

POTNIA/POTNIOS AIGON. ON THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF GOATS IN THE AEGEAN LATE BRONZE AGE

Undoubtedly the goat is among the most frequently depicted subjects in the arts of the Late Bronze Age Aegean. It is encountered in more or less all media, whether small bronze sculpture,¹ relief stone vases,² ivory reliefs,³ wall- and vase-paintings, or, above all, glyptics. As an example of the frequency of this motif, goat representations number 8 % of the glyptic works in CMS I (44 out of 517), according to the motif index. Nevertheless, there is, as far as I can see, no overall study devoted exclusively to this significant animal.⁴

Before entering the discussion of the broad issues, a general problem of identification must be mentioned. It results from the fact that there is no way by which the several subspecies of the caprid family, particularly that of wild goat (ibex) and domesticated goat, can be distinguished. Thus, for example, the goats depicted on the famous relief stone rhyton from Kato Zakros have been interpreted either way.⁵ For this reason no distinction between the wild and the domesticated species will be made in the following remarks.

Goats make an early appearance in Minoan art (cf. Pl. XCI.1-2),⁶ yet they remain, like other pictorial motifs, a relatively rare phenomenon until the rise of the New Palaces at the beginning of MM III. After that, however, they occur in a broad spectrum of thematic contexts, most importantly in scenes of peaceful animal life, scenes of goat hunting, and scenes connected with goat sacrifice. Taken together, these basic thematic aspects constitute a coherent cycle. A second group of representations concerns goats as attendants of divine figures or as their symbolic substitutes.

- 1 F. HALBHERR, E. STEFANI and L. BANTI, *Haghia Triada nel Periodo Tardo-Palaziale*, *ASAtene* 55 (1977-1980) 126 fig. 87; A. PILALI-PAPASTERIOU, "Die bronzenen Tierfiguren aus Kreta," *PBF* I,3 (1985) 137f.
- 2 For the peak sanctuary rhyton from Kato Zakros and the rhyton fragment from Knossos cf. below n. 4 and 26; Appendix B I A (relief vase).
- 3 Apart from the ivory plaque from Minet el Beida (below n. 21; cf. also the relief depicting two goats in heraldic position on an ivory tusk from Mycenae, presumably a Near Eastern import, cf. J.-C. POURSAT, *Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du musée national d'Athènes* (1977) 94f, no 301, pl. XXXf; A. XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU, *Oi Thalamotoi Taphoi ton Mykenon* (1985) 175f, pl. 73; P. REHAK and J.C. YOUNGER, "International Styles in Ivory Carving in the Bronze Age," in E. CLINE and D. HARRIS-CLINE, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium, Aegaeum* 18 (1998) 247 with n. 174, 249; The fragment of another ivory relief combines a Minoan Genius and a wild goat, cf. the reconstruction by P. REHAK, "The Genius in Late Bronze Age Glyptic," in *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, *CMS Beih.* 5 (1995) 227, fig. 9.
- 4 For brief summarizing discussions cf. B.C. DIETRICH, *Historia* 16 (1967) 403; C. LONG, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus* (1974) 55f; G.C. GESELL, *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete* (1985) 16 with n. 55f, 63; E.F. BLOEDOW, "Minoan Talismanic Goats," *JPR* VI (1992) 15-23 (concerning the stylistic issue rather than the iconographic one); ID., "The Sanctuary Rhyton from Zakros: What Do the Goats Mean?" in *Aegaeum* 6 (1990) 59-77; W. MÜLLER, *CMS Beih.* 5 (1995) 163 ff; P. REHAK, "Religious Painting in the Function of the Minoan Villa," in R. HÄGG, *The Function of the "Minoan Villa," Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens*, 1992 (1997) 163-175, 172f.
- 5 The animals on top of the building and those roaming through the landscape are usually seen as wild goats, whereas BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 4, 1990) has proposed an interpretation as domesticated agrimi; We do not know which kind of goats is concerned when they are "destined for sacrifice," as has been proposed by W. BURKERT, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (1985) 27; Of course, wild goats may be sacrificed after they have been captured, but is it likely that they will wait for that quietly on top of the sanctuary? Cf. also *PM* IV, 834.
- 6 For glyptic representations of Prepalatial and Early Palatial date, cf. P. YULE, *Early Cretan Seals. A Study of Chronology* (1980) 121f; The medaillon pithos from Phaistos (our Pl. XCI.2) was ascribed by D. Levi to his period 3 (equivalent to MM III); it may, however, still belong to the protopalatial period according to its style and decorative composition.

The rise of representations showing scenes of goat hunting which may still fall into the final phase of the Old Palace period (Pl. XCI.3)⁷ may be indebted to Oriental, particularly Egyptian, models (Pl. XCI.4), where the themes of caprids being presented as offering gifts as well as being hunted have long been common. Once this subject had entered Minoan arts, it remained a favourite until the end of the Bronze Age. Depictions of goats being hunted by either dogs or men prevail in glyptics in the earlier part of the Late Bronze Age, and these images also appear on pictorial larnakes and vases in the later part of this period, for example on the clay coffin from Hierapetra (Pl. XCI.5) and the krater from Moulia (Pl. XCI.6) which are dated to the LM IIIB and LM IIIC phases respectively.⁸ It is a well-founded suggestion that these representations on clay depend mainly on models from lost wall paintings.⁹

