

Bachvarova, M. R. (2023) "Methodology and methods of borrowing in comparative Greek and Near Eastern religion: The case of incense-burning," in *The Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient Near East. 64th Rencontre Assyriologique*, Innsbruck, July 16th–20th, 2018, eds. R. Rollinger, I. Madreiter, M. Lang and C. Pappi. Vienna. 175–89.

Methodology and Methods of Borrowing in Comparative Greek and Near Eastern Religion: The Case of Incense-Burning

Mary R. Bachvarova

Abstract: The practice of incense-burning to call gods is examined to illustrate how the motivation for borrowing the cultural practice was derived from its means of transmission to Greece.

“At every turn, the art of seventh-century Greece stares you in the face, and its stare is the inscrutable stare of the east.” So declared the Hellenist Robin Osborne some 20 years ago.¹ Art historians have come a long way from the essentialist orientalism exemplified in this paradigm, in which Near Eastern prototypes were used to exemplify Greek creativity and originality by showing how the Greeks “improved” on them by making them more naturalistic and humanistic.² Yet, comparative studies of Greek and Near Eastern literature still tend to rely on Walter Burkert’s 30-year-old paradigm, which explained the transfer of ideas as the result of Near Eastern craftsmen, both of material goods and the “sacred”, moving to the “free enterprise” West to seek better opportunities.³ I have critiqued this orientalist model, which presumes a Polyanyian stagnant and despotic East, at some length elsewhere,⁴ so I will not go into detail here. Rather, I will lay out my own approach: it focuses much more on how Anatolia and Cyprus were key links between Greece and Mesopotamia, and emphasizes the ways in which Hittite materials cast light on the later processes of borrowing engaged in by the Greeks by allowing us to see how Syro-Mesopotamian culture was received and made meaningful

¹ Osborne 1998, 43. See Osborne’s larger discussion on pp. 10–14, 35–85.

² Gunter 2009.

³ Burkert 1992, 203; idem 2004, 1–15; followed by West 1997, 611.

⁴ Bachvarova 2016, 199–206.

on its western periphery. Additionally, the Hittite archives supply us with an unusual array of texts, since they liked to write down things that other Near Easterners did not, for example magico-medical rituals that present themselves as dictated by illiterate performers, which actually can provide information about what illiterate Syro-Mesopotamian verbal artists were doing insofar as we can find parallels with Mesopotamian rituals;⁵ Hurro-Hittite narrative songs, which I have argued are the closest attested relatives to the Near Eastern tradition that Greek hexametric poetry drew on;⁶ and descriptions of festivals. Similarly, archaic Greek texts with parallels to Near Eastern scribal works provide a glimpse of the otherwise inaccessible oral layer of Near Eastern literature. Moreover, when focusing on parallels alone, we can get into debates of coincidence, whether a parallel is too trivial, etc., whereas focusing on the who, what, why, when, where, and how of transmission pushes us to discuss processes of cultural interaction, and the values and intentions of the actors involved. Accomplishing this requires combining archaeological and textual evidence, and avoiding the kinds of orientalist assumptions that have historically shaped our understanding of the relationship between Greek and Near Eastern cultures. Finally, even trivial parallels become more interesting if we can explain the means of their transmission.

The use of incense presents an interesting case for which we can flesh out the archaeological evidence with textual evidence, the former anchoring us in space and time and the latter giving meaning to voiceless artefacts, here tall candelabra-style *thymiateria*, to give a better understanding of why, when, where, and how incense-burning was popularized as a cult practice among Greek-speakers, and who contributed to making it popular. More specifically, it is possible to explain how incense-burning became associated with Aphrodite, going beyond the orientalizing analyses assuming natural links among the exotic aroma of incense, the “East”, sensuality, and Aphrodite, as found in Detienne (1995, 99–122) and Simon, Sarian, and Milanezi (2004, 258–259). Yes, ancient Greek orientalism – a fascination with the remote East – enhanced the appeal of incense-burning to call the gods, but it was remoteness rather than sensuousness that was the significant property of incense, and this property also applied in the East

⁵ Schwemer 2013. Note that Arroyo (this volume) shows we should not assume that all ritual practitioners employed by the Hittite court were necessarily illiterate.

