



AEGEAN PAINTING
IN THE
BRONZE AGE

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Preface	xvii
Acknowledgments	xix
Abbreviations	xxi
1 Orientation: Geography and Chronology	1
2 Techniques of Painting	11
3 The Beginnings: Minoan Pictorial Art Before the Frescoes	21
4 The First Phase of Aegean Wall Painting	39
I Nature Paintings and Naturalism	40
II The Human Figure	50
III The Miniature Style	63
5 Later Minoan Painting and the Formation of the Mycenaean Style	77
I Crete and Keos Before the Disasters of 1450 B.C.	78
II The Later Palace at Knossos and Its Paintings	84
III Late Minoan III Paintings from Ayia Triadha	100
6 Mycenaean Wall Painting	105
I General Characteristics and the Early Style	105
II Processional Frescoes and Other Religious Themes	114
III Mycenaean Narrative Compositions	122
IV Emblematic and Decorative Painting	134
7 Epilogue: Nonpalatial Painting	147
I Pictorial Vase Painting	149
II The Tanagra Larnakes	154

8 Conclusions	159
Catalogue of Frescoes	169
Notes	205
Bibliography	223
Index	231
Plates	241



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

- Fig. 1. Map of the Aegean area ■ page 2
- Fig. 2. Map of Crete ■ page 3
- Fig. 3. Chronological table ■ page 7
- Fig. 4. Alternative schemes of wall decoration (adapted from Cameron, *TUAS* I, 1976, to reflect Thera houses) ■ page 12
- Fig. 5. Chart of pigments used in Aegean painting ■ page 15
- Fig. 6. Fragments of painted plaster from Old Palaces: a–d, Phaistos; e–f, Knossos. (a–b, after Pernier, *Palazzo* I, pl. XL, 1 and 5; c–d, after Levi, *Festòs* I, pl. LXXXV; e, after *PM* IV, fig. 75; f, after *PM* I, fig. 188, a–b) ■ page 23
- Fig. 7. Mainland pictorial art: a–b, Lerna; c, Raphina, d, Orchomenos; e–f, Aegina. (a–b, after *CMS* V, 1, 57, 109; c, after *ArchEph* 1953–54, III, 72, fig. 19b; d, after Kunze, *Orchomenos* III, pl. XXIX, 3; e, after Hiller 1984, fig. 1; f, after G. Welter, *Aigina*, fig. 22) ■ page 25
- Fig. 8. Early Minoan seals: a–d, ivory; e–j, steatite. (a–b, *CMS* II, 1, 248; c–d *CMS* II, 1, 222; e, *CMS* VIII, 9; f, *CMS* IX, 13; g, *CMS* XII, 28; h, *CMS* VIII, 12; i, *CMS* II, 2, 104; j, *CMS* II, 2, 127) ■ page 27
- Fig. 9. Early Minoan III to Middle Minoan I ivory seals. (a–b, *CMS* II, 1, 64; c, *CMS* II, 1, 126; d, *CMS* II, 1, 70; e–f, *CMS* II, 1, 287) ■ page 29
- Fig. 10. Phaistos sealings (MM II: all from *CMS* II, 5). (a, 319; b, 322; c, 259; d, 271; e, 282; f, 276; g, 268; h, 255; i, 310; j, 258; k, 324) ■ page 31
- Fig. 11. Early Minoan III to Middle Minoan I Light-on-Dark pottery: a–c, Gournia (after Hall 1905); d, Palaikastro (after Hall 1906–7); e, Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, pl. XIII, 17–18); f, Phaistos (Levi, *Festòs* I, pl. LXVII) ■ page 32

- Fig. 12. Map of the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt ■ page 36
- Fig. 13. Portraits from Hieroglyphic Deposit (after Boardman 1970, pls. 53–54) ■ page 37
- Fig. 14. Plan of town of Akrotiri showing location of houses with major frescoes (after N. Marinatos 1984a, 170, fig. 4) ■ page 43
- Fig. 15. Plan of environs of palace at Knossos (after Pendlebury, *Guide*, Plan 4) ■ page 44
- Fig. 16. Reconstruction of composition of Monkey fresco in House of the Frescoes (after Cameron 1968a, fig. 13, middle section) ■ page 45
- Fig. 17. Tentative reconstruction of Room 1, House of the Ladies, Akrotiri (after N. Marinatos 1984a, 172, fig. 6) ■ page 55
- Fig. 18. Plan of West House, Akrotiri (after N. Marinatos 1984b, fig. 16) ■ page 56
- Fig. 19. Plan of Xeste 3, Akrotiri (after N. Marinatos 1984b, fig. 51) ■ page 57
- Fig. 20. Reconstruction of frescoes in the lustral basin (adyton) of Xeste 3 (after N. Marinatos 1984b, figs. 40 and 43) ■ page 60
- Fig. 21. Plaques of Town Mosaic with landscape, animal, and human figures (after Foster 1979, figs. 42–47, 33, 35–38, 30–32) ■ page 69
- Fig. 22. Reconstruction of Bluebird frieze, Ayia Irini (after Coleman, *Hesperia* 42 [1973], fig. 1, courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens) ■ page 80
- Fig. 23. Reconstruction of Dolphin fresco, Ayia Irini (after Coleman, *Hesperia* 42 [1973], fig. 2, courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens) ■ page 80
- Fig. 24. Plan of town of Ayia Irini showing location of major frescoes (after Caskey, *Hesperia* 40 [1971], fig. 3, courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens) ■ page 81
- Fig. 25. Plan of Palace at Knossos showing location of major frescoes and deposits of fragments (adapted from Hood and Cameron, *KFA*) ■ page 86
- Fig. 26. Details of female heads: a–d Thera; e–f, Knossos; g, Tiryns (a–d after *Thera* VII, pls. 60–61, 65, G; e–f. after *PM* III, fig. 40 and IV, 2, fig. 319; g, after M-H, *CM*, pl. 226) ■ page 93
- Fig. 27. Chariot fresco from Knossos as reconstructed by Cameron (after *AA* 82 [1967], fig. 12) ■ page 94
- Fig. 28. Plan of Citadel at Tiryns with findspots of major frescoes (adapted from Mylonas, *MMA*, fig. 1) ■ page 107
- Fig. 29. Plan of Palace of Nestor at Pylos with location of major frescoes (from Mylonas, *MMA*, fig. 13) ■ page 108
- Fig. 30. Plan of acropolis of Mycenae showing location of major frescoes (adapted from Wace, *Mycenae*, fig. 19) ■ page 109
- Fig. 31. (a) Reconstruction of Pylos fragments 19 M ne as ship. (b) Reconstruction of Mycenae “hangings” as *ikria* frieze (after M. Shaw, *AJA* 84 [1980], ill. 7 and 12) ■ page 112
- Fig. 32. Details of hands: a and c, Thera; b, Knossos; d–f, Thebes; g, Tiryns; h, Mycenae (after *Thera* VII, pls. H, 61; *PM* I, fig. 398; Reusch, *Frauenfries* pls. 6, 10, 11; *Tiryns* II, pl. X, 2; M-H, *KTM*, pl. LV) ■ page 116
- Fig. 33. (a) Presentation scene from Cult Center, Mycenae (after Kritseli-Providi, B-2 and B-3, pl. 6). (b) The figurine from the Tiryns Women’s frieze (after Boulotis 1979) ■ page 120
- Fig. 34. Architectural facades: a, Town Mosaic; b, Ayia Irini; c–d, Akrotiri, Ship fresco; e, Knossos, Temple fresco (after Foster 1979, figs. 50, 55, 61; Coleman 1970, fig. 43; *Thera* VI, col. pl. 9; Bossert, *Altkreta*, fig. 232) ■ page 126
- Fig. 35. Mycenaean architectural facades: a, Mycenae Megaron; b, Orchomenos; c–d, Pylos (after Smith, *Interconnections*, figs. 119 and 96; *Pylos* II, 8 A 3 and 1 A 2) ■ page 127
- Fig. 36. Tiryns Deer frieze (after *Tiryns* II, figs. 60–62) ■ page 131

- Fig. 37. Mycenaean sphinx (drawing after Spata ivory, B-K, *PGK*, 1284) ■ page 138
- Fig. 38. Mycenaean warriors: a, Thera (after *Thera* vi, col. pl. 7); b, silver goblet Shaft Grave IV (after Sakellariou 1974, 5, fig. 1); c, Mycenae Megaron frieze (after Rodenwaldt 1921, Beilage III); d, Pylos 22 H 64; e, Warrior Vase (photo) ■ page 139
- Fig. 39. Types of spiral frieze patterns: a–c, e, Knossos; d, Tiryns (after *PM* III, fig. 229; *PM* I, fig. 269; *PM* III, pl. XV; *Tiryns* II, pl. VII; *PM* III, fig. 193) ■ page 143
- Fig. 40. Racing chariots on LH IIIC amphora from Tiryns (after Kilian, *AthMitt* 95 [1980], 23, fig. 2) ■ page 154
- Fig. 41. Mourning figures and *prothesis* on Tanagra larnakes: a–b, Thebes No. 7 (after Demakopoulou, *Guide* and *AAA* 3 [1970], fig. 11); c, after *Prakt* 1979, pl. 21; d and e, Thebes No. 1 (after Demakopoulou, *Guide* and *Prakt* 1969, pl. 14)