The integration of goat hunting scenes into the sepulchral pictorial repertoire attests to its symbolic meaning. As N. Marinatos¹⁰ has convincingly argued, there is a close association between hunting and sacrifice. This is no less true for the goat cycle than it is for bull representations. Although the frequently represented bull leaping scene is matched by only a single corresponding instance within the goat cycle (cf. Pl. XCI.7a-b), there are obvious parallels of basic iconographic aspects within both series – bull and goat. In addition to depictions of peaceful animal life (cf. Pl. XCI.8a-b), we also encounter both animals being hit by arrows penetrating the neck or breast (cf. Pl. XCII.9a-b). Like the bull, the goat is either captured alive or killed (cf. Pl. XCII.10a-d), and both animals are put onto the offering table in order to be butchered (cf. Pl. XCII.11a-b). Bull and goat heads are repeatedly combined with either a living animal or another skull (cf. Pl. XCII.12a-b), which predicts, as a kind of pictorial determinatif, the sacrificial role of the animal.¹¹ Correspondingly a bucranium is placed below the legs of a hunter going to stab a goat (Pl. XCII.10b). This common symbolic connection of the hunting and sacrifice of wild animals is particularly seen on a three-sided gem from Crete (Pl. XCII.13): one side of it (c) depicts a running goat, that is, a goat being hunted, whereas the next side (a) represents the face of a dignitary who is characterized as the hunter by his attributes of bow and arrow. N. Marinatos has convincingly argued¹² that the specific physiognomy of this person may also identify him as the priest who executed the sacrifice which is suggested by the skull of bull or goat depicted on the seal's third side (b). Thus hunting and sacrifice represent two aspects of a ritually connected sequence of events. It may also be mentioned here that there is evidence for (wild) goat sacrifice in the archaeological record.¹³ Most recently Ph. Betancourt has reported a LM IIIA deposit at Chrysokamino which is apparently connected with ritual activity; it included "a pair of wonderfully preserved horns of goats."¹⁴

7 This gem has been questioned by V.E.G. KENNA, *Cretan Seals* (1960) 154, pl. 20, but I can see no cogent reason to deny its authenticity; it has also been accepted by BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 4, 1992) 21, 23 fig. 13.

8 For further examples of goat hunting on LM Larnakes cf. the Larnax from Knossos, A. EVANS, *The Prehistoric Tombs at Knossos* (1906) 29f, fig. 26 a; Other objects which may also belong here are the recently published chest from Kastelli Pedhiados; G. RHETHEMIOTAKIS, *A Chest-Shaped Vessel and other LM III Pottery from Katelli Pediada*, in *Crète Mycénienne* 407-421; *Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete* 55, 109 n. 41, and the larnax from Tanagra, K. DEMAPOULOU, D. KONSOLA, *Archäologisches Museum Theben* (1981) 42 (side B).

9 Cf., e.g., P. Rehak's comment on the Isopata gold ring (*supra* n. 4) 168: the iconography "suggests for the ring an origin in mural painting."

10 N. MARINATOS, *Minoan Sacrificial Ritual. Cult Practice and Symbolism* (1986) 42f; despite the criticism raised by E.F. BLOEDOW, "Notes on Animal Sacrifices in Minoan Religion," *JPR* X (1996) 31-41, this concept is, as I think, basically correct; Cf. also STAMPOLIDIS *et al.* (*supra* n. 8) 55; On archaeological records of wild goat sacrifices, see G. FORSTENPOINTNER, "Stierspiel oder Bocksgesang? Archäozoologische Aspekte zur Interpretation des Hornviehs als Opfertier in der Ägäis," in F. BLAKOLMER (ed.), *Österreichische Forschungen zur Ägäischen Bronzezeit 1998, Akten der Tagung am Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Wien 1998* (2000) 41-54; On (wild) goat hunting cf. H.-G. BUCHHOLZ, G. JÖHRENS, I. MAULL, "Jagd und Fischfang," *Archaeologia Homerica* Bd. II, Kap. J (1973) 55ff; An article demonstrating "that the Cretans extensively hunted wild goats in the Bronze Age" has been announced by BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 4, 1990) 67 n. 59.

11 On this view cf. MARINATOS (*supra* n. 10) 40.

12 MARINATOS (*supra* n. 10) 25.

13 For goat horns in contexts suggesting sacrifice cf. below Appendix C.

14 P.B. BETANCOURT, "Excavation at Chrysokamino, Crete, in 1997," *AJA* 102 (1998) 391.

Finally there remain the animal skulls assembled on several representations (cf. Pl. XCII.12b, XCII.14a,b), among them a remarkable gem of unknown provenience (Pl. XCII.14b) which associates a priest's head with the protomes of several species of sacrificial/sacrificed animals, such as lion, bull and goat.¹⁵ Furthermore, goat rhyta also appear in the well known class of ritual vessels shaped as animal protomes. Here two sub-classes can be distinguished. The first — a vessel to which a goat's head has been attached — is well attested by extant examples of clay rhyta¹⁶ (cf. Pl. XCIII.15). The second class, documented only by specimens depicted on the so-called Keftiu-frescoes at Thebes in Egypt (cf. Pl. XCIII.16), shows a rhyton completely shaped as a goat protome, but this image has left no archaeologically tracable remains.¹⁷

The artifacts discussed so far have a realistic background in that they either depict the natural setting of goats or come from the repertoire of actual cult equipment. There is, however, another main category, also complementary to the ritual aspect, which expresses the supernatural and visionary dimension of the goat's role as an associate of female and male deities.