⁶ Bachvarova 2016.

itself. As we will see, one important link between Aphrodite and incense was their shared ability to allure an intended target, and this shared feature was exploited in narrative as well as used against the goddess, treating her with her own medicine, as it were. But another important reason the two were associated was much more prosaic: it was the shared connection with maritime rituals, which also suggests the two spread through the same means, the voyages of Phoenician and Cypriot sailors. The Bronze Age Near Eastern sources show the distant origin of incense had a synergistic effect on its ability to call divinities across equally vast spaces. This trait similarly helped to motivate its use in Near Eastern maritime rituals. Finally, there is some evidence that particular *legomena* travelled with the rite of incense-burning due to the parallels in phraseology between Late Bronze Age Syro-Anatolian incense prayers and Sappho F 2, the earliest explicit mention of incense-burning in Greek cult ritual.⁷

For the Bronze Age, historical studies of incense use have focused primarily on Mesopotamian and Ugaritic evidence,⁸ but texts from Hattusa can offer some useful details on how incense was used and why, which corroborate a set of Hurrian texts from Ugarit. Before frankincense and myrrh, both of which originate in South Arabia and the Horn of Africa, became widely available, cedar from Lebanon appears to have been the most prestigious imported incense, used in both religious and magico-medical rituals, and its origin in the far away Lebanese mountains, closer to pure heaven, enhanced its purificatory powers in Mesopotamian ritual (*Šurpu* 9.96–106).⁹ In Hittite texts, incense is typically referred to with the Sumerogram ^{GI}ERIN,¹⁰ in Hurrian *aḫri*, from the root *aḫr* “to smoke”, sometimes modified by *lablahḫi* < **lablanḫi*. The latter term has been suggested to mean “of Lebanon”,¹¹ in which case, as in the Mesopotamian ritual, cedar’s place of origin was of some importance.¹²

⁷ I use the conservative edition of Neri / Cinti (2020) for Sappho’s fragments, with occasional commonly accepted conjectures.

⁸ E.g., Morstadt 2008, 247–251.

⁹ Ed. and trans. Reiner 1958, 48; see Nielsen 1986, 25–33.

¹⁰ Kloekhorst (2008, 892–893) argues against the common interpretation of Hittite *tuh̄ueššar* as “incense”, from *tuh̄hae*- “to make smoke”, arguing rather that it means something like “soap”.

¹¹ See Haas 2003, 277–281; Richter 2012, 2–3, 235.

¹² The later, similar Greek term for frankincense, *libanōtos*, borrowed from a west Semitic language, referenced instead the white sap of the *libanos* or frankincense tree (*lbn* “to

Among the Hittites, aromatic substances were burnt in festivals and magico-medical rituals, both for the good smell and because they were thought to be purifying.¹³ Unsurprisingly though, Hurro-Hittite rituals and narratives reaching Hattusa via northern Syria (the Cedar Land) make special reference to cedar incense. Its aroma was considered to be a constituent part of sacrifice, as shown by the *Song of Hedammu*: “[Ea], king of wisdom, spoke among the gods. [Ea] began to [spe]ak, ‘Why do y[ou (pl.)] destroy it, [mankind?] They will not give offerings to the gods, and they will not burn cedar incense for us’” (CTH 348.Y, §6²).¹⁴ Its pleasing odour also signalled hospitality, at least among gods: “The Sea began to speak in turn to Im[pa]l]uri, ‘... Go, say to Kumarbi, “... Awaiting you, the cedar-incense is already broken, and awaiting you the stews are already cooked, and, awaiting you, [da]y and night the singers are holding [u]pright their lyres...”’” (*Song of Ullikummi*, CTH 345.1, §5’). Furthermore, it was used by the goddess *IŠTAR* (Anzili) for its alluring quality along with charming music when she attempted to seduce the volcanic monster Ullikummi:

She got dressed. [She] a[dorned herself ...] ... [She took] her lyre (and) *galgalturi*-cymbals [with her] ha[nd.] Anz[ili] set out [to the sea]. She burn<ed> cedar as incense, and she struck her [ly]re (and) *galgal[turi]*-cymbals. She made her gold (ornaments) f[lu]tter. She took up a [s]ong, so that heave[n] and [e]arth [we]re singing in response to her” (CTH 345.2, §8’’).

Unfortunately, the equivalent scene in the *Song of Hedammu* is too lacunose to determine whether incense was also used in *IŠTAR*’s successful seduction of the sea-snake.

As in Mesopotamian rituals, in Hurro-Hittite ritual, incense served as a go-between to bring humans’ messages to the gods. In the purificatory *itkaḫi* ritual (CTH 777) and in the rituals conventionally labelled as

be white”, cf. Hebrew *l’bōnāh* “frankincense”, Müller 1974; Nielsen 1986, 60–61). The toponym comes from the same root, referring to the snow-capped mountains of Lebanon.

¹³ Haas 2003, 279–281.

