ancyra: CIG., 4039; Sinope: C.I.G. 4157; Smyrna: C.I.G., 3212.
3.- R. Chandler, Marmora Oxoniensa,2.58; Evans, op.cit., 3.230, fig.161.
4.- O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.361. British Museum no.864.
5.- Seneca, De Ira, 2.31.6, taurorum pueris pariter ac feminis persultantibus terga impune calcata.
6.- Martial, 5.31.

CHAPTER VII

BULLS ASSOCIATED WITH GODDESSES

One of the most famous of the Greek myths concerning Crete is that of the rape of Europa by Zeus. The legend is as early as Homer who alludes to it but gives no details.[1] It is, however, related by a large number of authors all of whom show a remarkable conformity of detail. Zeus desiring Europa the daughter of Agenor, king of Phoenicia, changed himself into a bull and enticed her upon his back, whereupon he carried her through the sea to Crete, where intercourse took place and she bore him three sons, Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys.[2] Europa's abduction was also a great favourite from the sixth century B.C. onwards with Greek and Roman artists.[3] G. Glotz's explanation of the legend as being derived from the Minoan bull-sports has been discussed in the previous chapter and found to be unconvincing.[4] Glotz, however, is not the only scholar to hazard an explanation of this legend, and Europa's status has been subjected to the closest scrutiny.

What has arisen from this research is that her name, Europa, is

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1.- Iliad, 14. 321-2.
2.- Scholiast ad. Iliad 12.292 says the story is told in Hesiod and Bacchylides; Acusilaus ap. Apollodorus 2.5.7 (cf. C. Mueller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 1.102 frag.20); Apollodorus, 3.1.1.; Diodorus, 5.78.1; Moschus, 2.1ff; Ovid, Metamorphoses, 2.836 ff., etc.
3.- Many examples are listed by A. Cook, Zeus, 3.615-627.
4.- G. Glotz, The Aegean Civilisation, p.297 and see above p. 352.

most probably adjectival and invocatory, meaning something to the effect of "broad-faced".[1] At Lebedea in Boeotia the earth-goddess Demeter was known by the epithet 'Europa'.[2] Similar in meaning is the epithet Εὐρυοδεία of Demeter at Scarphia, which is also applied to the earth.[3] In fact near the river Crathis in Achaea there was a sanctuary of earth with a very old wooden statue of Earth the Broad-bosomed.[4] Since the Homeric Hymn to Apollo also calls the land north of the Peloponnese Εὐρώκη,[5] a name which eventually spread to embrace the whole continent now called Europe[6] it seems that the Greeks were fond of this phrase to describe the earth. L. Farnell points out that in Sanskrit the earth-goddess is referred to as Prthivi ("The Broad One").[7] Nonnus makes an Achaean sailor on seeing the bull cleaving the waves with the girl on his back wonder if she is not Demeter.[8] For him to make this mistake are we to infer that

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1.- U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's objection that Europa cannot have been an early goddess since her bones were carried in a festival procession (Der Glaube der Hellenen, 1.112 referring to Athenaeus, 678A) is hardly valid. To the Greeks she was a heroine, but we are concerned with her pre-Greek status.

2.- Pausanias, 9.39.4. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Εὐρώπης.

3.- Hesychius, s.v. Εὐρυοδεία· ἡ Δημήτηρ οὕτως ἐν Σκαρφίᾳ καὶ ἡ γῆ.

4.- Pausanias, 7.25.13, Γῆς δὲ ἱερὸν . . . ἐπίκλησιν Εὐρυστέρνου.

5.- Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo, 3.251.

6.- Cf. Herodotus, 1.4.; 6.43; Pindar, Nemeans, 4.70. W. Technau, "Die Goettin auf dem Stier", p.86 n.5, lists some reasons why Europa was an earth-goddess, none of which is very convincing, except perhaps that fact that Dodon, the eponym of Dodona, was said to be her son by Zeus (Scholiast ad. Iliad, 16.233). Zeus had an oracle at Dodona, which he probably took over from earth.

7.- L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 3.30.

8.- Nonnus, Dionysiaca, 1.104.

Demeter did sometimes ride on the back of a bull? There is no literary evidence of Demeter herself doing this,[1] but the Etymologicum Magnum says that the town of Boucheta or Bouchetion in Epirus derived its name through Leto or Themis arriving there on the back of a bull.[2] The Suda and Harpocration also say that Themis is known by the name "Boucheta" (carried by an Ox).[3] Themis of course was an old earth-goddess identified with Gaia.[4] The evidence for Europa being the cult-title of an old pre-Greek earth-goddess, which became the goddess' proper name, and of earth-goddesses riding on a bull's back is therefore quite substantial.

But Europa herself was also called Hellotis[5] or Hellotia[6] in a festival called the Hellotia in which her bones were carried in a myrtle wreathe, also called Hellotis.[7] The ceremony took place at Gortys in Crete which was also said to be formerly called Hellotis.[8] At Corinth Hellotis was also the cult-title of Athena and a festival called the Hellotia was held in her honour;[9] at Marathon an inscription has been found which mentions Athena Hellotis.[10] The name Hell-

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1.- But see below p. 378
2.- Etymologicum Magnum citing Philochorus s.v. Βούχετα ἢ Βουχέτιον
There was also an ancient statue of Themis Tauropolos a goddess riding a bull.
3.- Suda and Harpocration s.v. Βούχετα
4.- Aeschylus, Eumenides, 2, says she held the oracle at Delphi before Gaia; Hesiod, Theogony, 135, says she is the daughter of Earth and consort of Zeus. At Athens there was a sanctuary of Ge Themis (C.I.G., 3.318 and 3.350).
5.- Athenaeus, 678 A-B.
6.- Etymologicum Magnum and Hesychius s.v. Ἑλλωτία· Ἡ Εὐρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο
7.- Athenaeus, loc.cit.
8.- Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Γόρτυν.
9.- Pindar, Olympians, 13.40 and Scholiast ad loc.
10.- E. Weicker "Hellotis" in Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopaedie, 8.197.

otis is non-Greek and Europa may be a translation of it. A. Lesky believes that Hellotis was a pre-Greek Cretan (i.e. Minoan) earth-goddess.[1] Her equation with Europa increases the latter's claim to this status. C. Robert believes that originally there were two Europas: the sister of Cadmus who developed out of the Boeotian Earth-goddess Demeter Europa at Lebedea; and the mother of Minos who developed out of the old Cretan goddess Hellotis.[2] Obviously the idea that "Europa" is a cult-title applicable to any earth-goddess is far too simple an explanation for Robert.

What is believed to be the oldest representation of Europa riding the bull is shown on eight blue glass plaques all from the same mould which were found at Dendra near Midea and date to c.1400-1350 B.C.[3] The design shows an animal with its head held high running to the right. On its back with both legs on one side sits a woman with her knees bent and her arms raised in the usual Minoan position for giving or receiving adoration. Also found with these plaques were others showing the "Mistress of Animals" design, which suggests that the former design also has a religious content. A. Persson believes that the figure illustrated is Europa,[4] as does M. Nilsson, who asserts that, "If this had come from a classical site everybody would have recognised Europa on the back of the bull, and this interpretation

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1.- A. Lesky, "Hellos-Hellotis", pp.48-54.
2.- C. Robert, Griechische Heldensage, 1.105-6, 352-3.
3.- A. Persson, The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea, pp.65-67 fig.43 and pl.25,1. Cf. id., The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times, p.133 fig.24.
4.- A. Persson, The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea, p.67, "We have the first illustration of the Europa legend, an illustration of the Mycenaean Period."

is to be accepted even if the object is Mycenaean."[1] Others urge caution,[2] and in view of the other Greek earth-goddesses who are said to have ridden on bulls, it is safest to interpret this design as that of an earth-goddess riding a bull, but not to be specific about her name. She is however the prototype of Europa.

In searching for the origins of the art-type of Europa many accept the suggestion of H. Prinz that it is derived from Hittite sources and based on Hittite seals which show the naked goddess holding a festoon or standing under an arch upon a recumbent or standing bull.[3] A.Cook further suggests that the rope-like arch and festoon of the Hittite goddess may be connected with the wreathe of Hellotis in which Europa's bones were carried.[4] The Hittites themselves adopted the custom of portraying a deity standing on his or her sacred animal from the Assyrians.[5] Some scholars believe that Europa on the bull accordingly demonstrates her power over the beast,[6] something which is clearly not apparent in the Greek version of the legend, but such ideas can be misconstrued and presented in completely the wrong way.[7] Others follow Prinz in believing the bull in the Hittite seals to be the animal of Teshub upon which his consort, Hebat, appears,[8] and point

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1.- M. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p.36.
2.- A. Cook, Zeus, 3.623-4; Technau, op.cit., p.98.
3.- H. Prinz, "Bemerkungen zur Altkretischen Religion", 149 ff. See above pp. 132-5
4.- Cook, op.cit., 1.644.
5.- See above p. 113.
6.- D. Levi, "Gleanings from Crete", p.277; C. Picard, "La Πότνια Ταύρων de Colophon", pp.198-9.
7.- I have suggested that the persecution of Dionysus and his followers by Lycurgus and others may be just such a misunderstanding.
8.- Prinz, op.cit., p.169 n.2; Picard, op.cit., p.180.

out the similarity in the Europa legend in which Zeus transforms himself into a bull. Europa is made to sit upon the bull because as Prinz says, "Das Motiv des Stehens auf dem Tier kennt die Kretische Kunst nicht."[1]

In the Greek legend Europa is said to be a Phoenician, and starts her journey on the shores of the Levant. In that locality is centred the worship of the fertility and storm gods Baal and El, who often assumed bovine shape.[2] Consequently many scholars believe that the legend of Europa and Zeus demonstrates that the worship of Baal or El and their consort Ashera was introduced into Crete in Minoan times from Syria.[3] This belief was strengthened by the discovery at Ugarit and translation of several mythological texts, which dealt with and shed more light on the legendary exploits of Baal.[4] Added to this the excavations showed that the Minoans were trading at Ugarit in the seventeenth century B.C.[5] This discovery helped those who believed that the artistic representations of Europa and the bull were based on Hittite sources, since the same designs were current in the so-called Syro-Hittite glyptic throughout the second millenium.[6] Moreover the view was enhanced by the fact that contact between Crete and Syria was proven, whereas there is no evidence for direct contacts

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1.- Prinz, op.cit., p.168.
2.- See above p.143.
3.- E.g. O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.362.
4.- C. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra - Ugarit, pp.39, 60-61. Schaeffer's views are endorsed by A. Persson, The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times, pp.132-136; G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, pp.56, 376-7; R. Willetts, Cretan Cults and Festivals, p.156
5.- Schaeffer, op.cit., p.3.
6.- See above pp. 132-5

between the Minoans and Hittites, since the latter never managed to extend their empire to the Aegean. Now both the art and the religion could be argued to have been introduced into Crete from the same area.[1]

Prior to the discovery of the texts at Ugarit there was little evidence for the advocates of the Syrian origin of Europa to work on. There were the coins of Sidon, in legend the starting point of Europa's journey, which appear in the second century B.C. showing Sidonian Astarte (Σιδώνιος θεά) riding a bull in the manner of Europa.[2] All these coins prove is that with the Hellenisation of Phoenicia Europa could thus be honoured in what was to the Greeks her homeland. The sudden appearance of this coin-type at such a late date indicates that it is a late introduction. The equation of Europa with Astarte is thus also late. Lucian supplements the evidence of the coins, when he says that there is a large temple at Sidon which the Sidonians call the temple of Astarte, but Lucian took it to be that of Selene. One of the priests said it was the temple of Europa, who after her disappearance was honoured with a temple. Others denied this story.[3] These conflicting reports are what one would expect if the Greeks in the second century B.C. tried to identify Europa with Astarte. It

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1.- Both C. Picard, op.cit., pp.188-199 and D. Levi, loc.cit., would derive the art type from Babylonian sources but the motif of naked goddess standing on a bull is peculiar to Anatolian and Syro-Hittite glyptic only.

2.- Cook, op.cit., 1.539, fig.411; Technau, op.cit., p.91 fig.11 b; cf. Lucian, De Dea Syria, 4 τὸ νόμισμα τῷ Σιδονίοι χρέονται τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐφεζομένην ἔχει τῷ ταύρῳ τῷ Διί.

3.- Lucian, loc.cit.

was probably once she was identified with Astarte that she acquired some lunar characteristics, since as A. Cook says, "Europa is not demonstrably lunar until she reaches Phoenicia."[1] There is little in favour of her being a moon-goddess, save the name of her mother, either Telephassa (she who shines from afar)[2] or Argiope (Bright-eyed)[3] and her own name, all three of which could be invocatory titles of the moon.

The only other evidence to connect her with Phoenicia concerns her other name Hellotis, which the Etymologicum Magnum says may be derived from the Phoenician word for maiden.[4] This remark probably derives from some research undertaken by a late classical etymologist. Present-day philologists have also sought a Semitic origin for her name in elot the Semitic word for "goddess".[5] Prominent among these is M. Astour who sees Europa as the goddess of the evening star and derives her name from the word halal, "to shine".[6] That so many different origins for such non-Greek words as "Hellotis" have been proposed demonstrates how vague is our knowledge of their etymology. While Linear 'A' remains untranslated and the language of the pre-Greek inhabitants of the Aegean is unknown, such derivations from Semitic sources must be treated with the utmost caution.

1.- Cook, op.cit., 1.538; cf. J. Escher, "Europe" in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopaedie, 6.1291.
2.- Apollodorus, 3.1.1; Moschus, 2.40 and 42; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Θάσος
3.- Pherecydes, frag.40 (Mueller).
4.- Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. Ἑλλωτίς· ἢ ὅτι Φοίνικες τὴν παρθένον ἑλλωτίαν καλοῦσιν. The word in fact is elat or elot and means "goddess" (R. Dussaud, "Notes de Mythologie Syrienne, 4", p.231)
5.- M.C. Astour, Hellenosemitica, p.138 n.5.
6.- Ibid., p.139. Cadmus he sees as the morning star who searches for

But what of the evidence from Crete itself? Coins of Gortys where the union of Zeus and Europa was consummated in myth show from c.430 B.C. onward a bull on one side while on the other a female is shown sitting in a tree.[1] Sometimes she is accompanied by an eagle.[2] No clue is given as to who this is meant to be, probably because none was thought necessary. It is difficult to see who else could be intended except Europa with Zeus' eagle on one side and a bovine Zeus on the other. Europa here is associated with trees, illustrating perhaps that she has some connection with vegetation. We have noted already that in Minoan cult the bull and vegetation were closely associated.[3] The numismatic evidence from Gortys may be late proof that Europa was an earth-goddess on Crete, which her name as a cult title of Demeter had suggested. She rides on a bull like other earth-goddesses, but is she introduced from Syria? To help in deciding this problem an investigation of the legend of Pasiphae is necessary.

The story as told with little variation by most Greek authors is that Minos prayed to Poseidon for some reason to send him a bull for sacrifice. Poseidon did this but sent such a magnificent specimen that Minos hid it in his herd and sacrificed another in its place. Poseidon, however, was not fooled and got his revenge by making Minos' wife Pasiphae conceive an unnatural desire for the bull, which she

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her without success. Astour prefers the alternative translation of Europa as "dark" (cf. Hesychius s.v. Εὐρώπη), which he believes is also of Semitic origin (pp.128-9).

1.- Cook, op.cit., 1.528, figs.391-6.

2.- Ibid., 1.529, figs.397-400.

3.- See above pp. 240-261

satisfied with the help of Daedalus who constructed for her a hollow wooden cow in which to hide. The offspring of their union was the Minotaur.[1] Although it may not appear at first glance to be so, this legend is clearly the same type of story as that of the rape of Europa. When the two legends are reduced to the bare essentials the same story, or rather religious myth, emerges. To achieve this the legends must be viewed from the standpoint of Crete. They are most convincingly explained as Minoan religious myths overlaid with centuries of Greek explanations, misinterpretations and rationalisations until reduced to the level of fabulous legends.

In the Pasiphae legend a bull arrives from the sea. The reasons given for this event are vague concerning a struggle for the vacant kingship in which Minos asks for this sign that he is favoured by the gods. This same divine sign takes the form of a golden lamb sent to Atreus in his struggle with Thyestes for the kingdom of Argos.[2] Possibly this story suggested to Greek minds why the bull should be sent. As it came from the sea, then it must be sent by Poseidon[3] who held sway over this element and who sends the bull against Hippolytus.[4] Accordingly Minos prays to Poseidon. He should then sacrifice the bull but doesn't, thereby making the reason for the bull's arrival irrelevant. The bull itself is, and remains, anonymous. Here is the

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1.- Apollodorus, 2.5.7; 3.1.3-4; 3.15.8; Euripides, Cressae, frag. 505 f (Nauck); Diodorus, 4.77.2.
2.- Apollodorus, epitome, 2.10.
3.- Lactantius Placidus ad Statius, Thebaid, 5.431 and the First Vatican Mythographer say that Minos prayed to Zeus, but there is no early evidence for this assertion, which may be influenced by Zeus' role in the Europa myth.
4.- See above p. 314.

first parallel with the Europa legend in that there too a bull arrives from the sea. He too is anonymous, or rather he is said to be Zeus in bovine shape, but all scholars are agreed, even those who believe he is El or Baal arriving from Phoenicia, that the identification of the bull with Zeus is post-Minoan.[1] Pasiphae's bull is said by some authors of the fourth century A.D. and later to be Zeus himself,[2] which serves to demonstrate how Zeus could earlier have usurped the role of Europa's bull. Europa's bull journeys over the waves, whereas Pasiphae's is sent from the depths,[3] but this is probably due to his being sent by Poseidon. Let us be content to say that the two animals arrive across the sea.

