

NESTOR is published by the Program in Classical Archaeology
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401, U.S.A.

Editors: T.W. Jacobsen and W.W. Rudolph

ISSN 0228-2812

Volume 10:9

1761

December 1983

COMMUNICATIONS

Recent seminars at the Swedish Institute in Athens:

K. Demakopoulou, "A new Mycenaean tholos tomb in the Argolid--excavations at Kokla, 1981-82" (25 February 1983)

J.W. Shaw, "The evolution of the Cretan temples at Kommos" (4 March 1983)

J.H. Betts, "A priest, a bureaucrat and a faker--studies in Minoan seals" (1 April 1983)

Miriam E. Caskey, "The Cycladic contribution to early Greek narrative art" (10 April 1983)

A table ronde on "L'iconographie minoenne" was organized by the French Archaeological School at Athens, 21-22 April 1983. Papers were presented in accordance with four major topics, "méthodologie et histoire," "thèmes et motifs," "iconographie et religion," and "l'identité minoenne." The proceedings will be published in a supplementary volume of Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

The fifth annual "TAG Conference" was held at University College, Cardiff, 12-14 December 1983. Papers were presented under the following headings: 1) Towards a Critical Historiography of Archaeology, 2) Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Settlement Patterns, 3) Material Culture Theory, 4) Theoretical Approaches to Urban Archaeology, 5) Approaches to Archaeological Reconstruction: The Social Dimension, 6) Time Scales and Forms of Explanation, 7) Ritual and Archaeological Analysis, 8) Theory and Practice: Putting Theory in Its Place, 9) The Nature of Cultural Change: Recent Work in Scandinavian Archaeology, 10) Archaeology and Space. Further details may be procured by writing: TAG 83 Organisers, Department of Archaeology, University College, PO Box 78, Cardiff, CF 1 1XL.

The New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium scheduled a meeting for 14 December with a paper by Mrs. B. Kling entitled, "Mycenaean IIIC 1:B Pottery in Cyprus: Principal Characteristics and Historical Context." There will be another meeting on 11 January (7:45 PM at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York) with a paper by J.H. Crowel, "Chariots in the Bronze Age Aegean."

The Sixth Annual Eastern European Archaeology meeting (Hleb i Vino) will be held on the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles on 7-8 April 1984. Current work in the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages of Eastern Europe will be reported and discussed. Those interested in participating and/or attending Hleb i Vino are urged to contact Mark R. Stefanovich, The Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024. The program will also include a symposium entitled

"Sociological Issues of the Neolithic Balkans -- Practice and Theory", scheduled for the morning of April 7. (A round table discussion of general issues pertaining to the Neolithic is planned for the afternoon.) Individuals interested in contributing a paper and/or participating in this symposium are encouraged to contact T. Cullen or M. Fotiadis, c/o Classical Archaeology, Indiana University, 408 N. Indiana Ave., Bloomington, IN 47405.

The Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens will take place 11-16 June 1984. The theme will be "The Function of the Minoan Palaces". Further information is available from Dr. Robin Hägg, Mitseon 9, GR-117 42 ATHENS, Greece.

FORUM

To the Editors:

Bull and Palm Tree in Aegean Iconography

A Mycenaean Bull God was long denied on high authority though it has been difficult to understand why the North and Southwest Entrances at Knossos should have been watched over by a sacrificial animal. In Nestor January 1981, 1502 I suggested that the Mycenaean pantheon included a pair G^wous and G^wowia 'Bull and Cow'. Recent analysis of MY Fu 711 indicated that this tablet was a record of small offerings to divinities, among the recipients (in the dative) being qowe g^wowei 'for the Bull', kune kunei 'for the Hound', karauja grawja 'for the Old Lady' (known as an epithet of Demeter) and arekese/we Alexewei, dative of Alexeus, meaning something like 'The Protector'; he may be the Hero God with the shield who does battle with a variety of opponents. Relevant here is the seal impression (Evans PM III 317, fig. 210) showing a bull with a figure-of-eight shield under its belly, which may be tentatively given the caption G^wous and Alexeus.