¹⁴ Translations of the *Song of Hedammu* and *Song of Ullikummi* by Bachvarova from López-Ruiz 2017, 158–176. The numeration follows the translation there. Other Hittite texts are cited according to the electronic Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln (www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/), with my own translations.

offerings for the throne of Hebat (CTH 701), the gods are named with epithets familiar to them and called from far away. In the evocation rituals (CTH 483, 484, 716), of which we have a few versions aimed at different gods, including the gods of the Cedar Land themselves, the *legomena* pair the pleasant smell of incense with the pleasant sound of music in order to gain the attention of even distant gods:

As this sweet oil is fine, and is loved by the gods and loved by humans, in the same way, let the king, queen and land of Hatti be loved by the gods! Let the scent of the cedar incense, the [sound (*vel sim*)] of the lyre, the word of the exorcist be a messag[e] to the gods. He called you, and wherever you actually are, c[om]e! And if you do not hear the first time, hea[r] the [second] time.... And come ba[ck] to [you]r temples, your throne, your seat, which are sacred, [goo]d, splendid. (CTH 484.1, §15')

The gods were not all-knowing or all-seeing; they had only a restricted range of influence, and they could be sojourning in any one of their multiple residences, from which they needed to be called. Thus, CTH 716, for *IŠTAR* of Nineveh (Hurrian Šawuška, Hittite Anzili), starts by calling her from her hometown Nineveh, then runs through an astonishingly long list of all the places she is imagined as possibly visiting. In this case the ritual, by adding the sound of *galgalturi* cymbals to lyre music and the smell of incense (CTH 716.1, §23), attempts to use Anzili's seductive techniques against her. We therefore see a possible connection between the goddess's personality and the techniques used to attract her, which may also have applied to Aphrodite in the first millennium BCE. But the "if you are in the mountains, in the rivers, etc., let the pleasant scent cedar and oil attract you" request was apparently efficacious enough to become a standard component of Hittite prayers too (e.g., CTH 377, §§3–4).

The Hittites seem to have considered the "come from wherever you are" evocation enhanced by burning cedar incense as "Syrian", which we would expect, given that is where cedar came from. It is not surprising, therefore, to see distinctive tall incense burners in the Levant already in the Late Bronze Age, as found at Ugarit,¹⁵ where lists of divinized cult implements at Ugarit include the incense burner (*uthḫt*).¹⁶ At Ugarit, however, the "come from wherever you are" evocation seems to be

¹⁵ Morstadt 2008, 207–220, OF 4a/15.

¹⁶ Morstadt 2008, 249–251.

“Hurrian”; it was performed in Hurrian especially for gods worshipped by Hurrians (Šawuška of Nineveh, KTU 1.54; Išhara, KTU 1.131; Kumarbi, KTU 1.44). Since the texts in question are in alphabetic script, their interpretation remains controversial,¹⁷ but what is clear is that gods are called from various cities where they are thought to reside (except for El, who is in heaven, KTU 1.128) and given epithets they should recognize, like “speaker of wisdom” for Išhara, an epithet also attached to her at the beginning of the Hurro-Hittite “Song of Release” (KBo 32.11 i 4–6). So, although we might not consider particularly unique the request verbalizing the process of attention-getting effected by burning incense, it was apparently viewed as having a specific origin, with a particular expert in charge of it able to persuade a particular set of gods.

The “come from wherever you are” invocation has been argued to be Proto-Indo-European in origin, being well-attested in the *Rig Veda*, where it accompanied sacrificial smoke and the scent of soma to call the gods, as well as in Hittite and Greek sources,¹⁸ but the Hurrians, who could have learned it as part of the package of Indic cultural features transmitted to them by the Mitanni,¹⁹ appear to have been the ones to transmit it to the Hittites, and the Greeks may have learned it because they participated in the larger Aegean cultural area, even if it was not, in fact, closely linked to the act of incense-burning, as I am suggesting it was.

There has been some debate over whether Homer knew of incense,²⁰ but in the *Odyssey* Homer speaks of Aphrodite’s “smoking altar” (*bōmos tethuēeis*, 8.362–363) at her home in Paphos on Cyprus, a reference picked up in the later *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (5.58–59), where her Paphian temple and altar are both described as *thuōdēs*, here surely meaning “smelling of incense”. Simon, Sarian, and Milanezi (2004, 257) find it significant that it is the Trojans who are described as making a gift to Athena *sun thuessin* “with burnt incense(?) offerings” (*Iliad* 6.270), arguing that the Trojans as Easterners knew of incense before the Greeks did. I would prefer to see this as an orientaling touch on the part of Homer, if it is truly significant. Certainly, later artists perceived a link between incense burners and the Trojans, since Greek iconography

¹⁷ Dietrich / Mayer 1994; Dietrich 2004; Lam 2011.

¹⁸ Macedo 2018; West 2007, 321–323.

¹⁹ See Wilhelm 1989, 17–19.

