

WHAT IS A GOD?

Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity

Edited by

Alan B. Lloyd

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Contributors

Walter Burkert, Michael Clarke, John K. Davies, Susan Deacy, Bernard Dietrich, Thomas Harrison, Anne-France Morand, Catherine Osborne, Seth L. Schein, Richard Seaford, Alexandra Villing



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This volume stems from a colloquium with the same title, held in July 1994 at Gregynog by the University of Wales Institute of Classics and Ancient History – as its inaugural conference. The conference was conceived and convened by Professor Alan Lloyd, and it was he who secured the participation of selected conference members in the present volume. In the production of the volume, Anton Powell acted as reader and sub-editor, and also made the index. Editor and sub-editor wish to record their continuing debt to the meticulous and scholarly work of the Institute's typesetter, Ernest Buckley.

The material in the volume has been arranged in chronological order, as far as possible. In their respective papers, Dietrich and Burkert treat the earliest evidence, Minoan, Mycenaean and Homeric. Osborne reinterprets passages of Heraclitus and suggests a position less hostile to traditional religion than has often been thought. Davies, in examining Apollo, finds that the directing of human morality is very far from the main element of the god's persona; Schein argues that Sophocles shows gods as guiding human decisions less often than do other tragedians. Harrison finds in Herodotus a persistent, if not wholly consistent, belief in divine retribution for human action. Clarke shows that a scrupulous reading of Greek passages on mountains-as-divinities reveals a literalism unfamiliar to modern thought but paralleled in neighbouring non-Greek culture; Seaford examines correspondences between classical and New Testament portrayal of numinous events on earth. Morand shares with Seaford an interest in Dionysus, but in Dionysus as part of the Orphic religion of Roman Asia Minor. Villing and Deacy study Athena, each with a special concern for aspects beyond Athens: Villing examines cults in the Peloponnese, Deacy studies the connection with the Amazons.

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1

FROM KNOSSOS TO HOMER

Bernard Dietrich

Soon after the decipherment of Linear B, similarities became apparent between some metric phrases of the non-literary texts and Homeric epic.[1] It was argued that these represented remnants of Mycenaean epic; but the theory found little favour at the time.[2] Over forty years later the subject has been revisited in the light of new evidence and work. A plausible modern theory suggests that after the destruction of the Bronze Age palaces, Aeolic poets of Boeotia and Thessaly preserved the memory of such epic traditions, which travelled to the Ionic colonies in the East before their return and diffusion throughout the Greek world.[3] More recently Homeric language, characters and themes have been traced back to Mycenaean via Aeolic and Ionic epic.[4] It is an historically possible route, although the linguistic arguments are not without difficulty.[5]

If such epic existed, as seems likely now, it should be looked for in the oral poetic tradition. Over the centuries this absorbed foreign influences, notably from the East, but nevertheless accurately remembered the Aegean past. For example, a good many names of Homeric heroes can be read on the tablets. As it is extremely unlikely that the epic poet borrowed his characters from these palace inventories or the scribes invented them, both must have drawn from an older Minoan and Mycenaean source which was already familiar with the figures and their myths.[6] Other features that hark back to the Bronze Age include Homeric perceptions of time, nature, narrative themes, all of which offer interesting technical points of comparison between oral and graphic composition.

Much work has been done recently in comparing epic formulaic techniques with Minoan pictorial forms in wall painting and glyptic art.[7] Repetitive phrases and epithets in oral poetry recall fixed compositional types of Minoan iconography in wall painting and especially on Middle and Late Bronze Age rings with a limited range of designs, figural attitudes and iconographical symbols.[8] Both Aegean

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artist and epic poet worked with common themes: teichoscopy, lion hunts, combinations of fighting and pastoral settings, landscapes and the like. Placed side by side, such formulaic elements created continuous narrative scenes, as in the miniature frescoes from the West House on Thera.[9]

With the new palaces Minoans effectively introduced representational painting. In contrast with Egyptian convention, artists showed nature as she appears to the eye.[10] Narrative scenes in wall painting and glyptic art could extend over several days of a religious festival, as on the panels of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus.[11] Occasionally one design embraced generic aspects of life, such as the recurring cycle of death and regeneration.[12] Others again compressed a series of events into one frame like the Toreador frescoes which show all stages of bull-leaping in the same picture. Similarly single scenes may suggest both divine arrival and departure,[13] or a god's approach from afar could be frozen in perspective, whether or not he is seen by the human worshippers.