On arrival in Crete they both proceed to mate with anthropomorphic females. Such a basic religious idea was foreign to that of the Greeks and clearly unpalatable. In the case of Pasiphae her conduct had to be explained away and the legend suitably embellished. Hence her love for the bull is the result of an unnatural lust sent by Poseidon who was cheated of his victim. Even so the prospect was still too much for the imagination, so that the device of the wooden cow was invented for her to fulfil her desire. It has been asked if a Cnossian queen may not have gone through this ordeal inside a wooden cow.[4] There is no other evidence to suggest that she did, and the story may owe its origin to an ingenious Greek explanation of how the

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1.- E.g. Glotz, op.cit., p.148; Persson, op.cit., p.94; Willetts, op.cit., p.166.
2.- Epiphanius, Ancoratus, 105; Nonnus, Narratio ad Gregorii Invectores 1.91.
3.- Cf. Apollodorus, 3.1.3, ταῦρον ἀναφανῆναι ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν.
4.- Cook, op.cit., 1.522; 2.924.

deed could have been done. C. Picard's explanation that Pasiphae's hiding in the cow is of Egyptian origin, because it parallels the story of Mycerinus' daughter who was buried in a cow-shaped coffin,[1] cannot be valid. Egyptians were of course buried in such mummy cases, which devoted them to Hathor as queen of the underworld, but Pasiphae's act was one of procreation. There is no parallel, and Minoans were not buried in cow-shaped coffins. On the other hand Apemosyne, a Cretan emigrant to Rhodes, was loved by Hermes, who was never able to catch her until he laid freshly-flayed hides on the ground for her to slip upon.[2] However this legend is to be interpreted it contains the same elements of the woman having contact of some form with bulls immediately prior to and during intercourse. Skins of animals were considered to possess the same qualities as the animals themselves.[3] In this case ox-hides may have been thought to possess fertilizing powers, since this was one of the bull's major properties. Lying on them during intercourse was, perhaps, a sure fertility charm. Similarly wearing animal skins also imbues the wearer with the animal's power. The ritual dresses worn by Minoan priestesses on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus and certain gems look as though they are made from bull's hide.[4] In the case of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus a bull is the sacrificial animal, and the ritual is certainly connected with fertility in some form. Perhaps the dress also served to reinforce

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1.- C. Picard, "Le Cénotaphe de Midea, et les 'Colosses' de Ménélas", Revue de Philologie, N.S.3.7, (1933), pp.344-354.
2.- Apollodorus, 3.2.1.
3.- Cf. Persson, op.cit., p.161.
4.- Ibid., p.42; R. Paribeni, Il Sarcofago Dipinto di Haghia Triada, p.17; Nilsson, op.cit., pp.156-157 figs.62-65.

the powers of fertility.

Pasiphae's act of union with the bull is paralleled by that of Europa. Moschus explicitly states that Zeus having ferried Europa on his back in bovine shape, changed back into human guise on arrival in Crete before having intercourse.[1] All other classical authors imply this. But did this happen originally? Since the creature was not originally an Hellenic god in bovine form there was no reason for him to change into human shape. This is a late Greek rationalisation. The early form of the myth appears to be that the Minoan Earth Goddess appears from over the sea on the back of the bull, which mates with her in Crete. The Pasiphae legend is the same story except that it has retained its more primitive form. The gist of the Europa myth is that the earth-goddess arrives over the sea and mates with the bovine symbol of male fertility.

But Europa does not stand alone in being carried on the back of a bull. On a late black-figure amphora in the Castellani Collection a female rides a bull flanked on either side by satyrs.[2] Her Dionysiac character is also clear from the vine branches heavy with grapes that she carries in her hand. She is characterised in fact as a maenad. This design with variations occurs on no less than eleven vases.[3] On a cantharos in Berlin five women under a vine branch canopy all ride on the same bull.[4] On some of the vases a single

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1.- Moschus, 2.163.
2.- Technau, op.cit., p.79; P. Mingazinni, Vasi della Collezione Castellani, no.478, pl.39.
3.- Technau, op.cit., pp.79-80 note 7.
4.- Ibid., p.80.

female rider holds a hoop-like object in her hand.[1] Considering the Dionysiac setting of these scenes, the person most suited to carry this hoop is Dionysus' bride Ariadne, in which case it may represent the bridal wreath given to Ariadne by Dionysus on Dia, by which she is identified in the earliest portrayals of this legend.[2] The wreath is said by Bacchylides to be dark with roses,[3] while Athenaeus citing Timalchidas says it was made of the "Theseus-flower".[4] A later tradition made it into a constellation and saw it as made of glittering stones which illuminated the Labyrinth.[5] E. Neustadt believed that it was a may-garland,[6] and its flowery nature is certainly in keeping with a bridal present of a vegetation god. Perhaps there is some connection between it and the wreath in which Europa's bones were carried in the festival of the Hellotia at Gortys.

On a black-figure amphora in the Vatican a female figure rides a bull with a vine branch in one hand, and in the other a fish! On the other side of the amphora Poseidon is shown riding a bull.[7] Does this mean that Ariadne or this maenad-woman is journeying over the sea? The evidence is insufficient for this to be certain but it is endorsed by two amphorae, one of which shows a Triton swimming among a school of dolphins and holding a wreath in his hand,[8] while on the

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1.- E.g. On a sixth-century red-figure crater now in the Faina Collection at Orvieto (no.46) (Ibid., p.77, fig.2).
2.- Ibid., p.82; Robert, op.cit., 2.681-2; cf. Pausanias, 5.19.1. Ἀριάδνη κατέχουσά ἐστι στέφανον.
3.- Bacchylides, 16.116.
4.- Timalchidas ap. Athenaeus, 684 F.
5.- Hyginus, Astronomica, 2.5; Epimenides ap. Pseudo-Eratosthenes, Catasterismi, 5.5.
6.- E. Neustadt, De Jove Cretico, 29 ff.
7.- Technau, op.cit., pp.81-82, fig.4; see above p. 324.
8.- From Clazomenae, now at Castle Ashby (J.D. Beazley, "Notes on the Vases in Castle Ashby", PBSR, 11 (1929), pl.1.)

other the Triton holds a leaf tendril.[1] Do these Tritons, especially the first, bring Ariadne's wedding presents? Dionysus is no stranger to the sea as his cult-title "Pelagios" and his escapade with the pirates prove.[2]

But still the evidence for goddesses riding on bulls is not exhausted. A late Geometric bronze disc from Tegea shows a naked goddess standing on a bull and holding poppy stalks in her hand.[3] The archaic nature of the disc is revealed by the fact that the goddess stands and does not sit upon the bull. Its debts to oriental artistic sources is clear. The poppy-heads may well designate the goddess as Demeter, but here too the debt is to Minoan Crete, since some terracotta statues of goddesses have their heads crowned with poppy-stalks,[4] and a gold ring from Mycenae shows a seated goddess holding poppy-heads in her hand.[5] Several terracottas from Hellenic sanctuaries and graves show a female sitting on a bull,[6] one of which holds a pomegranate, which may possibly designate her as Demeter.[7] Certainly this identification would give an added point to the remark of the sailor in Nonnus who believes that Europa on the bull may be Demeter.[8] At Bouchetium in Epirus Themis or Leto is said to arrive on the back of a bull.[9] Since the town is situated by the sea it is possible that

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1.- In Berlin Museum (no.1676) (Technau, op.cit., p.84).
2.- See above pp.324-5
3.- Technau, op.cit., p.89, fig.9;
4.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.100-1 figs.24-25.
5.- Ibid., p.347, fig.158.
6.- E.g. Technau, op.cit., p.87, fig.7 (National Museum at Athens, no.4743).
7.- National Museum at Athens, no.12630.
8.- See above p. 366
9.- See above p. 366

she too arrives from this quarter.

In short then Europa arrives over the sea on a bull's back; Demeter (probably) and Themis also appear in this guise and there is evidence to suggest that they too journey over the sea; moreover they are all earth-goddesses; Pasiphae's bull arrives from the sea, but her status will be discussed in the next chapter; her story is, however, when stripped of later additions, almost identical to that of Europa; a woman who can be identified as Ariadne also appears on bull-back and with marine attributes; she also carries a bridal wreath. Can it be that she too is a similar type of earth-goddess who arrives on her bull? The wreath signifies that marriage is certainly a prospect, and in Greek mythology, although the accounts of what happened on Dia are confused,[1] she is represented as the bride of Dionysus. Both Pasiphae and Europa were enjoyed by their bulls which came from the sea. Did Ariadne suffer the same fate? As Europa's bull evolved into Zeus, so perhaps Ariadne's evolved into Dionysus. Are we to see in these vase-paintings Ariadne seated upon a bovine Dionysus? Of all the Greek gods Dionysus is the one who assumes most often bovine shape. Or should it be least often divests himself of the animal from which he evolved? His union with Ariadne would parallel the marriage of the earth-goddess to the bovine symbol of male fertility in the

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1.- All agree that Theseus abandoned Ariadne on Dia. Homer says that there she was slain by Artemis at the instigation of Dionysus (Odyssey, 11.321-5). It is unfortunate that our oldest authority should disagree with the bulk of the other sources which say that she was carried off and married to Dionysus (Apollodorus, epitome, 1.9; Pausanias, 1.20.3; 10.29.4; Diodorus, 4.61.5). Plutarch, Theseus, 20 lists a number of different variations of the story.

spring. Is not this what happens at Elis when Dionysus, the worthy bull, is invoked to come with his bull's foot accompanied by the Graces?[1] On this evidence it appears, therefore, that in the Minoan and pre-Greek religion the beginning of spring was heralded by the return of the Earth-goddess on the back of her bovine consort, who embodied male virility, followed by their act of union. Since Crete is an island it explains why the goddess and bull arrive from across the sea. But for the Greeks, on whom this religious meaning was lost, if the woman arrives she has to come from somewhere. Perhaps for Europa Phoenicia to the Greeks of the first millenium B.C. seemed as good a place as any.

This theory begs two questions. Firstly, if the goddess is said to return in the spring is there evidence of her disappearance at any stage? A gold ring from Mochlos shows a goddess seated in a boat, which also appears to contain a shrine and a tree.[2] It is not possible to tell whether she is arriving or departing. Another gold ring from Tiryns shows in strip-cartoon sequence a man and a woman talking together in a doorway, and the same pair gesticulating at each other next to a boat in which two people are sitting.[3] A. Persson interprets this as a departure scene, along with G. Karo and A. Evans.[4] A third gold ring, said to be found near Heraclion, depicts a boat with

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1.- See above p. 265.
2.- R. Seager, Explorations on the Island of Mochlos, pp.89-90 fig.52; Nilsson, op.cit., p.269 fig.136.
3.- G. Karo, "Schatz von Tiryns", AM, 55 (1930), pp.121-2,pl.III; Persson, op.cit., p.85 pl.25; Nilsson, op.cit., p.38 fig.6.
4.- Persson and Karo, locc.cit.; Evans, op.cit., 2.246 fig.142; 4.954 fig.926.

six rowers and a steersman. Above the boat is the figure of a goddess and possibly a tree. On the shore a male figure holding the hand of a female gesticulates towards the boat.[1] Again Evans sees it as scene of departure,[2] but Nilsson thinks it could easily be an arrival scene.[3] Obviously this evidence is inconclusive, and scholars tend to interpret it to suit their own theories. A. von Salis has been severely criticised for seeing in these designs the legend of Theseus' abduction of Ariadne.[4]

But even if Theseus and Ariadne are not shown in Minoan art, their very legend indicates that a Minoan goddess may have departed at some time of the year. There can be little doubt that Ariadne was originally a goddess since her name like that of Europa and Pasiphae is invocatory. The clue to its meaning is given by a pelike in Palermo in which by the side of Ariadne the artist has written the word Αριαγνη.[5] Her name therefore means "very holy" an etymology that is borne out by Hesychius.[6] Ariadne is also a cult-title of Aphrodite at Amathus on Cyprus.[7]

Her abduction by Theseus leads either to her marriage to Dionysus or her death, which for Homer was at the instigation of Dionysus. At Argos she was buried in the sanctuary of Cretan Dionysus,[8] and in

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1.- Evans, op.cit., 2.250 fig.147 b; 4.953 fig.923; Nilsson, op.cit., p.39 fig.7; V. Kenna, Cretan Seals, pl.20 (AM. 1938. 1129) believes the ring to be of dubious authenticity.
2.- Evans, loc.cit., followed by Persson, op.cit., p.81.
3.- Nilsson, loc.cit.
4.- A. von Salis, Theseus und Ariadne, p.27 ff. Cf. Nilsson, op.cit., pp.38-39 and note 17.
5.- Mon. Ant., 2 (1891), pl.17.
6.- Hesychius s.v. ἁδνὸν · ἁγνὸν Κρῆτες.
7.- Plutarch, Theseus, 20.
8.- Pausanias, 2.23.7.

Cyprus she was said to have died in childbirth and her grave was shown as that of Aphrodite Ariadne.[1] Plutarch also says that Ariadne died on Naxos, but that there were two Ariadnes, both honoured on Naxos, one with a festival of rejoicing and revelling, the other with a festival of sorrow and mourning.[2] The festival of rejoicing recalls the words of Homer that Daedalus built a dancing floor for fair-tressed Ariadne.[3] Ecstatic dancing was certainly a part of Minoan religious ritual as Minoan art shows.[4] Since Plutarch speaks of two Ariadnes worshipped with both rejoicing and lamentation, it is probable that this represents two festivals of different character of the same goddess. Such festivals were also held in honour of vegetation deities who die with the vegetation and are mourned, and whose return with the rebirth of vegetation is the signal for great rejoicing.[5] Such a deity may have been Hyacinthus.[6] Vegetation deities are usually male, but in Ariadne we have a goddess who plays this role. She is abducted or leaves Crete and dies. But possibly this is only half the story, since her marriage to Dionysus, the bovine god of vegetation may take place upon her triumphant return to Crete on the god's back. Thus the two stories of her death and marriage can be reconciled. Perhaps she was even known as Europa upon her return.

Further evidence for the departure of earth or vegetation goddesses

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1.- Plutarch, loc.cit.
2.- Ibid., loc.cit.
3.- Iliad, 18.590.
4.- E.g. on gold rings: Nilsson, op.cit., p.256 fig.124; pp.267-8 figs. 132-3; on a fresco fragment from Cnossos: Evans, op.cit.
5.- Cf. J. Frazer, The Golden Bough: The Dying God, passim
6.- See above p.224.

is centred on the legends of Theseus. Apart from abducting Ariadne, he carried off Helen,[1] who also seems to have been a vegetation goddess since there was a plant helenium named after her,[2] and on Rhodes there was a sanctuary of Helene Dendritis.[3] Helen's abduction by Paris was, of course, the cause of the Trojan War. But rather she was a vegetation goddess, like Ariadne, whose abduction presumably coincided with the decay of plant life. Theseus' exploits in this field are not yet exhausted; apart from Helen and Ariadne he attempted to carry off Persephone, but this time he failed.[4] However one more famous than him had already succeeded in this task, which formed the standard Greek mythological explanation for the advent of winter and spring.[5] The rape of Persephone by Hades was acceptable to the Greeks as it was performed by a god, but Theseus in Greek times wasa hero and the women he abducts had also by and large been reduced to this status. Perhaps Theseus or his predecessor had succeeded in abducting Persephone, or whatever name her predecessor was called, just as he came and took the old pre-Greek goddesses Ariadne and Helen. In view of the number of vanishing and dying vegetation and earth-goddesses there is sufficient reason to believe that goddesses like Europa, who arrive on their bulls, were returning in the spring after their absence

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1.- Plutarch, Theseus, 31; Apollodorus, 3.10.7; Herodotus, 9.73; the story was told by Hellanicus and Alcman according to the scholia ad Iliad. 3.144 and 242.
2.- Pliny, Natural History, 21.159; Nicander, Theriaca, 309 ff.
3.- Pausanias, 3.19.10. Cf. M. Nilsson, Griechische Feste, pp.426-7.
4.- Odyssey, 11.631; Apollodorus 2.5.12; epitome 1.23-24; Euripides, Hercules Furens, 619; etc. Plutarch, Theseus, 31 tells a rationalizing version of the story.
5.- Cf. Homeric Hymn to Demeter, passim.

from the land in winter.

The other question is does this act of union between bull and goddess signify the start of spring? Certainly the arrival of the bovine Dionysus at Elis heralded the beginning of spring,[1] but more conclusive proof of the god's union in the spring comes from Athens. According to Aristotle the King Archon used to live in a building near to the Prytaneum called the Bucolium ("The Cattle-Stall"). Proof of this is afforded, claims Aristotle, by the fact that in his day the marriage of the wife of the King Archon to Dionysus takes place there.[2] If the Queen Archon marries in the "cattle-stall" this is a good indication that her husband was originally Dionysus in bovine form. Moreover the King Archon performed at Athens the religious functions of the old King,[3] so we must assume that originally it was the King's wife who underwent this marriage. In other words this custom preserved at Athens is identical to the action of Pasiphae, wife of Minos, the King of Crete, who also mated with a bull.[4] Moreover the ritual at Athens took place during the festival of the Anthesteria, at the beginning of spring. It is in fact a sacred marriage in the spring between the human representative of the

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1.- See above p. 267
2.- Aristotle, De Rep. Ath.; 3.5; cf. also Contra Neaeram, 73; Hesychius s.v. Διονύσου γάμος.
3.- If the King Archon used to live in the bucolium, did this make him the bucolos of Dionysus? It would help to explain this name of the priests of Dionysus and Apollo (See above pp. 281-282).
4.- A late tradition also claims that Zeus made love to Antiope in anthropomorphic guise and she bore Zethus and Amphion, but that some say it was in bovine form (Lactantius Placidus ad Statius, Thebaid, 7.189).

land, taking the part of the earth-goddess and the bovine symbol of male fertility.

The sacred marriage between the earth-goddess and a god bulks large in Greek religious belief. Demeter lay with Iasion in a thrice-ploughed fallow-field in Crete and bore Plutus ("Wealth").[1] The story is just another in the series that we have been discussing, but with the male role taken by a human. When the male role is played by a bull it is obviously a belief of great antiquity dating back to the time before the anthropomorphic fertility god developed out of the bull. Many of these myths appear to have a Minoan origin, which corresponds to what is known of Minoan religion. The Goddesses at all times predominate. In fact the male consort of the Minoan Mother Goddess does not appear in Early Minoan art, but only arises in the MM.II period onwards, when he plays a subordinate role, being drawn proportionately smaller than the female.[2] On the other hand representations of bulls are numerous. Although there is no evidence of the animal actually receiving worship, a gold ring from Thebes now in the Benaki Museum at Athens shows an enormous bull lying by the side of an hypaethral shrine.[3] There is no means of telling if this is a deity in bovine shape, but the impression is that the animal is certainly very important.

1.- Hesiod, Theogony, 969-974; cf. Odyssey, 5.125-8.
2.- M. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p.354, "A male god appears surprisingly seldom - the goddesses are dominant - and there is only one certain instance in which he is represented full size." Cf. also Evans, op.cit., 4.46; Glotz, op.cit., pp.252-4; G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, p.255; J. Pendlebury, The Archaeology of Crete, p.273.
3.- Nilsson, op.cit., p.178 fig.82.