Perhaps the most spectacular representation of this category is provided by the well-known fresco from Hagia Triada, room 14.¹⁸ This scene has been reconstructed by M. Cameron as a landscape (Pl. XCIII.17) in which a goddess is seated on a shrine-like structure surrounded by flowers and animals, including goats in a prominent place, while another female figure in an apparently kneeling attitude is engaged in an activity which may be understood as plucking crocuses. The goddess who seems to remain without a specific occupation may originally have been represented as feeding or enticing goats in front of or on either side of her, as can be seen on several charming sealings from Hagia Triada (Pl. XCIII.18a), Chania (Pl. XCIII.18b), Zakro, and Knossos¹⁹ (the appearance of this type of representation at these sites may reflect political and administrative interrelations). There is reason to suppose that the original metal signets by which these impressions were produced were owned by high palatial functionaries; and it is also likely that the specific subject and iconography of the seals was derived from the fresco from Hg. Triada, room 14, or from similar wall paintings. To some extent, at Hg. Triada and in western Crete the design of the goddess and her goats seems to have enjoyed a prominence comparable to that held by the bull at Knossos.²⁰

The Minoan version of the goddess associated with goats is continued in the well-known ivory relief from Minet el-Beida (Pl. XCIII.19)²¹ which testifies to a Late Bronze Age proliferation of this compositional scheme beyond Crete. The related theme of a seated

- 15 The authenticity of this specimen has been questioned (CMS XIII 22D), but the gem has been accepted as genuine by N. MARINATOS, *Minoan Religion* 131 fig. 93, and BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 10) 33 with n. 15, fig. 4.
- 16 On goat head rhyta made of clay, see the specimens from Palaikastro: R.M. DAWKINS, *BSA* 10 (1903/4) 206f, fig. 4; *PM* II, 537, fig. 341; H. SACKETT and M. POPHAM, *BSA* 65 (1970) 218 fig. 9 and pl. 57a; and from Achladia: L. PLATON, "The Minoan 'Villa' in Eastern Crete," in R. HÄGG (ed.), *The Function of the "Minoan Villa," Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 1992* (1997) 187-202, 199f (where, note 27, a still unpublished specimen from Thera-Akrotiri is mentioned).
- 17 For goat rhyta on the Keftiu representations cf. *PM* II, 535; W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1979) 64ff; they occur also outside the Keftiu paintings, e.g. in the tomb of Hui at Thebes (TT40), cf. *Ägypten und Levante* VI (1996) 158 fig. 3; For Egyptian alabaster vases with handles shaped as goat protomes cf. I. JACOBSSON, *Ägyptiaca from Late Bronze Age Cyprus* (1994) pl. 80f.
- 18 *Aegean Painting* A.T. No.1.
- 19 For the Knossos sealing cf. M. POPHAM, M.A.V. GILL, *The Latest Sealings from the Palace at Knossos* (1995) pl. 32, no. 1277; for Zakros: M. PERNA, *Kadmos* 33 (1994) 34, fig. 2.
- 20 For the significance of the bull iconography at Knossos cf. E. HALLAGER, "The Knossian Bull- Political Propaganda in Neopalatial Crete?," in *POLITEIA* 547-556.
- 21 C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, "Les Fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra," *Syria* 10 (1929) 291-293, Taf 56; H. FRANKFORT, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1963) 155, fig. 150; H.J. KANTOR, "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.," *AJA* 51 (1947) Taf. 22J; M.-H. GATES, "Mycenaean Art for the Levantine Market? The Ivory Lid from Minet el Beidha/Ugarit," in *EIKΩN* 77-8.; P. REHAK and J.G. YOUNGER, "International Styles of Ivory Carving in the Bronze Age," in E.H. CLINE and D. HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium, Aegaeum* 18 (1998) 229-254, 249 with n. 195, pl. XXVII a.

goddess flanked by goats also appears on Cyprus in a group of local cylinder seals in an orientaling style (cf. Pl. XCIII.20). These have been seen as representing a 'Caprid Goddess.'²²

Another compositional scheme appearing on several seals is related to that of the Hg. Triada fresco but nevertheless distinguished from it by showing the 'goat goddess' in a standing attitude (Pl. XCIV.21a-c). These images are a further indication of the widespread popularity of this subject which found its expression in different versions.

The close connection between the goat and the female sphere is evident in two other iconographical variations that appear in seals. First, we find that goat hunting may occasionally have been a female occupation. On a gem from Cyprus (Pl. XCIV.22), which is stylistically very Aegean, the hunting person has been repeatedly described as female.²³ Furthermore, goats appear on a group of stones which depict women carrying quadrupeds destined for sacrifice (Pl. XCIV.23a-b).²⁴

There is, moreover, a close linkage of goats and crocuses as was recently pointed out by P. Rehak. Crocuses figure prominently not only on the Hg. Triada painting (Pl. XCIII.17) and the Palaikastro rhyton (Pl. XCIII.15) mentioned above, they also appear on the goat-fresco from the "House of Frescoes" at Knossos where, according to M. Cameron's reconstruction (Pl. XCIV.24), two goats flank an olive tree which grows below a field of crocus flowers.²⁵ The same species also occurs on the relief rhyton with peak sanctuary from Kato Zakros.²⁶ The fresco with the gathering of crocus flowers from Xeste 3 at Thera, Akrotiri, suggests that the crocus flower has a distinct female connotation.²⁷ This may also be true for the tree in the center of the painting from the "House of Frescoes" at Knossos since trees of the same type are the object of a ceremony performed by female attendants on the so-called 'Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco' from the same palace.²⁸

The general female bias of the goat motif is also seen in the presence of female passengers driving the goat-drawn chariot depicted on one of the narrow sides of the Hg. Triada sarcophagus (Pl. XCIV.25).²⁹ Whether the occupants driving the chariot on the seal from Avdou (Pl. XCIV.26) are male as is commonly suggested,³⁰ or female, must be left open. However, an interpretation of them as long-robed female persons with short hairstyle should not be categorically excluded.³¹

22 J.M. WEBB, "A Cypriote Caprid Goddess?," *RDAC* (1988) 275-279.

23 V.E.G. KENNA, "A Lentoid from Enkomi," *RDAC* (1965) 9f; V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus* (1968) 40 and pl. 37.2.