Plates

- Pl. 1. Mortar, pestle, and lump of red ochre from Early Cycladic grave, Paros. Athens, National Museum 4778, 3 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 2. Fishermen Vase from Phylakopi. Athens, National Museum 5782 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 3. Early Cycladic “frying pan” with representation of ship, Syros. Athens, National Museum 4974 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 4. Amphora with palms from Loomweight Basement, Knossos. MM II/IIIA. Herakleion Museum (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 5. MM II cup with appliqué reliefs of cat, tree, and shells from Quartier Mu, Mallia. Herakleion Museum, 19,816 (photo courtesy J.-C. Poursat)
- Pl. 6. Egyptian painting of cat in papyrus thicket from Middle Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan (after *Beni Hasan* IV, pl. V)
- Pl. 7. Egyptian painting of birds in acacia tree from Middle Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan (after *Beni Hasan* IV, frontispiece)
- Pl. 8. Pithos with relief of bull from Arkhanes, Anemospilio sanctuary. Herakleion Museum (photo courtesy I. Sakellarakis)
- Pl. 9. Drawing of Pithos from Arkhanes (*Prakt* 1976, 371, fig. 5)
- Pl. 10. Fragments of Saffron-Gatherer fresco as found by Evans in 1900 (photo Ashmolean Museum)
- Pl. 11. Reconstruction of the Saffron-Gatherer as a blue monkey in painting by P. de Jong (photo courtesy Royal Ontario Museum of Art, Toronto)
- Pl. 12. Monkey fresco from Room B 6, Akrotiri, as restored in National Museum, Athens (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 13. Detail of Monkey fresco from Room B 6, Akrotiri (photo courtesy Archaeological Society, Athens)

- Pl. 14. Detail of rocks and lilies from Spring fresco, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 15. Detail of swallows from Spring fresco, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 16. Flying Fish fresco from Phylakopi. Athens, National Museum 5844 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 17. Cat in the Ivy, from Room 14, Villa at Ayia Triadha. Herakleion Museum (photo of watercolor by Gilliéron. Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1926.32.36)
- Pl. 18. Goddess at Altar, from Room 14, Villa at Ayia Triadha (photo of watercolor by Gilliéron. Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1926.32.53)
- Pl. 19. "Priest-King" relief as restored from fragments. Herakleion Museum (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 20. Boxer, from Boxer Vase, Ayia Triadha. Herakleion Museum (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 21. Priestess with Incense Burner, Room 4, West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 22. Grandstand fresco, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo of watercolor by Gilliéron. Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1926.32.44)
- Pl. 23. Sacred Grove and Dance fresco, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo of watercolor by Gilliéron. Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1926.32.48)
- Pl. 24. Faience house plaques from Town Mosaic, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 25. Detail of south wall showing admiral's ship from Room 5 of West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 26. Drawing of best-preserved ship from south wall (after *Thera* VI)
- Pl. 27. "Shipwreck and Landing Party": fragment of north wall of Room 5 of West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo courtesy I. Sakellarakis)
- Pl. 28. Landscape and "Second Town," south wall of West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo courtesy I. Sakellarakis)
- Pl. 29. "Third Town" awaiting arrival of fleet, south wall of West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo courtesy Lyvia Morgan)
- Pl. 30. Frieze of partridges and hoopoes from Caravanserai, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo M. A. S. Cameron, courtesy British School at Athens)
- Pl. 31. Dolphin fresco as restored in the Queen's Megaron, Knossos (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 32. Fragments of miniature frescoes from Ayia Irini, Keos. Chora Museum. Women in architectural setting (photo KA 196.41 courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 33. Fragments of miniature frescoes from Ayia Irini, Keos. Chora Museum. Human figures (photo KA 274.5 courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 34. Fragments of painted plaster from Ayia Irini, Keos, showing use of string as guidelines. Chora Museum (photo KA 223.58 courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 35. Fragments of miniature frescoes showing deer hunt from Ayia Irini, Keos. Chora Museum (photo KA 269.50 courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 36. Stucco relief of charging bull as restored in loggia of North Entrance, Knossos (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 37. Detail of bull's head (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 38. Cupbearer from Procession fresco, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo by M. A. S. Cameron, courtesy Penguin Books)
- Pl. 39. Three male figures from Corridor of the Procession, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo HRI)
- Pl. 40. Gilliéron's reconstruction of beginning of the Procession fresco, Knossos, with Cupbearer figures at right (drawing by M. Reid based on photo of painting in the Herakleion Museum)

- Pl. 41. Taureador panel from Court of Stone Spout, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 42. Female taureador from panel with yellow background, Knossos. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (photo AE 1708)
- Pl. 43. "Dancing Lady" from Queen's Megaron, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 44. "La Parisienne" from Campstool fresco, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 45. Woman from "Window Krater," Kourion, Cyprus. Cyprus Museum 1971/XII-6/1 (photo courtesy Vassos Karageorghis)
- Pl. 46. Chariot krater from Maroni, Cyprus. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.964 (photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)
- Pl. 47. Throne Room frescoes as restored in palace at Knossos (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 48. Frescoes as found to right of throne at Knossos in 1900 (photo Ashmolean Museum)
- Pl. 49. Shield fresco from Hall of the Colonnades, Knossos. Herakleion Museum (photo HRI)
- Pl. 50. Ayia Triadha sarcophagus: Side A with presentation scene in front of tomb. Herakleion Museum (photo M. A. S. Cameron, courtesy British School at Athens)
- Pl. 51. Ayia Triadha sarcophagus: Side B with sacrifice of bull in outdoor sanctuary. Herakleion Museum (photo M. A. S. Cameron, courtesy British School at Athens)
- Pl. 52. End with procession and goddesses in chariot drawn by goats (photo M. A. S. Cameron, courtesy British School at Athens)
- Pl. 53. Detail of goddesses in chariot drawn by griffins (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 54. Fresco fragment with "Women in a Loggia" from Ramp House deposit, Mycenae. Athens, National Museum 1015 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 55. Woman with a pyxis. Reconstruction of figure from Women's frieze, Tiryns (after Rodenwaldt's *Tiryns* II, pl. VIII) (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 56. Detail of head from Women's frieze, Tiryns. Athens, National Museum 5883 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 57. Two women from Pylos based on fragments from northwest slope (51 H nws) (photo of watercolor by P. de Jong courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 58. The "White Goddess" from northwest slope, Pylos (49 H nws). Chora Museum (photo of watercolor by P. de Jong courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 59. The Room of the Frescoes, Citadel House Area, Mycenae. Nauplion Museum (photo courtesy E. B. French)
- Pl. 60. Detail of two goddesses and sword from Room of the Frescoes, Mycenae. Nauplion Museum (photo courtesy E. B. French)
- Pl. 61. The "Goddess with Sheaves" from Room of the Frescoes, Mycenae. Nauplion Museum (photo courtesy E. B. French)
- Pl. 62. Stucco tablet with Warrior Goddess, Tsountas' House, Mycenae. Athens, National Museum 2666 (photo TAPA, after watercolor of original)
- Pl. 63. Drawing of tablet 2666 by M. Reid
- Pl. 64. Groom fresco from Pithos Area, Mycenae. Athens, National Museum 2915. Watercolor (*BSA* 25, pl. XXVII) (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 65. Falling warrior from battle scene, Megaron frieze, Mycenae. Athens, National Museum 7283. Watercolor (Rodenwaldt, *Fries*, Beilage II) (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 66. Battle scene from Hall 64, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong of 24 H 64 (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 67. Chariot scene from Hall 64, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong of 26 H 64 (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)

- Pl. 68. Hunter and dog from Boar Hunt fresco, Tiryns. Athens, National Museum 5878 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 69. Women in chariot from Boar Hunt fresco, Tiryns. Athens, National Museum 5882 (photo DAI, Athens)
- Pl. 70. Boar attacked by dogs from Boar Hunt fresco, Tiryns. Athens, National Museum 5878–82 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 71. (a) Krater with stags from Enkomi, Cyprus. (b) Detail. British Museum C 409 (photos HRI)
- Pl. 72. (a) Krater with grazing stags from Enkomi, Cyprus. (b) Detail. British Museum C 408 (photos HRI)
- Pl. 73. Hunter and stag from Pylos Hunting frieze (16 H 43). Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 74. Hunters with dogs and tripods from Hunting frieze (21 H 48). Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 75. Seated women (1–2 H 2) from “Wallpaper frieze,” Inner Propylon, Pylos, Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 76. Deer (1 C 2) from “Wallpaper frieze,” Inner Propylon, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 77. Shrine (2 A 2) from “Wallpaper frieze,” Inner Propylon, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 78. Men at Table (44 H 6) from Throne Room, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 79. Lion and Griffin from Hall 46, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 80. Frieze of hunting dogs from Hall 64, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 81. Bluebird frieze from northwest slope, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 82. Nautilus frieze from northwest slope, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 83. Variegated dado from northwest slope, Pylos. Restoration by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- Pl. 84. Painted limestone stele from Mycenae. Athens, National Museum 3256 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 85. Warrior Vase (Side B), Mycenae. Athens, National Museum 1426 (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 86. Warrior Vase, Mycenae. Handle area with female figure (photo TAPA)
- Pl. 87. Warrior Vase, Mycenae. Detail of warriors, Side A (photo Alison Frantz)
- Pl. 88. (a–b) Pyxis from Lefkandi, Euboea. Griffins feeding babies in nest; sphinx and stag. Eretria Museum (photos courtesy M. Popham)
- Pl. 89. Fragment of LH IIIC krater from Tiryns with hound hunting deer. Nauplion Museum (photo DAI, Athens, neg. 71/807)
- Pl. 90. Fragmentary krater with chariot scenes from Tiryns. Nauplion Museum (photo DAI, Athens, neg. 71/755)
- Pl. 91. Head of warrior on LH IIIC pinax or larnax from Tiryns. Nauplion Museum (photo DAI, Athens, TIR 1528)
- Pl. 92. Larnax from Tomb 51, Tanagra, showing sphinx and priest beside column. Thebes Museum (*Guide* No. 14) (photo HRI)

Color Plates

(Between pages 104 and 105)