Many cultic scenes incorporate a symbolic sign or icon which indicates the type of ritual portrayed. Given the close affinity of Minoan religion to fundamental aspects of nature cult, most will involve the celebration of fertility and rebirth. And the most efficacious of these rituals was the act of blood sacrifice which had as its primary aim the release of the powers of renewal through the victim's death.[14] The double axe served both as instrument of sacrifice and symbol of renewal through the act of slaughter. Another distinctive recurring sign is that of the so-called impaled triangle which may be the dagger used in sacrifice, unless it stands for a more obvious sign of female fertility.[15] But its message of renewal is similar to that of the axe, and both icons may in fact be shown between the horns of a bull's head.[16] On a ring from Vapheio on the mainland the axe appears in an elaborate design resembling a cultic knot and the Egyptian symbol of life, the ankh sign.[17] The double axe preserved some of its symbolic value in historical Greek tradition and evidently remained close to the heart of the modern Cretan.[18]

Such symbols occur regularly on Minoan and Mycenaean rings on their own or in combination with other signs. They indicate the general nature of the cultic scene rather than a specific festival, location or even necessarily a particular god. In function they resemble Homeric epithets of individuals and formulaic phrases describing attributes of cities or geographical locations. Homeric usage presents a mix of specific and purely ornamental or generic epithets,[19] some of which

may have changed from their first occurrence in Mycenaean.[20] Furthermore, specific epithets can of course be inappropriate to a particular occasion in which a hero becomes involved. Swift-footed Achilles may be sitting in his tent playing the lyre while receiving guests.[21] If the comparison is sound, icons may have operated within an equally wide range of usage, so that they can only loosely be used as guides to particular scenes.

Other curious parallelisms between Homer and Minoan Crete may offer more precise insights. One is the almost total silence regarding temples in both worlds. Certainly neither poet nor Minoan/Mycenaean art provides convincing evidence of separate temples in the city as distinct from the palace along the oriental model. At present only a few exceptions to the rule are known in Crete or the Cycladic islands.[22] Nor is the concept of the temple as the ναός or home of a deity documented before the Pylian χαλκίναος in Linear B.[23] Minoan and Mycenaean sanctuaries tended to operate in larger connected complexes usually in association with an open space. This is the characteristic lay-out of the palace sanctuaries, or of the cult centre at Mycenae and the structures on the lower acropolis of Tiryns on the mainland.[24] In contrast with the contemporary picture in archaic Greece and the growing number of new foundations from the eighth century BC, temples in Homer are also few and far between, apart from two each for Apollo and Athena as city deities.[25] Equally rare in Homer is the word ναός (Ion. νηός), perhaps because his gods lived together on Olympus and not in the houses of the city.[26]

A most interesting coincidence between Homer and the Minoan world is the absence of cult statues. Votive gifts, including the sacrificial victim, are ἀγάλματα intended to delight the gods and not represent or incorporate them.[27] A signal exception appears to be a passage in Book 6 of the *Iliad*. There Athena's priestess Theano offered a πέπλος to the goddess in her temple on the acropolis of Troy with the prayer that she might break Diomede's spear and take pity on the Trojan wives.[28] The goddess nodded her refusal to the request. The idea of a moving statue seemed ridiculous and redundant to Aristarchus who promptly athetised the line.[29] A few believe that there was a statue which came to life pygmalion-like and momentarily transformed itself into the goddess herself.[30] But it is open to doubt, I think, whether the verb ἀνένευε was meant literally. More likely the poet vividly described Athena's refusal which, as so often in Homer, did not require an actual divine physical presence.

As a general rule Homer's gods preferred to communicate indirectly

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from afar.[31] Their presence more often than not went unnoticed.[32] They attended their sacrifice unseen.[33] Exceptions to the rule occur as a 'utopian feature' of the fairy tale. The Phaeacians and far-distant Ethiopians were on familiar terms with the gods,[34] unlike ordinary mortals to whom they did not appear ἐναργεῖς.[35] The venerable Nestor might be excused for boasting that he saw Athena at the feast which he had prepared for Poseidon.[36] But her actual appearance (φανεῖσα) in the shape of a large, beautiful woman to Odysseus alone and to his dogs is unusual, indeed quite unlike her encounter with Achilles in *Il*. 1.194 f.[37] Yet such confrontations are imagined as possible in Homer and cause little surprise to the human actors when they do happen. This epic idea of feasible but unlikely divine epiphany continued in Greek literature and beyond. Its tenacious hold over popular imagination may be judged from the ludicrous incident at Lystra, which is told in the New Testament. The people there mistook St Paul and his companion Barnabas for epiphanies of Olympian Zeus and Hermes.[38]