²⁰ Simon / Sarian / Milanezi 2004, 257.

frequently included *thymiateria* in scenes from the Trojan War story. Incense burners also appear in scenes of weddings (especially of Heracles and Hebe), worship of the gods (especially Dionysus and Aphrodite with Eros), the Adonia, and symposia (cf. the description of purifying incense in the symposium in Xenophanes F 1 West).²¹ When incense is first securely attested textually among the Greeks, it had been upgraded to frankincense, but the less knowledgeable considered it to be Syrian, since the Levant was the Greeks' point of access to the substance, although Herodotus (3.107, 112) and Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* 9.4) were aware that frankincense was harvested in southern Arabia.²²

The earliest sure mentions come from Sappho, with the stereotyped associations described above already in force. Sappho F 44, portraying the wedding of Hector and Andromache, describes myrrh mixed with cassia and frankincense being burned as the clatter of castanets and the shrill songs of maidens reach heaven, while in F 2 frankincense is used to call the "Cyprian" goddess Aphrodite specifically:

Hither to me from Crete approach, [to your] holy haunt, wh[ere your] grove
is lovely [with] apples, and in which the altars smoke with [fra]nkincense,

Where cool water sounds through the apple boughs, and the whole space is
shaded with roses, and as leaves quiver sleep pours down,

And where the horse-grazing meadow flourishes with [...] flowers, and the
winds sweetly blow [...].

Here indeed, you, oh Cypris, taking up [branches], pour as wine ambrosia
delicately mixed in gold cups for the festivities.

In Sappho 2, as with Anzili/Šawuška in CTH 716, we can imagine that Aphrodite's seductive techniques are being used to lure her from her familiar residence with a lush description of first the smell, then the sound, then the sights of her sanctuary on Lesbos, where she is welcomed to participate in the festivities as if at a symposium. This is a particularly sophisticated version of the "come from wherever you are" invocation, a trope for which Sappho was well known, according to the late 3rd-century BCE critic Menander Rhetor (*Peri Epideiktikōn* 334.26–32), who states that she "calls Aphrodite <from> Cyprus, Cnidos, Syria, and from many

²¹ Zaccagnino 1998, 85–94.

²² Groom 1981, 5, 57–59, 63, 96.

other (places)”. Sappho certainly played up the “Eastern” origins of the goddess, providing the first reference to the Adonia in Greek literature (F 140).

So, Greek iconography and early literary mentions indicate a stylized connection between incense-burning and the East, with the seductive Cyprian goddess perhaps particularly embodying the active principle of incense. This observation, however, is not the same as asserting that the East itself embodied qualities of the goddess; the Flaubertian image of the sensuous East personified in his fictional character Salamambo should not be retrojected into the first millennium BCE. I turn now to how the connection between Aphrodite and incense was made.

I argue that the original link was quite prosaic, involving the marine side of the goddess,²³ rather than her erotic side; it stemmed from Levantine sailors’ custom of burning incense in departure and arrival ceremonies, a practice already considered characteristic of them in the Late Bronze Age, as shown by a painting of Levantine sailors burning incense on the prow of their ship from the Theban tomb of Kenamun (18th Dynasty, 1427–1400 BCE).²⁴ An early 6th-century BCE clay ship model found off the coast of Cypriot Amathus with a *thymiaterion* in its prow presents evidence for the Archaic period that helps fill the gap between the Bronze Age attestations and the Hellenistic ones.²⁵ Although Brody (2005) argues that the incense burners found in shipwrecks mark them as Phoenician ships, this model represents a Cypriot-style ship. It may be that the link between incense and Aphrodite seen in the Greek sources has to do with the common vector of sailors originating from Cyprus and Phoenicia, since they helped both to spread the cult of Aphrodite as soother of waters throughout the Mediterranean and to make the equation between Aphrodite and Phoenician city goddesses, as they did between the maritime saviours Baal Şapon and Zeus Cassius.²⁶ In fact, Late Bronze Age narratives may have already expressed the characteristic action of

²³ See Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 433–437; Parker 2002, 146–152; Dimitriou 2010; Eckert 2011; 2016.

²⁴ Davies / Faulkner 1947; Brody 1998, 79.

²⁵ Basch 1999; Eckert 2011, 108.

²⁶ For the shared maritime side of the goddesses, see Bonnet 1996, 36, 79, 87–90; Brody 1998; idem 2008, 446; for Phoenician maritime deities and their Greek analogs, see Eckert 2011, 113–120; idem 2016, 424–445.

IŠTAR upon the sea as seductive soothing, since in a fragmentary episode of a Hurro-Hittite narrative song *IŠTAR* apparently attempts to mollify the sea god through tribute offerings (CTH 346.9).²⁷

What is more, the “come from wherever you are” prayer could have been part of the Phoenician and Cypriot sailors’ incense-burning rite, ultimately descended from the Hurrian incense prayers attested at Ugarit, for Sappho’s Lesbian contemporary Alcaeus also composed a “come from wherever you are” invocation, and it was directed to the Dioscuri as maritime saviour gods, who were imagined as appearing in the form of St. Elmo’s fire (F 43 Lobel-Page):

Hither to me, leaving the [Pel]oponnese, [powe]rful [children] [of] Zeus and Leda, [with well-intentioned] mind show yourself, Castor and Polydeuces;

Who throughout the wide e[arth] and all the sea go on s[wift-f]ooted horses, easily you protect humans from death most chilling,

Leaping [on] the peaks of well-benched ships bright from afar, running along the fore[stays], [br]inging [light] in the grievous night to the black ship.