24 On the group as a whole cf. SAKELLARAKIS, "To thema tes pherouses zoon gynaikos eis ten kretomykenaiken sphragidoglyphian," in *Kretomykenaiika* (1992) 233-250 (*AE* 1972, 245-278); MARINATOS (*supra* n. 10) 34f; as N. Marinatos stresses, there is, in almost all specimens of this group, no clear indication of the species of quadrupeds depicted. That goats – perhaps already deprived of their horns? – are meant is, at least, an open possibility; other options may be either sheep, ram or deer; Cf. however the seal/sealing (our fig. 23a,b) which unequivocally shows a woman carrying a goat.

25 M. CAMERON, "Unpublished Paintings from the 'House of the Frescoes' at Knossos," *BSA* 63 (1968) 1-31, 25f, fig. 4; *Aegean Painting* 170, Kn No.3.

26 Cf. the drawing by J. SHAW, "Evidence for the Minoan Tripartite Shrine," *AJA* 82 (1978) 429-448, 432-438, figs. 5-9; REHAK (*supra* n. 4) 173 with n. 85.

27 Cf. S. HILLER, "Thera Ships, Egypt, and Homer," in S. SHERRATT (ed.), *The Wall Paintings of Thera* (2000) I, 334-343, 341.

28 *PM* III, 66ff, pl. XVIII; *Aegean Painting* 173 Kn no. 16; *Minoan Religion* 58f.

29 On this motif cf. LONG (*supra* n. 4) 55 with n. 13 and 14; J.H. CROUWEL, *Chariots and Other Means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece* (1981) 160 L5; pl. 32b; BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 4, 1990) 68.

30 *PM* IV, 823, fig. 803; The chariot occupants are described as having "short curly hair like men, and one may wear a sword" by LONG (*supra* n. 4) 55, and are taken as "two men in a chariot," by J. BOARDMAN, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970) 102 no. 110; in a neutral way they are called, more cautiously, "persons" by KENNA (*supra* n. 7) and "occupants" by BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 4, 1990) 60.

As BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 4, 1990) 68 n. 62 recalls, Evans "rejected the idea that the occupants...were divine, but at the same time appears to have had difficulty in seeing the scene as realistic." S. HOOD, *The Minoans. Crete in the Bronze Age* (1971) remarks: "The occupants of these chariots may have been divine; but there is no reason why goats should not have been trained as draught animals."

31 Cf. the hair-style of the lady carrying a goat, *CMS* XI, 27, here fig. 23a. Cf. also the description of the occupants driving a griffin-drawn chariot on the gold ring from Antheia, *CMS* V Suppl. IB, 137 ("das Geschlecht ist nicht bestimmbar").

A place of ritually enacted divine epiphany is indicated by the olive tree depicted on the goat panel from the “House of Frescoes” at Knossos, a suggestion which may likewise be valid for the central “baitylos” flanked on either side by goats on the Kato Zakros rhyton. Epiphany may also apply to a series of gems where we again find goats flanking either a central column (Pl. XCIV.27a) or a central tree (Pl. XCIV.27b).³² The tree motif is inspired by oriental works of art (cf. Pl. XCV.28a). Both tree and column are indicators of potential divine epiphany, and either can be combined with female or male deities.

Finally we have to regard the compositional schemes involving males, particularly that showing a masculine deity forcibly grasping two goats which flank him at either side (Pl. XCV.29). It is generally agreed that this composition, which derived from oriental sources,³³ adheres more closely to its oriental prototype than does the rather Minoanized-looking female counterpart who generally shows a more tender relation to her associate animals.

Representations of a male deity who forcibly grasps flanking goats have so far been found almost exclusively on the mainland. An example of high artistic quality (Pl. XCV.28b), which was perhaps reworked by a Mycenaean carver, was contained in the Thebes hoard of imported Oriental cylinder seals. Contrary to the Minoan fondness for the gentler female version of this subject, there apparently existed on the mainland a predilection for the more forcible male equivalent. For example, the only known representation of a man leading a goat to sacrifice was found at Mycenae (Pl. XCV.30); a comparable depiction from Pylos (Pl. XCV.31) shows a male deity and an adorant together with a goat, all acting in what seems to be a rocky landscape. A gem said to come from Kydonia (Pl. XCV.32) presents a male deity flanked by both a genius and a winged goat;³⁴ this composition has relatively close parallels within oriental glyptic art where the motif of the winged goat (cf. Pl. XCV.28c) is very popular.

As far as I can see, the only exception to the rule in which the Minoan ‘Mistress of Goats’ never appears as a deity treating her associated animals with physical power is represented in the Kato Zakros diadem (Pl. XCV.33).³⁵ The image on the diadem, however, may simply be the Minoan female version of the mainland’s masculine motif. Apart from this object, there is, as far as I am aware, no further instance of this image in the Aegean, though it does appear in Near Eastern iconography (cf. Pl. XCV.34).

The existence of a Near Eastern ‘Caprid Goddess’ may be concluded from a Mesopotamian text of the Gudean period (cf. Appendix A), and a similar idea may have existed in Minoan religion, contrary to the goat’s predominantly male association in mainland iconography, where corresponding instances of goats in general remain a relatively rare phenomenon. To the best of my knowledge, an explicitly divine ‘Goddess of Wild Goats’ has been suggested only by N. Platon,³⁶ and a ‘Master of the Goats’ has, so far, not been postulated at all. Both cases, I think, invite criticism. About the first, female deities prevail in general in Minoan iconography, and concerning the second, the obvious scarcity of mainland representations of the ‘Master of the Goats’ strongly recommends caution before accepting the role of deity.