Less well known is that a bull fresco decorated the Anteroom to the Room of the Throne which itself was set in a landscape of palm trees (see Penultimate Palace 35-37 with ref. to BSA 6,1900,401). This combination of bull and palm tree is frequent in Aegean iconography and it is a key to its interpretation. Recently new evidence has come to light about a fresco found in 1901 on the north wall of the Hall of the Double Axes. Photographs in the Ashmolean Museum show its position and the fresco is described by Mackenzie (DB 11 June 1901) as follows. It was still preserved from a mere 20 cm. below the surface going down to some 80 cm. to the level of the upper floor. Above a lower dado 15-20 cm. wide was a design of young palm plants, grey-white (through discoloration) on a red ground. It was still preserved for over a metre but was traceable for over three metres. Subsequently the hind foot of a bull with part of the leg in profile left was discovered. The fresco was described by DM as unique as being the only example on the site belonging in situ to the upper floor. The description of the palms as grey on a red ground is identical with his description of the palms of the Throne Room frescoes.

The 'young palm plants' recall the phoinikos neon ernos which Odysseus saw by the altar of Apollo on Delos (Od.6,163), and this points eastwards. Among orientalist it has long been powerfully argued (notably by G. Widengren, The King and the Tree of Life, 1951) that the palm tree is the symbol for the Young Dying God (Sumerian Dumuzi who is the son of Enki, god of the underground world of sweet water). Widengren stresses that the Tree of Life is inseparable from the Water of Life which is used to refresh the dying palm that symbolizes the dead god.

For this combination of motifs the cylinder seals from Thebes recently published by Edith Porada (AFO,1981) provide valuable illustration. No.26 shows a water god between mountains with eight-petalled rosettes in the field, the latter being a frequent symbol for Ishtar. No.27 likewise shows a water god flanked by fish-men. He stands in an undulating stream of water which links up with palm trees alongside placed in an aryballos.

The new seals illuminate another point in the texts cited by Widengren. The palm tree stands not only for the Young God but also for the king who substitutes for him in the cult. Thus Shulgi, the king, is a date palm planted by the water ditch. Of vital importance in the present connexion³ is that the god himself has the cult title The Lord or the King. In ANET³ 638, where Inanna enumerates the bridal gifts, Dumuzi alternates with en, and this nomenclature persists down to Adonis. A further point is that Inanna calls herself 'the Queen'. This cult title accounts for a puzzling point in Near Eastern iconography: why is the palm tree so often surmounted by the winged sun-disk? A possibility is that this represents not the Sun God but the royal title 'My Sun' equivalent to 'His Majesty',

This thesis can be tested on seal no.25. It is a Hittite seal with hieroglyphic inscriptions. At a late stage of Hittite religion there was a far-reaching Hurrianization of the pantheon. Prominent was the Mother Goddess Hebat, her consort the Weather God Teshub and their son Sharrumma. On the seal the first figure (on the right) is identified as Shaushga, the Hurrian Ishtar. The third figure (from the right) is tentatively identified as Sharrumma because of the hieroglyphs before it: the logogram of the Storm God above a bovine figure (a calf?). In support of this H.G. Güterbock (pp. 71 f.) cites E. Laroche's discovery that Sharrumma was entitled 'the (bull) calf of Teshub', a quite natural expression seeing that the Weather God was mostly represented in cult by a bull. He demurs however 'this would still be hard to reconcile with the winged disk over his head since Sharrumma is otherwise not known to be connected with the sun.' E. Porada (p.48) dismisses the hieroglyphic title as an error. I submit that there is no problem if the sun-disk is taken as 'My Sun' and Sharrumma is 'the King' par excellence. Thus it is parallel with the frequent combination of sun-disk and palm tree.

The theme Bull + Vegetation and the connexion with water may well go back to pre-Sumerian times. Bucrania with plants on the head were found in the Halaf strata at Chagar Bazar and the excavator wonders 'if the bull does not also go with the power to bring rain.' Some four thousand years later a Knossos seal combines Bull and Fish, the latter a diacritic for 'water', just as fish are observable in the streams that flank Enki.

In general it may be said that iconographically the Aegean forms a province of a religious koine going back ultimately to Mesopotamia. This is not a heterodox position. Two authoritative recent works (W. Burkert, Griechische Religion..., 1977 and B.C. Dietrich, The Origin of Greek Religion, 1974) make the point that given the existence of this koine the eastern connexions must play their part in the interpretation of Aegean iconography. This is an immense task demanding the collaboration of experts in both fields.

Professor L.R. Palmer

ERRATA

p. 1680, §811792

The source of this decipherment seems to be Paul J. Muenzer of Munich. We owe this information, with our thanks, to D. Willers of the University of Bern. Read "Schliemanns" for "Schliemann's"

p. 1755, §832705

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS ISSUE

TUAS 7 (1982)

Betancourt, Philip P., ed., Trade and travel in the Cyclades during the Bronze Age, Temple University Aegean Symposium 7. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1982.