To this literary evidence we can add the archaeological evidence of tall bronze candelabra-like *thymiateria* dedicated to Samian Hera. The spread of these tall *thymiateria*, typically ornamented with rings of downturned petals along the stem, scholars associate with sea-going Phoenician expansion. They were particularly popular from the second half of the 8th century to the early 5th century.²⁸ It is likely that they were also manufactured in Cyprus, where some of the earliest attested tall *thymiateria* are found, and where they are attested in particular abundance in the Early Iron Age.²⁹ As for the examples from the rest of the Greek world, a few are found at Greek sanctuaries such as at Miletus (fragments of 4 bronze candelabras and incense burners in the Aphrodite sanctuary), Lindos (3), Olympia, and Athens, but almost all – some 29 examples – come from the Samian Heraion on Samos, dating to the 7th century BCE.³⁰

²⁷ Ayali-Darshan 2015.

²⁸ Matthäus 1999; Morstadt 2008; idem 2015.

²⁹ Matthäus 2010; Morstadt 2008, 205; idem 2015, 156; Vonhoff 2015, 283–285.

³⁰ Jantzen 1972, 45–46; Morstadt 2008, 288; idem 2015, 175.

The Hera worshipped at Samos had a maritime focus, as indicated by the orientation of her shrine, which could only be reached from the coast until the Sacred Way was built in the late 7th century BCE, and by the dedications of wooden boat models (later 7th century), and even full-size boats in the 7th and 6th centuries. Archaic-period offerings involving boats at sanctuaries of Hera in Perachora and Tiryns show that Hera's powers encompassed the marine world elsewhere too.³¹ Whereas Solon (F 19 West) considered Aphrodite an appropriate deity to call upon when praying for a safe sea voyage,³² Sappho thought of Hera as the goddess to be addressed in such a situation, according to the recently published "Brothers Poem" (F 10).³³ Herodotus reports the tradition that the merchant Kolaios dedicated a tripod at the Samian sanctuary in thanks for a safe return (4.152),³⁴ and it is reasonable to infer that the candelabra-style *thymiateria* were dedicated for the same reason, referencing in addition the incense-burning ceremonies performed upon launching and arrival. The *thymiateria* thus were dedications analogous to the anchors and model ships dedicated to various salvific deities including Aphrodite and Zeus.³⁵

It is not mere coincidence that the Samian Heraion of this period presents such a wealth of Near Eastern-derived offerings;³⁶ the visitors arriving by sea made a point of their distant relations. Moreover, the offerings show awareness of how the object's function and connotations in its original Near Eastern milieu made it appropriate to the goddess; for example, horse trappings were appropriate for Hera Hippiata,³⁷ while

³¹ Baumbach 2004, 16, 40, 67, 163, 165, although he interprets the interest as naval or fishing-oriented; Kyrieleis 1993, 130, 136, 141–143; de Polignac, 1997.

³² Dimitriou 2010, 80–81.

³³ Eckert (2011, 113–114) cites three poems of Sappho as appealing to Aphrodite for a safe sea voyage, but the recent papyrus find filling in some lacunae in Sappho's fragments eliminates Aphrodite as the addressee in the appeal of F 5 (= F 25 Diehl). There is a possible *euplo.* "good sai[l]ing" in F 15 (= F 26 Diehl), but Kypris is here only addressed when Sappho wishes that Doricha should not be able to boast of her hold over Sappho's brother, and may not have been referred to in the earlier sections of the song (the Brothers Poem calls on Hera and then Zeus in separate stanzas); the extant fragments of F 20 (= F 31 Diehl), seemingly about setting sail, do not mention the goddess.

³⁴ Baumbach 2004, 170.

³⁵ Brody 1998, 75–76; idem 2008, 445; Eckert 2011, 104–105.

³⁶ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 235–244, 248–253; Strøm 1992, 48–49.

³⁷ Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 242–243.

Babylonian statues depicting a man with a dog referred to the worship of Gula, and therefore allow the inference that Hera was compared to the Mesopotamian goddess by the worshipper,³⁸ and some 16 statues of nursing Isis show Hera was compared to the Egyptian goddess.³⁹ The evidence of the *thymiateria* adds a third set of Near Eastern goddesses with whom Samian Hera was compared, the city goddesses of Phoenician city-states such as Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, Kition, and Carthage, to whom Phoenician sailors gave credit for safe sea voyages.⁴⁰ Elsewhere these Phoenician goddesses – the Lady of Byblos, Tanit, Ašerah, or Aštarte – were equated with Aphrodite, possibly through their common role as queen, but Hera was also a possible equation, again in her role as queen.⁴¹ Aphrodite, then, was not the only Greek goddess to whom sailors would have directed incense rites, at least in the Archaic period.