Because of their different characters, it is unlikely that a ‘Mistress’ and ‘Master of Goats’ were seen as related deities or that they formed a kind of divine couple. But since any relevant contemporary literary source is lacking, there is no way to reach a well-founded conclusion either about the sphere associated with these deities or about their names or other possible

32 On the meaning of these objects in heraldic compositional schemes cf. MARINATOS (*supra* n. 10) 61 with n. 15, 64 with n. 71; MARINATOS (*supra* n. 15) 154.

33 On the oriental derivation of the so-called Potnios Theron cf. LONG (*supra* n. 4) 56 with n. 22a; A. TAMVAKI, “A Study in Mycenaean Glyptic and Iconography,” *BSA* 69 (1974) 282-286 (Appendix II [A], ‘The Master of the Animals’).

34 Doubts on its authenticity have been expressed by J.H. BETTS, “Notes on a possible Minoan forgery,” *BSA* 60 (1965) 203-206, which, however, have not been regarded as convincing by other scholars. The gem is seen as genuine by: B. RUTKOWSKI, “Frühgriechische Kultdarstellungen” *AM Beih.* 8 (1981) fig. 22.6; P. REHAK, “The Genius in Late Bronze Glyptic,” in I. PINI and J.-C. POURSAT (eds), *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, *CMS Beih.* 5 (1995) 227, fig. 10; MARINATOS (*supra* n. 15) 169 fig. 160.

35 N. PLATON, *Zakros. The Discovery of a Lost Palace* (1971) 11 (fig.) 22f.

36 PLATON (*supra* n. 35) 22f.

specific features of their nature. Similarly, it seems beyond our methodological abilities to decide whether different animals, such as lions, griffins, dogs, birds, etc., which are also associated with either a male or a female deity, indicate distinct divine individualities or are merely different aspects of a single or several deities, respectively. It seems unlikely that specific animals belonged exclusively to specific deities. E. Bloedow, questioning N. Platon's view of a 'Wild Goat Goddess' on the Giamalakis diadem, said: "Such a scene does not, however, require one to extrapolate from it a 'Goddess of Wild Goats,' any more than similar scenes require one to conclude that there was a Goddess of Griffins, or a Goddess of Lions, or a Goddess of Bulls."³⁷ Thus, also from my point of view, there is no firm basis for knowing whether the associate goats under discussion here represent the attribute of a specific female and male deity or whether they are simply more or less randomly interchangeable elements with no definite implications about the individuality of their respective overlords.

Given all these restrictions, it is to be expected that scholars have questioned whether the representation of the 'Master of the Animals' had any concise meaning for the Late Bronze Age spectator or was simply a popular decorative device.³⁸ Yet this seems too pessimistic, since in this case later depictions of 'Mistresses' and 'Masters of Animals' would also fall under this verdict, which seems rather unlikely. As a sacrificial animal, the goat owns a specific relationship to the sphere of the divine. As an attribute of the deity, the goat symbolizes in a general way both the natural realm of the deity and a specific and appropriate offering gift.

In conclusion, it may be added that, like other religious features rooted in common belief, the ritual function and religious aspect of the goat survived the great break at the end of the Late Bronze Age. In addition to eleventh century vase-paintings including goats, we find on Protogemetric Cyprus charming goat-shaped rhyta which undoubtedly served cult purposes (Pl. XCV.35). At the end of the eighth century the 'Master of Goats' happens to make his comeback in both Attic vase painting (Pl. XCV.36) and on Cycladic relief vases (Pl. XCV.37), and he was followed in the seventh century by representations of the 'Mistress of Goats' (Pl. XCV.38), who, by now, may be identified with the goddess Artemis. As attested by the impressive remains of an altar constructed of goat horns at Dreros,³⁹ as well as by corresponding age-old traditions of bomoi keratinoi at Delos and Epehesos,⁴⁰ goats continued to be a most important species of sacrificial animal in the first millennium B.C.

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37 BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 4, 1990) 65 n. 45.

38 Cf. TAMVAKI (*supra* n. 33) 284: "Sakellariou may be right in thinking that the Minoans borrowed the motif without a proper understanding of its religious context" (referring to A. SAKELLARIOU, *Les cachets minoens de la collection Giamalakis* [1958] 82ff).

39 S. MARINATOS, "Le temple géométrique de Dréros," *BCH* 60 (1938) 214-236, esp. 241ff.

40 Most recently FORSTENPOINTNER (*supra* n. 10) 44, 50.

APPENDIX A: EXCURSUS ON ORIENTAL AND GREEK LITERARY SOURCES
CONCERNING RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF DEER/GOATS

Given the complete lack of Minoan/Mycenaean sources, the following Oriental and classical Greek literary sources may help enlighten several aspects of the subject discussed above. These texts suggest (1) the association of a female deity with a holy deer, (2) the magic use of goat horns, (3) the use of deer to draw chariots within cult processions, (4) the ability of wild goats to free themselves from poisoned arrows, and (5) a possible ethnological parallel to the sacredness of the goat as an animal of sacrifice.