Homeric values prescribed the standard for Greek vase painters in the black-figure style of the sixth century and in the following red-figure technique from the end of that century. The gods clearly preferred their own company.[39] Precisely the same kind of remote, primarily invisible, engagement in human affairs obtained in archaic and classical Greek temple sculpture. Gods acted out their myths among themselves on their own level. When shown together with men, they intervene or rather control human affairs unseen.

Both Apollo and Zeus on the pediments of Zeus' temple at Olympia illustrate Homeric concepts of divine functioning. The commanding central figure of Apollo with right arm outstretched in the west pediment frontally addresses the outside observer but remains invisible to the fighting Lapiths and Centaurs in the scene. The sculpture lies between archaic and classical, but the content is expressed in Homeric terms except of course that the poet's audience hears rather than sees what is going on. Divine παρουσία is ubiquitous in the poems and intervention continuous, but it normally occurs in the form of mental rather than direct visual interaction. That explains the 'remarkable paradox that nearly every important event in the *Iliad* is the doing of a god, and that one can give a clear account of the poem's entire action with no reference to the gods at all.'[40]

The gods are strong, beautiful, fast like thought,[41] and they cast about them the radiance of light.[42] But they are measured by human standards, albeit on an exaggerated scale.[43] Ajax surmises a divine

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presence by the size of the shins and footprints that he can see.[44] These different views of divine functioning combine to confuse the poet's vision of epiphany. The gods' anthropomorphism conflicts with the perception of their supernatural powers. Athena is pictured as a swallow up in the rafters of Odysseus' hall,[45] yet some fifty lines on she brandishes her dread *aegis* (1.297). Apollo's image at the beginning of the *Iliad* varies between the anthropomorphic god and a malignant divine power. At one moment he is striding down Mount Olympus with his quiver and arrows ringing on his shoulders, and the next he is an evil plague descending like night on the Achaean army. Thetis, too, changes from swirling sea mist into a human figure when she appears before her son Achilles later in the same Book.[46] What then are we to make of the talking Scamander, both deep-eddying river (βαθυδίνης) and speaking to Achilles in a human voice?[47]

Such episodes have fostered an extreme view of Homer's gods as creations of epic convention and outside religion.[48] That judgement fails to take into account the long history and nature of epic religion and its enormous contribution to polis cult.[49] The functioning of Homer's gods followed traditions from the pre-archaic past, creating a chronologically unreal element in Homeric theology. In Homer the gods interact directly with his heroes; divine and human motivations overlap or coincide.[50] The two can be difficult to separate in an illusory epic world hovering between real and seeming. Apollo sends a false image, an εἴδωλον which looks like Aeneas, weapons and all, for the Achaeans to fight over.[51] Once he substitutes himself for the Trojan Agenor whom he saves from Achilles' fury.[52] He resembles the hero (ἐοικώς) and therefore seems the same as Aeneas' εἴδωλον in Book 5.[53] Metaphor and simile merge in this and in other divine interventions. Socrates disapproved of Homeric thinking and commented critically on divine metamorphosis into human and animal shape in Homer and the poets. Perfect beings, he said, could only change into something less; and he therefore blamed these gods for changing their forms, or at least making us believe that they do.[54]

Friedrich Matz argued that in the Theano episode of *Iliad* 6 the statue becomes the goddess.[55] That cannot be right; but he touches on the essence of Homeric fluidity between mentally comprehended (or narrated) and actually seen intervention, that is, between divine action and epiphany. It is difficult to judge how important the distinction would have appeared to Homer's contemporaries who may have felt less perturbed by the vague boundaries between man, animal, plants and even lifeless objects. The proximity of all parts of nature emerges

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from the use of Homeric similes in which heroes all but become the plants or animals to which they are compared.[56] Two parallel scenes on the legs of a Geometric tripod cauldron from Olympia reproduce this kind of affinity pictorially. A human duel mirrors a pair of fighting lions in attitude and form.[57]