Dedications of *thymiateria* in the Heraion at the end of a successful voyage attested to the efficacy of the ritual; incense-burning had in fact caused the distant god to show up and soothe the ocean storms. Furthermore, incense itself, purifying, seductive, detectable at a long distance, and coming from a faraway magical land, the kind of place the gods would prefer to reside, embodied the process that the worshipper hoped would be successful at persuading his god to visit his sanctuary rather than that of one of his competitors, just as it embodied the desired success of a sailor's voyage. Indeed, Aphrodite's earliest moments as described by Hesiod represent movement across the sea, for as soon as she was born from Anu's blood falling upon the sea, she went to the island of Cythera and thence to her shrine in Cyprus (*Theogony* 188-200). In the same way, the practice of burning incense to call gods moved from one seaside sanctuary to another. Additionally, it may be that the "come from wherever you are" invocation was closely linked to the burning of incense, as sounds joined smells to exert traction on the gods, crossing in tandem the space between earth and heaven. Thus, although sailors were the means of transmission because they were the ones who brought incense on the final leg of its journey to Greece, it was their cult activities rather than their trading activities that

³⁸ Kyrieleis 1979.

³⁹ Baumbach 2004, 155–156.

⁴⁰ Bonnet 1996, 36, 79, 87–90; Brody 1998, 27–33.

⁴¹ Bonnet 1996, 15–16, 90, 116, 120–125; on the shared trait of queenliness, see Budin 2004.

gave a special meaning to its use, which was seen as enhancing the efficacy of an invocation. The combination of incense-burning and *legomena* that had proved to be effective already in the Late Bronze Age then would have spread to other sanctuaries through competitive emulation, because worshippers at each sanctuary wished to cause their deity to come to them instead of to another of his or her multiple residences.

Bibliography

- Ayali-Darshan, N., 2015: “The other version of the story of the Storm-god’s combat with the sea in the light of Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Hurro-Hittite texts”, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 15, 20–51.
- Bachvarova, M. R., 2016: *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic*, Cambridge.
- Basch, L., 1999: “Un modèle de navire chypriote du VI^e siècle av. J.-C. trouvé en mer au large d’Amathonte”, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 123, 43–64.
- Baumbach, J. D., 2004: *The Significance of Votive Offerings in Selected Hera Sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, Ionia and Western Greece*, Oxford.
- Bonnet, C., 1996: *Astarté: Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques*, Rome.
- Brody, A. J., 1998: “Each Man Cried out to his God”: *The Specialized Religion of Canaanite and Phoenician Seafarers*, Atlanta, GA.
- 2005: “Further evidence of the specialized religion of Phoenician seafarers”, in: J. Pollini (ed.), *Terra Marique: Studies in Art History and Marine Archaeology in Honor of Anna Marguerite McCann on the Receipt of the Gold Medal of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Oxford/Oakville, CT, 177–182.
- 2008: “The specialized religions of ancient Mediterranean seafarers”, *Religion Compass* 2, 444–454.
- Budin, S. L., 2004: “A reconsideration of the Aphrodite-Ashtart syncretism”, *Numen* 51, 95–145.
- Burkert, W., 1992: *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. M. E. Pinder / W. Burkert, Cambridge, MA/London.
- 2004: *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis: Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture*, Cambridge, MA/London.
- Davies, N. de G. / Faulkner, R. O., 1947: “A Syrian trading venture to Egypt”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 33, 40–46.