1. From BLOEDOW's article, (*supra* n. 4, 1990) 75, referring to A. SALONEN, *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien* (1976), I take the following quotation based on a text dating from the period of Gudea in the Third Dynasty of Ur (c. 2100 B.C.). In Old Mesopotamia "deer were not only extensively hunted, but they were also kept in captivity, to wit, in a temple – namely, for their milk. Thus, *the milk of lu-lim* [= lulimlu = deer in general], whose young are called 'kids,' is presented to the deity Ningirsu at the times of the offering-meal... "In order that the fat may become good and that the milk may become good, so that the sacred goats, the milk-goats, the 'deer-kids' and the mother Ningirsu may never be wanting for fat or milk in the Temple of Eninu (Gudea) has appointed the 'Lord of the Lulima [the Deer], the Herdsman of the Deer-Kids,' to exercise his holy office in the service of Ningirsu."
2. From V. HAAS, "Der heilkundige Jäger," *SMEA* 40 (1998) 143f: "Auch die *materia magica* Horn einer Wildziege (SI Zu.Kur.ra) der Beschwörerin Allaiturahi [VAT 13019a] mag ein Jäger oder Hirte gebracht haben."
3. PAUS. 7.18.11f. "Every year too the people of Patrae celebrate the festival Laphria in honour of their Artemis... The festival begins with a most splendid procession in honour of Artemis, and the maiden officiating as priestess rides last in the procession upon a car yoked to deer."
4. CICERO Nat. Deor. II 126: "*Capras autem in Creta feras cum essent confixae venenatis sagittiis, herbam quaerere quae dictamus vocaretur quam cum gustavissent sagittas excidere dicunt e corpore.*" (On poisoned arrows cf. *Od.* 1, 261).
5. ARRIAN *anab.* VII. 20. 2-6: "He was informed of two islands out at the sea near the mouth of Euphrates... (of which) the smaller one is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; it also contained a shrine of Artemis, and the island's inhabitants spent their lives round the shrine; it pastured wild goats and deer which were consecrated to Artemis and could range free, and no one was allowed to hunt them unless he desired to sacrifice one to the goddess: only on this condition was hunting not forbidden."

APPENDIX B: LIST OF SELECTED BRONZE AGE REPRESENTATIONS
OF (WILD) GOATS, MAINLY WITHIN RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

I. Goat hunting, goat sacrifice, and related subjects

A. Goat Hunting

Glyptic

1. MM II/III half cylinder, from Crete, Oxford CS 1938.790 (Pl. XCI.3); *PM* I, 197, fig. 145.
2. Amygdaloid, "from Hg. Pelagia," Oxford CS 285 (Pl. XCII.10c); *PM* IV, 577, fig. 559; BOARDMAN (*supra* n. 30) pl. 85.
3. Lentoid, "from Mirabello" (Pl. XCII.10b); *PM* IV, 577, fig. 558; BOARDMAN (*supra* n. 30) pl. 122.
4. Lentoid, London BM (Pl. XCII.10a); *CMS* VII, no. 131.
5. Rectangular Seal from Asine (Pl. XCII.10d); *CMS* I, no. 199.
6. Three-sided seal, priv. coll. (Pl. XCII.13); *CMS* VIII, no. 110; MARINATOS (*supra* n. 10) 26, fig. 14; MARINATOS (*supra* n. 15) 129, fig. 91.
7. Lentoid from Enkomi. KENNA (*supra* n. 23) 9f; KARAGEORGHIS (*supra* n. 30) Taf. 37.2

Larnakes, Vase Paintings

1. Sarcophagus from Knossos; EVANS (*supra* n. 8) 29f, fig. 26 a.
2. Larnax from Armenoi; AAA 4 (1971) 219, fig. 6; V. WATROUS, *Hesperia* 60 (1931) pl. 87.
3. Larnax from Hierapetra (Pl. XCI.5); A. KANTA, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete* (1980) 150ff; MARINATOS (*supra* n. 15) 236f, fig. 242f.
4. Krater from Moulana (Pl. XCI.6); *PM* IV, 376 fig. 314a.

Relief Vase

1. Frgm. of a relief vase, Ashmolean Museum 1938.698; P. WARREN, *Minoan Stone Vases* (1969) 89, pl. 488c.

B. Goat struck by arrow

1. Lentoid from Vapheio (Pl. XCII.9b); *CMS* I, no. 242. - On this frequent motif cf. also *CMS* V suppl. IB, nos. 155, 235; VII, no. 42; IX, no. 141; XII no. 304, 15D; XIII, no. 76, 144.

C. Goat grappling

1. Lentoid from Pylos (Pl. XCI.7b); *CMS* V, no. 638.

D. Goat carried by female figure

1. Lentoid from Elis, Berlin (Pl. XCIV.23a); *CMS* XI, no. 27.
2. Sealing from Pylos (Pl. XCIV.23b); *CMS* I, *Suppl.*, no. 180, cf. *CMS* XI, no. 27.
3. Lentoid from Vapheio; *CMS* I, no. 220 ("Frauen mit Ziege"); cf. also no. 222.

E. Goat on table of sacrifice

1. Lentoid from Mycenae, Berlin (Pl. XCII.11a); *CMS* XI, no. 52 ("rind"), interpreted as wild goat by, BLOEDOW (*supra* n. 10) 37 fig. 15; MARINATOS (*supra* n. 10) 13 fig. 1; BOARDMAN (*supra* n. 30) pl. 185 ("dead goat").

F. Goat and adorant at sanctuary

1. Gold ring from Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 84 (Pl. XCV.30); *CMS* I, no. 119.
2. Gold ring from Pylos (Pl. XCV.31); *CMS* I, no. 292.

G. Goat (and) protome(s)

1. Lentoid, Athens, (Pl. XCII.12a); *CMS* I, *Suppl.*, no. 111
2. Three-sided steatite prism, Munich, (Pl. XCII.12b); *CMS* XI, no. 143.
3. Lentoid from Perati; *CMS* I, no. 393.
4. Lentoid, from "Central Crete" (Pl. XCII.14a); *PM* IV, 587, fig. 581.
5. Lentoid, from Axos; *CMS* II 3, no. 6 (two heraldic goats and bucranium between them).
6. Lentoid, "from Mycenae" (Pl. XCII.14b); *CMS* XIII, 22D.