- I. Pithoid jar with fish from Old Palace, Phaistos. Herakleion Museum 10.769 (Levi, *Festòs* I, pl. LXXIII)
- II. Bowl with goddess and dancers from Old Palace, Phaistos. Herakleion Museum (Levi, *Festòs* I, pl. LXVII)
- III. Fruitstand with goddess and votaries from Old Palace, Phaistos. Herakleion Museum (Levi, *Festòs* I, pl. LXVI)
- IV. Hole-mouthed jar with appliqué of goat from Old Palace, Phaistos. Herakleion Museum (Levi, *Festòs* I, pl. LXVIII)
- V. Table of offerings with dolphins from West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- VI. Kymbe with ibexes from Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- VII. Spring fresco from Shrine Δ 2, Akrotiri, as restored in National Museum, Athens (photo TAPA)
- VIII. Boxers and antelopes from Room B 1, Akrotiri, as restored in National Museum, Athens (photo TAPA)
- IX. Fisherman from Room 5, West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- X. Boxing Boys from Room B 1, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- XI. Lady from south wall, House of the Ladies, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- XII. Two ladies from north wall, House of the Ladies, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- XIII. Papyrus from House of the Ladies (photo courtesy N. Marinatos)
- XIV. Ship fresco from south wall of Room 5, West House, Akrotiri, and Tropical Landscape from east wall. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- XV. Ship's cabin (*ikrion*) from Room 4, West House, Akrotiri. Athens, National Museum (photo TAPA)
- XVI. Fragments of Taureador panels from Ramp House deposit, Mycenae. Athens, National Museum (storage) (*BSA* 24, pl. VII)
- XVII. Pylos Taureador (36 H 105). Chora Museum (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- XVIII. The Lyre-Player from the Throne Room at Pylos as restored by P. de Jong (photo courtesy University of Cincinnati)
- XIX. The Shield fresco from the Old Palace at Tiryns as restored (Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, pl. V)
- XX. The Mycenaean lady or goddess ("Mykenaiia") from the Cult Center, Mycenae (photo TAPA)
- XXI. Women's frieze from Old Kadmeia, Thebes, as restored by H. Reusch. Thebes Museum (Demakopoulou, *Guide*, pl. 21) (photo TAPA)
- XXII. Larnax from Tomb 22, Tanagra. Side A: mourning women and chariot groups. Thebes Museum (photo TAPA)
- XXIII. Larnax from Tomb 22, Tanagra. Side B: hunting scene and taureadors. Thebes Museum (photo TAPA)



PREFACE

This book had its inception some years ago when several students of Mary H. Swindler met to consider bringing out a revision of her classic *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), which had been out of print since World War II. It soon became apparent that the amount of new material would make a one-volume work such as hers impossible, and we decided to pursue our separate areas. Nonetheless, this book on Aegean painting owes much to her guidance and inspiration. Its purpose, like hers, is to bring the material together in a format that will make it accessible and understandable to the greatest number of potential users—art historians as well as archaeologists, students as well as more advanced professionals. Although in the 1920s, when *Ancient Painting* was being written, the Minoan discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans were front-page news and the Mycenaean mainland was considered a colonial outpost, Mary Swindler later changed her views about the Mycenaeans and championed their essential “Greekness” long before the decipherment of Linear B as Greek by Michael Ventris. She would have welcomed both the amazing discoveries of the “Bronze Age Pompeii” at Akrotiri and the larnakes from the cemetery at Tanagra, which have enlarged the body of material presented in her chapter “Aegean Painting” at both its early Minoan and its later Mycenaean phase.

During the late 1960s and the 1970s while teaching at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, I had the opportunity to pursue some of the problems relative to the Bronze Age with graduate students from the Classics and Art History departments. Among those from whom this work has profited, I would like to mention Drs. Nancy Rhyne (Thomas), Geraldine C. Gesell, Halford W. Haskell, and Robert F. Sutton. David Craven also served as a research assistant in collecting bibliographic and pictorial references.

It was not, however, until a five-year stay at the American school of Classical Studies at Athens (1977–82) that the collection and autopsy of material for this book began in earnest. Thanks are due the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to study and examine fresco

fragments in museum storerooms in the Athens National Museum, the Herakleion Museum, and the museums at Thebes, Nauplion, and Chora (Pylos). I am especially grateful to Dr. I. Sakellarakis for providing access to the fresco storerooms in the Herakleion Museum and Dr. Chr. Doumas for the same opportunity in Athens, as well as for showing me the new Thera material while it was being pieced together. In Athens I was able to look at the material, and discuss it, with a student at the American School, Suzanne Peterson (Murray) who was writing a dissertation on processional frescoes. The ample resources of the Blegen Library at the School were invaluable in pursuing this research.

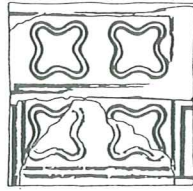
During those years in Athens I received inspiration from a number of foreign scholars working in the Aegean field, especially those gathered at the international symposia at the Swedish Institute organized by Robin Hägg and Nanno Marinatos—"Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age" (1980), "The Minoan Thalassocracy" (1982), and "The Function of the Minoan Palace" (1984), as well as the Cambridge Colloquium on "Minoan Society" (1981), and the Table Ronde on "Minoan Iconography" at the French School (1983). To all those scholars who encouraged my work on Aegean painting I am grateful, most especially to my young friends Nanno Marinatos, Lyvia Morgan, and Ellen Davis, who are contributing much to our understanding of the iconography of the Thera paintings. Finally, my indebtedness to the late Mark Cameron, whom I met only months before his untimely death in 1984, cannot be measured. Although his comprehensive study of Minoan frescoes (1975) has not been published, his detailed special studies of individual works have served as guideposts for all others working in the field. Whatever the imperfections of the present work, I would like to dedicate it to his memory.

The illustrations for this book have profited from the generosity of many scholars—Karen P. Foster, Nanno Marinatos, and Maria C. Shaw, among others. The maps and drawings of details are the work of Margaret M. Reid, who has also assisted in the preparation of all the art work, and to her I am most grateful. Sources of photographs are indicated in the List of Illustrations as well as in the Acknowledgments.

Chapel Hill, N.C.

Postscript, January 1988

During the past September it was possible for me to examine and read through the four-volume typescript of Mark Cameron's dissertation, which had recently been deposited in the library of the British School at Athens. While it is impossible here to do justice to this study, it has in no way altered the conclusions already reached in this book. Although each of us has approached the topic in a different way, Cameron through a detailed examination of the Knossos material, and I from a more general stylistic overview, it is gratifying to note that we have independently come to much the same conclusions in regard to chronology and the difficulties with the Knossos stratification. When his dissertation is published, either as a summary or *in toto*, the critics who follow Palmer should be convinced by Cameron's meticulous study of "hands" and "schools" at Knossos, that it is possible to separate material that belongs to the early decoration of the Palace from that of its Mycenaeanized phase. In my Catalogue I have made a few references to places where Cameron proposes a different date from that accepted in this book.



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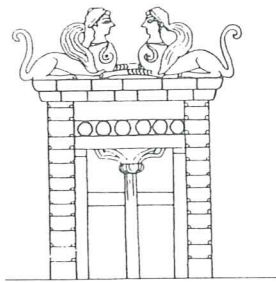
Tameio Archaialogikon Poron (TAPA)—Pls. 1–3, 12, 14–16, 21, 25, 54–56, 62, 64–65, 68, 70, 84–86, V–XII, XIV–XV, XX–XXIII

University of Cincinnati—Pls. 32–35, 57–58, 66–67, 73–83, XVII, XVIII

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ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals and Serials

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AAA</i>	<i>Archaiologika Analecta ex Athenon</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>ArchDelt</i>	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
<i>ArchKorrBl</i>	<i>Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt</i>
<i>ArtB</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>ArchEph</i>	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i>
<i>ASAtene</i>	<i>Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i>
<i>AthMitt</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BCH-Suppl</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Supplement</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CMS</i>	<i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel</i>
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>To Ergon tis Archaiologikis Etairias</i>
<i>ÉtCrét</i>	<i>Études crétoises</i>
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia, Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>IJNA</i>	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration</i>
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbulur Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>

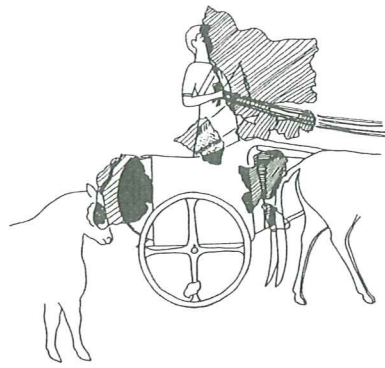
<i>JHS-AR</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies, Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>JRIBA</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects</i>
<i>Kadmos</i>	<i>Kadmos, Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik</i>
<i>KrChron</i>	<i>Kritika Chronika</i>
<i>MonAnt</i>	<i>Monumenti Antichi</i>
<i>MüJb</i>	<i>Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
<i>Prakt</i>	<i>Praktika tis en Athenais Archaïologikis Etairias</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>SIMA</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
<i>TAPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>TUAS</i>	<i>Temple University Aegean Symposium</i>

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1 ORIENTATION: GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY

The word “Aegean” has both a geographical and a chronological meaning. In the first sense it refers to the beautiful island-studded sea that lies between the coast of Greece and Asia Minor (Anatolia or Turkey) and its immediate shores (Fig. 1). Its name derives from Aegeus, legendary king of Athens, who flung himself into the sea when he mistakenly believed that his son Theseus had perished in the labyrinth at Knossos from the hands of the Minotaur. This myth gives a clue to the more specific and chronological terminology of archaeologists who use “Aegean” to refer to the prehistoric Bronze Age civilizations of the region.¹ These are now customarily subdivided to reflect the related but different cultures of Crete, the Greek mainland, and the Cycladic islands. Since Sir Arthur Evans’s discoveries at Knossos in the early years of this century, the term “Minoan” (from legendary King Minos) has been applied to the Cretan Bronze Age, while “Helladic” has been used for the civilization of mainland Greece, and “Cycladic” for that of the Cyclades. The older term “Mycenaean,” which came into use after Heinrich Schliemann’s pioneer excavations at Mycenae (1876) and Tiryns (1884), is now restricted to the later phase of the Bronze Age.