§832767

TUAS 8 (1983)

Betancourt, Philip P., ed., Gold in the Aegean Bronze Age, Temple University Aegean Symposium 8. Philadelphia: Temple University, 1983.

§832768

Beziehungen

Nord-Süd Beziehungen. Historische und kulturelle Zusammenhänge und Handelsbeziehungen die europäischen Bernsteinstrassen entlang vom I. Jahrtausend v.u. Z. bis zum Ende der römischen Kaiserzeit. (Internationales Kolloquium 1982, Bozsok-Szombathely). Savaria. Bulletin der Museen des Komitats Vas 16, 1982.

§832769

- Bandi, G., Das Golddiadem von Velem, Beziehungen 81-93. §832770
- Beck, C.W., Der Bernsteinhandel: naturwissenschaftliche Gesichtspunkte, Beziehungen 11-22. §832771
- Betancourt, Philip P., The Crocus and Festoons motif: evidence for traveling vase-painters? TUAS 7 (1982) 34-37. §832772
- Bezerra de Meneses, Ulpiano, La "New Archaeology": l'archeologia come scienza sociale, Dialoghi di Archeologia 1:1 (1983) 11-19. §832773
- Bouloumié, B., Remarques sur la diffusion d'objets grecs et etrusques en Europe Centrale et Nord-Occidentale, Beziehungen 181-192. §832774
- Braemer, Frank, L'architecture domestique du Levant à l'âge du fer. Paris: Editions ADPF, 1982. (Recherche sur les grands civilisations). §832775
Reviewed by Rupert Chapman, Palestine Exploration Quarterly (July-December 1983) 150. §832776
- Branigan, Keith, Gold and goldworking in Early Bronze Age Crete, TUAS 8 (1983) 15-20. §832777
- Çambel, Halet, and Robert Braidwood, eds., Prehistoric research in southeastern Anatolia. Vol. I. Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basimevi, 1980. §832778
- Davis, Ellen N., The gold of the Shaft Graves: the Transylvanian connection, TUAS 8 (1983) 32-38. §832779
- Davis, Jack L., Thoughts on prehistoric and Archaic Delos, TUAS 7 (1982) 23-33. §832780
- Driessen, Jan, The Minoan hall in domestic architecture on Crete: to be in vogue in Late Minoan IA? Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia 21 (1982) 27-92. §832781
- Driessen, Jan, Military aspects of the Knossian Linear B Archive. (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of Leuven, 1983). §832782
- Faton, Andrée, 10,000 ans de civilisations anatoliennes, Archéologia 183 (1983) 16-25. §832783
- Finley, M.I., ed., The legacy of Greece: a new appraisal. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981. §832784
Reviewed by Paul MacKendrick, The Classical Journal 79:1 (1983) 59-64. §832785

- Fontenrose, Joseph, The building of the city walls: Troy and Asgard, Journal of American Folklore 96:379 (1983) 53-63. \$832786
- Fossey, John M., and Marcia K. Mogelonsky, The typology of Early Helladic pottery: a comparison of the Vouliagmeni (Perakhóra) - Asine system with the proposed Tiryns system, Prähistorische Zeitschrift 58 (1983) 106-113. \$832787
- Garašanin, M., Considération sur les rapports du Sud-Est Européen et de l'Anatolie aux époques néolithiques et énéolithique, Archaeologia Iugoslavica 20-21 (1980-1981) 7-11. \$832788
- Garnsey, Peter, Keith Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker, eds., Trade in the ancient economy. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. \$832789
- Geva, Shulamit, Archaeological evidence for the trade between Israel and Tyre? Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 248 (1982) 69-72. \$832790
- Gifford, John, Core sampling of a Holocene marine sedimentary sequence and underlying Neolithic cultural material off Franchthi Cave, Greece, Quaternary coastlines and marine archaeology: towards the prehistory of land bridges and continental shelves. P.M. Masters and N.C. Flemming, eds., (London: Academic Press, 1983) 269-281. \$832791
- Grammenos, Dimitris, Excavation in the (early) Bronze Age settlement of Pentapolis, Serres (in Greek, with contributions by M. Fotiadis, L. Karali-Giannakopoulou, G. Koufos, G. Kourtes-Filippaki, and H. Quitta), Archaologikē Ephēmeris (1981) 91-153 (Chronika). \$832792
- Higgins, Reynold, Goldwork of the extreme end of the Aegean Bronze Age, TUAS 8 (1983) 50-52. \$832793
- Hourmouziadis, G., et al., Magnesia: the story of a civilization. Athens: M. and R. Capon, 1982. \$832794
- Humphreys, Sally C., Saggi antropologici sulla Grecia antica. Bologna: Patron Editore, 1979. (Il mondo antico. Studi di storia e storiografia, 8). \$832795
- Reviewed by Carmine Ampolo, Rivista di Filologia 110:2 (1982) 217-221. \$832796
- Isserlin, B.S.J., The Israelite conquest of Canaan: a comparative review of the arguments applicable, Palestine Exploration Quarterly (July-December 1983) 85-94. \$832797