The conversion of the earth-goddesses' consort from bovine to anthropomorphic guise may have started in Mycenaean times with his identification with Dionysus and Zeus, both powerful fertility gods. Late Christian writers tell how Zeus had intercourse with Deo or Demeter in bovine shape and she bore him Kore with whom he also lay in the shape of a snake and begat Zagreus or Dionysus.[1] Hence the famous line "Bull begat snake, snake begat bull".[2] The sources for this myth are certainly Orphic, which although they tend to tamper with myths to suit their own theology, do contain original, old material. Zeus mating with Demeter in bovine shape is quite probable. Or rather Zeus took over from Demeter's original bovine consort.

But the most famous of Zeus' sacred marriages was that to Hera, of which several localities in Greece claimed to be the scene. Near Cnossos by the river Theren a sanctuary was built and annual sacrifices were offered with traditional wedding-rites to commemorate the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera.[3] Is it just coincidence that the legend of the Cretan bull which mated with Pasiphae and was captured by Heracles is attached to this locality?[4] Euboea also laid claim to be the site of the marriage,[5] as did no less than six other places.[6]

Hera is certainly a pre-Hellenic goddess but of what type is not

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1.- Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, 2.15.1-3; Arnobius, Adv. Nationes, 5.20-21.
2.- Orpheus frag.41 (Abel) ap. Athenagoras, Supplicatio pro Christianis, 20 p.22-23. Cf. Hesychius s.v. Ζαγρεύς
3.- Diodorus, 5.72.
4.- Pausanias, 1.27.9, ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι
5.- Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Καρύστος ; Scholiast ap. Aristophanes, Peace, 1126.
6.- See Farnell, op.cit., 1.185; the references are listed on pp. 244-5; 254.

quite clear. Probably she was an earth-goddess. Eusebius, although a late author, citing Plutarch says categorically that γῆ μέν ἐστιν ἡ Ἥρα .[1] Her name appears to mean "The Lady" or some such equivalent, being a female form of heros, and heroes have chthonic associations.[2] We have seen that in Elis there are grounds for connecting her with the bovine Dionysus, who embodies the chthonic hero.[3] S. Wide who believes that she was an earth-goddess[4] points out that in the Iliad Zeus tells Hera that she can go to the extremes of the earth where no ray of sunshine or breath of wind reaches, but the whole place is surrounded by Tartarus.[5] Wide believes that Zeus is telling her to go to her natural habitat, the Underworld, but more probably Homer is making Zeus tell her, in the modern idiom, to go to hell. It was, however, with Tartarus that Earth mated to produce Typhoeus according to the usual version as told by Hesiod,[6] but Stesichorus made Hera his mother,[7] emphasising the link between the two goddesses. Zeus was clearly not her husband originally, but probably usurped the place of her former consort. His original wife seems to have been called Dione, which is just the female form of Zeus.[8] She is already a shadowy figure by the time of Homer.[9]

The animals most sacred to Hera were the cow and the bull. At

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1.- Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, 3.1.4.
2.- See above pp. 261-2.
3.- See above pp. 266-7.
4.- S. Wide, "Chthonische und Himmlische Goetter", pp.259-260.
5.- Iliad, 8.477-481.
6.- Hesiod, Theogony, 821-2, cf. Apollonius Rhodius, 2.38-39.
7.- Stesichorus ap. Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. Τυφωεύς
8.- Cook, op.cit., 2.350 and note 6.
9.- Cf. Iliad, 5.370.

Argos the festival of Hera was known as the Hecatombaeum since it included a procession led by one hundred oxen which were killed, cut up and distributed to all the citizens.[1] The mother of Cleobis and Biton as priestess of Hera had to go to the temple at Argos in a cart drawn by two white oxen.[2] The winners of the foot-race in the Heraea at Elis received a share of the cow sacrificed to Hera.[3] At the Great Daedala held every six years at Plataea each Boeotian city sacrificed a bull to Zeus and a cow to Hera.[4] The origins of this ancient festival seem to lie from Pausanias' muddled account in an ancient sacred marriage ceremony.[5] In a treaty made between Cnossos and Tylissos in the fifth century a cow was sacrificed to Hera.[6] In Italy too the image of Hera was carried on the backs of two white heifers at Falerii, and Ovid says the custom was derived from Greece.[7]

In this Hera's ritual resembles that of Earth to whom cows were the regular sacrifice.[8] At Marathon a pregnant cow was sacrificed to Ge near the μαντεῖον in the month of Elaphebolion.[9] According to one tradition the Delphic oracle told Cadmus to sacrifice to Earth the cow that led him to the foundation place of Thebes.[10] At Rome one

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1.- Scholiast ad Pindar, Olympians, 7.152.
2.- Herodotus, 1.31 and see above p. 338.
3.- Pausanias, 5.16.2.
4.- Ibid., 9.3.8.
5.- Ibid., 9.3.1-2.
6.- Inscriptiones Creticae, 1.VIII.4 b 9.
7.- Ovid., Amores, 3.13. Still in Italy Theocritus mentions the sacrifice of a bull to Hera, (Idylls, 4.20-22), and Cicero tells of how Hannibal made a statue of a calf for Juno at Lacinium (De Divinatione, 1.24).
8.- The sacrifice of bulls to male chthonic powers such as Hades and the heroes has already been discussed .
9.- H. von Prott and L. Ziehen, Leges Graecorum Sacrae, no.26, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος . . . τῇ τν γύαις βοῦς κυοῦσα Cf. also the bull's blood drunk by the priestess of Earth at Aegira (see above p.276)
10.- Scholiast ad Euripides, Phoenissae, 638.

pregnant cow was sacrificed to the old earth goddess Tellus in each of the thirty curiae of Rome as well as on the Capitol at the festival of the Fordicidia.[1] John the Lydian referring to the same festival identifies Tellus with Demeter,[2] who as earth and corn deity also has cows sacrificed to her. Thus at the sanctuary of Chthonian Demeter on Mt. Pron near Hermione four large cows were led in a procession to the temple doors. These were then opened and the first cow was released, which ran into the temple and the doors closed after it. Inside the temple four old women armed with sickles awaited the cow and cut its throat. The other three cows were then similarly despatched.[3] An inscription found at Eleusis lists a triad of victims with gilded horns, of which the first is a cow devoted to Demeter and Persephone.[4] At Copae in Boeotia an inscription was found which refers to Demeter by the enigmatic title of Tauropolos,[5] which may have just a simple meaning such as "drawn by bulls". Both L. Farnell and W. Otto argue that since Dionysus at Argos was called βουγενής, which could be construed as "born of a bull or cow", this implies that his mother Semele assumed bovine shape.[6] Since Semele may be a Grecism for Zemelo, the name of the Thracian earth-mother,[7] this is possibly another example of the association of the earth and the cow, or, more rarely, the

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1.- Ovid, Fasti, 4.630-6; Varro, De Re Rustica, 2.5.6.
2.- Johannus Lydus, De Mensibus, 4.72.
3.- Pausanias, 2.35.3-4; cf. Aelian, Nature of Animals, 11.4; (Friendly states sometimes sent a victim for sacrifice (CIG, 1.1193)). Demeter Chthonia was also worshipped at Sparta (Pausanias, 3.14.5.).
4.- SIG., no.13, lines 37-8.
5.- CIG., 1.2793, Δαμάτρας Ταυροπόλω.
6.- Farnell, op.cit., 5.126; W. Otto, Dionysus, p.193.
7.- H. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, p.149.

bull. Unfortunately for this view it is more likely that βουγενής means "born as a bull",[1] an epithet that would certainly suit Dionysus in many of his manifestations. A good parallel for Hera's image being carried by heifers at Falerii, and for earth-goddesses in general being carried or drawn by cows is provided by Tacitus. Nerthus, the German earth-mother,[2] had her sacred grove on an island in Oceanus, which hid her sacred carriage. In the spring a procession, in which the goddess was drawn in her sacred carriage, by cows, led her to the places she wished to visit. When she was satisfied she returned to her island.[3] This story contains a strange parallel (or coincidence) to that of Europa. Since Nerthus lives on an island in Oceanus she like Europa must be thought to arrive from over the sea.

Of the two other Greek goddesses who are associated with bulls and cows, Athena may have acquired them through her interest in husbandry. Thus her name is linked with the invention of ploughing and a bull is hung from her sacred olive at Ilium.[4] Most of the sacrifices of bulls to her, however, are probably motivated by nothing more complicated than the desire, especially at Athens, that she should receive the costliest victims. Thus at the Haloa an ox with gilded horns was sacrificed to her;[5] at both the Greater and Lesser Panathenaea cows were sacrificed at the great altar of Athena on the Acropolis.[6] Cows were the more usual sacrifice as befits a goddess,[7] and

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1.- Cf. Plutarch, Quaestiones Graecae, 36.
2.- Tacitus, Germania, 40; Nerthum, id est Terram Matrem.
3.- Ibid., loc.cit.
4.- See above pp. 270-1 and 259-260
5.- SIG, no.13.
6.- CIG, 2.163; cf. Farnell, op.cit., 1.297,
7.- Cf. Harpocration and Suda, s.v. ἐπὶ βοῶν Ovid, Metamorphoses, 4.755.

a heifer is sacrificed to her in the Iliad.[1] Like Demeter Athena was also called Tauropolos, although this name is much more frequently used to describe another Greek goddess associated with bulls, Artemis.[2]

Artemis, whose name is non-Greek, is a goddess who appears to have taken over the cults of a number of minor or foreign deities, so that the accumulation of these cults gives her character contradictory elements. Thus at Ephesus, where she took over from a local fertility goddess, she is portrayed as polymastoid[3] which contrasts strangely with the usual classical image of her as the virgin huntress.[4] The latter description, however, is the product of many years of refinement and idealisation of her character. What she appears to have been originally is a goddess of fertility, not of the earth and crops, but of all animals and men. Hence she helps women in travail as Lochia,[5] and nurses youths as Curotrophus or Paedotrophus.[6] It is probably due to her role of guardian of young things in general that at Hyampolis in Phocis cattle were placed under her protection,[7] and

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1.- Iliad, 11.730.
2.- Scholiast ad Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 448, οὕτω τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐκάλουν . . . ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οὕτω καλοῦσιν ὡς Ξενομήδης ἱστορεῖ. cf. Hesychius s.v. Ταυροπόλαι· ἡ Ἄρτεμις καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ The Suda also calls Athena ταυρόβολος but this epithet meaning bull-slaughtering occurs nowhere else in relation to Athena and may well be a mistake for ταυροπόλος.
3.- St. Jerome, Commentario in Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios, praefatio: Dianam multimammiam colebant Ephesii, quam Graeci πολύμαστον vocant; cf. C. Picard, Ephese et Claros, pp.529-532.
4.- E.g. Euripides, Hippolytus, 15-19.
5.- Cf. Euripides, Suppliants, 958; Plutarch, Quaest. Symp., 659A; CIG., 1.1768 and 1.3562.
6.- Diodorus, 5.73; Pausanias, 4.34.6.
7.- Pausanias, 10.35.7.

that a man smiled on by Artemis was said to be blessed with an increase of crops and herds.[1]

Some of the earliest Greek representations of Artemis were found at Sparta in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and date to the seventh and sixth centuries. They comprise lead votive figures and plaques of a winged goddess holding by the neck birds, lions, snakes, horses and other animals. Separate votive figures also included fish, birds, bulls, deer and lions.[2] They appear to be a direct lineal descendant of the Minoan design of a human figure dompting two symmetrically balanced animals. In fact Artemis appears as the πότνια θηρῶν, or mistress of animals.[3] Later she is depicted as a great huntress, which is just another way in which to demonstrate her power over animals. Naturally among the animals over which she exercised control was the bull. An archaic bronze plaque from Colophon shows a female deity holding two antithetically posed bulls by a rein.[4] She may be standing in a chariot.[5] The same design is reproduced in an identical plaque in the Heraclion Museum.[6] This goddess has been grandiosely named the πότνια ταύρων, and the design seen as a turning-point in art, when the Hittite design of a deity standing on top of his or her special animal to demonstrate control over it has been altered to the more conventional design of a deity being drawn in a chariot

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1.- Callimachus, Hymn to Diana, 35.
2.- M. Thompson, "The Asiatic or Winged Artemis", pp.287-295, figs. 1-7; A. Wace, The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, - The Lead Figurines, pp.249-284.
3.- Nilsson, op.cit., pp.506-7.
4.- C. Picard, "La πότνια ταύρων de Colophon", p.175, fig.1.
5.- K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "A Note on the Potnia Tauron", pp.669-670.
6.- Ibid., p.669, fig.2.

by his or her sacred beast.[1] The name given to the plaque betrays, I believe, that its origin lies in a much simpler source; namely that it is a frontal picture of a goddess in a chariot drawn by bulls that has been greatly influenced in design by the usual potnia theron motif, so similar in style is it. There is no evidence that the goddess is Artemis. But when she does appear, as in some Macedonian coins,[2] riding on bulls, it probably serves to demonstrate her control over them. The sense is, however, completely different when Europa, Demeter, Themis, and Ariadne, ride on bulls since they are not demonstrating their control over the beasts, but are arriving conjointly with their bovine consorts. Artemis acts as a mistress of animals, the others as passive earth-goddesses.

Artemis' association with the bull is illustrated by her cult-title Tauropolos, which was widespread throughout mainland Greece and Asia Minor.[3] L. Farnell interprets the title as "bull-tender" which would fit in nicely with what is known of her character,[4] but it is not clear that the title can mean this. The Tauropolia was a feast sacred to her,[5] and she was also known by the less equivocal title of Tauro by the Tauri,[6] the quasi-fabulous inhabitants of the Scythian

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1.- Ibid., p.670 fig.3 shows a survival of the archaic frontal group in a fourth century B.C. terracotta. Picard, op.cit., p.180 makes the unlikely suggestion that the naked goddess who stands with a festoon on a bull's back in Hittite cylinders may have led to the invention of animals on leads.

2.- British Museum Catalogue of Coins: Macedonia, pp.54 ff. Technau, op.cit., p.95 figs. 91d, e.

3.- In Attica at Brauron (Euripides, Iphigeneia in Tauris, 1450 ff.); in Icaria near Samos (Strabo, 639 (14.1.19); at Mylasa (CIG, 1. 2699); at Phocaea (Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, 36) For other references see Farnell, op.cit., 2.569-570.

4.- Farnell, op.cit., 2.450.

5.- Hesychius s.v. Ταυροπόλια

6.- Hesychius, s.v. Ταυρώ

Chersonese, from whom the worship of Artemis Tauropolos was popularly believed to have been brought.[1] The name Taurike, another of her epithets which ment "of the Tauri", is synonymous with Tauropolos according to Strabo.[2] These equations are obviously late, and cannot in any case be earlier than the penetration of the Black Sea by Greek shipping. The equation of Artemis with so many foreign goddesses in Anatolia and as far afield as Scythia means that her association with the bull is very hard to trace to its place of origin. It does seem, however, to be restricted in Greece to her role as mistress of animals and nourisher of the young.

To return to Hera, it is clear that she has more in common with Ge and Demeter than with Athena, and especially Artemis, who is not in the habit of receiving cows as a regular sacrifice as are the earth-goddesses. One further point about Hera is that she is called βοῶπις "cow-eyed" or "cow-faced" no less than fourteen times in the Iliad.[3] Does this mean that this stereotyped description is derived from a time when Hera was conceived of as assuming bovine shape? Not as far as Homer is concerned, at any rate, since he uses it as a complimentary term very much as he calls other women "white-elbowed", and also applies the epithet to three other women.[4] The evidence

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1.- It arrived at Brauron from there according to Euripides, loc.cit., and also at Comana in Cappadocia (Pausanias, 3.16.8; Strabo, 535, (12.2.3); where Artemis is probably identified with Ma.

2.- Strabo, loc.cit.

3.- Listed by A. Cook, Zeus, 1.444.

4.- The handmaiden of Helen is βοῶπις (Iliad, 3.144), as is Phylomedusa wife of Arithous (Iliad, 7.10), and one of the nymphs of Thetis (Iliad, 18.40). (Cf. Hesiod, Theogony, 355 of the Oceanid Pluto.)

of imperial coins of Samos, which show above Hera's image a wooden post surmounted by a pair of horns,[1] is too late to prove her bovine origin since by this time many syncretistic forces may have been at work.

One person, however, who does assume bovine shape is the priestess of Hera at Argos, Io. Her story as told in Aeschylus and Apollodorus[2] is that Zeus fell in love with her but being detected by Hera changed Io into a cow to conceal his guilt. Hera requested the cow from Zeus and set Argos "Panoptes" to guard her. Hermes killed Argos at Zeus' bidding, whereupon Hera sent a gad-fly to harass Io, whose subsequent wanderings brought her to Egypt, where she was turned back into human form by Zeus, and gave birth to Epaphus. The latter part of the story is clearly a later addition, being an attempt to equate Io with the Egyptian goddess Isis, and her son Epaphus with the sacred bull Apis.[3] On the earliest Greek vases Io appears as a heifer (or sometimes a steer!),[4] and as such she was represented on the sixth century throne of Apollo at Amyclae.[5] She was also shown as a human-headed cow with bovine horns and ears.[6] Eventually she was shown simply as a horned girl without bovine ears, and the

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1.- Cook, op.cit., 1.445, figs.313, 314. (of. Gordian and Gallienus).
2.- Aeschylus, Suppliants, 291-325; Apollodorus, 2.1.3 cf. also Aeschylus, Prometheus Vinctus, 672-709; 733-761; 816-841; 872-902, and Pausanias, 1.25.1; 3.18.13.
3.- See below pp. 444 - 445 and see above p. 170
4.- R. Engelmann, "Die Jo-Sage", pp.51-57; Cook, op.cit., 3.631-634 n.4.
5.- Pausanias, 3.18.13.
6.- E.g. Engelmann, op.cit., p.38 fig.1; Cook, op.cit., 3.635, fig.432 Aeschylus, Suppliants, pp.565-570 speaks of her as half-human and half-animal.

horns themselves gradually diminished in size.[1]

Although Egypt was generally regarded by the Greeks of the Classical Period to be the place where Io ultimately ceased her wanderings and gave birth to Epaphus, the island of Euboea also laid claim to this distinction. The Etymologicum Magnum and Stephanus of Byzantium give as one reason for the island's name the fact that Io came there as a beautiful cow.[2] Strabo says that there is a cave in E. Euboea called the cow's stall (βοὸς αὐλή), where Io gave birth to Epaphus, and the island gained its name from the fact.[3] There was also a place on the island called Argura, where Hermes was popularly believed to have killed Argos.[4] The coins of Euboea illustrate a bovine type from earliest times,[5] which is hardly surprising since the island's name meaning "fair cow island" is probably derived from its suitability for grazing cattle, and poets also called it ("the land of white cattle").[6] None of these coins can be connected with the Io legend.