In surveying the geographical distribution of Aegean painting, examples of which are found in all three areas, let us begin with Crete. This island (Fig. 2), the largest in the central Mediterranean, lies athwart the southern end of the Aegean Sea, and was accessible to the Libyan Sea and thence to Egypt from its southern ports in the Mesara, where the site of Kommos is now being excavated.² Thus, Crete’s very location made it an ideal stepping stone for the spread of cultural influences and people, to and from the Cyclades, to the Greek



Fig. 1. Map of the Aegean area

mainland and its southern ports, and further afield to Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean (Byblos and Ugarit in Lebanon and Syria, Fig. 12). Sir Arthur Evans in his *Palace of Minos at Knossos* (1921–36) developed the picture of an amazingly artistic society, even modern in Victorian terms, with its center at Knossos. This he believed was the hub of a great sea power, or “thalassocracy,” with Minoan ships controlling the Aegean islands and the Greek mainland. Although there have been necessary corrections to Evans’s theories concerning Minoan Crete,³ there seems little doubt that the island, and particularly Knossos, was the birthplace of Aegean wall painting, its techniques and its basic style. Neither the Greek mainland nor the Cyclades has any wall paintings as early as those from Knossos; the earliest outside Crete (from Melos and Thera) are perhaps a century later, and those from mainland Greece are still another century or more later.

Surprisingly, the other Cretan palace sites—Phaistos in the south, Mallia on the north coast, Zakros at the extreme east—have yielded little wall painting in comparison with Knossos, and



Fig. 2. Map of Crete

practically nothing with figural subjects. This absence seems hardly due to accidents of preservation. Rather, it suggests a difference in architectural taste, Phaistos preferring broad expanses of white gypsum revetment, or more likely, it was due to a palace monopoly of painters based at Knossos who decorated houses and villas in the immediate vicinity (South House, House of the Frescoes, Caravanserai) and were loaned out to decorate more outlying villas (Amnisos, Tyllisos, Vathypetra) which are still in Knossian territory.⁴

The major exception to this regional concentration is the site of Ayia Triadha, only a few kilometers from Phaistos, where a small room at the Little Palace was decorated with beautiful scenes of nature (Pl. 17) and large-scale women in court dress (Pl. 18), remarkably similar to the best work at Knossos. It is highly probable that this type of painting had a religious significance and may well represent religious propaganda emanating from the cult center at Knossos.⁵ The same conclusion might apply to the stucco reliefs of seated women (goddesses?) from the rocky island of Pseira in Mirabello bay on the north coast.

The later frescoes from a dump at Ayia Triadha and the closely related sarcophagus from a nearby tomb (Pls. 50–53) resemble in style the later frescoes from the Palace at Knossos (see chapter 5) and are perhaps the work of emigré artists following the destruction of the palace. On the other hand, the fragments of painting found in recent excavations of houses at Chania (ancient Kydonia) far to the west of Knossos may be less indebted to the Minoan capital and more to the Mycenaean mainland, if they belong to the period when Chania replaced Knossos as the leading center on Crete.⁶

The Cyclades comprise the second major area for Aegean painting. These small islands scattered through the central Aegean Sea were in close contact with Crete and the Greek mainland from the beginning of the Bronze Age (about 3000 B.C.). However, wall paintings

have as yet been found on only three of these islands—on Melos and Thera, the southernmost and closest to Crete, and on Keos, off the east coast of Attica. At the turn of the century, when fragmentary frescoes were first discovered at Phylakopi on Melos, the excavator suggested that they were the work of Minoan artists, the famed “Flying Fish” panel (Pl. 16) having been shipped ready-made from Crete to be installed in a Minoan colonist’s house. There is, however, a better, technical explanation for the supposed wooden frame of this painting (see chapter 2), and today we would question only whether it was painted by a Minoan artist on Melos or by a local painter trained in Minoan styles and techniques.

The same uncertainty surrounds the paintings from the recently discovered site of Akrotiri on Thera. There, since 1967, a town with houses preserved to the second or even third story, replete with furnishings and frescoed walls, is being uncovered, its preservation due to a catastrophic volcanic eruption which buried the site about 1500 B.C. Akrotiri has been termed a “Bronze Age Pompeii,” and like Pompeii for Roman painting, its contribution to Aegean painting lies especially in the quantity, excellent preservation, and uniformity of date of the material. Beautiful as the Theran paintings are, they are doubtless “provincial” by Knossian standards. While they resemble the Minoan, they have a local character. They seem either the work of Minoan artists who had migrated from their homeland and were catering to a somewhat different population, or the work of local artists taught originally by Cretans but pursuing their own preferences. Their indebtedness to Crete must be acknowledged, however one views the political reality of Akrotiri in relation to Crete. Was it a Minoan colony or a Cycladic town influenced by, and imitating, Minoan culture?

The question of Minoan thalassocracy and colonization has recently been discussed in respect to the Cyclades and more outlying regions.⁷ It would seem that the term “colony” is more apt for the far-distant outposts where Minoans established themselves among alien folk, for example, on the island of Rhodes or at Miletus on the coast of Turkey (Fig. 12). At the site of Trianda on the north coast of Rhodes, fragmentary frescoes, with red lilies on a white ground and other floral motifs, may well have been the work of itinerant artists from Knossos, or possibly Thera.⁸

Quite a different situation existed on the island of Keos, which was close to the mainland of Greece. At the recently excavated site of Ayia Irini, fragmentary but important examples of wall painting represent a blend of styles, with an underlying Minoan character but, even more strongly than at Thera, in a local Cycladic idiom. Influence from the Greek mainland, where as yet no such early frescoes have been found, is also likely (see chapter 5, I).

The art of wall painting did not develop on the mainland until after it came under Minoan cultural influence at the time of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, yet despite the Minoan imports and contacts in this period (1600–1500 B.C.), there is little or no evidence for such early frescoes. It was not until the establishment of the great Mycenaean palaces in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries that we have sure evidence for wall painting, but this earlier absence may be accidental. All the great mainland palaces—Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, Thebes and Orchomenos in Boeotia, and the newly discovered Palace of Nestor at Pylos in southwest Greece—had their cycles of paintings, many of them remarkably similar to each other, a feature which strongly suggests that there were traveling artists. There may also have been a transfer of some artists from Crete at the time of the destruction

of the Palace at Knossos (see chapter 6). Frescoes were also used to decorate several private houses near the palace (as, for example, the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae) and occasionally ornamented the doorways of especially elegant rock-cut chamber tombs (Thebes, Argos).⁹ Although the ornamental aspects of Mycenaean painting and its derivative character from Minoan have often been stressed, it had its own character, as will be shown in chapter 6.

The geographical distribution of Aegean painting thus focuses first of all on Crete, and especially Knossos, with a spread to the Cyclades (Thera, Melos, and Keos) and as far as Trianda on Rhodes and Miletus on the coast of Turkey, where Minoan colonies were established. Then in the period following the Thera eruption, the concentration is on Crete. Finally, after the destruction of the palace at Knossos, the center of painting shifted to the Greek mainland. Interestingly enough, the overseas expansion of the Mycenaeans to Cyprus and the Near East, which was a commercial rather than a colonizing movement, did not involve the transfer of fresco painters.¹⁰

Matters of chronology are more complex than geography but are necessary to explain the chronological framework used for the chapters in this book. The term Bronze Age, applied to the period before iron replaced bronze as the main metal for weapons and tools (roughly about 1200–1100 B.C.), was in Greece a time without written historical records, the so-called prehistoric age. Specific dates must therefore be derived obliquely by reference to the more developed urban civilizations of Egypt and the Near East with their long traditions of written records and king-lists. In Aegean archaeology we customarily use a dating system first developed for Knossos by Sir Arthur Evans, a system later extended to include the Greek mainland and the Cyclades. This system divided the Bronze Age into three major phases: Early, Middle, and Late (Minoan, Helladic, or Cycladic). Evans based the Minoan system upon the sequence of pottery styles found stratified in his excavations at Knossos, which thus gave him only a *relative* chronology without specific dates. These were supplied by Egyptian parallels, either Egyptian objects found in Minoan contexts or Minoan imports to Egypt, and to a lesser extent upon Babylonian or other Near Eastern parallels. These parallels made possible his correlation of Early Minoan with the Egyptian Old Kingdom (roughly 3000–2000 B.C.), Middle Minoan with the Middle Kingdom (2000–1600 B.C.), and Late Minoan with the New Kingdom (1600–1200 B.C.). The system is, of course, much more elaborate than this simplification. Evans divided each of his major periods into I, II, and III, and many of these phases into A and B subphases, basing these again on changes in pottery styles. Later scholars have refined the system even further, lowering some dates and making additional subdivisions for the late phases of Late Minoan and Late Helladic.¹¹

While many scholars have become specialists in the minute classification of pottery by shape and decoration,¹² pottery development by itself does not yield chronological and historical evidence. Rather, it is the association of pottery of a particular phase with a given architectural stratum, catastrophic event (such as earthquake, fire, or volcanic eruption), or closed context in which some foreign datable object is present to provide some synchronism with a datable event in Egypt or the Near East. Although such synchronisms are highly prized in a civilization without written history, there has been a recent tendency to question them.¹³ We cannot

go into the details here, but even with some modifications the basic equations of Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age with the Egyptian Old, Middle, and New Kingdom still hold.