- Johnston, Paul F., Bronze Age Cycladic ships, TUAS 7 (1982) 1-8. \$832798
- Jones, Wilber D., Venus and Sothis: how the ancient Near East was rediscovered. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1982. \$832799
- Kemenczei, T., Die Chronologie der spätbronzezeitlichen Hortfunde im Lichte der südlichen Kontakte, Beziehungen 39-43. \$832800
- Kitanoski, B., A contribution concerning interment in the early periods of Pelagonia, Archaeologica Iugoslavica 20-21 (1980-1981) 51-55. \$832801
- Kossack, G., Früheisenzeitlicher Gütertausch, Beziehungen 95-112. \$832802
- Kozegi, F., World history and the Urnfield culture, Beziehungen 25-32. \$832803
- Krauss, Rolf, Das Ende der Amarnazeit: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Chronologie des Neuen Reiches. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978. (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, 7). \$832804
Reviewed by Edward F. Wente, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 42:4 (1983) 315-318. \$832805
- LeBrun, Alain, Une site Néolithique Précéramique en Chypre: Cap Andreas-Kastros. Paris: Editions ADPF, 1981. (Recherche sur les grands civilisations, Mémoire 5). \$832806
Reviewed by Trevor Watkins, Palestine Exploration Quarterly (July-December 1983) 157-159. \$832807
- Lembesi, A., The continuity of Minoan-Mycenaean cult: survivals and revivals (in Greek), Archaiologikē Ephēmeris (1981) 1-24 (Meletai). \$832808
- Levy, Thomas Evan, and David Alon, The Chalcolithic mortuary site near Mezaḏ Aluf, northern Negev Desert: a preliminary study, Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 248 (1982) 37-59. \$832809
- McCallum, Lucinda Rasmussen, Aegean and Near Eastern gold jewelry in the Early Bronze Age, TUAS 8 (1983) 21-31. \$832810
- McDonald, William A., William D.E. Coulson, and John Rosser, eds., Excavations at Nichoria in southwest Greece. Vol. III. Dark Age and Byzantine occupation. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983. \$832811

- Makkay, J., The earliest use of helmets in the Carpathian Basin, Acta Archaeologica Hungarica 34 (1982) 3-20. \$832812
- Malinowski, T., L'ambre jaune baltique et le problème de son exportation pendant les premières périodes de l'âge du fer, Beziehungen 113-123. \$832813
- Mogelonsky, Marcia K., The development of form in Early Helladic I-II pottery. A geographical and chronological study. (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1982). \$832814
- Muhly, James, Gold analysis and sources of gold in the Bronze Age, TUAS 8 (1983) 1-14. \$832815
- Mylonas, George, Mycenae rich in gold. Athens: Ekdoktikē Athēnōn, 1983. \$832816
- Overbeck, John C., The hub of commerce: Keos and Middle Helladic Greece, TUAS 7 (1982) 38-49. \$832817
- Palaima, Thomas G., Linear A in the Cyclades: the trade and travel of a script, TUAS 7 (1982) 15-22. \$832818
- Parović-Pešikan, M., Finds of Mycenaean pottery imported into Macedonia, Archaeologica Iugoslavica 20-21 (1980-1981) 56-61. \$832819
- Petres, E.F., Neue Angaben über die Verbreitung der spätbronzezeitlichen Schutz Waffen, Beziehungen 57-80. \$832820
- Pini, Ingo, Chronological problems of some Late Minoan signet rings, TUAS 8 (1983) 39-49. \$832821
- Platonos-Mandi, Maria, Ritual hammers and clubs in the Minoan world (in Greek), Archaiologikē Ephēmeris (1981) 74-83 (Meletai). \$832822
- Pomey, P., Sixième congrès international d'archéologie sous-marine à Carthagène, Archéologia 180-181 (1983) 23-27. \$832823
- Puhvel, Jaan, Homeric questions and Hittite answers, American Journal of Philology 104:3 (1983) 217-227. \$832824
- Schofield, Elizabeth, Plus and minus Thera: trade in the western Aegean in Late Cycladic I-II, TUAS 7 (1982) 9-14. \$832825
- Stanford, W.B., Homer, Ancient writers: Greece and Rome. Vol. I. T. James Luce, ed., (New York: Scribner's and Sons, 1982) 1-41. \$832826