H. Goat as predator's victim (selective list)

1. Lentoid, Athens; RUTKOWSKI (*supra* n. 34) fig. 22.1.
2. Oval gem, from Knossos, Northern Cemetery; J.N. COLDSTREAM and H.W. CATLING, *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs* (1996) II, 69, 541, pl. 64 (18.f3).
3. Lentoid from Dendra; CMS I, 193.
4. Sword hilt, Knossos, Zafer Papoura, Chietain's tomb; PM IV, 866, fig. 851.

II. Goats and deities or divine emblems

A. Goats and seated female deity

1. Fresco from Hg. Triada (Pl. XCIII.17); cf. *supra* n. 18.
2. Sealing from Chania (Pl. XCIII.18a); CMS V, Suppl. IA, no. 175.
3. Sealing from Hg. Triada; CMS II.6, no. 30.
4. Sealing from Hg. Triada (Pl. XCIII.18b); CMS II.6, no. 31.
5. Sealing from Knossos; BETTS, BSA 62 (1967) 35, Nr. 23C; POPHAM, GILL (*supra* n. 19) pl. 32 no. 1277.
6. Ivory relief (pyxis lid) from Minet el Beida (Pl. XCIII.19); cf. *supra* n. 21.

B. Goats and standing female deity

1. Lentoid, Basel, priv. coll. (Pl. XCIV.21a); CMS X, no. 160.
2. Lentoid from Armenoi, Rethymnon (Pl. XCIV.21b); CMS V, Suppl. IB, no. 260.
3. Lentoid, Oxford, formerly Coll. de Jong (Pl. XCIV.21c); J. BOARDMAN, "The de Jong Gems," in *Antichità Cretesi, Studi in Onore di Doro Levi, Cronache di Archeologia* 12 (1972) 118 fig. 1.6.

C. Goats held by standing female deity ("Potnia Theron" scheme)

1. Gold Diadem, from Kato Zakros (Pl. XCV.33); L.V. MATT, *Das Antike Kreta* (1967) 171 below.

D. Goats held by standing male deity ("Potnios Theron" scheme)

1. Sealing from Mycenae (Pl. XCV.29); W. MÜLLER, J.-P. OLIVIER, I. PINI, AA (1998) 32 fig. 6.24.
2. Sealing from Mycenae; TAMVAKI (*supra* n. 33) 270f, pl. 46b; CMS V, no. 594; The sealing is unprecise; either cervids (CMS) or caprids (Tamvaki) are depicted.
3. Lentoid, coll. Metaxas; CMS IV 38D.
4. Lentoid "from Kydonia," Athens, Benaki Museum (Pl. XCV.32); cf. *supra* n. 34.

E. Goats and baetyl

1. Steatite Rhyton from Kato Zakro. Cf. *supra* n. 4 and 26.
2. Fragment of ivory relief from Dendra, reconstruction by REHAK (*supra* n. 3) 227, fig. 9; The reconstruction suggests a baetyl shaped like that on the Kato Zakro rhyton flanked by "genius" (left) and "goat" (right).

F. Goats and tree

1. Fresco from "House of the Frescoes," Knossos (Pl. XCIV.24); cf. *supra* n. 25.
2. Gold ring from Mycenae, chamber tomb 88; CMS I, no. 123 (an interpretation of the animals as representing goats rather than bulls is more likely).
3. Gold ring from Mycenae, chamber tomb 520; CMS I, no. 155.
4. Lentoid from Goulas, Crete; A. EVANS, "Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cults," JHS 31 (1901) 54, fig. 32. G.R.H. WRIGHT, "The Cypriot Rural Sanctuary," in *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis* (1992) fig. 9.3
5. Lentoid, Tragana (Pl. XCIV.27b); CMS I, no. 266.

G. Goats and column

1. Lentoid, Munich (Pl. XCIV.27a); CMS XI, no. 196.

H. Goats drawing chariot

1. Sarcophagus from Hg. Triada, narrow side (Pl. XCIV.25); cf. *supra* n. 29.
2. Amygdaloid from Avdou, Crete (Pl. XCIV.26); cf. *supra* n. 30.

III. Oriental seals, from the Aegean, including goat representations

1. Cylinder seal from Perati, Tomb 9; CMS I Suppl., no. 54 (a.o. motifs, two demons holding a caprid).
2. Cylinder seal, from Perati, Tomb 142; CMS I Suppl., no. 142 (procession scene; a.o. motifs, two demons leading or carrying caprids).

3. Cylinder seal from Astraki, Crete; *CMS* II.3, no. 199 (a.o. motifs, a chariot drawn by winged goats).
4. Cylinder seal from Mycenae, chamber tomb 517; *CMS* I, *Suppl.*, no. 6 (goat between two long-robed figures).
5. Cylinder seal from Tiryns; *CMS* I *Suppl.*, no. 19 (a.o. motifs, two griffins flanking a recumbant goat [upper register], and two goats flanking a stylized tree [lower register]).
6. Cylinder seal from Thebes; E. PORADA, *AfO* 28 (1981) 58ff, no. 31 (male figure grasping two goat by their horns), and cf. also her seals no. 2, 3, 4, 12.
7. Cylinder seal from Mycenae, *CMS* V, *Suppl.* IB, no. 80 (two goats within fence).

APPENDIX C

Relics of (wild) goats in archaeological contexts

A. Domestic contexts

1. Vronda and Kastro, East Crete; W.E. KLIPPEL and L.M. SNYDER, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 180 (bones of capra aegagrus).
2. Tyllissos; according to R.W. HUTCHINSON, *Prehistoric Crete* (repr. 1968) 239, n. 2 “agrimi bones abounded in all the levels.” Cf. J. HAZZIDAKIS, *Tyllissos à l’époque minoenne* (1921) 76f.; BLOEDOW, (*supra* n. 4, 1990) 67f with n. 59f.