- de Polignac, F., 1997: “Héra, le navire et la demeure: Offrandes, divinité et société en Grèce archaïque”, in: J. de la Genière (ed.), *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes. Actes du Colloque International du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de l’Université de Lille III et de l’Association P.R.A.C. Lille*, 29–30 novembre 1993, Naples, 113–122.
- Detienne, M., 1994: *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology*, trans. J. Lloyd, Princeton.
- Diehl, E. (ed.), 1925: *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Leipzig.
- Dietrich, M., 2004: “Der kult(ur)geographische und zeitliche Horizont ugaritischer und hurritischer Priester”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 36, 11–40.
- Dietrich, M. / Mayer, W., 1994: “Hurritische Weihrauch-Beschwörungen in ugaritischer Alphabetschrift”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 26, 73–112.
- Dimitriou, D., 2010: “Τῆς πάσης ναυτιλίας φύλαξ: Aphrodite and the sea”, *Kernos* 23, 67–89.
- Eckert, M., 2011: “Die Aphrodite der Seefahrer”, *Hephaistos* 28, 99–124.
- 2016: *Die Aphrodite der Seefahrer und ihre Heiligtümer am Mittelmeer: Archäologische Untersuchungen zu interkulturellen Kontaktzonen am Mittelmeer in der späten Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit*, Münster.
- Groom, N., 1981: *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade*, London/New York.
- Gunter, A., 2009: *Greek Art and the Orient*, Cambridge.
- Haas, V., 2003: *Materia Magica et Medica Hethitica: Ein Beitrag zur Heilkunde im Alten Orient*, Berlin/New York.
- Jantzen, U., 1972: *Ägyptische und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos*, Bonn.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., 1985: “Fremde Weihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern vom 8. bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.”, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 32, 215–254.
- Kloekhorst, A., 2008: *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden/Boston.
- Kyrieleis, H., 1979: “Babylonische Bronzen im Heraion von Samos”, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94, 32–48.
- H., 1993: “The Heraion at Samos”, in: N. Marinatos / R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches*, London/New York, 125–153.
- Lam, J., 2011: “A reassessment of the alphabetic Hurrian text RS 1.004 (KTU 1.42): A ritual anointing of deities?”, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 11, 148–169.
- Lobel, E. / Page, D. (eds.), 1955: *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, Oxford.
- López-Ruiz, C. (ed.), 2017: *Gods, Heroes, and Monsters: A Sourcebook of Greek, Roman, and Near Eastern Myths*, 2nd ed., New York/Oxford.

- Macedo, J. M., 2018: “‘Wherever you are’: Near Eastern influence and Indo-European heritage in Greek and Hittite prayer”, *Numen* 65, 62–87.
- Matthäus, H., 1999: “... ἀγνὴν ὀσμὴν λιβανωτὸς ἵησιν: Zu Thymiateria und Räucherkerzen als Zeugnissen des Orientalisierungsprozesses im Mittelmeergebiet während des frühen 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.”, *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 29, 9–31.
- 2010: “Spätbronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Thymiateria in der Levante und auf der Insel Zypern – Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen”, *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 40, 205–230.
- Morstadt, B., 2008: *Phönizische Thymiateria: Zeugnisse des Orientalisierungsprozesses im Mittelmeerraum. Originale Funde, bildliche Quellen, originaler Kontext*, Münster.
- 2015: “Phoenician bronze candelabra and incense burners”, in: J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), *Phoenician Bronzes in Mediterranean*, Madrid, 147–181.
- Müller, W. W., 1974: “Zur Herkunft von λίβανος und λιβανωτός”, *Glotta* 52, 53–59.
- Neri, C. / Cinti, F. (eds.), 2020: *Saffo. Poesie, frammenti e testimonianze*. Santarcangelo di Romagna.
- Nielsen, K., 1986: *Incense in Ancient Israel*, Leiden.
- Osborne, R., 1998: *Archaic and Classical Greek Art*, Oxford / New York.
- Parker, R., 2002: “The cult of Aphrodite Pandamos and Pontia on Cos”. in: H. F. J. Horstmanshoff (ed.), *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel*, Leiden/Boston, 143–160.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V., 1994: *L’Aphrodite grecque: Contribution à l’étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*, Athens/Liège.
- Reiner, E., 1958: *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, Graz.
- Richter, T., 2012: *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*, Wiesbaden.
- Schwemer, D., 2013: “Gauging the influence of Babylonian magic: The reception of Mesopotamian traditions in Hittite ritual practice”. in: E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum / J. W. Klinger / G. G. W. Müller (eds.), *Vielfalt und Normierung / Diversity and Standardization: Perspektiven altorientalischer Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin, 145–171.
- Simon, E. / Sarian, H. / Milanezi, S., 2004: “Rauchopfer”, in: Lambrinoudakis / J. C. Balty (eds.), *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum, I.*, Los Angeles, CA, 255–268.
- Strøm, I., 1992: “Evidence from the sanctuaries”, in: G. Kopcke / I. Tokumaru (eds.), *Greece between East and West: 10th-8th Centuries BC: Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University March 15–16th, 1990*, Mainz, 46–60.

- Vonhoff, C., 2015: "Phoenician bronzes in Cyprus", in: J. Jiménez Ávila (ed.), *Phoenician Bronzes in Mediterranean*, Madrid, 269–294.
- West, M. L. (ed.), 1992: *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum Cantati* 2, 2nd ed., Oxford.
- 1997: *The East Face of Helicon*, Oxford.
- 2007: *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford.
- Wilhelm, G., 1989: *The Hurrians*, trans. J. Barnes, Warminster, England.
- Zaccagnino, C., 1998: *Il thymiaterion nel mondo greco: Analisi delle fonti, tipologia, impieghi*, Rome.