Homer operates in a linguistic and religious limbo. Regular cults and festivals are suppressed. Only the instruments of cult match contemporary archaic practice, such as the rituals of prayer and sacrifice. The latter drew from the oriental custom of viewing the sacrificial victim as food for the gods. They flock like flies to the savour of burnt meat.[58] However, suspended within this *Sammelbecken* of foreign accretions epic preserved Minoan/Mycenaean traditions regarding form and manner of divine functioning, as well as the astonishingly close relationship of man with nature. Minoan iconography suggests a similar direct communication of man with his gods. As in Homer, man's experience of the divine is portrayed both in scenes of cultic ritual and of myth.[59]

Minoan deities are notoriously difficult to identify from the extant pictures. There are as yet few if any reliable criteria beyond the size of figures, their compositional prominence or frontal position, gesture and attribute. Opinion is divided whether gods are shown in anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, or in aniconic shape. Familiar theophoric names on the Linear B tablets cannot easily be matched to pictorial representations.[60] These problems await resolution. They may in fact turn out to be of our own making, if divine power manifested itself in all three and indeed in hybrid forms.[61] The apparent ambiguity recalls epic views of epiphany which in turn reflect Homeric affinity to all aspects of nature. This applies particularly to the easy relationship, not to say interchangeability, between human and animal form. Homeric bird epiphanies may be a special case; but they do illustrate the difficulty in distinguishing between belief, myth or poetic device. Are they gods, or do they merely have divine qualities?[62] Similar doubt attaches to Minoan scenes of divinities accompanied by birds.[63] Are they intended as messengers, signs of divine presence, or are they gods themselves?[64] Most probably the artist cared as little for a precise definition as the poet in epic epiphanies like that of Athena in *Odyssey* 22.[65]

By their nature aniconic epiphanies are virtually impossible to detect in painting and glyptic art. Objects that are frequently associated with ritual scenes like tree, pillar, baetyl or stalagmite in some form incorporated divine power.[66] None, however, received cult in its own

right.[67] Trees and pillars were unlikely media of divine epiphanies in Minoan belief[68] but signposts or markers of a divine presence in human form.[69]

Such scenes are depicted on neopalatial gold rings of the Late Bronze Age. The relatively few with anthropomorphic figures can be classified in separate types of ritual involving divine and human interaction.[70] Gods are invoked by gesture, offering, libation or sacrifice.[71] On a gold ring from Knossos a god – staff in hand – appears to a worshipper from above. His progress through the air is indicated by his hair flying in the wind and by his downward pointed toes.[72] A much discussed ring from Isopata shows the arrival of a deity in the presence of a group of priestesses or worshippers who are engaged in a ritual dance. The performance was intended to invite the god who nevertheless probably remained unseen.[73] Here and elsewhere in comparable scenes, the arrival of a deity is invoked by dance, music and sacrifice[74] but remains invisible to the worshippers as a rule. On a reconstructed seal impression also from Knossos with the so-called Mother of the Mountains, the goddess has already arrived. She stands on a mountain peak holding out a staff with the same imperious gesture before a worshipper in the attitude of adoration. Goddess and mountain are heraldically flanked by two lions in a characteristically Minoan and Mycenaean composition.[75] On the Isopata ring the epiphany has a distinctly epic flavour: it is viewed from within. The observer does not look on from outside as a bystander but becomes part of the scene in true Homeric fashion. One might compare the technique with Homer's description of a hunt on Odysseus' golden brooch, which converts a work of plastic art into the real world of narrative and simile.[76]

In Minoan religion direct confrontation is possible between man or his priestly representative and god. It happens next to a sanctuary, tree or column and generally in the open.[77] A familiar type is that of a goddess who is seated on a platform or throne before her mortal subjects with their offerings.[78] As in Homer, encounters of this kind seem relatively uncommon, however, and, what is more important, they appear confined to the realm of myth. The scenario tends to be imaginary: the goddess is accompanied by the fabulous griffin,[79] while receiving worship from men as well as animals like goat and monkey.[80] On a famous gold ring from Tiryns the goddess welcomes a processional group of mythical daemonic creatures carrying rhyta presumably with libations in her honour.[81] Occasionally both humans and animals pay their respects together in the same ritual.[82] A splendid fresco from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera shows the goddess sitting on a

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tripartite platform attended by a griffin and accepting gifts of saffron from a girl and from a monkey.[83]

Some quite elaborate compositions show a goddess arriving at her shrine by boat,[84] riding on a griffin,[85] or side-saddle like Europa on the back of a bull. Her arms are upraised in the characteristic *Segnungsgestus* of deities.[86] The settings for these scenes are inspired by myth; the artist draws a ritual performance in which the goddess is imagined or known to be there but not seen.