As for Hera's relationship with Euboea, after a quarrel with Zeus she retired in a huff to a cave near Carystus,[7] and Mt. Oche was claimed as the site of her marriage with Zeus.[8] L.R. Farnell

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1.- Cook, op.cit., 3.637 n.3.
2.- Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. Εὔβοια ; Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Ἀβαντίς quoting the pseudo-Hesiodic Aegimius, frag. 3 (Kirkel).
3.- Strabo, 445 (10.1.3).
4.- Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἄργουρα
5.- Cook, op.cit., 1.463, figs. 319-320.
6.- Aelian, Natura Animalium, 12.36.
7.- Pausanias, 9.3.1.
8.- Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Κάρυστος ; Hera was also said to be worshipped on Mt. Dirphys in Euboea.

suggests that the island may have received its name from the cult title of Hera Εὔβοια,[1] although evidence for this title is lacking. Farnell's suggestion is, however, based on the tradition that the river Asterion which flows past the Argive Heraeum had three daughters called Prosymns, Acraea and Euboea, who were the nurses of Hera and after whom areas surrounding the Heraeum were named.[2] Prosymna and Acraea were cult titles of Hera in the Argolid,[3] and were probably later personified into her nurses. Thus the same may be true of Euboea. But more important the Argive Heraeum was situated at the foot of a hill called "Euboea".[4] It would therefore appear that originally the union of Zeus and Io and the birth of Epaphus took place on the hill overlooking the Argive Heraeum, and that later it moved to the more famous island of the same name, before being eventually transferred to Egypt, when Io was equated with Isis. The myth is thus seen in its uncontaminated form to be local to the Argolid, and more specifically to the area around the Heraeum.

What then was the status of Io? The common tradition makes her the priestess of Hera, never a goddess in her own rite, although the title Callithyessa which is sometimes applied to her sounds like a genuine cult-title.[5] A.B. Cook suggests that the priestesses of Hera at Argos were called 'cows' just as the wine-bearers of Poseidon

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1.- Farnell, op.cit., 1.182; cf. Cook, loc.cit.
2.- Pausanias, 2.17.1.
3.- Prosymna: Strabo 373 (8.6.11); Acraea: Pausanias 2.3.7. (at Corinth); Apollodorus, 1.9.28 (and see Farnell, op.cit., 1.248).
4.- Pausanias, 2.17.1. Still called 'Evvia!
5.- Hesychius, s.v. Ἰὼ καλλιθύεσσα

were 'bulls' and the priestesses of Brauronian Artemis were 'bears', and that this explains Io's adoption of a cow's shape.[1] This is by no means impossible, but it is unlikely that such an elaborate myth was invented to account for the peculiar name of the priestesses. It is to Io's consort that we should look for the cause of her metamorphosis. Fortunately Aeschylus states quite categorically that Hera changed Io into a cow whereupon Zeus changed himself into a bull to mate with her.[2] Aeschylus has retained, I believe, some of the original myth in which Io's consort was not the Greek sky-god but the pre-Greek fertility god who assued bovine shape. The myth of Io thus parallels that of Europa in that the anonymous bull becomes a transmogrified Zeus, and that of Pasiphae in that the female participant in some way changes into a cow. But the story more closely resembles the historical union of the King Archon's wife in the Bucolium at Athens in that Io, if she is really representative of the priestesses of Hera at Argos, is selected on behalf of the state for the annual sacred marriage with the bovine fertility god in the spring.

It has been argued that Pasiphae in her wooden cow replaced the original theriomorphic deity.[3] If Io played a similar role then the same argument applies in her case. But our research does not bear out this theory. For example, in the case of Europa, she has no bovine characteristics and is never anything less than totally anthropomorphic. On the contrary it is her consort who has emerged

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1.- Cook, op.cit., 1.441.
2.- Aeschylus, Suppliants, 301.
3.- L. Malten, "Der Stier im Kult und Mythischen Bild", p.122.

from bovine to human guise although he never manages to shake off his original nature. The Pasiphae myth is extremely muddled with her action explained by Minos' perfidy and her "unnatural lust". So too the wooden cow may be a late Greek attempt at rationalisation. Only at Argos with Hera and Io is there any hint that the sacred marriage was between two theriomorphs, and here the bovine Isis, equated with Io, may be at work. But Io, if she really does represent the priestess who mated with the bull on behalf of the state, was only performing the role of the goddess before her. That goddess was Hera, who is ox-eyed in Homer's time, before any discernible Egyptian influence was at work. Nevertheless there is not sufficient evidence for her assuming bovine shape in her sacred marriages, and if the action of other pre-Greek earth-goddesses is anything to go by, the probability is that she did not.

Finally a brief look at the goddesses' consort, who has been termed "the bovine symbol of male fertility". In Hellenic times his place is taken by Dionysus and, more frequently, Zeus, both of whom were powerful fertility gods. Oxen and rams were the animals which were most often sacrificed to Zeus,[1] not only because the supreme god demanded the costliest victims, but because these animals were full of fertilising power. Throughout the E. Mediterranean area the bull was the sky-god's animal.[2] Many of Zeus' sacred marriages, some of which were probably taken over from the pre-Greek religion, fell

1.- Farnell, op.cit., 1.101; Cook, op.cit., 1.717 n.2.
2.- See above pp. 219

into the category of the Earth marrying the Sky whose seed as rain quickens the earth to produce and sustain all forms of life. It is no coincidence that Zeus and Earth under various names had joint sanctuaries in many parts of Greece.[1] Is this a new conception introduced by the Greeks when Zeus supplanted the anonymous bovine deities, or did they also at times represent the rain-producing sky-god as the earth-goddess' consort? Unfortunately there is a paucity of evidence to determine the question either way. Many scholars believe that the double-axe is the lightning weapon, especially when it appears in connection with the bull. But as we have seen this interpretation is far from certain, and the axe's appearance in the hands of a goddess when not associated with the bull is a strong argument against it.[2] There is, of course, no reason why the goddess could not herself be a storm-deity, as for example in Anatolia there is the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, but equally there is no evidence to support this hypothesis which is not paralleled elsewhere in this area. Neither for that matter is there any evidence for a Minoan storm-god, although it would be strange if in Crete of all places in the Eastern Mediterranean littoral the bull was not associated with the thunderstorm. Perhaps there was a bovine storm-god who was associated with the bovine fertility gods, out of whom no anthropomorphic deity had arisen until the advent of Zeus. Until new evidence comes to light this must remain unsubstantiated speculation.

1.- S. Wide, "Chthonische und Himmlische Goetter", p.265, lists several examples.
2.- See above pp. 301-3 and 303-4

CHAPTER VIII

THE BULL AS THE EMBODIMENT OF SOLAR AND LUNAR POWERS.

The offspring of the union of Europa and the bull were the kings Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys.[1] Since all three of these names are non-Greek, there is a strong possibility that they are Grecised versions of Minoan personal names. I do not think Keller's suggestion that Minos is a transliteration of Mna or Mnevis, the Egyptian sacred bull,[2] deserves any further refutation. It is natural that the Minoan priest-kings should trace their lineage back to the two principal deities of their panthea, just as the Greek heroes believed themselves to be descended from their gods. But from the union of Pasiphae and the bull, a doublet of the Europa-Zeus marriage containing the same beliefs in a more primitive form, springs the Minotaur. The word Minotaur means the bull of Minos, or perhaps Minos, the "bull." The first meaning is substantiated on a Chalcidic vase from Caere which shows the usual Greek portrayal of the monster with the words ταῦρος Μινώιος (bull of Minos) written next to it;[3] and Euripides calls

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[1] Iliad, 14. 321-2; Apollodorus, 3.1.1.

[2] O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.363.

[3] A. Rumpf, Chalkidische Vasen, p.13, no. 12; Plate 26,3. Now in the Louvre (F.18).

the Minotaur "the Cnossian bull."[1] Alternatively Minos "the bull" could be an honorific title lauding the king as a bull, being similar in intent to such titles as "Bull of his Mother," etc. which were used in praise of gods and kings in Mesopotamia and Egypt.[2] In this case Minos, the bull, son of Pasiphae and the bull, could be the same person as Minos, the son of Europa and the bull.

The Greeks, however, uniformally make the Minotaur a composite creature having a man's body with a bull's head,[3] the reason for this possibly being due to his mixed parentage, whereas in the Europa-Zeus myth the story has been sufficiently rationalised for Zeus to revert to human shape before consummating their union, and thus guaranteeing fully human offspring, although, as has been suggested, the original marriage may have been of the woman-bull type. The explanation most favoured by modern scholars for the Minotaur's composite nature is that the Minoan priest-king, Minos or whatever he was called, used to don a bull's mask when performing certain rituals, which may have included a sacred marriage with a human representative of the goddess.[4] Hence in Hellenic times he became a fabulous monster.

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[1] Euripides, Hercules Furens, 1327 ταῦρος Κνώσιος

[2] See above, pp. 71-2, 159.

[3] Cf. Apollodorus, 3.1.4.

[4] E.G. A. Cook, Zeus, 1.496; J. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p.481; G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, p.255; A. Persson, The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times, pp.43, 98.

Hybrid monsters of the same type as the Minotaur are not uncommon in the Eastern Mediterranean area as a whole. Possibly the earliest example is provided by a seal of fourth millenium date from Elam in which three standing bulls with arms akimbo advance to the right. The creatures have human hands.[1] More common than the bull-headed man in Mesopotamian art were the human-headed bull, or the bull-man (Enkidu) whose body comprised the head and trunk of a man and the legs of a bull.[2] The bull-headed man appears to be more popular in the Syro-Hittite glyptic area, where it often has the appearance of a man wearing a mask and not of a truly composite creature.[3] This impression is borne out by the evidence from Cyprus which at an early date fell under the influence of Syrian culture. In a clay model of a scene inside a ritual enclosure, in which bulls are about to be sacrificed, stand three figures with bull's heads holding hands. The model was found in a late third millenium grave.[4] The relevant figures are probably wearing masks. This is certainly true of a terracotta statue of a man found in the early first millenium sanctuary

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[1] L. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und Mythischer Bild," p.122, fig. 56. CF. also a seal impression from Susa of E. Dynsatic/Akkadian date which shows a bull-headed man in the upper register (H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p.233, fig. 71).

[2] See above pp. 64-67

[3] G. Contenau, La Glyphique Syro-Hittite, Plates 24, 173; 29, 198; W. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.286, fig.869 (cf. Evans, op. cit., 4.459, fig.384).

[4] P. Dikaios, A Guide to the Cyprus Museum, p.20, Plate V 3.

of Hagia Irene, who is in the act of putting on his bull's mask.[1] The wearing of bull's masks in Cyprus thus appears to have been popular in certain rituals and survived down to Hellenic times, models in both Assyrian style, dating to c. 700-650 B.C.,[2] and Classical Greek style being found.[3] In Egypt the bull-headed man was not so common, although Apis and Mnevis are shown in this manner in wall-paintings at Edfu and Dendera.[4] The seal from Karnak claimed by A. Evans to be a kneeling bull-headed man[5] is far from clear, and to me looks more like the jackal-headed Anubis.

The art of Minoan Crete itself depicts many hybrid creations, the most familiar of which is the so-called Minoan genius, which may have developed out of the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taurt.[6] This daemon certainly takes part in religious scenes, although usually in a subordinate role. The hoard of clay sealings found at Zakro contains many which show creatures of a hybrid and fantastic nature.[7] Their religious role, if any, can probably be relegated to the realm of bogeys and demons, if they are not merely whimsical experiments

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[1] E. Sjoeqvist, "Die Kultgeschichte eines Cyprischen Temenos," p.345, fig. 11.

[2] L.P. di Cesnola, Cyprus, p.51; J.L. Myres, The Metropolitan Museum of Art : Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus, p.150, no. 1029.

[3] Cesnola, op. cit., p.161, Plate XIII.

[4] Malten, op. cit., p.124.

[5] A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.69, fig.38c.

[6] See above, p. 31 n.1.

[7] D. Hogarth, "The Zakro Sealings," pp.76-93.

in seal design by some Minoan engravers. Among these sealings are the impressions of three seals which show a squatting figure with human trunk and limbs, and a bovine head and tail.[1] In close-up, however, two of these sealing-types[2] show the monster to have stag's antlers rather than bull's horns. The excavator of these seals, D. Hogarth, believes that the composite monsters have nothing to do with cult but are just fanciful, artistic creations. He excepts, however, from this category the bull-men which he sees as proto-Minotaurs, "which it is hard to suppose were independent of a cult probably existent contemporaneously at Knossos."[3] Hogarth's reasoning is hard to follow especially as the design on a further sealing, which he calls "a fantastic Minotaur of singularly fine execution," shows a bull-headed creation with outstretched wings and human trunk and limbs, besides having human breasts and a fan-tail at the anus.[4] This creature clearly falls within Hogarth's category of "fanciful, artistic creations," which have nothing to do with cult. It cannot, along with the other bull-men out of all the hybrid types, be automatically transferred to a higher status

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[1] Ibid., p.79, Plate VI nos. 17 (8 specimens), 18 (4 specimens), 19 (1 specimen).

[2] Nos. 17 and 18 (D. Hogarth, "Excavations at Zakro, Crete," p.133, fig.45).

[3] Id., "The Zakro Sealings," p.91.

[4] Ibid., p.81, Plate VII no. 43 (8 specimens).

in some Minoan cult just because of the Minotaur legend. Either all these composite animals have a significance in cult or none does. Since the winged, breasted and fan-tailed "minotaur" clearly is a fanciful, artistic creation it follows that his less ornate colleagues are too. Into this category also must fall the usual Minoan depiction of the "bull-man", a creature which from the waist upwards is a bull but has human legs. Such a creature is shown on a seal being pursued by a similar hybrid of lion and human.[1] A seal in the British Museum shows the legs of a man combined with the foreparts of both a goat and bull.[2] Another seal from the Psychro Cave shows a bull-man in a contorted position.[3] The body of the bull-man is curved to fit and fill the field after the Minoan tradition.[4] There is therefore no need to explain the contorted position as that of a dancer wearing a bull-mask. Nor is the explanation of the bull-man as the joining together in an abstract rendering of a bull and

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[1] Cornelian lentoid: Evans, op. cit., 4.589; V. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p.135, Plate 12.231 (AM. 1938. 1069).

[2] British Museum Catalogue of Gems : Crete, No. 76, Plate A; A. Cook, "Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age," p.120, fig. 15. Cf. a seal from Sellopoulo, now in the Heraclion Museum (no.1865), which shows a leaping bull-man who has two pairs of legs.

[3] Evans, op. cit., 3.317, fig. 212; 4.589, fig. 587; Kenna, op. cit., p.56, fig. 117; p.135, Plate 12.322 (AM. 1938. 1071).

[4] Cf. the figures of lions and bulls on other seals. E.g. Evans, op. cit., 4.588, figs. 583-5.

bull-leaper[1] very plausible since lion-men were also depicted, as well as stag-men.[2]

There is also the so-called "Minotaur Seal",[3] in which a man wearing a type of cuirass stands before a seated hybrid creature with the legs of a man, and the head and tail of an animal resembling a calf. The creature's arm is raised in the usual Minoan gesture of either giving or receiving adoration and terminates in a cloven hoof. Whatever the meaning of this seal the man does not appear to be worshipping the creature, but in fact appears to be rather taken aback. In a late Mycenaean grave under the Athenian agora a gold signet ring was found, which has been called the "Minotaur Ring".[4] It depicts a man striding to the right, who has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear and in the other a rope attached to two women who wear Minoan dress. Its finder, T.L. Shear, suggests that it may represent the Minotaur and the Athenian maidens.[5] Against this view it must be said that it is far from clear what type of animal's head the creature is intended to

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[1] Both suggestions made by Kenna, op. cit., p.135.

[2] Evans, op. cit., 1.359, fig. 260d; 4.505, fig. 449; Kenna, loc. cit., Plate 13.325 (AM. 1938. 1070). Erroneously called a "man-bull" by both Evans and Kenna.

[3] Evans, op. cit., 2.763, fig. 491; Malten, op. cit., p.132, fig. 77 (Heraclion Museum, no. 761).

[4] T.L. Shear, "The Latter Part of the Agora Campaign of 1933," p. 540, fig. 1.

[5] Ibid., loc. cit.

have. Finally there is a haematite cylinder found in Crete,[1] and dated to LMIIB - LMIIIA, in which a Minoan genius is about to pour a libation on a pillar in front of a bull-headed man, behind whom is a man in a kilt also about to pour a libation, and another human figure, who stands in an attitude of adoration, and two bulls standing on their hind legs. It is clear from the shape of the seal and the subject matter that the Minoan engraver has tried to copy the style of the Syro-Hittite cylinders of the second millenium. He has, however, also introduced into the design indigenous Minoan material such as the genius and also a figure eight shield. It is nevertheless the bull-man who receives the libation. Is this part of the detail taken over from the model from which the Minoan engraver probably worked, or is it a deliberate attempt to show the worship of the Cretan Minotaur? On the weight of the evidence so far available from Crete this question cannot be satisfactorily answered. Bull-men in Minoan art are of no more importance than lion-men and stag-men, all of which appear to fulfil an artistic role rather than one in cult. The evidence from the "Minotaur Seal" is inconclusive, even if the creature really does have the head of a calf. The "Minotaur Ring" comes from the Mainland, although it may be a Minoan import, but even so it is far from certain that the creature is bull-headed, and other

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[1] Evans, op. cit., 4.459, fig. 383; Kenna, op. cit., p.139, Plate 14.358 (AM. 1938. 1091).

explanations have been advanced.[1] What this survey does indicate is that the concept of a half-human half-bovine composite daeman was taken over by Minoans from the area of Syro-Hittite influence. The haematite cylinder certainly proves this and the fact that so many Minotaur-like and hybrid figures were found at Zakro, the point nearest to Cyprus and Syria, indicates that this was the quarter whence the influence came. For further elucidation of the Minotaur myth we must turn to Greek mythology.

The Minotaur had another name, which was said to be his original name. This was Asterius[2] or Asterion.[3] There was also another Asterius in Greek mythology of Crete, who by all accounts was the king of Crete when Europa arrived on the back of the bull. Zeus gave her in marriage to Asterius who brought up her children and died without issue of his own.[4] This may be just a tidying up of loose ends by the Greek mythographers to explain how the son of an immigrant female could become king of Crete, or is there more to it? Since Zeus is an intruder on the scene, once he is removed, we are left with Minos the son of Europa and Asterius. In fact Tzetzes says

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[1] E.g. Persson, op. cit., p.101 sees in the ring a predecessor to Hermes Psychopompous leading the imprisoned dead away from this world to the next.