Furthermore, some archaeologists have questioned Evans's elaborate ceramic sequence, which seems not to work equally well for all sites. To counter these objections the Greek archaeologist Nicholas Platon proposed broad divisions of Minoan prehistory based on the architectural phases of the palaces. The period before the erection of the palaces he termed "Prepalatial" (roughly equivalent to Evans's Early Minoan through Middle Minoan IA), the period of the older palaces "Protopalatial" (=Middle Minoan IB–II), the period of the new palaces "Neopalatial" (=Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan II), and the period after the destruction of the Minoan palaces "Postpalatial" (=Late Minoan III).¹⁴ Unfortunately, however, this system cannot be applied to the mainland or the Cyclades, and even in Crete it is not certain from the ceramic evidence that the same architectural phases took place at the same time at all sites.¹⁵

In this book, I will use a combination of the two systems (see chart, Fig. 3). Since the chronology of wall painting is largely determined by the architectural phases of the buildings they decorated, the material is presented in major units, their divisions derived from such seminal events as earthquake, conflagration, or volcanic eruption, with the dating of these units dependent upon the ceramic sequence.

For the history of Aegean painting, at least five significant destruction horizons enable us to plot its development and provide some dates. The first was the destruction of the older palaces at Knossos and Phaistos by one or more severe earthquakes.¹⁶ The building operations that replaced these Old Palaces sealed in deposits of pottery and artifacts from the older buildings, this process being particularly striking at Phaistos, where a layer of cement was poured over the earlier remains. While there is little indication that wall painting as we know it in the subsequent period existed—at least we have no examples of figural wall painting preserved—the techniques of wall plaster were being developed (see chapter 2) and the Minoan pictorial style was being forged on a small scale on seals and painted pottery (see chapter 3).

The dating of this period depends upon the pottery found in the predestruction debris (Middle Minoan II according to Evans's terminology). This beautiful and easily recognized polychrome ware termed Kamares (from the cave on Mt. Ida, where it was first discovered) was a *de luxe* palatial ware exported fairly widely to Egypt, Syria, and to a more limited extent to the islands and southern Greece. The Egyptian contexts are the most important in giving an absolute chronology, for these provide synchronisms with the Middle Kingdom. Kamares ware is found at Kahun and Haraga in the Fayum, towns which sprang up in connection with the construction of the pyramids of Twelfth Dynasty Pharaohs, and whole vases were deposited in tombs far to the south at Abydos and Aswan (Fig. 12). The general chronological range falls between the reign of Senusert II (Sesostris) and Amenemhat III (Ammenemes), that is, between 1897 and 1797 B.C. Although one cannot transpose these dates uncritically to Crete without making allowances for a number of uncertainties, scholarly consensus places the destruction of the Old Palaces sometime in the eighteenth century B.C., with their flowering in the early centuries of the second millennium (roughly 1900–1700 B.C.).¹⁷ This chronological unit, from the creation of these palaces down to their destruction, comprises chapter 3, which deals with Minoan pictorial art before the frescoes.

EGYPT		CRETE		CYCLADES		MAINLAND GREECE	
3000	OLD KINGDOM	PREPALATIAL (EM I-III) Houses: Vasiliki, Myrtos Tholoi: Mesara	EARLY CYCLADIC "frying pans" marble idols	EARLY HELLADIC House of the Tiles, Lerna			
2000	MIDDLE KINGDOM Twelfth Dynasty 1991-1786 B.C. Imported MM II pottery Hyksos invasion	PROTOPALATIAL (MM I-II) Old Palaces, Knossos and Phaistos Kamarets Ware Destruction of Old Palaces by earthquake (MM II/III)	MIDDLE CYCLADIC Phylakopi, I-II Ayia Irini IV-V Minoan trade and settle- ments	MIDDLE HELLADIC Arrival of Greeks Minyan pottery Megaron plan			
1700	SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (under Hyksos)	NEOPALATIAL (MM IIIA-B) New Palaces at Knossos and Phaistos begun	Settlement at Akrotiri	Grave Circle B, Mycenae			
1600	NEW KINGDOM Eighteenth Dynasty 1570 B.C.	LM IA Palace at Knossos rebuilt af- ter earthquake	LATE CYCLADIC Height of Minoan influence Houses with paintings Volcanic eruption, Thera	LATE HELLADIC I Grave Circle A, Mycenae			
1500	Hatshepsut (1503-1482 B.C.) Kefiti representations in Theban tombs	LM IB Marine-style pottery		LATE HELLADIC II tholos tombs Vaphio tomb			
1450	Amenhotep II (1450-1425 B.C.)	Destruction of Minoan sites LM II Mycenaeans at Knossos? Warrior Graves Palace style. Late frescoes	House A at Ayia Irini Earthquake	LATE HELLADIC IIB			
1400	Amenhotep III (1417-1379)	LM III A	Mycenaeans in control	LATE HELLADIC III A Mycenaeans palaces			
1375	Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) palace at Tell el-Amarna	Destruction of Palace at Knossos c. 1375 B.C. Reoccupation of palace		Expansion of Mycenaean trade to Levant			
1300	Nineteenth Dynasty Rameses II (1304-1237 B.C.) Merneptah (1236-1223 B.C.) First raid of Sea Peoples	LM III B		LATE HELLADIC IIIB Great age of Mycenaean palaces and frescoes Burning of palaces			
1200	Rameses III (1198-1166 B.C.) Defeat of Sea Peoples	LM III C	Mycenaeans refugees to is- lands	LATE HELLADIC IIIC Some reoccupation			

Fig. 3. Chronological table

The second major catastrophe, the eruption of the volcano on Santorini (Thera), which buried a whole town with many of its paintings still intact, also marks the end of an era which we may term the first phase of Aegean wall painting (see chapter 4). Clearly these paintings are already well advanced and do not represent the initial stages of the art, which should be sought in the New Palace at Knossos. Unfortunately its upper limit is not clearly defined, for Evans's first phase (MM IIIA) is not easy to separate from the great Middle Minoan IIIB palace, nor have any frescoes survived on its walls, if indeed they did exist.¹⁸ The earliest extant frescoes and stucco reliefs from Knossos can be assigned either to Evans's Middle Minoan IIIB or to his Late Minoan IA period, that is, preceding or immediately following another catastrophic earthquake that led to a major renovation of the palace. This event was roughly contemporary with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and the founding of the Eighteenth Dynasty by Ahmosis in 1570 B.C., a date which is usually taken to mark the division between the Middle and Late Bronze Age in the Aegean. From now on the Aegean pottery exported to Egypt is Late Minoan (or Late Helladic), with its early phase, LM IA (or LH I), found in contexts datable to the sixteenth century and its succeeding phase, LM IB, occurring in deposits of the first half of the fifteenth century. This is the period of the powerful Egyptian Pharaohs, Thothmes I and II, Queen Hatshepsut, and Thothmes III (whose dates span the period from 1525 to 1450 B.C.), and it is the time when Aegean emissaries, the Keftiu (Cretans) and others from the "isles in the Great Green" (possibly mainland Mycenaeans), were represented as tribute bearers on the walls of Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Thebes (see chapter 5, II). It is also the period of the royal Shaft Graves at Mycenae, some of the treasures from which can be matched among the gifts borne by the Keftiu.¹⁹

The town of Akrotiri (Fig. 14) as we know it from its pre-eruption remains belongs to this era, although there has been some uncertainty regarding the date of its final destruction. Late Minoan IA pottery, along with early Mycenaean (Late Helladic I), was being imported in some quantity when disaster struck. This may have been in the form of earthquake tremors and a fall of pumice sufficient to alarm the inhabitants into abandoning their town. At any rate, since no skeletal remains and almost no portable objects of value like jewelry or costly metal vases were found, the people clearly had time to flee before the volcano "blew its top" and transformed the circular island (its original name was "Strongyle" or "round") into its present crescent shape with a great crater in the center where the cone of the volcano had been. From the pottery left in the town, archaeologists can date its abandonment to about 1500 B.C. There is no evidence of the Late Minoan IB Marine style which was popular in Crete in the succeeding period (1500–1450 B.C.). The sixteenth century, then, should be the date of the wall paintings decorating the houses buried under the pumice and ash of the great eruption.

The difficulty in dating this eruption arises when one attempts to correlate it with the third destruction horizon, a series of burnings and devastations of Cretan sites that took place when Late Minoan IB pottery was flourishing and therefore about 1450 B.C. An initially persuasive theory proposed by the late historian D. L. Page attempted to make such a connection, comparing the destructive force of the Thera volcano with the historically documented eruption of Krakatao in 1883. Such an explosion of the volcano would certainly have had some effect on Crete: earthquake, tidal wave when the volcanic chamber collapsed and formed the

crater, perhaps a layer of volcanic ash over the eastern end of the island leading to the abandonment of sites.²⁰ The consistent destruction by fire of these sites is perhaps less easily attributed to a natural disaster, but the greatest difficulty in making this equation is the chronological gap, which may be as much as fifty years.

At first archaeologists attempted to close this gap by suggesting that the imported pottery at Akrotiri was *retardé* compared with Crete, that the absence of the Marine style was accidental, or more persuasively that the site of Akrotiri lay abandoned for some years before the final cataclysm. However, after two international congresses on Santorini in which archaeologists and vulcanologists participated, the theory of contemporaneity with the LM IB destructions in Crete has had to be abandoned. Vulcanologists unanimously agree that the whole phenomenon—severe earthquake, eruption and strewing of pumice and ash, plus the final collapse of the chamber and creation of the crater—took place in a matter of *months*, not years, and certainly not half a century; the recent Mount St. Helens eruption in Washington would tend to confirm this viewpoint.²¹

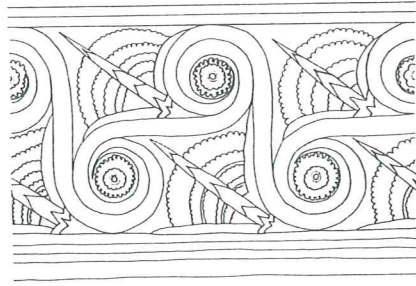
If the widespread burning at most Minoan sites in LM IB cannot be associated with the eruption on Thera, the obvious answer would seem to be human agency. It has therefore become increasingly attractive to connect this with a raid of Mycenaean mainlanders, who perhaps took advantage of a loss of Minoan sea power after the Thera catastrophe and sacked Cretan palaces and towns (Phaistos, Ayia Triadha, Zakros, Gournia, Palaikastro, Amnisos), leaving them devastated, while installing themselves at Knossos during its last palatial phase (1450–1375 B.C.). Although this theory of early Mycenaean occupancy of the palace is not universally accepted (see chapter 5), it seems most likely because of the close parallels between the culture of this stage of the palace and that of the mainland.