Divine παρουσία was as universal and natural in the Minoan/Mycenaean world as in that of Homeric epic and evidently defined by similar basic parameters. Like epic poets, and indeed archaic Greek vase painters and sculptors, Minoan artists showed gods visiting their festivals. The ambience of both calls to mind Thales' enthusiastic belief in a world that is filled with gods. Communication with divinity occurred through no iconic or aniconic divine image within a temple or particular sanctuary. It was direct and most frequently happened as an individual experience. The encounter was intensely personal, psychological almost, as in the case of Athena and Achilles in *Iliad* 1. Divine presence was in the mind, so to speak; it was visionary rather than visual. Only the artist actually visualised it in his composition.[87]

There is no doubt that Minoan and Mycenaean deities were conceived of as imminent powers that could be directly invoked as Mistress, Lady, Queen, *Potnia*, *Wanassa* etc. Such titles, not names, are known from Linear B and retain something of their function in Homer.[88] However, the epic kind of personal experience did not fully exhaust the Minoan repertoire of divine manifestations. That inference suggests itself from the crowd scenes in the Grove and Grandstand frescoes of Knossos, where an epiphany seems to have been expected as part of the religious celebrations. Some shrines appear to have been designed to accommodate a strong revelatory element in the cultic performance. The Throne Room at Knossos involved an expected, imagined or perhaps even staged divine presence.[89] Parallel rituals about an empty throne survived in historical times. The best known is that of Zeus which was periodically placed in the Idaean Cave in expectation of his coming.[90] The so-called Balustrade Shrine in the Royal Villa at Knossos or the House of the Chancel Screen seem almost purpose-built for revealing a vision of the divine, or at least an enacted event of this nature before a congregation. Its plan of two or more rising levels with strategically placed barriers and entrance through a πολύθυρον certainly points to the same kind of ritualised divine revelation.[91]

Pictorially invocations are shown as lively occasions involving enthusiastic dance, excited gestures and movement. The impression is un-Homeric and has an ecstatic Dionysiac quality about it.[92] Evidently divine presence is deliberately invoked rather than spontaneous. The scene more closely compares with the setting of Homeric Hymns, that is with a particular ritual moment and not with epic narrative. In both the impact of divine arrival is artistically imagined, however. In the great *Hymn to Apollo* the manner of the god's visit to his temple in Delphi is no less ambiguously described than other visualised epiphanies in Homer.[93]

Still, mysteries remain. It seems unreasonable to expect that Minoan gods functioned any more uniformly than Homer's *Götterapparat*. The common bond between the two lies in a basically similar perception of divine operation. That similarity is no chance coincidence but arose from an extended historic tradition. There are indications that the Minoans possessed a more or less complex divine mythology which artists skilfully integrated in their portrayals of cultic scenes like their Greek descendants. A Minoan goddess occurs more frequently and prominently than a god. Yet both existed, nor was the latter an obviously second-class citizen in the divine hierarchy or imprisoned in the role of an ἐνιαυτός δαίμων.[94] Their relationship with men was close, not to say immediate, in a kind of intensified Homeric atmosphere. The Minoan gods were present in all parts of nature. They did not need to become manifest within an image or in living anthropomorphic shape.

Notes

[1] e.g. τοιχοδόμοι δεμέοντες (PY An 14), ἐρέται Πλευρώναδ' ἴοντες (PY An 12), or φάσγανα ἀραρυῖα (KN RA 1540), which recalls the Homeric φάσγανον ἀργυρόηλον. On Homeric usage see G.S. Kirk, *The* Iliad*: A Commentary*, Cambridge 1985, I, 118, note on *Il*. 2.45.

[2] T.B.L. Webster, 'Homer and the Mycenaean tablets', *Antiquity* 29 (1955) 10–14; *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, 200–7. The view is criticised by G.S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge 1962, 105–25, 263–5. On the origins of epic diction see now R. Janko, *The* Iliad*: A Commentary*, Cambridge 1992, IV, 8–19.

[3] C.J. Ruijgh, 'Le Mycénien et Homère', in A. Morpurgo-Davies and Y. Duhoux (eds.) *Linear B: a 1984 Survey*, Cabay and Louvain-la-Neuve 1984, 143–90.