B. Sepulchral contexts

1. Knossos, Minoan Chamber Tomb: fragment of either goat’s or sheep’s skull; S. HOOD and P. DE JONG, *BSA* (1952) 247, fig. 4, 248f.; R. JUNG, “Menschenopferdarstellungen? Zur Analyse minoischer und mykenischer Siegelbilder,” *PZ* 72 (1997) 156.
2. Poros, Heraklion, MM III/LM I chamber tomb, goats horns from LM IIIA:2 context (later fill?); LONG (*supra* n. 4) 57 with n. 42, and 68 with n. 95 (“might be left from funerary sacrifices”); JUNG, *op. cit.*, 156 n. 128.
3. Mycenae, LH chamber tombs; JUNG, *op. cit.*, 1156. Nr. 8.
4. Tanagra; LONG (*supra* n. 4) 57 with n. 42; JUNG, *op. cit.*, 156 n. 128.
5. Perati, chamber tomb 24; cf. H.-G. BUCHHOLZ (ed.), *Ägäische Bronzezeit* (1987) 461: “...ein Ziegenhorn, sozusagen ein natürliches Amulett, lag neben dem Hals des Skeletts.”

C. Sacral (ritual) contexts

- a. Cave at Psychro; goat horns and models of goat horns; J. BOARDMAN, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford. The Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete* (1961) 9-13; L.V. WATROUS, *The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro, Aegaeum* 15 (1996) 49; FORSTENPOINTNER (*supra* n. 10) 46 with n. 90f.
- b. Cave at Trapeza; J.D.S. PENDLEBURY, M.B. MONEY-COUTS, “Excavations in the plain of Lasithi I. The Cave of Trapeza,” *BSA* 36 (1939) 5-131, esp. 22, 131; G. FORSTENPOINTNER (*supra* n. 10) 46 with n. 93.
- c. Sanctuary at Kato Syme. Accumulation of goat horns around geometric altar. A. LEBESSI, *Praktika* (1972) 192-203; FORSTENPOINTNER (*supra* n. 10) 46 with n. 94f.
- d. Juktas, peak sanctuary: L.V. WATROUS, *op. cit.*, 71f; FORSTENPOINTNER (*supra* n. 10) 46 with n. 98.
- e. Chrysokamino, Eastern Crete: BETANCOURT (*supra* n. 4) 391.

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 Pl. XCI.2 MMII/III relief vase from Phaistos, after D. LEVI, *Festos e la Civiltà Minoica*, Vol. I.2, Tavole (1976) Tav. 78.
 Pl. XCI.3 Protopalatial ivory half cylinder, from Knossos, after PM I, 197 fig. 145.
 Pl. XCI.4 Painting from the Tomb of Senbi, Meir (Middle Kingdom period), after H. MÜLLER-KARPE, *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte*, III.3 (1974) pl. 151A.
 Pl. XCI.5 LM IIIB larnax from Episkopi, after MARINATOS (*supra* n. 15) 237, fig. 243.
 Pl. XCI.6 LM IIIC krater from Moulana, after PM IV, 376, fig. 314.
 Pl. XCI.7a Lentoid from Praisos, after BSA 8, 1901/2, 252, fig. 25; (CMS II.3, 271).
 Pl. XCI.7b Lentoid from Pylos, after CMS V.2, 638.
 Pl. XCI.8a Lentoid, New York, after CMS XIII, 78.
 Pl. XCI.8b Lentoid, Boston, after CMS XIII, 19.
 Pl. XCII.9a Lentoid from Mycenae, after PM IV, 544, fig. 499 (CMS VII, 105).
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 Pl. XCII.10c Lentoid from Hagia Pelagia, Crete, after PM IV, 577, fig. 559.
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 Pl. XCII.11b Lentoid, Heraklion, after M.P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* (1951) pl. 19.2 (CMS II.3, 338).
 Pl. XCII.12a Lentoid from Perati, after CMS I, 393.
 Pl. XCII.12b Three-sided steatite prism from Crete, Munich, after CMS XI, 143.
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 Pl. XCIII.20 Cylinder seal, Cyprus, after D'ALBIAC, *Studies in Honour of V. Karageorghis* (1992) pl. LI,2.
 Pl. XCIV.21a Lentoid, Basel, after MARINATOS (*supra* n. 15) 152, fig. 125 (CMS X, 160).
 Pl. XCIV.21b Lentoid from Armenoi, after CMS V, Suppl. IB, 261.
 Pl. XCIV.21c Lentoid, after J. BOARDMAN, "The de Jong Gems," in *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in Onore di Doro Levi, Cronache di Archeologia* 12 (1972) 118 fig. 1.6.
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 Pl. XCV.28a Cylinder seal, Cyprus, after PORADA, *AfO* 28 (1981) 20 fig. b.
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 Pl. XCV.33 Gold diadem from Kato Zakros, after L.V. MATT, *Das antike Kreta* (1967) pl. 171.

- Pl. XCV.34 Gold pendants from Tell el-Ajul, after O. NEGBI, *The Hoards of Gold work from Tell el-Ajul* (1970) pl. IV,18.
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- Pl. XCV.36 Late Geometric amphora, Munich, after N. COLDSTREAM, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968) pl. 8c.
- Pl. XCV.37 Late Geometric relief pithos, from Tinos, after P.G. THEMELIS, *Frühgriechische Grabbauten* (1976) 91 fig. 8.
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