[2] Apollodorus, 3.1.4.

[3] Pausanias, 2.31.1.

[4] Apollodorus, 3.1.2; Diodonis Siculus, 4.60.3.

that Zeus Asterius was the father of Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys[1]. But Europa's husband was the bull. Could it have been that Asterius was originally the name of the bull, who was superseded by Zeus and relegated to the position of her next husband by whom she bore no children, whereas it was he who was the bull and father of Minos? In that case Europa and the bull (Asterius) with their offspring Minos present a very close parallel to Pasiphae and the bull with their offspring Asterius (Minotaurus). As we have seen already the myths of Europa and Pasiphae and their bulls are different versions of the same religious belief. Now it appears that their consorts and sons have the same name, either Asterius or Minos, or Minos-the-Bull (Minotaurus). Since Pasiphae's husband was Minos, but her real consort the bull, analogy suggests that Minos, like Asterius, was not pushed to one side, but that he was the bull. In other words Asterius as a bull begets Minos on Europa, who in turn as a bull begets Asterius on Pasiphae. Alternatively if Minos really was a king and no more, the escapade of his wife with the bull need not have been the clandestine affair which Greek mythology represents it as. She may have acted as the mortal representative of the goddess when the god arrived in bovine form, just as the wife of the king archon at Athens married Dionysus in the Bucolium.[2]

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[1] Tzetzes ad Lycophron, 1301.

[2] See above, p. 384.

Many modern scholars are of the opinion that the marriage of Pasiphae and the bull represents a sacred marriage between the sun and the moon on Minoan Crete.[1] The arguments run as follows. In Greek mythology Pasiphae is the daughter of the Sun,[2] and at Thalamae in Laconia bronze statues of Pasiphae and Helius stand in the sanctuary of Ino.[3] Pausanias says that Pasiphae is a title of the moon, not a local goddess at Thalamae, and since her name is invocatory meaning "She who shines on all" or "All-illuminator" it is certainly a suitable title for a moon-goddess. If Pasiphae is the moon, runs the argument, then her husband must be the sun. A. Cook seizes on the very late tradition that Pasiphae's bull was a creature of dazzling whiteness[4] and equates it with the golden lamb of Atreus and golden ram of Phrixus as a hypostasis of the sun.[5] The bull could symbolise the sun as we know from Egypt and as the

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[1] J. Frazer, The Golden Bough : The Dying God, 3.71; Cook, Zeus, 1.521-5; J. Harrison, Themis, p.449; R. Willetts, Cretan Cults and Festivals, pp.110-111. Malten, op. cit, pp.126, 130 and Persson, op. cit., pp.131-2 see Pasiphae as the moon and the bull not as the sun but the Sky-Bull or God of Heaven and Fertility.

[2] Apollodorus, 3.1.2; Pausanias, 5.25.9.; Acesander frag.3. (C. Mueller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 4.2853).

[3] Pausanias, 5.26.1.

[4] Vatican Mythographer, 1.47; 2.120; Lactantius Placidus ad Statius Thebaid, 5.431.

[5] Cook, op. cit, 1.467-8. cf. 1.430ff.

legends of Talos and the Adiounian bull suggest.[1] Eventually Zeus and Hera take over the marriage from the solar bull and lunar cow,[2] but the original offspring of this union was the Minotaur or Asterius. In Greek the name Asterius means "starred" or "starry". Thus on an early sixth century Corinthian pinax the Minotaur appears in the middle of four stars.[3] They could be filling motifs but these are not usual in this particular type of art. A red-figure cylix found at Vulci and now in the British Museum has the Minotaur covered in eyes like the usual representation of Argos, the watcher of Io.[4] In certain parts of the world the stars are believed to be the children of the sun.[5] In Greece, however, there is scarcely any mention of reverence to the stars, which seems to be a practice foreign to Hellenic beliefs.[6] It could, of course, be a Minoan practice which died out, but Cook points out that Pindar and Aeschylus

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[1] Ibid., 1.468. See above pp. 159-163, and below pp. 431-433

[2] Ibid., 1.523, 543-4.

[3] E. Pernice, "Die Korinthischen Pinakes im Antiquarium des Koeniglichen Museen," p.29, frag.663 and frag.730, fig.21; Cook, op. cit 1.495, fig.357; Malten, op. cit., p.130, fig.75 who believes that there are no grounds for calling this particular bull-man the Minotaur.

[4] Cook, op. cit., 1.494, fig.356.

[5] Ibid., 1.523 note 6; W. Roscher, Lexicon der Greichischen und Roemischen Mythologie, 2.3198.

[6] L. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 1.44; O. Kern, Die Religion der Griechen, 1.94.

use the word to refer to the sun and moon respectively.[1] By Hellenistic times the word asterius had ceased to connote solar but meant "starry" and nothing else; hence Cook proposes to call Asterius "God of All Celestial Light."[2] Finally the sacred marriage of the solar bull and lunar cow is thought to have taken place at the beginning of the octennial cycle. In other words at the end of the shortest period it takes for the lunar calendar to coincide with the solar calendar, so that both heavenly bodies are in exactly the same place in the sky as they were when their positions were first noted. This takes 99 lunar months and 8 solar years to achieve.[3] This period of time, called the Great Year,[4] frequently appears in Greek mythology,[5] and there is sufficient reason to believe it also was recognised in Minoan Crete, since in a famous passage Homer refers to Minos ruling for nine years[6] (actually eight as the Greeks counted inclusively), and other sources tell of his

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[1] Pindar, Olympians, 1.5-6 and schol. vet. ad loc.; Aeschylus, Seven Against Thebes, 390.

[2] Cook, op. cit., 1.495, 547.

[3] Frazer, op. cit., 3.68-71.

[4] By Censorinus, De Die Natali, 18.5.

[5] Apollo and Cadmus both served eight years for slaying the Cyclops and the dragon (Apollodorus, 3.10.4 and 3.4.2.); any god who forswore his oath by the Styx had to do penance for 9 years (Hesiod, Theogony, 793-804). Heracles first ten labours were carried out in 8 years and one month (Apollodorus, 2.5.10).

[6] Odyssey, 19.178-9. Μίνως / ἐννέωρος βασίλευε

communicating with Zeus after this period of time to give an account of his rule and receive instructions for the future.[1] It was at this time that the labyrinth at Cnossos was used. This was an arena or orchestra of solar pattern designed for the purpose of a mimetic dance, in which someone donned a bull's head mask and represented the movement of the sun to help it on its course.[2]

Such is the gist of the arguments in favour of Minoan worship of the sun and moon. On the other hand it must be stressed that in Minoan art scenes that show solar and lunar symbols in a religious context comprise a very small percentage of religious scenes as a whole. A clay mould from Palaikastro shows what must be a representation of the solar disc,[3] and a seal from Ligortyno shows a woman standing before a shrine from which a tree grows, while inside the shrine is a moon sickle lying on its back.[4] M. Nilsson believes that this is a strange place for a moon to be shown, and thinks it may represent some sult object.[5] Naturally the Minoans must have believed in deities of the sun and moon but there is little to indicate that they had any significant cult. Their position may

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[1] Plato, Laws, 624 A,B; id., Minos, 319 A ff; Strabo, 476 (10.4.8).

[2] Frazer, op. cit., 3.75-77; Cook, op. cit., 1.476-492.

[3] M. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p.282, fig. 141.

[4] A. Evans, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," p.185, fig. 59; J. Harrison, Themis, p.190, fig. 45.

[5] Nilsson, op. cit., p.414.

have been very much like that of Helius and Selene in Greek religion. As Nilsson says "in the Minoan world there are no certain traces of a cult of the heavenly bodies."[1]

How is this dearth of evidence for solar and lunar cults in Minoan Crete to be reconciled with the arguments for a marriage of the sun and moon in bovine form based on the interpretation of the Greek myths of Crete? First we must examine the status of Pasiphae. Pausanias says that the statue of Pasiphae stands in the precinct of the shrine of Ino , near Thalamae, which is oracular. He further adds that Pasiphae is not a local goddess but a title of the moon.[2] Plutarch, however, tells a different story. He says that the shrine was definitely that of Pasiphae and that she was a daughter of Atlas. He also records the version that Cassandra, the prophetess, died at Thalamae and was called Pasiphae because she declared her oracles to all (διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν).[3] According to Phylarchus Pasiphae is the cult-title of Daphne, who, fleeing from Apollo, was turned into the laurel and given prophetic powers.[4] These accounts at least explain why her statue should be in the sanctuary precinct.

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[1] Ibid., p.420.

[2] Pausanias, 3.26.1.

[3] Plutarch, Life of Agis, 9.

[4] Phylarchus ap. Plutarch, loc. cit.

Contrary then to what Pausanias says the oracle was that of Pasiphae,[1] and an inscription found near the site of Thalamae refers to the goddess by name.[2] E. Rohde believes that the sanctuary was originally an oracle of Pasiphae, but later of Ino.[3] "The All-illuminator" is an appropriate name to describe the prophetic powers of an oracular goddess, with whom attempts were made to equate the prophetess Cassandra.

We have already seen that in pre-Hellenic times oracular shrines belonged to the earth-goddesses, and were later taken over in some cases by Olympian deities.[4] Pasiphae also occurs in a verse quoted by Aristotle as a synonym of Aphrodite,[5] and John the Lydian says that both Pasiphae and Ino are forms of Aphrodite.[6] Aphrodite also was originally a mother- or earth-goddess.[7] Pasiphae therefore was probably also an earth-goddess who had an oracular shrine at Thalamae. Neither Pausanias nor Plutarch associate this Pasiphae with her

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[1] Cf. also Plutarch, Life of Cleomenes, 7; Cicero, De Divinatione, 1.43.96.

[2] E.S. Forster, "South-Western Laconia," BSA, 10 (1903-4), p.173.

[3] E. Rohde, Psyche, p.152 n.104.

[4] See above p. 280

[5] Aristotle, Mirabilia, 133 τὰς δ' ἐδάμασσε πόθῳ Πασιφάεσσα θεά

[6] Johannes Lydus, De Mensibus, 4. p.89. cf. S. Wide, Lakonische Kulte, pp.247-8; H. Usener, Griechische Goetternamen, p.58.

[7] See above, pp. 149

Cretan counterpart, but there is no reason why she too could not thus be an earth-goddess, or rather the same earth-goddess. Certainly her relations with the bull parallel those of Europa and Hera, who, as we have seen, are probably also earth-goddesses.[1] This is not to deny the validity of Pausanias' statement that Pasiphae was a title of the moon, for this appears to be the main reason for the erection of statues to Pasiphae (Selene) and Helius in the temple precinct at Thalamae. In any case lunar elements were bound to creep into the worship of mother-goddesses who are concerned with childbirth because of the relationship between the moon and the menstrual cycle.[2] But Pausanias lets slip one vital piece of information. The statues of Pasiphae (Selene) and Helius stand in the sanctuary in the open air, but there was another statue in the temple itself. Pausanias does not say of whom it is, but since the sanctuary is that of Ino (or rather Pasiphae), it must be her statue. If Pasiphae's original statue therefore stands in the temple, those in the sanctuary precinct must therefore be later, and may have been erected when Pasiphae was later equated with the similar title of the moon. In other words Pasiphae "The All-illuminator" is the title of a pre-Hellenic earth-goddess in her oracular capacity, which is later applied by the Greeks to the moon. Thus Pasiphae on Crete has

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[1] See above pp. 387 . Hera also had an oracular shrine (see above p.280 n.3), as did Themis originally at Delphi and she too rode on a bull (see above pp.366 n.4).

[2] Cf. the lunar elements in the worship of Eileithyia and Artemis.

Helius as her father, the genealogical myth being invented because of the confusion surrounding the etymology of her name, and the fact that as an earth-goddess she originally would have no father.

The evidence for Pasiphae's bull representing the sun is very slight, especially when the a priori arguments that Pasiphae is the moon are called into question. In fact it rests on very late evidence that the bull was of dazzling whiteness, and that this fact should make it a hypostasis of the sun. In these late traditions Pasiphae's bull seems to be identified with Europa's and is even said to be Zeus.[1] Since he is usually shown as a white bull when he carries Europa, this may explain the colouring of Pasiphae's bull. In any case the earliest authorities assert that it was Poseidon who sent the bull, a fact that I have interpreted as meaning that the bull came from over the sea.[2] As has been explained this is all the more reason to see Pasiphae as an earth-goddess, and her bovine consort is in no way solar.

If Pasiphae and the bull do not represent the moon and sun why is their son called Asterius - "Starry" or "God of all Celestial Light"? In discussing Minoan goddesses we concluded that Europa, Ariadne and Pasiphae were invectory names which had been translated into Greek. But when we consider the names of the males in the

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[1] See above p. 336 and note 6

[2] See above pp. 373-4.

earliest stratum of Cretan mythology, we find names like Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon which are certainly not Greek and therefore probably Grecised versions of actual Minoan names. To this same early stratum of myth belongs Asterius. Could it be that his too is a Minoan name that has been transliterated into Greek, only to be found to resemble an existing Greek word with the result that he can be associated with stars on vase-paintings? Alternatively Asterius could be a translation of a Minoan word,[1] but this would be the sole example of the translation of the name of a male deity from Minoan into Greek. Perhaps the reason for the different treatment of Minoan male and female names lies in the nature of the intruding Greek religion. All-powerful Zeus would brook no rival and so totally absorbed the Minoan gods. Hence he is the bull of Europa, is born on Crete as Zeus Cretagenes and even dies there so thoroughly did he absorb the earler year-god.[2] But the Greeks brought no correspondingly powerful female deity with them, with the result that the worship and names of the earth-mothers lived on (they were probably considered by the pre-Hellenic races to be more powerful than the male deities anyway, which may be why Zeus so easily absorbed the latter's cults), were translated into Greek, and survived vigorously in local cults, although in mythology as a whole they declined into heroines.

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[1] Malten, op. cit., p.126.

[2] Zeus born on Crete: Hesiod, Theogony, 468-80; Apollodorus, 1.1.6; Diodorus Siculus, 5.70; Zeus buried on Crete: Palatine Anthology, 7.746.

We have seen that Zeus takes over from Europa's bull, and it has been suggested that the bull was previously anonymous. Later it was also suggested that Asterius, the childless king of Crete who married Europa and adopted her children, was none other than the true name for her bovine consort prior to Zeus' intrusion.[1] But surely this is a contradiction that the bull was anonymous and also called Asterius? Not necessarily. If Asterius is originally a Cretan word used to describe the husband of Europa and the offspring of Pasiphae what better meaning could it have than "the bull"? We know Europa mated with a bull and married Asterius. Is this not the same thing? Similarly the child of Pasiphae had two names - Asterius, or <u>in Greek</u> "the Minos bull"! Again is the Greek name a translation of the Minoan? A point in favour of this identification is provided by the tradition, albeit unfortunately very late, that at Gortyna there was a cult of Zeus Asterius.[2] This is a title of Zeus, which appears nowhere else and suggests that it is a peculiarly Cretan title which Zeus acquired at the time that he usurped the place of his predecessor. The title would therefore not be invocatory, as are most of Zeus' epithets, but would embrace the name of the Minoan god, just as when in Hellenistic times Zeus usurped the place of Adad,

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[1] See above pp. 373-4 and pp. 409

[2] Johannes Malalas, 5. p.94; Tzetzes, <u>Antehomerica</u>, 99ff; <u>id.</u>, <u>Chiliades</u>, 1.473ff.

the weather-god in Syria, and was called Zeus Adados.[1] This analogy bears all the more weight because it demonstrates what happens to a local deity after a period of Greek invasion and settlement. The fact that on some Greek coins Zeus Cretagenes is surrounded by stars[2] points to his being equated with Asterius, at a time when the latter's name was believed to mean "starry". Moreover the fact that the inscription of Zeus' tomb[3] is said to have stated that a large ox called Zeus lay buried on the spot is possibly further evidence for Zeus Asterius being a bull.

That asterius is a pre-Hellenic word that does not mean starry is perhaps indicated by the statement of Hesychius that Asteria was formerly the name of Crete.[4] "Bull-island" would be a singularly appropriate name, whereas it is difficult to see how Crete could be starry. Delos and Rhodes are also said to have borne this earlier title.[5] There was also an islet near Lade called the Isle of Asterius, after Asterius the son of Anax the son of Earth who is buried there.[6] His corpse is said to be ten cubits long and this

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1 See above p. 148

2 Malten, loc. cit.

3 See above, p. 291

4 Hesychius, s.v. Ἀστερίη· ἡ Κρήτη καὶ ἡ Δῆλος οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο

5 Hesychius, loc. cit.; Pliny, Natural History, 5.132.

6 Pausanias, 1.35.6.

Asterius is obviously equated with the giants, the sons of earth, Similarly the Asteria after whom Delos-Asteria was named was a titaness. Thus these two bearers of the name are both nebulous characters, who do not impinge on the mainstream of Greek mythology and may be local reminiscences of earlier pre-Greek deities.[1] The river Asterion also flowed near the Argive Heraeum and had three daughters Euboea, Prosymna and Acraea,[2] whom we have met as cult-titles of Hera.[3] In view of Io's relationship with the bull and the birth of Epaphus on Euboea, the name of the river may be significant. At any rate "bull" is a more appropriate name for a river than "starry", especially when we recall the widespread belief in bovine river gods and the number of rivers in the Peloponnese with bovine names.[4] Finally there was a plant called asterion which grew on the banks of the river, and of which garlands were made for Hera.[5] This may also indicate that Asterius was once a god since similar pre-Hellenic deities such as Hyacinthus and Helen had plants named after them,[6] although the name asterion in Greek would be

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[1] Other forms of the name are not uncommon mainly in N. Greece and occur as proper names in various sagas (see Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopaedie, 2.1780-8). There is no reason why these should not be true Greek names.

[2] Pausanias, 2.15.5; 2.17.1.

[3] See above, p. 397

[4] See above, pp. 317-9 and 319

[5] Pausanias, 2.17.2.

[6] See above, pp. 224 ; pp. 383

appropriate to any star-like flower.