[4] M.L. West, 'The rise of the Greek epic', *JHS* 108 (1988) 151–72.

[5] W.F. Wyatt Jr., 'Homer's linguistic forbears', *JHS* 112 (1992) 167–73.

[6] E. Vermeule, 'Mythology in Mycenaean art', *CJ* 54 (1958) 97–108; 'Baby

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Aigisthos and the Bronze Age', *PCPhS* 213 (1987) 122–52; J. Driessen, 'Homère et les tablettes', *AC* (1992) 36.

[7] T. Blavatakaja, 'De l'épopée crétoise de XVIIe au XVe s.av. notre ère', *ZAnt* 25 (1975) 355–61; G.C. Horrocks, 'The antiquity of the Greek epic tradition and innovation: some new evidence', *PCPhS* 206 (1980) 1–11; G. Walberg, *Tradition and Innovation: Essays in Minoan Art* (1986); C. Borain, 'Recherches sur l'iconographie créto-mycénienne du lion iliadique', *Stemmata (Mélanges J. Labarbe)*, Liège and Louvaine-la-Neuve 1987, 337–67; J. Crowley, 'Subject matter in Aegean art: the crucial changes', *Aegaeum* 3 (1989) 211; S.P. Morris, 'A tale of two cities: the miniature frescoes from Thera and the origins of Greek poetry', *AJA* 93 (1989) 511–35; S. Hiller, 'The miniature frieze in the West House. Evidence for Minoan poetry?', in D.A. Hardy, C.G. Doumas, J.A. Sakellarakis, P. Warren (eds.) *Thera and the Aegean World* III, 1, London 1990, (*TAW*) 229–34; C.G. Thomas, 'Aegean Bronze Age iconography: poetic art?', *Aegaeum* 8 (1992) 213–20; Driessen op. cit. (n. 6) 32.

[8] Thomas op. cit. (n. 7) 214.

[9] C.A. Televantou, 'New light on the West House wall-painting' (*TAW*) 323; Hiller (*TAW*) 232 f. Reservations, expressed by N. Marinatos (*TAW*) 235, are modified on p. 325.

[10] S.A. Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*, Pennsylvania 1990, 22.

[11] W. Pötscher, *Aspekte und Probleme der minoischen Religion. Ein versuch*, Hildesheim, Zurich and New York 1990, 171–91.

[12] N. Marinatos, *Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image and Symbol*, Univ. South Carolina 1993, 31–6, with full references to the many modern interpretations of the decorations beginning with M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan–Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, 2nd edn, Lund 1950, (*MMR*) 426–23.

[13] Pötscher, op. cit. (n. 11) 134–5.

[14] Modern opinion is divided on the meaning of blood sacrifice. For a discussion see B.C. Dietrich, 'A Minoan symbol of renewal', *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 2 (1988) 12–24; 'The instrument of sacrifice', *Early Greek Cult Practice*, Procs. 5th Intern. Symposium, Swedish Institute in Athens, Stockholm 1988, 35–40.

[15] Iconographic symbols of sacrifice are discussed by N. Marinatos, *Minoan Sacrificial Ritual*, Stockholm 1986, Part II; L.R. Palmer, 'The impaled triangle in Aegean iconography' (Prof. Palmer kindly showed me a draft of his [unpublished] article, March 1983).

[16] Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 15) figs. 52, 53.

[17] F. Matz, H. Biesantz and I. Pini (eds.) *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*, Berlin 1964–, (*CMS*) I, 219.

[18] See n. 14 above.

[19] D. Page, *History and the Homeric* Iliad, Berkeley 1963, ch. IV; Kirk, op. cit. (n. 1) 173–7; P. Vivante, *The Epithet in Homer: a Study in Poetic Values*, New Haven 1982; J. Pinsent, in L. Foxhall and J.K. Davies (eds.) *The Trojan War: its Historicity and Context*, Bristol 1984, 141–62; H.B. Hainsworth, *The* Iliad*: A Commentary*, Cambridge 1993, III, 21–3; 95 etc.

[20] Hainsworth, op. cit. (n. 19) 28–31.

[21] *Il.* 9.196.

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[22] e.g. Ayia Irini on Keos. B.C. Dietrich, *Tradition in Greek Religion*, Berlin 1986, chs. 1 and 2.

[23] PY Jn 829; L.R. Palmer, *The Interpretation* of *Mycenaean Greek Texts*, Oxford 1963, 284; *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, 2nd edn, London 1965, 110; M. Ventris, J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edn, Cambridge 1973, 513; Dietrich, op. cit. (n. 22) 54 f. and n. 80, with further references.