The fourth significant destruction horizon is that of this later palace, at Knossos, which suffered a severe conflagration at some stage in its history. In recent years the date of this destruction has occasioned much controversy, whether, as Evans thought, it was about 1400 B.C. (in the reign of Amenhotep III, 1417–1379 B.C.) or considerably later, perhaps even as late as the end of the Mycenaean period as proposed by L. R. Palmer.²² This is a complex problem involving the Linear B tablets, now read as Greek, the accuracy of Evans's excavation notebooks, and the interpretation of an excavation completed more than fifty years ago of a palace that is now so thoroughly restored that it is difficult to reopen investigations. In discussing the frescoes from the palace at Knossos (see chapter 5, II) these topics cannot be avoided, but they are best deferred at present. We may note here, however, that there are far stronger arguments for placing the major destruction of the palace about 1375 B.C. (or possibly a little later) than for proposing its continuation as a palace down to the end of the Mycenaean period, and this—the earlier date—is the chronological position taken in this book.

The date of 1375–50 B.C. for the destruction of the palace and the transfer of power to the mainland derives primarily from Egyptian synchronisms with Mycenaean pottery, for the large quantity of Aegean pottery found in the palace of Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV, 1379–62 B.C.) is already in the developed Mycenaean style (LH IIIA2 according to experts) that succeeds the pottery present at Knossos in the late palatial phase.²³ By now it would seem that the center of Aegean painting had shifted to the mainland, where it was practiced for the next

two centuries in decorating the Mycenaean palaces, which imitated many decorative features previously developed in Crete but at the same time preserved their native character in such things as the floor plan of the megaron, or main hall, with its central hearth.

Unfortunately, few mainland paintings can with certainty be assigned to the earlier stages of the Mycenaean period (see chapter 6, I). The fifth and final Aegean destruction level comes near the end, when a wave of conflagrations swept the palaces and destroyed the frescoes still on their walls. From the pottery in use in the palaces, the date of this destruction can be placed about 1200 B.C., when a late stage of Late Helladic IIIB pottery (generally synchronized with the reign of Rameses II, 1304–1237 B.C.) was giving way to Late Helladic IIIC. While we do not know for certain the agents of destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, human activity seems more likely than a wave of natural disasters. This was a period of general disturbance in the eastern Mediterranean, with new tribes moving in and displacing the older population. Some of this unrest is reflected in the raids of the Sea Peoples on Egypt in the reigns of Merneptah (1236–23 B.C.) and Rameses III (1198–66 B.C.), with perhaps some displaced Aegean people in their train, and by this time Dorians, or other northern tribes, had begun to move southward into Greece.²⁴ This marks the end of the Aegean palatial age, and without palace support the art of wall painting ceased. Aegean painting, however, had a continued existence through the next century (Late Helladic IIIC) in a late flowering of pictorial decoration on large open bowls (kraters) and on terracotta sarcophagi (larnakes), which are discussed in chapter 7.



2 TECHNIQUES OF PAINTING

Aegean painting is primarily a mural art used to decorate interior walls of palaces and villas, and occasionally tombs. As such, its background, or field, consisted of the wall itself and whatever final smooth coating was applied to the construction underneath. This was characteristically “rubble” (irregular stones packed with clay), sometimes sundried brick, both with a wooden tie-beam reinforcement. The ashlar or coursed masonry used for exterior walls, either solidly for the lower courses or as a revetment above, was not stuccoed over and painted, although the joints were filled with a waterproof lime mortar which was often spread decoratively, and perhaps colored, over a few centimeters of the surface.¹ Indeed the sealing of joints and waterproofing of wood and rubble construction were probably the origin of the fine lime plasters developed by the Minoans, beginning even in the Early Minoan period. In the houses at Vasiliki and Myrtes in eastern Crete, the walls were uniformly plastered, but with lime mixed with clay, and there was no mural decoration other than a uniform red surface.² During the Old Palace period (2000–1700 B.C.) the proportion of lime increased, and by the time of the construction of the New Palaces, the Minoan craftsmen had achieved a hard and pure white lime plaster suitable for mural paintings.³

This plaster was applied as a coating a centimeter or more in thickness over a backing of clay and coarser plaster up to ten centimeters thick, which smoothed the rough rubble construction. Thus the wall itself with its attendant wooden framing for doors and windows, sometimes with a stone socle at the bottom, dictated the scale and placement of the paintings; for example, a narrow frieze above door and window, separate panels by the doorway or reveals of the window, or a broader field on an uninterrupted wall surface (see Fig. 4). At Akrotiri (see plan, Fig. 14), where the architectural setting is usually better preserved than at Knossos,

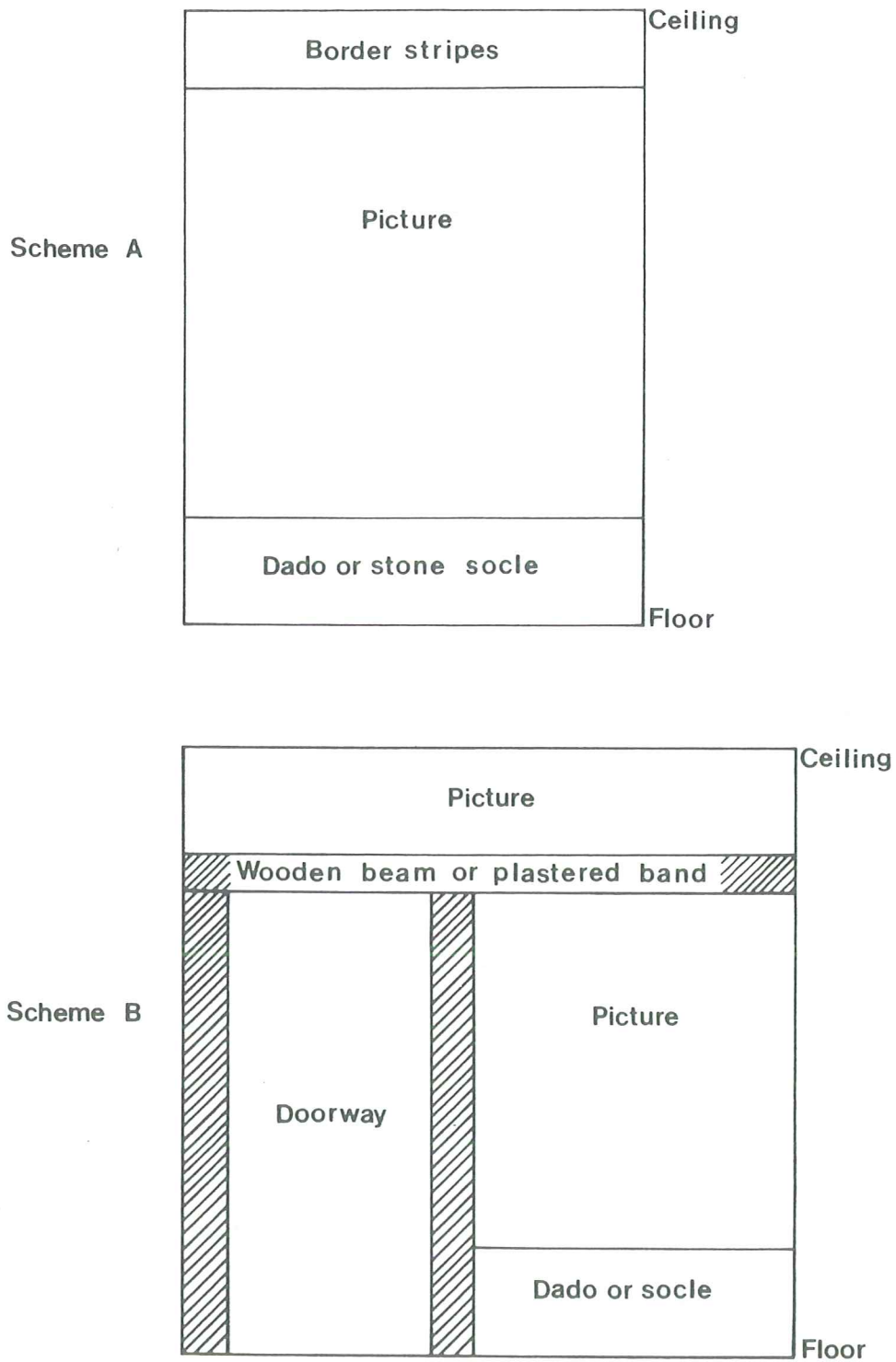


Fig. 4. Alternative schemes of wall decoration (adapted from Cameron, *TUAS* I, 1976, to reflect Thera houses)

examples of all three types can be recognized: the narrow frieze in the Ship fresco from the West House (Pl. XIV), panels in the Fishermen and Priestess from the same house (Pls. IX and 21), and all-over wall decoration in the "Spring" fresco from Δ 1 (Pl. VII), as well as in other paintings to be discussed in chapter 4. The discoveries at Thera, furthermore, enable us to suggest the placement for Knossian paintings of similar types. In any event, it is important to remember the basic architectural character of Aegean painting, which is often reflected in an illusionistic re-creation of its underlying parts, for example, wooden beams or a stone socle. This tradition survives even into the latest Mycenaean period (see chapter 6).