As for the proposal of Frazer and Cook that the labyrinth was an arena of solar pattern designed for a mimetic dance to help the sun on its course, evidence for this from Minoan art or remains is completely lacking. Admittedly certain Greek coin-types and vase paintings which depict the labyrinth show patterns which resemble swastikas,[1] but then again other representations of the labyrinth are nothing like swastikas.[2] All this proves is that an artist given a confined space in which to represent a labyrinth or maze will on occasion produce a design that resembles a swastika. For the labyrinth to be a solar pattern, not the "House of the Double Axe" and its ruins, better evidence than this is needed.

Finally a word about the timing of this marriage between sun and moon and the mimetic dance to coincide with the beginning of the Great Year. There is not a shred of evidence to connect the two events, although if I am correct in seeing a sacred marriage between the earth-goddess and a bovine fertility-god that took place in the spring at the beginning of each year, there is no reason why such a marriage to ensure fertility for the forthcoming year should not be carried out at the beginning of each Great Year. Naturally the date of the yearly marriage would be fixed by the seasons and the position

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[1] Cook, op. cit., 1.473, fig.329; 1.476-8 figs.333-4; 339-41; 344.

[2] Ibid., 1.476-7, figs.335-338, 342-3.

of the sun and moon. But this would also apply to any annual fixed festival. Because such festivals were regulated by the calendar and movements of heavenly bodies, this does not make them solar or lunar festivals. The same would be true of rites performed at the start of the Great Year. Above all this insistence upon solar and lunar worship to so great an extent in Minoan times runs contrary to the picture provided by archaeology and Minoan art, which must be a more trustworthy witness than any interpretation of Greek mythology.

In Greek mythology Helius, although he received little attention in cult, did have his sacred herds and flocks. The most famous of these were however fabulous. They were the seven herds of cattle and seven flocks of sheep which he kept on the island of Thrinacia and which Odysseus' companions slaughtered.[1] The cattle were said to be milk-white with golden horns.[2] The Thrinacian flocks and herds were presumably a grandiose version of the more humble flocks that were actually tended for him in Greece. These were few in number. Flocks of sheep were kept for him at Taenarum in the Peloponnese and Apollonia in Illyria.[3] But a herd of cattle were sacred to him at

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[1] Odyssey, 12. 127ff.

[2] Apollonius Rhodius, 4.962.

[3] Taenarum : Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo, 3.232-5; Apollonia: Herodotus, 9.93.

Gortyna.[1] This fact could be important, since Zeus Asterius is located at Gortyna and some see him as a sun-god. Unfortunately this sacred herd is only recorded in Servius' Commentary on Virgil and is therefore very late. It is also very noticeable that much of the information that suggests the sun was worshipped on Crete is contained in very late sources. While this does not mean that they are ipso facto erroneous, it does mean that they must be scrutinised very carefully, and, if true, need not necessarily refer back to Minoan times, nor even the Classical period, but possibly to Hellenistic and Greco-Roman times when syncretistic forces were at work. Thus the statement of the scholiast that Hermes stole the cattle of Apollo, but some say they belonged to Helius,[2] is indicative of this confusion. Apollo as a god of herding, as we have seen, naturally had his sacred herds, and it is one of these that Hermes steals in the opinion of the author of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes.[3] But when Apollo becomes identified with the Sun, he ceases to be strictly the Mycenaean god of herding, and one can see how it could be said (by late authors) that Hermes stole the cattle of the Sun. By this time there was no contradiction.

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[1] Servius ad Virgil, Eclogue, 6.60, Gortynam, oppidum Cretae, ubi fuerant aliquando solis armenta.

[2] Scholiast ad Dionysius Thrax, Grammatica, 2 (1. Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, 2.752, lines 12-13).

[3] See above, pp. 226.

The fertile plain in which Gortys stands seems to have been suitable for the raising of cattle. It is from this region that the inscriptions to "the Curetes guardians of kine" were found,[1] and here also Zeus is said to have enjoyed the epithet "Asterius" as well as that of Hecatombaeus.[2] It may be to a sacred herd of his that Servius refers, being misled by the name "Asterius", since Zeus at Gortyna appeared in his usual guise as a rain-producer.[3] Equally a herd of cattle at Gortyna could have been declared sacred to the sun at some period when oriental influences on the island was particularly strong, possibly in Hellenistic times, but there is nothing to connect it with the Minoan period.

On Rhodes Zeus seems to have again taken over from an earlier non-Greek deity, in that Mt. Atabyrion was crowned by a sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrius. There was a tradition that certain bronze cattle on Mt. Atabyrion bellowed when disaster was about to befall Rhodes.[4] Excavations at the site unearthed several small bronze bulls, which are probably votive offerings.[5] Greek mythology asserts that

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[1] See above, p. 231

[2] Hesychius, s.v. Ἑκατόμβαιος

[3] Cf. Callimachus, frag. 100, ap. Antigonus, Mirabilia, 163.

[4] Schol. vet ad Pindar, Olympians, 7.87; Tzetzes, Chiliades, 4.390-3. Isigonus of Nicaea speaks of a solitary bull of Zeus which spoke in a human voice. (Mueller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, 4.435, frag. 4).

[5] Cook, op. cit., 1.643, fig.502; 2.924; R. Herbig, JDAI, 43 (1928), pp.633-4.

Althaemenes fleeing from Crete climbed the mountain and could see his homeland, whereupon he built an altar to his ancestral god Zeus.[1] Modern research has, however, seriously called this account into question. A. Fick first pointed out that Mt. Atabyrion on Rhodes bears the same name as Mt. Tabor in Galilee, which Josephus calls Itabyrion and Polybius Atabyrion.[2] Thus the evidence points to the spread from Palestine to Rhodes of the cult of a god who lived on a mountain and whose sacred animal was the bull. As we have seen such deities were the oriental storm-gods Ramman Adad, Jahweh, etc.[3] with whom Zeus had so much in common. Fick, however, believes that the original god of Atabyrion was the Hittite weather-god Teshub.[4] This is hard to see especially since Palestine was a long way from the Hittite homeland, about as far as the Hittites ever managed to extend their political control, although it does fall within the Syro-Hittite glyptic area. Fick's reasoning seems to be conditioned by his belief that the Hittites transmitted the cult to Rhodes via

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[1] Apollodorus, 3.2.1.

[2] A. Fick, Vorgriechische Orstnamen, p.48. Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, 5.1.22; Polybius, 5.70.6. All the references to the Palestinian mountain are listed in O. Eissfeldt, "Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung," p. 15.

[3] See above chapter IIIi-iii, passim.

[4] Fick, loc. cit.

the mainland of Anatolia[1] (whereas it now seems that they never managed to extend their control to the shores of the Aegean). The view of O. Eissfeldt is more probable that the cult was transmitted by sea to Rhodes. He believes it may have come via Crete, thus explaining Althaemenes' part in the transmission,[2] but Rhodes lies nearer to the Levant on the coastal sailing route than Crete, and the naming of a mountain in Rhodes after one in Palestine suggests an influx of settlers.[3] Indeed Diodorus states that there was a Phoenician colony on Rhodes.[4]

In Hellenic times Rhodes was unique among Greek states in that it esteemed the sun-god above all others.[5] Since sun worship played a very minor role in Greek religion as a whole, for it to bulk so

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[1] This is also the belief of A. Cook, Zeus, 2.910, 924. Cook also thinks that the statue of a cow which stood on Lemnos, and is variously described as being made of marble or bronze was akin to the cattle of Mt. Atabyrion and also of Hittite ancestry, although no ancient author hints at the purpose for its erection (Ibid., 3.1102; cf. Sophocles, frag. 708 (Nauck); Suda s.v. Ἄθως ; Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. Ἄθως ; Plutarch, De Facie in Orbe Lunae, 935F - 936A). Against this theory it must be stated that Hittite control did not extend to Lesbos, and that the statue is of the wrong sex to be appropriate to Teshub.

[2] Eissfeldt, op. cit., p.20.

[3] Thus the Rhodians themselves when colonising the area around Acragas in Sicily established the cult of Atabyrian Zeus.on the top of a mountain.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, 5.59.2.

[5] Cf. Pindar, Olympians, 7, passim.

large on Rhodes suggests that it was a flourishing local cult when the first Greeks arrived there. Was this the cult that Atabyrian Zeus supplanted? If so this is another argument against its identification with Teshub who had no solar attributes. But on the other hand there is one oriental storm-god, who is associated with both bull and mountain, and who becomes increasingly solarised. This is Baal. Moreover the centre of Baal's worship was located in Syria and Palestine, where the original Mt. Atabyrion stood. It seems that Baal was introduced into Rhodes during the second millenium, after which the various aspects of his worship were transferred to the storm and mountain god Zeus and the sun-god Helius.

In 580 B.C. the Rhodians founded the colony of Acragas in Sicily, and later Gelon founded the temple of Atabyrian Zeus.[1] It was at Acragas that the notorious tyrant Phalaris had Perillus make his famous hollow bronze bull inside which a man could be placed and the statue heated so that the victim was roasted alive.[2] Timaeus states that the bull was an effigy of the river Gelas,[3] but while the cults of bovine river-gods were very popular among the Greek colonies of Sicily and Italy,[4] it is more likely that this bull was connected with Atabyrian Zeus. For if he was actually a descendant of Baal

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[1] Polybius, 9.27.7.

[2] Pindar, Pythians, 1.95-96 and scholiast ad. loc.

[3] Timaeus ap scholiast ad Pindar, loc. cit.

[4] See above, pp. 318-9

brought to Rhodes by the Phoenicians, then he may have had much in common with Baal-Moloch or Melkaart, the chief god of the Phoenician colony of Carthage. According to a Jewish Midrash the idol of Baal in Phoenicia had the head of a calf and a human body, of which the arms were extended to receive the victim. The idol was hollow and made of metal, and was heated until the hands glowed, whereupon a child was placed upon them and allowed to burn to death.[1] A similar statue existed at Carthage according to Diodonus. It was made of bronze and its arms were extended so that when a child was laid upon them it would roll off into a pit of fire.[2] In view of this custom at Carthage and the fact that Acragas is the nearest Greek city to the Carthaginian colonies of N.W. Sicily, Phalaris may have adopted the practice from this quarter, while perverting it to suit his own peculiarly cruel tastes. Since it is probable that Atabyrian Zeus and Melkaart had a common origin, it is also possible that after contact with the Carthaginians Phalaris revived an old Rhodian custom of human sacrifice for his own personal motives, although there is

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[1] G.F. Moore, "The Image of Moloch," Journal of Biblical Literature, 16 (1922), p.155.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, 20.14.5-6, who states that when Agathocles beseiged Carthage, the inhabitants sacrificed 200 boys in this manner. The Greeks identified Baal-Moloch with their own Cronos presumably because of the latter's habit of devouring his children (Sophocles, frag. 132 (Nauck); Plato, Minos, 315C; Plutarch, De Superstitione, 171).

no evidence that such practices were ever carried out on Rhodes.[1]

Crete also had a legendary bronze figure in the form of a man who protected the island by running round it three times a day. He was called Talos.[2] Probably the name is non-Greek, and it provides a parallel for the suggestion that the non-Greek name Asterius is equated with the Greek word ἀστέριος "starry", in that the similarity to the Greek word ταλός "a heel" has helped to shape the legend that Talos had a single vein extending from his neck to his heel and stopped with a bronze nail. When by some means the nail was withdrawn the ichor gushed out and Talos died.[3] Again like Asterius he may have been assimilated by Zeus, if the cult titles Zeus Talaeus and Tallaeus are derived from his name.[4] Apollodorus also records an alternative version of the story that he was a bull,[5]

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[1] A similar object which may owe its form to the worship of Baal was the bull-headed furnace at Byzantium which was called ὁ Βοῦς and used for burning criminals. It was said to have been brought from Pergamum where it was erected by Attalus I (E. Oberhummer, "ὁ Βοῦς" in Paully-Wissowa, op. cit., 3.1072).

[2] Apollodorus, 1.9.26; Apollonius Rhodius, 4.1639 ff.

[3] Apollodorus, loc. cit.; Apollonius, loc. cit. and scholiast ad 4.1638.

[4] J. Luce, The End of Atlantis, pp.201-2 suggests that in his stone throwing and outpourings of ichor Talos is a personification of an active volcano. He is also said to have been given to Minos by Hephaestus, himself a god of volcanic action. Farnell, op. cit., 1.44; cf. Taletites at Sparta (S. Wide, Lakonische Kulte, p.4).

[5] Apollodorus, loc. cit. A coin of Phaestos has on one side Talos and on the other a bull. (B. Head, Historia Numorum, p.474).

a statement which need not surprise us if Talos is a Minoan deity who may, like others have been thought to assume this shape at times. In fact this fits in well with the tradition at Athens that he was closely related to or identified with the partridge,[1] a bird that was sacred to Aphrodite because of its fertility.[2] Ovid relates that Talos was changed into a partridge.[3] Hesychius, however, states baldly that Talos was the sun.[4] The Suda in explaining the meaning of sardonic laughter says that it derives from the story of some Sardinians who landed on Crete and were clutched to the breast of Talos who sprung with them into a pit of fire. The ghastly expressions on the dead men's faces were likened to laughter, hence the Greek equivalent for "to laugh on the other side of one's face."[5] Many scholars see in this version of Talos a bronze idol for human sacrifice of the Baal-Moloch type.[6] But the accounts that interpret him as the sun or representative of the sun-god are all of a late date, whereas the earlier versions show him as a fertility or volcano

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[1] See Cook, op. cit., 1.726 and notes 2-9.

[2] Aelian, Natura Animalium, 3.5, 3.16, 4.1, 7.19, 17.15.

[3] Ovid, Metamorphoses, 8.251ff.

[4] Hesychius, Ταλῶς · ὁ ἥλιος

[5] Suda s.v. Σαρδόνιος γελῶς

[6] Fraser, op. cit., 3.75; Cook, op. cit., 1.722. Similarly O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt, 1.364 sees in the Minotaur's semi-bovine, semi-human shape and the children who are sacrificed to it another form of Baal-Moloch.

god. When new light is shed on the character of an old god by a late authority while earlier ones are silent on this aspect, one must suspect that syncretistic forces have been at work, or else the late author is making his own interpretation in the light of current religious beliefs. Thus when Ister says that the Curetes sacrificed children to Cronos[1] he is probably attributing to earlier times the practices of Baal-Moloch with whom Cronos had come to be identified. Similarly in the Suda's explanation of sardonic laughter the appearance of Sardinians suggests that Sardinia was the original location of the myth, and since the island was colonised by the Carthaginians at an early date, Baal-Moloch is likely to have been the original deity involved.

With the advent of the Hellenistic age syncretistic processes were speeded up with the consequence that a theocrasia or confusion of deities took place. One result of this was the emergence of the sun-god from relative obscurity in Greek cult to a position of increased prominence. Thus even Dionysus of all people was said to have been identified by the Eleans with the sun.[2] Similarly a Byzantine lexicographer says that the Adiounian bull was the Cretan name for the sun and that when he changed the site of his city he

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[1] Ister, frag. 47 (Mueller)

[2] Etymologicum Magnum s.v. Διόνυσος

led the way in the likeness of a bull.[1] This is evidence that the Cretans conceived of the sun as a bull, but again the evidence is from a very late source. To be sure that the Minoans held such a belief incontrovertible proof is required from Minoan art itself. Some scholars believe that this is furnished by the Minoan bull's head rhyta.

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[1] I. Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, 1.344, s.v. ἀδιούνιος ταῦρος Animals which guide men to the foundation places of cities or temples or to the discovery of sacred objects were thought of as being directed by the god. In this they parallel the action of animals which present themselves spontaneously for sacrifice and which at times may have embodied the god (see above, p.281). Thus Photius' statement that the bull which led the Cretans to the foundation site of a new city was in fact the sun himself is well in keeping with Greek religious belief.

The best-known example of this type of myth is of course the story of Cadmus who follows the cow to the site of Thebes (Apollodorus, 3.4.1.; Hellanicus frag. 8 ap scholiast ad Iliad, 2.494). A doublet of this story is the account of how Ilos, son of Tros, instructed by an oracle followed a cow and founded Troy on the site where it lay down (Apollodorus, 3.12.3). A bull is said to have led the Samnites to the site of Samnium or Bovianum (Strabo, 250 (5.4.12.)). Bulls also played a part in the foundation-legends of Boucheta and Bouthrotum (Harpocrates, s.v. Βούχετα ; Suda s.v. Βούχετα ; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Βουθρωτός).

When the Philistines striken by disease sent back the ark of the covenant to Israel, they put it in a cart yoked to two milk-cows obviously under the impression that the god would direct them to the place which he wanted. Accordingly the Israelites sacrificed them on the spot at which the cart stopped (I Samuel, 6.1-14). In the Christian church oxen lead Ailwin to the foundation site of Ramsey Abbey, and also indicate the site of Durham Cathedral and the grave of St. Kenelm in E ngland, the site of St. Noyale de Moribhan and the grave of St. Jugon in France, the shrine and sacred grotto of Monte Gargano and the site of Monte St. Michael in Italy, the sites of various churches in Sweden, and the buried effigy of the miracle-working Virgin of Guadalupe in Spain (see G. Hill, "Apollo and St. Michael: Some Analogies," pp.139-143).

In the IVth Shaft Grave at Mycenae Schliemann found the magnificent silver bull's head rhyton with a golden rosette affixed to its forehead.[1] A poorer clay rhyton of the same type from Ligortyno has the remains of a rosette painted on its forehead.[2] A Mycenaean vase from Carpathos shows a bull's head with a rosette on its forehead as an ornamental design,[3] and this is paralleled on the wall-paintings in the Egyptian tomb of Senmut, which show Mycenaeans bringing as tribute cups with the design of bull's heads with rosettes between the horns.[4] L. Malten points out that in Syro-Hittite art the winged sun-disc is portrayed in rosette form;[5] the same rosette appears on the forehead of the bull of Jupiter Dolichenus in late times.[6] Malten compares these rosettes to the Mycenaean-Minoan examples which he believes to be astral signs denoting the solar nature of the bulls.

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[1] C. Schuchhardt, Schliemann's Excavations, p.247, fig.248; A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 2.530, fig.333; Malten op. cit., p.128, fig.66.

[2] E. Pottier, "Documents Céramiques du Musée du Louvre," p.177, Plate XXIII no. 1.

[3] A. Cook, "Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age," p.123.

[4] Evans, op. cit., 2.534, fig.338, 737, fig.470.

[5] Malten, op. cit., p.126, figs.60-61; Cf.W. Ward, The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, p.275, fig.831; p.411, fig.1310; G. Contenau, La Glyphique Syro-Hittite, Plate 22, 158; E. Meyer, Reich und Kultur der Chetiter, p.30, fig.14.