[24] E. French, 'Cult places at Mycenae', *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Procs. 1st Intern. Symposium, Swedish Institute in Athens, Stockholm 1981, (*SAC*) 41–8; K. Kilian, 'Zeugnisse mykenischer Kultausubung in Tiryns' (*SAC*) 48–58.

[25] *Il.* 1.39; 5.446; 7.83 (Apollo); 2.549; 6.88, 297 (Athena).

[26] E. Vermeule, *Götterkult* (*Archaeologia Homerica*), Göttingen 1974, 106.

[27] *Od.* 3.274, 438; 8.509; 12.347; cf. Dietrich, op. cit. (n. 22) 102.

[28] *Il.* 6.305–11.

[29] Schol. A, ad loc.

[30] F. Matz, *Göttererscheinung und Kultbild im minoischen Kreta*, Wiesbaden 1958, 437; Vermeule, op. cit. (n. 26) 121.

[31] B.C. Dietrich, 'Divine epiphanies in Homer', *Numen* 30 (1983) 62, for examples.

[32] *Od.* 13.299–302, 318.

[33] *Od.* 3.435.

[34] *Od.* 7.201, with H.B. Hainsworth's note ad loc. in *A Commentary on Homer's* Odyssey, Oxford repr. 1991, 334; *Il.* 1.423.

[35] *Od.* 16.161.

[36] *Od.* 3.420.

[37] *Od.* 16.160–2. Cf. A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's* Odyssey, Oxford repr. 1992, II, 272.

[38] Acts 14, 11–12.

[39] J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London 1975, 224.

[40] Janko, op. cit. (n. 2) 4.

[41] *Il.* 15.80.

[42] *Od.* 19.37–40, 43.

[43] Cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, tr. from German by J. Raffan, Oxford 1985, 182–9.

[44] *Il.* 13.71 f.

[45] *Od.* 22.240.

[46] *Il.* 1.44–9; 359–62; *Numen* (1983) 54 f.

[47] *Il.* 21.212–21.

[48] M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 3rd edn, I, Munich 1967, (*GGR*) 219, 368 f.; H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*, 2nd edn, Berkeley 1983, 9 f.

[49] Dietrich, op. cit. (n. 22) 180–2.

[50] A. Lesky, 'Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos' *SHAW* (1961) 4; Janko, op. cit. (n. 2) 4, with further references.

[51] *Il.* 5.449 f.

[52] *Il.* 21.600. B.C. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the* Iliad, Wiesbaden 1968, 12, 48; cf. N. Richardson, *The* Iliad*: A Commentary*, Cambridge 1993, VI, 103 f.

[53] ἴκελον. Cf. G.S. Kirk, *The* Iliad*: A Commentary*, Cambridge 1990, II, 107 f.

[54] Plato, *R.* II.381 b–d.

[55] Matz, op. cit. (n. 30) 437.

[56] e.g. P. Vivante, *Homer*, Yale 1985; M.W. Edwards, *The* Iliad*: A Commentary*, Cambridge 1991, V, 24–41, for a discussion of this large topic with up-to-date bibliography.

[57] Eighth century BC, Olympia Archaeological Museum B 1730; A. Mallwitz, H.-V. Herrmann, *Die Funde aus Olympia*, Athens 1980, 44 no. 16.

[58] J.B. Pritchard (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd edn, Princeton 1969, 95 (Gilgamesh); cf. the Egyptian ritual, id. 325; sacrifices of the gods of Uruk, id. 342–5, etc.; Ed. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, Paris 1949, 221, 222; Kirk op. cit. (n. 53) 12–13.

[59] Still a contentious subject, W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979, 187 n. 25, with references.

[60] S. Hiller, 'Mykenische archäologie', *SMEA* (1979) 193; Dietrich, op. cit. (n. 22) 117.

[61] A review of the bibliography on the topic can be found in R. Hägg, 'Die göttliche Epiphanie im minoischen Ritual', *MDAI(A)* 101 (1986) 41–62. More recent discussions include W.D. Niemeier, 'Zur Deutung des Thronraumes im Palast von Knossos', *MDAI(A)* 101 (1986) 63–95; 'Das Stuckrelief des "Prinzen mit der Federkrone" aus Knossos und minoische Göttervorstellungen', *MDAI(A)* 102 (1987) 65–98; 'Fragen und Probleme der bronzezeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik', *CMS* (1989) 163–86; Pötscher, op. cit. (n. 11); Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) chs. 7 and 8.