- Stucynski, Steven L., Cycladic imports in Crete: a brief survey, TUAS 7 (1982) 50-59. \$832827
- Syriopoulos, K., The transition from the Mycenaean to the Archaic period, 1200-700 B.C. (in Greek). Athens, 1982. (Bibliothēkē tēs en Athēnais Archaialogikēs Etaireias, 99). \$832828
- The Anatolian civilizations. Vol. I. Prehistoric, Hittite, Early Iron Age. Istanbul: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983. (Council of Europe XVIIIth European Art Exhibition). \$832829
- The Anatolian civilizations. Vol. II. Greek, Roman, Byzantine. Istanbul: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983. (Council of Europe XVIIIth European Art Exhibition). \$832830
- Travaux et recherches en turquie 1982. Leuven: Editions Peeters, 1983. (Collection Turcica II). \$832831
- Trigger, Bruce, Barry Kemp, David O'Connor, and Alan B. Lloyd, Ancient Egypt. A social history. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. \$832832
- Trinkaus, Erik, The Shanidar Neandertals. New York: Academic Press, 1983. \$832833
- Reviewed by C. Loring Brace, Science 222:4627 (1983) 1008-1009. \$832834
- Vékony, G., Veneter - Urnenfelderkultur - Bernsteinstrasse, Beziehungen 33-38. \$832835
- Velimirović-Žižić, O., Poignard en bronze d'un tumulus près de Medun, Archaeologica Iugoslavica 20-21 (1980-1981) 40-42. \$832836
- Vivante, Paolo, On Homer Il. 1, 46-47, Eranos 81:1 (1983) 1-6. \$832837
- von Bülow, G., Knossos und Mykene -- zwei Metropolen im 2. Jahrtausend v.u. Z., Das Altertum 29:4 (1983) 241-246. \$832838
- Walter, Hans, Die Leute im alten Aigina, 3000-1000 v. Chr. Stuttgart: Urachhaus, 1983. \$832839
- Wells, Peter S., An early Iron Age farm community in central Europe, Scientific American 6:249 (1983) 68-74. \$832840

- Zaccagnini, Carlo, Patterns of mobility among ancient Near Eastern craftsmen, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 42:4 (1983) 245-264. \$832841

REVIEWS

- Bar-Adon, P., The Cave of the Treasure: the finds from the caves in Nahal Mishmar, 1980. §811186 (Siegfried H. Horn, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 42:4 (1983) 303-304). \$832842
- Collon, D., The Alalakh cylinder seals. A new catalogue for the actual seals excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Tell Atchana, and from neighbouring sites on the Syrian-Turkish border, 1982. §811548 (Beatrice Teissier, Palestine Exploration Quarterly (July-December 1983) 152-154). \$832843
- Hooker, J.T., ΙΕΡΟΞ in early Greek, 1980. §832299 (Georg Renatus Solta, Anzeiger für die Altertums-wissenschaft 35:1-2 (1982) 125-126). \$832844
- Jensen, Minna Skafte, The Homeric question and the Oral-Formulaic Theory, 1980. §800393 (William Merritt Sale, American Journal of Philology 104:3 (1983) 295-298). \$832845
- Palmer, Leonard R., The Greek language, 1980. §810363 (Jon-Christian Billigmeier, American Journal of Philology 104:3 (1983) 303-306). \$832846
- Palmer, Leonard R., The Greek language, 1980. §810363 (Gregory Nagy, The Classical Journal 79:1 (1983) 64-65). \$832847
- Piggott, Stuart, The earliest wheeled transport: from the Atlantic coast to the Caspian Sea, 1983. §832350 (A.F. Harding, Nature 306:5939 (1983) 121). \$832848
- Snodgrass, Anthony, Archaic Greece: the Age of Experiment, 1980. §810596 (John E. Rexine, The Classical Bulletin 59:2 (1983) 35-36). \$832849
- von Kamptz, Hans, Homerische Personennamen, 1982. §811892 (Michael Meier-Brügger, Beiträge zur Namenforschung 18:3 (1983) 341-342). \$832850