Another foundation for wall painting consisted of unfired clay slabs which, being smooth, needed only a thin outer application of lime plaster. The best evidence for this technique occurs at Akrotiri, where paintings on a clay foundation were occasionally preserved almost intact. Sometimes such clay slabs served as architectural dividers, particularly in an upper-story room, as in B 1, where paintings of the Antelopes and Boxers (Pls. VIII and X) were found partially attached. Also in the West House the excellent preservation of the Priestess, one of the Fishermen, and at least two of the lifesize ship's cabins (*ikria*) was the result of their being painted on large clay slabs which slid down intact, or nearly so, at the time of the catastrophe (see *Thera* VI, pls. 38b, 42b, 54–55). While the *ikria* were on an inner clay partition wall, the slabs with the Fishermen and Priestess seem to have constituted separate "panel paintings" set between wooden uprights framing doorways. If these were actually painted before being assembled, as Marinatos suggested (*Thera* VI, 36), this was doubtless dictated by work practices rather than by any basic difference in technique. They were certainly not shipped as finished works from elsewhere, as was once suggested for the "Flying Fish" found at Phylakopi (Pl. 16), for the supposed wooden frame in that work has now been recognized as the result of its placement between the wooden architectural members of the wall.⁴

Another, more unusual technical feature observed at Akrotiri is the reuse of older painted plaster as part of the wall fabric for new decoration. This was not simply with a new upper layer of stucco, as in the successive redecoration of Mycenaean hearths (see chapter 6), but with the pieces of previous wall decoration turned backside out. This was done in the Monkey fresco (Pl. 12) from Room B 6 (see *Thera* v, pls. 91–92), and such reuse of broken plaster constitutes important evidence for extensive earthquake damage and redecoration sometime prior to the final catastrophe.⁵

It is unlikely that any of the technical procedures followed at Akrotiri were not also practiced in Crete, but the information is less clear from the archaeological record at Knossos, partly because of the early date of the excavation, but mainly because the destructions were less catastrophic and final than the Thera eruption.

Evans has given us his fullest report for the archaeological context of fresco material in his account of the excavation of the House of the Frescoes, a small villa about 100 meters to the west of the palace excavated in 1923 (see plan of the Knossos area, Fig. 15). This was the findspot for the attractive Blue Monkeys and Bluebird panels displayed in the Herakleion Museum (*PM* II, pls. X and XI), as well as some of the finest fragments of Minoan flora (see chapter 4, I). In a narrow compartment of a basement room workmen came upon a deposit of frescoes which Evans considered "stacked fragments . . . carefully removed from some upper storey room." These fragments were "thin and fragile without any rougher backing . . . as if

they had been laid directly on a clay surface," and they eventually filled eighty-four trays, most of which are now in storage in the Herakleion Museum.⁶ In his recent study of this material (see chapter 4, I), Cameron has reached the conclusion that the stacking in the basement was almost certainly due to earthquake rather than human intention. The details agree very closely with the find circumstances at Akrotiri, where frescoes were precipitated downward into basement rooms and where those on a clay foundation produced the largest and best-preserved pieces. Perhaps the narrow divider of clay and stucco that formed Evans's basement "closet" was actually the remains of such clay slabs. At any rate, the similarity of style (as well as the find circumstances) between the frescoes from this deposit and from Akrotiri strongly suggests that the two catastrophes may have been related, Crete suffering severe seismic shocks when the volcano erupted.

The discussion so far has focused on technical matters pertaining to the placement of paintings on the wall, but even more significant for the art historian is the surface on which the paintings were executed, the pigments used, and the method of their application, whether or not they were done in the *buon fresco* technique, as Evans and his technical adviser, Noel Heaton, believed.⁷ Students of medieval and Renaissance painting appreciate technical and stylistic differences between fresco and tempera painting. In the former the lighter, water-based colors are applied to wet lime plaster, which bonds the pigments chemically, and the artist must work rapidly before the plaster dries, whereas in a tempera painting the pigments are mixed with glue or a binding material and are applied to a dry *gesso* (plaster of paris mixed with glue) undercoat, often on a wooden panel. In a tempera painting the colors take on an added richness, and an artist can spend infinite time on his work. Other methods of painting are also possible; for instance, *fresco secco*, where water-based colors are mixed with lime and applied to a dry wall surface.

Evans made much of the fresco technique of the Minoans to explain certain stylistic conventions, such as the shorthand method of representing crowds in the Grandstand fresco (Pl. 22, and see *PM* III, 31ff.). Another scholar, Snijder, has attributed the style of Minoan painting not only to its rapidity of execution but to the highly sensitive visual perception (the term "eidetic" used by psychologists) of the Minoans.⁸ Swindler stressed the essential differences between contemporary paintings of Egypt and Crete in terms of technique and function.⁹ Although all these explanations of the specific Minoan style have some justification, there is no consensus among scholars today as to the exact painting process, and especially whether the term *buon fresco* is, strictly speaking, correct. Those who have handled a large body of painted plaster from a given site, such as Pylos or Akrotiri,¹⁰ note that the colors are not invariably fast, or bonded equally into the plaster, and therefore they favor some kind of *fresco secco* technique, or even a mixed medium with some of the colors applied with an organic binding agent, although no trace has been found in Aegean samples.¹¹

Perhaps the differences among scholars are more a matter of semantics and hardly justify rejecting the term "fresco" for Aegean wall paintings. All would agree that the wall was covered with *lime* plaster which was *wet* during at least part of the decoration. The impressions of string guidelines (Pl. 34) and the penetration of some of the colors are proof of this wetness. Thus, two of the essentials of the fresco technique are present, and the surface differs markedly from that of an Egyptian painting, which was done either directly on the limestone

wall or on quick-setting gypsum plaster (our plaster of paris) that filled out imperfections in the stone and could be carved. The debate centers primarily on the bonding of colors and on whether there was ever any use of a binding medium, either lime water or an organic substance. Of the former we do have clear evidence in certain overpainted details such as white dotted outlines, and certainly the surface was not always equally wet. But do these qualifications mean that the term “fresco” should be abandoned? I think not, for one can hardly expect the Minoans in the infancy of this type of painting to have followed precisely the procedures set down for medieval-Renaissance painters of *buon fresco!*

Cameron has recently made a strong case in defense of the fresco technique in a highly technical article,¹² in which he based his conclusions not only on scientific analyses of samples of Minoan wall painting but on laboratory re-creations of paintings in studio classes. There it was shown that the wall surface did not dry out as quickly as had been thought, although this demonstration was in Ontario rather than Crete. As a compelling argument for the term “fresco,” Cameron stressed the Minoan development of, and strict adherence to, *lime* plasters, which were more costly to produce and more difficult to manage without cracking unless a filler was added, which would, however, have speeded up drying. In other words, the pure white surface and slow-setting quality of their plaster must have seemed worthwhile to the Minoans and to have offset other difficulties. With the exception of the Syrians at Alalakh (Tell Atchana), who may have come under Minoan influence, all other contemporary Mediterranean cultures used a different type of plaster for their wall painting, either mud as in Mesopotamia or gypsum-based as in Egypt.¹³

The pigments used by the Minoans have been analyzed by a number of scientists (see chart, Fig. 5) and differ little from those of the ancient Egyptians, although in Egypt these colors

Fig. 5. Chart of pigments used in Aegean painting*

Black	Carbon at all sites; manganese also at Thera.
White	Lime (calcium carbonate) at all sites; also white clay.
Red	Red ochre (ferric oxide) including haematite at all sites.
Yellow	Yellow ochre (ferric oxide) at all sites.
Blue	Egyptian blue ($\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$) at all sites, but in addition: Riebeckite (glaukophane), a natural iron compound at Knossos, Thera, Mycenae (perhaps elsewhere). Powdered lapis lazuli on Ayia Triadha sarcophagus.
Green	Mixture or overpainting of Egyptian blue or riebeckite with ochre. Powdered malachite on Shield fresco from Tiryns.
Gray	Carbon with white clay or lime.
Maroon	Red ochre and Egyptian blue or riebeckite.
Pink	Red ochre with white clay.
Brown	Yellow ochre with carbon.
	Other shades through mixtures or overpainting with two pigments.

*Based on analyses of samples from Knossos, Thera, Keos, Tiryns, Pylos, and Mycenae: see Bibliography, Notes, Chapter 2, 14–16.

would have been mixed with an organic binder (gelatin, glue, gum, or white of egg) to make them adhere to the dry stone or gypsum-plastered wall. Egyptian colors are thus more opaque, and the process of working on a dry surface with the laying on of one color over another certainly contributed to the marvelous texture of fur and plumage that distinguishes Egyptian animals and birds from the more impressionistic Minoan examples (compare Pls. 6 and 17).