[62] *Numen* 3 (1983) 57–9.

[63] Niemeier, *MDAI(A)* (1987) 86; *CMS* (1989) 174.

[64] Nilsson, *MMR* 330–40; *GGR* I, 290–2; Matz, op. cit. (n. 30) 402–3, sees the bird as a divine presence, or the sign of a divine presence. For A. Furumark, 'Gods of Ancient Crete', *OAth* 6 (1965) 92, the bird is a divine determinative. See also Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 163–86; Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) 133, 156. According to Pötscher, op. cit. (n. 11) 106 f., the bird, like the snake, was a 'theriomorphe Erscheinungsform der Göttin'.

[65] Above n. 45.

[66] e.g. Arthur Evans, *The Palace* of *Minos at Knossos*, London 1921–35, *(PM)* 1, 221; Dietrich, *Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin 1974, 84–7.

[67] For the popular belief in the existence of Minoan tree and pillar cult see the pioneering study by A. Evans, 'The Mycenaean tree and pillar cult', *JHS* 21 (1901) 99–204; cf. *PM* 1, 161; Nilsson, *MMR* ch. viii, 262–88 (tree-cult); ch. vii, 236–61, on pillars and columns as structural elements only; B. Rutkowski, *The Cult Places of the Aegean*, Yale 1986, 143 f., argues in favour of pillar cult.

[68] For a contrary view see Pötscher, op. cit. (n. 11) 97, who includes columns in his category of divine epiphany in object form: *dingliche*.

[69] 'Kultmale', Matz, op. cit. (n. 30) 420–3; Niemeier, *MDAI(A)* 101 (1986) 85 f.; *CMS* (1989) 172; Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) 179–81.

[70] Hägg, *MDAI(A)* 101 (1986) 56–8; Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 163–86.

[71] Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 167–9, fig. 1; Matz, op. cit. (n. 30) 388–90, 407; Hägg, *MDAI(A)* 101 (1986) 56, 58.

[72] Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 169, fig. 2, 1; Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) 172–3, fig. 171.
[73] *CMS* II, 3 No. 51. Discussed with references by Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 165; Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) 176–7.
[74] Hägg, *MDAI(A)* (1986) 61.
[75] *PM* III, 463; *MMR* 352 f.; Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 169, fig. 2, 4.
[76] Cf. Matz, op. cit. (n. 30) 437. For a discussion of Matz's view see Walberg, op. cit. (n. 7) 125 f.
[77] Niemeier's Group III, *CMS* (1989) 170–2: either man/deity, or priest as deity, or between two deities.
[78] Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 173, fig. 4, 1–15.
[79] e.g. seal from Rhodes *CMS* V, 2 No. 654; cf. *CMS* I, 128.
[80] Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) 160, fig. 144.
[81] *PM* IV, 460 f., fig. 385; *MMR* 147, fig. 55; Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 173, fig. 4, 13.
[82] Monkey beside human figure, *CMS* II, 3 No. 103.
[83] Restored: N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera*, Athens 1984, figs. 40, 44; op. cit. (n. 12) figs. 122, 213.
[84] e.g. ring from Mochlos: goddess arrives at her shrine in a boat, *CMS* II, 3 No. 252; *MMR* 269 f.; Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) 163 fig. 150.
[85] On a seal from Mycenae, *CMS* I No. 167.
[86] Glass plaque from Dendra/Midea, *GGR* I, pl. 26, 7. On similar scenes, with discussion of relevant mythology, see *MMR* 34–40; Dietrich, op. cit. (n. 66) 310–14.
[87] Cf. Marinatos, op. cit. (n. 12) 243.
[88] B. Hemberg, *Anax, Anassa und Anakes,* Uppsala 1955; Dietrich, op. cit. (n. 66) 180–4.
[89] Hägg, *MDAI(A)* 101 (1986) 47; Niemeier, *MDAI(A)* 101 (1986) 63–95, with references to recent discussions.
[90] Dietrich, op. cit. (n. 22) 99.
[91] Hägg, *MDAI(A)* (1986) 47–55.
[92] Matz, op. cit. (n. 30) 447.
[93] Dietrich, *Numen* 30 (1983) 70–1.
[94] Cf. Niemeier, *CMS* (1989) 183.

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