Contact:

Mary R. Bachvarova
Willamette University
mbachvar@willamette.edu

Bibliography

- Abusch, T., 2001: "The Development and Meaning of the Epic of Gilgamesh: An Interpretative Essay", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121.4, 614–622.
- Ashcroft, B. / Griffiths, G. / Tiffin, H., 2002: *The Empire Writes Back*. London.
- Aster, S., 2016: "Israelite Embassies to Assyria in the First Half of the Eighth Century", *Biblica* 97 (2), 175–198.
- 2017: *Reflections of Empire in Isaiah 1–39*.
- Bernabé, A., 2015: "What is a KATÁBASIS?: The Descent into the Netherworld in Greece and the Ancient Near East", *Les Études classiques* 83, 15–34.
- Burgess, J., 2001: *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer & the Epic Cycle*. Baltimore.
- Chen, Y., 2014: *The Primeval Flood Catastrophe*. Oxford.
- Clay, J., 2003: *Hesiod's Cosmos*. Cambridge, UK.
- Crotty, K., 1994: *The Poetics of Supplication*. Ithaca, NY.
- Currie, B., 2016: *Homer's Allusive Art*. Oxford.
- Davenport, T., 2007: "An Anti-Imperialist Twist to *The Gilgamesh Epic*", in: J. Azize / N. Weeks (eds.) *Gilgamesh and the World of Assyria*, Leuven, 1–24.
- Edwards, M., 1987: *Homer: Poet of the Iliad*. Baltimore.
- Gaisser, J., 1969: "Adaptation of Traditional Material in the Glaucus–Diomedes Episode", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 100, 165–176.
- Gazis, G., 2018: *The Poetics of Hades*. Oxford.
- Graziosi, B. / Haubold, J., 2005: *The Resonance of Epic*. London.
- Griffin, J., 1980: *Homer on Life and Death*. Oxford.
- Heath, J., 2005: *The Talking Greeks*. Cambridge, UK.
- Heiden, B., 1998: "The Simile of the Fugitive Homicide, *Iliad* 24.480–84: Analogy, Foiling, and Allusion", *American Journal of Philology* 119 (1), 1–10.
- Herrero de Jáuregui, M., 2011: "Priam's Catabasis: Traces of the Epic Journey to Hades in *Iliad* 24", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 141, 37–68.
- Holmes, B., 2007: "The *Iliad*'s Economy of Pain", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 137 (1), 45–84.
- Kraus, H.-J., 1989: *Psalms 60-150*. Minneapolis.
- Lopez-Ruiz, C., 2010: *When the Gods Were Born*. Cambridge, MA.
- Lord, A., 1960: *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, MA.
- 1990: "Gilgamesh and Other Epics", in T. Abusch / J. Huehnergard / P. Steinkeller (eds.) *Lingering over Words*, Atlanta, 371–380.
- Lowenstam, S., 1993: *The Scepter and the Spear*. Lanham.
- Martin, R., 1989: *The Language of Heroes*. Ithaca.

- Morrow, W., 2011: "Tribute from Judah and the Transmission of Assyrian Propaganda", in: H. Niemann (ed.) "*My Spirit at Rest in the North Country*", Frankfurt am Main, 183–192.
- Muellner, L., 1996: *The Anger of Achilles*. Ithaca, NY.
- Nagy, G., 1979: *The Best of the Achaeans*. Baltimore.
- Pearce, T., 2008: "Iliad 24, 614–17," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 151 (1), 13–25.
- Postgate, J., 1974: *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*. Rome.
- Rabel, R., 1990: "Apollo as a Model for Achilles in the *Iliad*", *American Journal of Philology* 111 (4), 429–440.
- Redfield, J., 1994: *Nature and Culture in the Iliad*. Durham, NC.
- Richardson, N., 1993: *The Iliad: A commentary, Volume VI*. Cambridge, UK.
- Richardson, S., 2016: "Getting Confident: The Assyrian Development of Elite Recognition Ethics," in: M. Lavan / R. Payne / J. Weisweiler (eds.) *Cosmopolitanism and Empire*, Oxford, 29–64.
- Said, E., 1993: *Culture and Imperialism*. New York.
- Seaford, R., 1994: *Reciprocity and Ritual*. Oxford.
- Schein, S., 1984: *The Mortal Hero*. Berkeley.
- Scodel, R., 1992: "The Wits of Glaucus", *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122, 73–84.
- Slatkin, L., 2011: *The Power of Thetis*. Washington, DC.
- Stanley, K., 1993: *The Shield of Homer*. Princeton.
- Taplin, O., 1992: *Homeric Soundings*. Oxford.
- West, M., 1997: *The East Face of Helicon*. Oxford.
- Whitman, C., 1958: *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*. Cambridge, MA.

Contact:

Marcus Ziemann
Princeton University
mz0348@princeton.edu
ORCID: 0000-0002-4064-8683