[6] Malten, loc. cit., fig.62. It may be added that a wall-painting from Mari shows a bull's head with an eight-armed star between its horns (A. Parrot, "Les Peintures du Palais de Mari," pp.330-1, fig.5, Plate XXXVII, 2, who compares it with the rhyton from the IVth Shaft Grave).

The bull's forehead was in fact a favourite spot for artists of all countries to introduce a design. The rosette is a simple pattern which need not always carry solar connotations. On Greek vases of the classical age bull's heads with rosettes on their foreheads appear as a decorative motif with no suggestion of any religious significance.[1] In fact the design is commonplace in ancient art.[2] Cook's suggestion that the rosette denotes a sacred tuft of a hair to which a special sanctity was attached[3] is improbable although a steatite rhyton from Zakro does show hair markings on the forehead,[4] and a basalt bull's head from Alalakh has holes for the insertion of horns and a forelock,[5] but no religious significance can be attached to this. In any case rosettes are very rarely shown on the foreheads of bulls in Mycenean-Minoan art.

On the forehead of a steatite bull's head rhyton from the Little Palace at Cnossos a design is engraved which resembles a Minoan

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[1] A. Conze, "Griechische Kohlenbecken," p.131 lists five examples from a wide area.

Cf. [2] J.Dechélette, Manuel d'Archéologie, 2.480; 3.1308-10 figs. 570, 572.

[3] Cook, op. cit., pp.122-3. The Greeks often cut off the forelock of a sacrificial victim and burnt it on a fire as a special offering before the actual sacrifice. Cf. Iliad, 3.273; 19.254; Odyssey, 3.445; Euripides, Electra, 791-2; Virgil, Aeneid, 6.245-6.

[4] Heraclion Museum, no. 2713.

[5] L. Woolley, Alalakh, p.237, Plate XLIII,a.

figure eight shaped shield with pointed corners.[1] It is probably not as G. Karo suggests a palladium or a religious symbol,[2] but merely a mottling mark since similar designs appear on a larger scale on the animal's neck. However, an ornamental bull's head on a Sumerian harp of c.3000 B.C. date from Khafaje has a triangular section on its forehead inlaid with mother of pearl.[3] In fact this practice of inlaying a triangular section in the bull's forehead seems to have been a standard Mesopotamian decorative design since other bull's heads found at Erech, Tell Asmar and Jericho,[4] the latter being an import, have triangular depressions for inlay on the forehead. A cheaper imitation of this style is provided by a clay bull's head from Alalakh which formed the spout of a vase. It has a dot-filled double-outlined triangle incised on its forehead.[5] Probably the design on the Little Palace rhyton has been adapted from such models as these, although it is in no way peculiar to Mesopotamia. One of the sacred marks of an Apis bull was a triangle

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[1] Evans, op. cit., 2.528, fig.330; Heraclion Museum, case 51.

[2] G. Karo, "Minoische Rhyta," p.252, "die am ehesten an minoische "Palladien," aber mit spitzen Ecken, errinert: doch wohl auch ein religioeses Symbol."

[3] H. Frankfort, Oriental Institute Discoveries in Iraq, 1933-4, p.24, fig.26.

[4] Erech: Evans, op. cit., 2.264; Tell Asmar: H. Frankfort, More Sculpture from the Diyala Region, p.11, Plate 52,302; Jericho: J. Garstang, "Jericho City and Necropolis," Liverpool Annals, 19 (1932), Plate XXa.

[5] Woolley, op. cit., p.351 (AT/46/201).

on its forehead, which is often shown in statuettes by a triangular bronze plaque. Here some artistic influence from Mesopotamia may have been at work. But this is extremely unlikely in the case of the bronze statuette of a bull found at the Býčískála Cave in Moravia and dated to the Hallstatt Period, which has small triangular plaques of iron inlaid on its forehead and shoulders.[1] Rather one must see these plaques as representing natural markings - the blazes - that often appear naturally on the foreheads of cattle and horses.

In the period LM III there is little representation of any sort on bull's foreheads. A bird is drawn in this position on a clay bull's head rhyton from a shrine at Poros.[2] A design of two lozenges drawn at right-angles to form a cross appears on the forehead of a clay votive bull from Hagia Triada,[3] but numerous other examples from the same site bear no design whatsoever. It is thus difficult to see from this evidence how rosettes or any other markings can denote the bulls as solar. They can hardly be more than decorative designs.

When the Minoan artist bothers to show any markings on the bull's body, these usually take the form of quatrefoil spots.

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[1] H. Wankel, Der Bronze-Stier aus der Býčískála-Hoehle, pp.1-32, Frontispiece; Cook, op. cit., 1.638 however sees the influence of Apis at work upon it.

[2] Heraclion Museum, no.10873.

[3] Heraclion Museum, no. 3109.

Thus the bull in the so-called Taureador Fresco is shown with this type of spot on its body;[1] a steatite bull's head rhyton found in the "Tomb of the Double Axes" at Cnossos was inlaid with quatrefoil plaques of schist;[2] a crystal plaque showing a bull-leaping scene depicts the bull with quatrefoil spots on its body;[3] and the reliefs of charging and standing bulls from the "Atreus Tomb" facade at Mycenae also show this same pattern.[4] A bull's head rhyton and a silver standing bull depicted on the wall of the Egyptian tomb of Men-kheper'ra-senb are both shown to have these characteristic markings on them.[5] Less common (as body markings) are trefoil spots which occur on an alabasta bull's head rhyton from the Little Palace at Cnossos.[6] Occasionally as on the steatite rhyton from Zakro both trefoil and quatrefoil spots appear together.[7] A Late Minoan bull's head rhyton from the Little Palace is decorated with trefoil spots and spots shaped like a figure eight; but it also has rosette-shaped spots made up of seven small dots and triangular

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[1] Evans, op. cit., 3.213, fig.144.

[2] Ibid., 1.514, fig.370D; Malten, op. cit., p.128, fig.68.

[3] Evans, op. cit., 3.108-9, Colour Plate fig.60; Heraclion Museum, no. 37.

[4] Ibid., 3.194, 198 figs, 133, 136.

[5] Ibid., 2.536, fig.340b; 649, fig.413b; 746, fig.482.

[6] A. Evans, "The Tomb of the Double Axes," p.88, figs. 95a,b.

[7] See above, p. 436 and note 4.

spots made up of three small dots.[1] Finally the quatrefoil spot degenerates into a simple cross, as can be seen on a LM III vase from Cyprus.[2]

It has been pointed out that the bull's head rhyton is an art form which originates in Mesopotamia and is probably introduced from there into Crete via a Syrian intermediary.[3] The practice of inlaying a triangular or rectangular plaque into the animal's forehead occurs both in Mesopotamia and Crete,[4] which indicates that this art too was adopted by the Minoans from the same quarter. From early times Sumerian bull's head rhyta and small statues of bulls are sometimes adorned with trefoil spots.[5] But a steatite bowl from Ur, dating to the Third Dynasty and surrounded by four bulls of which one is preserved intact, is of greater significance. On the bull's body are the usual trefoil markings, while on one of its shoulders and legs are round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Bear which suggests that the bull has some solar or astral connections.[6] Similarly the trefoil spots on the animal's

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[1] Heraclion Museum, case 61.

[2] A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, 1.513, fig.370B.

[3] See above, p. 248

[4] See above, pp. 248-9

[5] E.g. Bull's head rhyton from Erech: Evans, op. cit., 2.262, fig.157; couchant bull from Erech: Ibid., 2.261, fig.156.

[6] C. Woolley, "Excavations at Ur of the Chaldees," p.331, Plate 34, fig. 1a, no. U239.

body may designate the bull as a heavenly and therefore divine animal. Thus it has been reasoned that if similar markings appear on Minoan bull's head rhyta and other portrayals of bulls this must denote that the bull is a sacred animal, and more particularly that it is of a solar or astral nature.[1]

But if the Minoans adopted the bull's head rhyton from the Sumerians, albeit via an intermediary, they probably also adopted the patterns upon the rhyta. Hence if a Minoan rhyton was to have a design upon it, that design would be the conventional one of trefoil spots. Presumably this design was then transferred from the rhyta to bovine images in other spheres of art, and ultimately became the accustomed method of portraying spots on any dappled animal. The design would now no longer denote any astral or religious character in its bearer, but would be a conventionalised method of showing spots. But the most common type of marking on Minoan bulls is not a trefoil but quatrefoil spot, the trefoil spot occurring but seldom. In Egypt the situation is the same as in Crete in that the quatrefoil spot is the conventional marking on cattle, whereas the trefoil rarely appears.[2] Since the quatrefoil markings appear in Egypt earlier than in Crete it is possible that they were adopted by the

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[1] Malten, op. cit., pp.126-7.

[2] See above, pp. 159 . The bull-calf which bears the sun-god in the painting from the tomb of Sennedjem at Thebes has both trefoil and quatrefoil spots on its body (see above, p. 161 ; G. Posener, A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilisation, p.240).

Minoans from that country as a standard convention for illustrating mottled animals, and that they ousted the original Sumerian trefoil spots from the bull's head rhyta.

It is highly unlikely that either of these types of spots carries any solar or astral significance with it when it appears on animals in Crete. This was probably lost in transmission. The point is well illustrated in a fresco from Tiryns which shows a lion leaping upon and seizing a deer.[1] The deer's body bears a design of cruciform spots which is a degeneration of the quatrefoil markings. If such markings denote the sacred and astral nature of the animal then this must be a holy animal that is about to be killed. This is hardly likely. Instead it invalidates the argument that cruciform, quatrefoil and trefoil spots indicate the sanctity of the animals that bear them, and proves that they are nothing more than a decorative motif.

Since the evidence that the Minoans believed in the sun as a bull is not beyond serious doubt, the statements of the Byzantine lexicographers cannot be substantiated. Perhaps one day archaeologists will find proof that the Minoans had such a belief, but the lack of such evidence to date and the paucity of solar worship in Minoan religious scenes as a whole makes such a discovery unlikely.

If there is little evidence then for the Minoan belief in a

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[1] H. Schliemann, Tiryns, Plate XV; Evans, op. cit., 3.123, fig. 72.

bovine sun-god, there is less for his counterpart in a bovine moon-goddess. Although several scholars have seen in Europa a Phoenician moon-goddess, close analysis of her myth has shown that she has a greater claim to be an indigenous Minoan earth-goddess. In any case she never adopts bovine form, so that the speculation of A. Cook,[1] relying on the sole evidence of Pausanias[2] that on each side of the cow which guided Cadmus to Thebes was a white mark like the circle of the moon, that Cadmus had found his lost sister in animal form is based upon several non sequiturs. Pasiphae also, while her epithet was one of those applied to Selene, seems to have been in Minoan times at any rate an earth-goddess with no lunar associations. In any case she too was an anthropomorphic deity. The only woman to adopt bovine shape was Io.

We have seen that Io was only a doublet of or, more probably, a human impersonator of Hera.[3] Hera herself was no moon goddess,[4] although being primarily responsible for the welfare of women it was inevitable that through her association with the menstrual cycle lunar elements should creep into her cult. But she was never worshipped as the moon. And yet Ovid states quite categorically

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[1] Cook, op. cit., 1.540.

[2] Pausanias, 9.12.1.

[3] See above, pp. 398.

[4] Farnell, op. cit., 1.180-1 argues succintly against this contention asserted by Roscher, op. cit., 1.2075, 2087ff.

that Io was the moon:

> Sunt quibus haec Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum:
> Pars Themin, Inachiam pars putat esse bovem. (1)

But it is Ovid himself who indicates how this belief may have arisen. In the Metamorphoses he describes how the gods pursued by Typhon fled to Egypt and changed themselves into different animals. Hera turned herself into a white cow.[2] Clearly this is a late rationalizing attempt to equate the Olympians with various Egyptian deities and to explain their animal hypostases. Hera it appears is equated with the cow-goddess Isis, who was besides being a fertility goddess essentially a lunar deity. From the time of the establishment of the Hellenistic dynasty in Egypt and the Alexandrian period it was primarily Io, thanks to her bovine metamorphosis, who was identified with Isis,[3] and it is from Egypt that she gains her lunar attributes. Even before the Alexandrian period Herodotus remarked that in art Isis was represented like Io as a woman with a cow's horns,[4] although he does not identify her with Io. But earlier still this similarity between Io and Isis caused the site of Io's myth to be moved from what has been shown to be a purely Argive setting to embrace the

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[1] Ovid, Fasti, 3.657-8.

[2] Ovid, Metamorphoses, 5.330.

[3] Cf. Apollodorus, 2.1.3; Diodorus Siculus, 1.24.8; Lucian, Dialogus Deorum, 3; Propertius, 3.20.17ff.; Juvenal, 6.526ff.

[4] Herodotus, 2.41.

birth of her son in Egypt. Since Aeschylus explains at great length how Io gets to Egypt[1] it seems that her equation with Isis had already taken place by the beginning of the fifth century B.C. In fact it seems probable that Io was equated with Isis some time in the seventh century B.C., probably after the foundation in 650 B.C. of the Greek trading post of Naucratis on the Canopic mouth of the Nile.[2] Epaphus, the son of Io, reigned at either Canopus or Memphis,[3] and the Canopic mouth of the Nile led past Naucratis to Sais and Memphis. When Naucratis was established Sais was the seat of the pharaohs of the XXVIth Dynasty who were also associated with Memphis.[4] If the equation of Io with Isis had taken place in the Bronze Age one would have expected Epaphus as king of Egypt to have had his seat in or around Thebes, which is where the capital city was located at that time. Thus the investiture of Epaphus at Sais argues strongly for a seventh century date for the intrusion of Egyptian elements into the Io myth.

Once Io is equated the Egyptian lunar goddess her wanderings, by which the ancients tried to explain how she got from Argos to

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[1] Aeschylus, Suppliants, 540-564; Prometheus Vinctus, 786-815.

[2] Cf. O. Grüppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religion, p.184; G. Thomson, The Prehistoric Aegean, p.379.

[3] Aeschylus, Prometheus Vinctus, 872-8; Apollodorus, 2.1.4.

[4] Thomson, loc. cit.

Egypt are open to interpretations as the erratic course of the moon.[1] By Byzantine times writers had discovered that in the Argive dialect 'Io' is a word meaning moon,[2] which I regard as a blatant fiction despite the assertion of L. Ross that there is a Coptic word ioh which means "moon".[3] At this stage confusions came thick and fast. The Etymologicum Magnum says that Euboea was so called because Isis turned into a cow there![4] The Suda says that Io kept changing colour from white to black to violet in succession,[5] a late statement which sounds suspiciously as if it has been borrowed from a description of the sacred solar bull of Hermonthis Bacchis, which was said to change colour every hour.[6] Similarly Io seems to have been equated, probably at a later date, with certain moon-goddesses of Asia. Thus Triptolemus is said to have founded a sanctuary called Iopolis on Mt. Silpium in Syria;[7] and at Gaza there was an image of Io with a cow beside it.[8] As for Io as a Mycenaean-Minoan or early

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[1] Cf. Gruppe, loc. cit.

[2] E.g. Herodian, Περὶ Καθολικῆς Προσῳδίας 12; John Malalas, Chronica, 2, p.28 (Dindorf).

[3] L. Ross, Italiker und Graeken, p.84.

[4] Etymologicum Magnum, s.v. Εὔβοια

[5] Suda, s.v. Ἶσις

[6] See above, p. 184

[7] John Melalas, loc. cit.; Suda, s.v. Ἰώ

[8] Stephanus Byzantinus s.v.v. Γάζα ; Ἰόνιον

Hellenic moon-goddess the situation is best summed up in the words of A.B. Cook:

> If we abandon argument from analogy, and if we confine ourselves to definite literary tradition relating to Argos and the Argive cult, we cannot satisfactorily prove either that Io or that Hera was originally connected with the moon. (1)

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[1] Cook, op. cit., 1.456.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

After the discussion of the bull's role in the Eastern Mediterranean area outside of Crete it was concluded that the bull symbolised two properties: strength and fertility. Because of the former gods and kings were invoked as bulls in Anatolia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Similarly horned headdresses were worn by gods and kings, and the latter were even shown as bulls or at least as horned men. But it was the bull's obvious powers of fertility that secured such a large role for it in the religion of the whole area. Since the major source of fertility and life in nature is water, thus it was water in its various forms that the bull came to symbolise. In an area with hot, sunny weather nearly all the year round man was only too well aware of the necessity and benefits of water, and its effects upon the soil and vegetation. So the bull symbolised rivers and rain-water, and, by an extension of this logic, occasionally the sea. This line of thought was endorsed by the likening of the crashing of thunder and the noise of a swollen river or rushing torrent to the roaring of a bull, so that the Storm-Bull and the River-Bull became deities in their own right. The roaring of the angry sea may also have helped to shape the idea of a

sea-bull. Naturally if the fertilising deities were thought of as male, then the earth had to be female, although her sex as the element from which everything is born was probably fixed prior to that of the fertilising powers. If the water deities could be imagined as, or even developed out of bull-gods, then it would be logical to think of the earth-deities as cow-goddesses. But in fact withnthe notable exception of Egypt, earth-goddesses in cow-shape seldom occur, although bovine epithets can be applied to goddesses and queens in a complimentary manner, just as kings and gods are called bulls.

Amulets in the shape of a bull's head occur in early Neolithic strata, and could be either prophylactic or used as fertility charms. The same dichotomy is in evidence when the bull is used to symbolise the sun. On the one hand the bull can signify the strength of the sun in its scorching intensity, or its benevolent warmth after the end of winter. Probably in different lands stress was laid on the one quality rather than on the other. The moon intimately connected with the lives of women because of the regulation of the menstrual cycle, was usually, although not always, thought of as a female deity. Since the moon-sickle has been likened by many peoples to a pair of bovine horns, it is not surprising that the moon-deity is often believed to be a cow-goddess.

Cultural and economic influence reached Crete from three areas of the Eastern Mediterranean - Egypt, Syria and Anatolia. Claims have been made for Egyptian influence

and even settlement in the Subneolithic and EMI-II Periods in Crete, but on closer scrutiny the evidence appears to be exaggerated and the conclusions based on chance similarities. They also require dubious sailing routes direct from Egypt to Crete. Egyptian influence certainly exists in Crete but during the periods MMI-II and LMI-II, when the effects are clearly to be seen in art; it also touches on religion (E.g. the appearance of the Minoan genius based on Taurt), although it does not impinge on the mainstream of religious thought. Syria acted as the intermediary for the transmission to Crete of goods and influence from Egypt, Mesopotamia and, after the Hittite invasion, Anatolia, as well as passing on its own culture. Artistidally Crete derives much from this quarter including the griffin and the bull's head rhyton (which originates in Mesopotamia), which are relevant for the study of religion. But the most important claim is for the importation of the worship of Baal from this region, an event which could have taken place any time in the second millenium B.C., although the period immediately after the 16th century is one of great contact, except for the fact that it is based on the interpretation of the Europa myth as a recollection of the introduction of the cult. I believe, however, that the myth is more satisfactorily explained in another way. With Anatolia there is little contact in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, but prior to this in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age the culture of Crete appears to be an insular offshoot of the

Anatolian Mainland. In fact with its retension of aniconism to a late date and its lack of free-standing temples Cretan religion shows itself to be very conservative and not the type to receive foreign cults without a sizeable influx of the new deities' adherents. That no new cults are discernible argues strongly against any invasion of Minoan Crete prior to the arrival of the Mycenaeans.

We would therefore be groping in the dark for an explanation of the bull's role in the indigenous Minoan cult were it not for Mellaart's discovery of the Anatolian Neolithic settlement of Catal Huyuk, which provides information on what the earliest Minoan cults may have been like. At Catal Huyuk the major female deity is a pregnant goddess and the main male deity appears to be the bull. In fact reliefs show the goddess giving birth to the bull. This tallies remarkably well with the situation in Crete, where from the earliest times a female deity is predominant, and the bull appears conspicuously in religious scenes. An anthropomorphic male deity does not appear until the Middle Minoan Period, and plays a subservient role. A more remarkable parallel with Catal Huyuk is that in Crete too there is the myth of a goddess (Pasiphae) who gives birth to a bull. But Pasiphae also mates with a bull. Although it has been suggested that she is a moon-goddess, this explanation has been found to be improbable. Her action is paralleled by that of Europa who also mates with a bull. On this occasion the place of the

original deity has been usurped by Zeus who only assumes bovine shape for the part of the abduction of Europa, reverting to human shape for the consummation. There is little doubt that originally the myth consisted of the marriage of a woman to a bull. Although the two myths are virtually identical, the Pasiphae version contains the original, more primitive material, while the Europa version has been adapted and changed to make it more palatable for Greek tastes.

Since Europa's bull brings her over the sea from Phoenicia, this has been interpreted as the transference to the island of Crete of the worship of Baal. However, Pasiphae's bull also comes from the sea, and Greek myths also relate how recognised earth-goddesses such as Themis and Demeter arrive at places on bull's back possibly from over the sea. Ariadne also possibly arrived in this way. This indicates that Europa and Pasiphae are both earth-goddesses, and that in the case of Europa, just as the bull became Zeus, so her arrival from over the sea meant that she had to have a starting point, which was fixed at Phoenicia. Fortunately we know from the glass plaques found at Midea that the belief in a goddess riding on a bull's back is as old as the Minoan-Mycenaean Period. Moreover the fact that the earth-goddess arrives from over the sea may indicate that the belief originated in Minoan Crete since the place is an island.

The arrival of the earth-goddess on the back of a bull and the subsequent mating appears to be a sacred marriage

between the goddess and her consort, the bovine fertility god, to mark, or rather to bring about the beginning of spring, at the time of the year when the sun was in the constellation of Taurus or later Aries. In historical times the advent of spring was marked by the return of the vegetation god, Dionysus, who of all Greek gods, most often assumed bovine shape. Thus at Elis the hero Dionysus arrives with his bull's foot bringing with him the Graces, who may be the last faint trace of the earlier bull-borne earth-goddesses. He may also have married the "Hippodamia of the Year" who was chosen at this same time, and who may have represented the goddess Hera. Certainly at Athens on his advent in the spring Dionysus married the wife of the King Archon, the successor to the Mycenaean king's priestly functions, in the bucolium which argues in favour of his arrival in bovine shape, as does the name of his priests, the bucoloi, also borne by the priests of the herding god, Apollo. Similarly the wife of the Minoan priest-king may have impersonated the goddess on the bull's arrival in Crete. At Delphi Dionysus also descended to fetch up his mother from the Underworld, and this story appears to be another version of his arriving with the earth-goddess in the spring. At this same time the hero's ox or the hero-ox is slain in a ceremony associated with this event. Again the hero buried under the earth and thereby in close contact with the chthonic powers was thought to be influential in promoting fertility

in crops and vegetation. But his strength had to be replenished annually by sacrificing to him a black bull. For the greatest benefit this was best done at springtime. But Dionysus was also the hero when he arrived in Elis, and the earth-goddess with whom he mated may have had a feminine form of his name, Hera. Although she is not recorded in Greek mythology as mating with a bull, her priestess, Io, doubtless representing the goddess, did so in what was originally a local Argive cult, which was later embellished with extraneous material after the identification of Io with the Egyptian earth and moon-goddess Isis. One detail of the Io myth is, however, unique in that she is the only goddess or human representative in this type of myth to assume bovine shape herself.

As heroes needed bull's blood to replenish their vigour so it seems did certain sacred trees. As the Hagia Triada sarcophagus shows, a Minoan magic ritual entailed the pouring of the fertilising bull's blood onto a sacred tree in the spring to assist in bursting into leaf and thereby effect the successful advent of spring. A variant of this ritual may have been to suspend a bull from the tree to ensure the maximum contact between the two. A gem shows that this was a Minoan custom, while the cutting of a bull's throat by the Kings of Atlantis over the pillar of the laws, and the suspension of a bull from Athena's olive at Ilium indicate that the custom survived into Hellenic times.

Since the earth-goddess was brought back by the bovine fertility god in the spring, she was probably thought to disappear in the winter. Possibly the Minoan seals showing a goddess in a boat indicate her departure, and in Greek mythology Theseus' abduction of the old goddesses Helen and Ariadne certainly reinforcesthis impression, especially as he may have dealt with Persephone in a similar manner.

In the Europa myth Zeus gives her to the childless king of Crete, Asterius, who perhaps bears the original name of the bull before the intervention of Zeus. This gains credibility since in the parallel myth of Pasiphae, the goddess gives birth to a bull called Asterion. The belief may thus have existed in Crete that the goddess' bovine consort impregnated her, died and was reborn from the goddess. In other words as consort and son he was self-perpetuating, and would resemble such deities as Attis and Adonis, except that he had not yet attained anthropomorphic shape. In such a religious belief there is no reason for any solar worship to be present, and the name Asterius may be a transliteration of a Minoan name that resembled the Greek word for "starry". Because of the pre-eminence of the earth-goddess the name Asterius may mean something as simple as "bull", That the bull did die can fairly be concluded from the fact that as Zeus took over from him as the escort of Europa, so he took over from the goddess' satellite on Crete, where he was known as Zeus Cretagenes. This deity like Attis and

Adonis appears to have been born and died annually. Moreover he appears to have developed out of the bull since on Zeus' tomb in Crete are said to be written the words,"Here lies a great ox, whom men call Zeus".

A similar explanation may lie behind the enigmatic inscriptions found near Thespiae, which simply say "Of the god, the bull". Possibly they marked the tomb of an actual bull which died in historical times on behalf of the god. Certainly the fact that at Delphi "He who consecrates" is the name given to the ox which designates itself as the one to be sacrificed, suggests that, although in historical times it was thought to be motivated by the deity himself to whom it was to be sacrificed, originally it was the god himself in bovine shape. The numerous other examples of animals providing themselves for sacrifice and guiding men to various places may in certain cases mean that it was the deity in animal guise who was acting in this manner. Thus the bull of the buphonia selects himself for sacrifice and dies for the good of the community. He is clearly a god of the eniautos daemon type, and he dies after the end of the threshing season. Clearly he is allied to the similar type of year-bull which brings the earth-goddess in the spring and then dies (presumably in the autumn), although it is not clear if this is how he is believed to meet his end, At any rate his body is consumed by as amny of the population of the state as possible, and was obviously believed to confer

great benefits. The procedure and beliefs are strikingly similar to the Dionysiac sparagmos, and there may be a further connection in that it is Dionysus, the vegetation and fertility god, who arrives in the spring as a bull to mate with the earth-goddess. Certainly the association of Zeus Polieus with the Athenian Bouphonia, the similar ceremony of his on Cos, and the ox-faced Zeus Olbios all show Zeus intruding on the scene and producing an awkward synthesis of cult.

Bulls also selected themselves for sacrifice by allowing themselves to be manhandled by several unarmed youths and led or carried to the place of sacrifice, as at Miletus, Mylasa, and Eleusis. The kings of Atlantis captured a wild bull and prayed to Poseidon that they would take one that would be pleasing to him. In other words the bull they caught was the beast designated by the gods, and possibly at one stage the god himself. Possibly this custom of wrestling a bull into submission before sacrifice originated in Minoan Crete, since Atlantis may be a dim recollection of that society, and Minoan art records such bull-wrestling.

The Minoan bull-wrestling may, however, be a secular activity with no religious significance. It seems to be unconnected with the famous bull-leaping which itself cannot be seen as in any way related to Greek bull-wrestling (e.g. the Boegia at Miletus) or with the Thessalian taurokathapsia. It probably had a deeply religious significance although it

is far from clear what this was. Possibly it was in some way concerned with fertility since several of the bulls shown taking part in it are ithyphallic. Similarly what benefits the bull-leapers hoped to achieve, and whether they were free or captive, cannot be decided on the available evidence. Possibly this bull-leaping helped to shape the myth of the Minotaur. Many of the scenes thought to depict bull-leaping are more convincingly explained as bull-catching, and the claim that the acrobats performed their leap by holding onto the bull's horns is subsequently found to have no support from Minoan art, and in any case would appear to be an impossible feat.

The vegetation and fertility god Dionysus was also connected with the sea, and was certainly not out of his element there, as his epithet 'Pelagios' indicates. In classical times the undisputed sea-god was Poseidon. He may have originated as a god of all fertilising moisture before being largely confined to the sea. Both he and Dionysus enjoyed the title 'Phytalmios'. In Greece the belief in tauriform river-gods was widespread, for the obvious reason of their fertilising properties. It was Poseidon who was believed to be the father of these bovine river-gods, and who was ultimately responsible for the flowing of all fresh water. In other words he was the river-god par excellence, to whom the other rivers bore allegiance, but local rivers on whom the inhabitants depended so much were per-

sonified into minor river-gods. When one reads of river-gods chasing and having children by local nymphs this may indicate the widespread custom of girls at puberty or before their wedding-night bathing in the local river to be impregnated by its fertilising waters. Similarly the mating of Poseidon and Demeter as horses may just be the divine precedent for this act, or more probably an allegorical story of the wedding of the river-god to the earth-goddess in the spring, when the vegetation bursts forth. There is no evidence that the Minoans believed in a river-bull, nor on the other hand that they did not.

Homer says that "in bulls doth the Earth-Shaker delight". How Poseidon became an earthquake god is unclear, unless it was through the tidal waves which probably accompanied many Greek earthquakes as in the Hippolytus, so that the whole action was attributed to the sea-god. Probably the idea of an earthquake bull was a Minoan belief assimilated by Poseidon. Certainly bulls were sacrificed in the Minoan ritual of filling in houses which had been destroyed by earthquake. The bull which carries the double-axe between its horns may be the earthquake bull, a subterranean creature which tosses its head and cuts down the pillars of houses, when it is unleashed by the earth-goddess, who is the only other person in Minoan art to be shown holding double-axes. Although it has been suggested that the axe is the lightning weapon and the bull the sky-bull, this

argument is seriously hampered by the fact that only the goddess ever holds the double-axe. No-one has yet dared to suggest that she is a sky-goddess. Presumably it was to preserve the palaces from destruction by earthquake that double-axes were carved on pillars and blocks of masonry. For a similar defence against earthquakes the custom of surmounting shrines and secular buildings with the sacred horns of consecration may have been undertaken.

Finally the evidence for a solar bull and a lunar cow in Crete is seen to have been grossly exaggerated. Pasiphae turns out to be more likely an earth-goddess than a moon-goddess; Io the priestess of the earth-goddess; they both undertake sacred marriages with bulls but there are no lunar or solar rites, only fertility rites in the spring. Io owes her lunar connections to her late identification with Isis. The Minotaur, Asterius, is also not a sun-god, but may owe this belief to a misinterpretation of his name. Only Talos and the Adiounian Bull in Crete have a claim to represent the sun but the sources for this are all late or unreliable, and open to doubt. There appears to be little worship of the sun or moon in Minoan times, and if the bull and the cow did ever represent the sun and moon in Crete it was probably after the collapse of the Minoan civilisation. On Rhodes, however, the cult of the solarised mountain god who became Atabyrian Zeus was successfully introduced, it seems, from Palestine and is probably allied to the worship

of Baal or Moloch. To them at any rate the bull of Phalaris owed its existence.

The religion of Minoan Crete was then ultra-conservative, and even by the standards of the Eastern Mediterranean in the second millenium B.C. it was primitive. It was not receptive to external influences. The fertility god had not yet shaken off his bovine form, and a bull probably caused the earthquakes. In the Late Minoan Period possibly under Mycenaean influence an anthropomorphic deity does emerge into a status inferior to that of the goddess. With the advent of the Mycenaeans the bull becomes Dionysus or, less convincingly, Zeus, so that the two deities are left with the joint epitaph: "Here lies a great ox, whom men call Zeus".

APPENDIX

THE MINOAN "HORNS OF CONSECRATION" AND THEIR CONNECTIONS WITH ANATOLIA

The evidence so far attested in Chapter IV shows that the Minoan "horns of consecration" are derived in fact from bull's horns, and their purpose and function has already been discussed.[1] But do they originate in Crete, or do they have their origin elsewhere? We have seen that Crete in the Neolithic and Early Minoan Periods was an insular offshoot of the Anatolian mainland.[2] Furthermore bull-pillars incorporating the actual horn cores of oxen have been discovered at Neolithic Çatal Hüyük.[3] There is, however, a rather large gap in time between the disappearance of the Çatal Hüyük civilisation and the first recorded appearance of the "horns of consecration" in Crete during MMII.[4] Are there any objects from the Anatolian area which may form the intermediary between the two locations?

Firstly do we know what we are looking for? The horns at Çatal Hüyük and the "horns of consecration" in Crete

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[1]See above pp. 252-260
[2]See above pp. 7 - 12.
[3]See above pp. 100-101
[4]Although there is a small clay object from EMII Mochlos which may be the first representation of the "horns of consecration".

performed no utilitarian functions, but had an intense religious significance, whatever it may have been.[1] Moreover being based on bull's horns neither at Çatal Hüyük nor in Crete are extant examples of these objects usually under one foot in height. Bearing this in mind I think it is unwise to see any connection between the "horns of consecration" and the various problematical, small, terracotta or clay objects found at some Asian sites. For example a clay object resembling the EMII "horns of consecration" from Mochlos, found at Tell Brak and dating to c.3000 B.C.[2] Or an object from Tepe Hissar described as "a problematical two-horned specimen of grey pottery ; . . attributed to Hissar IIA",[3] which would correspond to the Jemdet Nasr Period. Or a similar object from an early stratum at Nuzi, which may also date back to this period.[4] What these objects are is unclear (models of boats or loomweights have been suggested). What is clear, however, is that there is a broad gulf separating these small objects from the huge "horns of consecration" in Crete. What one must look for are large objects with no practical function and situated nearer to Crete in both time and space.

Plenty of clay objects called "pot-stands", "fire-

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[1]For possible explanations see above pp. 306-312

[2]M. Mallowan, "Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar", p. 184, Pl.XXXIX, no.2. British Museum no.126357.

[3]E. Schmidt, Excavations at Tepe Hissar, p.117 and Plate XXVII, H.3670.

[4]R. Starr, Nuzi, II Plate 39, Z,2.

dogs" or "andirons" have been discovered in Bronze Age sites in Anatolia and Syria,[1] and many scholars have been quick to suggest a connection between these objects and the Minoan "horns of consecration".[2] Their basic design is a horseshoe shape with the two ends projecting upwards several inches to support the pots clear of the fire. Often these projections are ornamented with human features.[3] But these objects, however adorned, or embellished, all have a functional purpose and usually show signs of having been used near a fire. In suggesting that the Minoan "horns of consecration" developed out of them the objection has still to be overcome that "pot-stands" were not used in Minoan Crete, and no examples have been found in Crete prior to MMII, from which the "horns of consecration" could have developed.[4]

In fact there is as yet only one site in Anatolia at which large, apparently non-utilitarian objects resembling "horns of consecration" have been found, and that is at Beycesultan in S.W. Anatolia, nearer to Crete than any of the other sites mentioned.[5] Starting in the earliest level (XVI), which dates to the Early Bronze Age, and continuing to the

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[1] E.g. at Karaz, Kültepe, Karakurt, Can Hasan, and Kumasa in Pisidia.

[2] E.g. W. Lamb, "The Culture of N.E. Anatolia and its Neighbours", pp.21-32; id., "Some Early Anatolian Shrines", pp.87-94; D. French, "Excavations at Can Hasan, 1962-5", AS, 13(1963) - 16(1966).

[3] W. Lamb, "Some Early Anatolian Shrines", p.90.

[4] See above p. 249.

[5] S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart, "Beycesultan Excavations", AS, 5(1955) - 8(1958).

destruction of the town (probably by the Hittites), some rooms, which may have been religious shrines, were dominated by certain curious constructions. One of the best preserved was situated in a "shrine" of Level XV (c.2500 B.C.). In the centre of the room stood two upright 'stelae' about 65cm. wide and 12cm, thick, which remained standing to a height of 70cm.; they were placed 50cm apart. Their discoverers believe they may originally have stood as high as a man.[1] From smaller examples and fragments at Beycesultan it appears that the tops of the 'stelae' curved backwards slightly from the perpendicular. Votive offerings and ashes containing animal bones were found surrounding some of the 'stelae', indicating that the 'stelae' may have performed the function of an altar in some way. They were also occasionally ornamented with a stamped design of concentric circles, a design which also occurs at the 13th century "Pillar-Shrine" at Kusura,[2] in which a solitary square pillar occurs with its upper part unfortunately broken off, but its base can be seen to be reinforced at the back with a small curving ramp.

The evidence from Anatolia then shows that there was a tradition of free-standing horn-like pillars, which had no practical purpose except to provide a place for sacrifice and devotion. It is not inconceivable that the early Minoans,

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[1]S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart, "An Early Bronze Age Shrine" at Beycesultan", p.29, Plate Ia.
[2]Lamb, op.cit., p.89.

connected culturally with Anatolia and probably migrating from there in the Neolithic Period, brought some kindred practice with them, which finally evolved into the objects known as the "horns of consecration".

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