Natural earth and mineral compounds formed the basis of the Aegean artist's palette, with the important exception of blue, which was a synthetic compound. White came from natural white clay (kaolin) or from reserving the lime plaster background, a practice frequent at Thera. Black was from carbon, either soot or carbonaceous shale, and the whole range of reds, yellows, and oranges was derived from natural earths or ochres and their combinations, sometimes intensified by burning. Brown resulted from mixing or overpainting black and red or yellow, pinks from red and white, grays from black and white. These provided the whole range of the warm end of the spectrum, as well as the neutrals, but to complete the palette and prepare the way for the convincing rendering of nature that occurred in the Middle Minoan III period, blue was essential, not only for itself but as a means for making green, through overpainting yellow on blue.¹⁴

Among the earliest fresco fragments from Knossos are pieces of a deep *kyanos* blue, the so-called Egyptian blue; from their context with Kamares sherds they can be dated to Middle Minoan II. The technique of making this blue color (the typical shade recognizable in Egyptian amulets and other glazed objects) was discovered during the Old Kingdom in Egypt by heating a glassy substance "frit" with a copper-bearing ore; from there it was introduced to Crete probably soon after 2000 B.C., perhaps first as the raw material that could be powdered for use as a pigment, and later probably as the process itself. It is an important indication of the close ties that existed between the two countries during the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁵ In addition to this "Egyptian blue," another blue of a darker color was available in the Aegean from a natural iron compound, riebeckite or glaukophane; presumably cheaper, it could be used alone or mixed with Egyptian blue. Once only, on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (Pls. 50–53), the use of lapis lazuli has been noted, and again in a single instance the use of ground malachite has been suggested for the green of the Tiryns Shield fresco (Pl. XIX).¹⁶

We know much about the tools of the painter in Egypt, where the dry climate has preserved wooden or ivory palettes with circular depressions for cakes of pigments, and brushes made of vegetable fibers, the finest resembling bristles.¹⁷ Nothing of this sort has been found in the Aegean except for some small marble palettes from Early Cycladic tombs, in one case accompanied by a lump of red ochre and an obsidian pestle for grinding (Pl. 1).¹⁸ While these palettes were most likely used for cosmetic purposes, the tools of the painter cannot have been very different from the Egyptian. The brushes used in Aegean painting must also have consisted of bristles or fringed fibers, for they left drag marks on the still-damp surface of the plaster.

The closest approach to the Aegean painter at his work is provided by a remarkable find from the West House at Akrotiri, where in Room 4a Marinatos found two jars filled with plaster ready to be used and a bowl containing red paint already mixed (*Thera* VI, pls. 58–59). The latter bore the imprint of a small animal, which showed that the paint was wet and presumably thick (mixed with lime?) at the time of the catastrophe. On the windowsill set out

to dry, and protected by an inverted cooking pot, was a splendid tripod “table of offerings” decorated with dolphins, seaweed, and rockwork, resembling a marine fresco (Pl. V).¹⁹ If the excavator’s hypothesis is correct, this must have been the last painting produced before the town was abandoned.

For the wall paintings from Thera and elsewhere, all too little is known about the exact processes followed, the number of artists involved, and the division of labor. Unlike Egypt, where artists at work are sometimes depicted in tomb paintings,²⁰ there are no such representations in the Aegean, and consequently any conclusions must be based on internal observations and regarded as surmise. It seems likely that as in the contemporary cultures of Egypt and the Near East, and indeed in most periods of art history until Renaissance and modern times—Classical Greece being an exception—the artist was anonymous and his role was more that of craftsman than an individual expressing his own creative talent. Yet differences in ability and taste can be recognized. While scholars have not yet endeavored to pick out individual “hands” in the Aegean frescoes,²¹ being more preoccupied with restoring fragmentary compositions and interpreting iconography, a comparison of paintings from Xeste 3 and the West House at Akrotiri would suggest that a different group of painters was involved (see chapter 4). Probably a number of workmen of varying ages and abilities were under the leadership of a master painter who laid out the general scheme for a given room or complex, following the dictates of traditional iconography, which for the Minoan period seems strongly infused with religious beliefs (see pages 59–62). The wall was subdivided into units based on architectural considerations, areas were covered in turn by the final smooth lime plaster about one centimeter thick, and while it was still wet, borders, socles, and so forth were marked off by a taut string which left its impression. These areas could then be filled in by apprentices or those who specialized in abstract patterns. The figural composition would then be sketched in, either with a stylus leaving its impression or, if the plaster were somewhat drier, with a red line.²² Work would proceed on a day-to-day basis, with a few skilled artists executing the human figures and others filling in the background or specializing perhaps in intricate details of costume. From the Pylos material Lang has made some telling observations on the sequence of work in respect to outlining, filling in with color, and background, and she has speculated that the changing background color zones characteristic of many Aegean paintings are the likely result of the technical problem of matching colors from one day’s work to the next.²³

What is perhaps hardest to judge from our fragmentary evidence, even at Thera, is the extent of innovation in a craft that was essentially traditional. The miniature frieze from the West House (which is discussed in chapter 4, III) is a good example. Many of the themes such as the shipwreck and landing party, the hunting lion, the seacoast town, the Nilotic river scene, are part of the common Aegean vocabulary of the sixteenth century, the time of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, yet they seem woven together in an individual way to celebrate some exploit or event in the life of the town of Akrotiri. Thus, the role of the individual artist as “planner” should not be ruled out.

Mural painting was the most monumental type in the Aegean, but painting is found on objects other than stuccoed walls, as, for example, on the tripod offering table from the West House referred to above (Pl. V). This closely imitates a fresco of the marine class, and is one of

a small number of objects that are technically related to wall painting, making use of a stucco undercoat and a full range of water-based colors (usually including blue, but here rather grayish). Among others are the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (Pls. 50–53) and the painted stele from Mycenae (Pl. 84), both of limestone stuccoed and painted (see chapters 5 and 7). Most objects were, however, of clay and were decorated with the type of paint used to ornament pottery; this had a more restricted range of earth colors and was applied before firing. Some of the tripod offering tables from Thera are of this latter type: coarse red Cycladic clay decorated with white matt paint, as on the example with white crocuses (*Thera* VII, pl. 51).

This was the period of strong Minoan influence, if not actual colonization, at Akrotiri and at Phylakopi on Melos. Both sites have wall paintings of Minoanizing style which seem to have influenced the decoration of one class of Cycladic pottery with floral and marine subjects. Painted in a rather slapdash but vital style, white lilies decorated “flower pots” and other shapes (*Thera* IV, pl. 84), while swallows, waterbirds, and dolphins in polychrome (red, white, and grayish-black) appear on jugs with a buff background (*Thera* II, pl. A; IV, pl. 67b; V, pl. 49; VI, pl. 74, etc.). A Theran specialty was the long, narrow “planter”-like vessel termed *kymbe* by the excavator, a shape which would have been suitable for placing on a windowsill (Pl. VI). These receptacles have rather elaborate pictorial decoration: flights of swallows or schools of dolphins (*Thera* II, pl. C, 7–8) and, twice, wild goats frolicking among crocuses (*Thera* VI, col. pl. 11). They were painted in the technique of the local matt-painted pottery, with a light clay slip over the reddish clay and with the design in dull red and black with white overpainting. The colors were natural earth paints—red ochre, white clay, and probably manganese for the black—and were put on before the pot was fired.

Human figures, although common on contemporary wall paintings, appeared only rarely on this Cycladic pottery. A fragment from Thera (*Thera* IV, pl. Ga) shows a dull red human face, outlined in black, with a large reserved eye; he is in profile to the right amidst foliage and is rendered in the same slapdash style as the animals on the *kymbai*. In style and technique he is not unlike the men on the Fishermen Vase from Phylakopi (Pl. 2), the most famous example of this class. This pedestal or lampstand is decorated with four youths to the right, each carrying an enormous fish in each hand. Although there seems to be some attempt to imitate a fresco of the processional class in the repetition of figures with their offerings and in the stippled band below suggesting a sandy shore, the drawing is rather crude with grotesquely large and misplaced eyes. For the fresco counterpart one might compare the Fisherman from the West House (Pl. IX) or the new processional male figures from Xeste 3 (see chapter 4, II).

In contrast to Cycladic artists, the Minoans made a clearer separation between their wall paintings and pottery decoration, both in subject matter and in style. They usually excluded humans and animals from their vases, but not floral or marine life, which often seems to derive from the frescoes. Although there were some early experiments in figure drawing on Kamares pottery (Pls. II–III; to be discussed in chapter 3), these do not reflect contemporary paintings but rather anticipate the iconography found in later wall painting, depicting such subjects as goddesses, dancers, and votaries.

The mainland of Greece, on the other hand, showed no such reluctance to use human figures and animals for vase decoration, sometimes in a narrative fashion but often interspersed among purely decorative ceramic motives. This pictorial style appears suddenly about

the time of the destruction of the palace at Knossos, when presumably a school of fresco painters migrated to the mainland to decorate the Mycenaean palaces. Although the majority of the large amphoroid kraters with pictorial decoration have been found in Cypriote tombs, manufacture in some mainland center in the Argolid seems likely. The closest connections with wall painting occur at the beginning of this style in the early fourteenth century (Pls. 45–46) and again in the waning days of the Mycenaean palaces (see chapter 7). The vase-painter was, of course, restricted by the small size and by the curvature of his pot, as well as by the ceramic technique. He had to rely upon the buff clay surface and the lustrous orange to mahogany brown of his glaze paint, but he could simulate the effects of polychromy by dilute washes or stippling with this paint, and he also had available a creamy-white clay paint which was sometimes used for added details.²⁴

A larger field for representational painting occurred on clay coffins (larnakes), which were of two types: one derived from the clay bathtubs found in Minoan houses, the other from a wooden chest provided with legs and a gabled roof. Both types of larnax were of Cretan origin, reflecting functional everyday objects. Until recently it was thought that their use as coffins was restricted almost entirely to the island. However, with the discovery of dozens of larnakes at the cemetery of Tanagra in Boeotia the picture has suddenly changed. While in technique the Tanagra larnakes resemble the Late Minoan, they differ markedly in iconography and provide important new evidence for late Mycenaean painting (see chapter 7). Both the Minoan and the Tanagra larnakes are made of thick coarse clay, like that of a pithos; the surface is covered with a creamy slip and the painting done in the natural earth paint of the ceramic artist. While the term “polychrome” is rightly applied to some of these larnakes, it is the polychromy that results (as in the much earlier Cycladic matt-painted pottery) from the use of red and black, sometimes almost bluish, paints against the white slipped ground, and it does not have the range of colors of a wall painting, or the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus in the fresco technique.²⁵

To summarize, there were basically two types of painting in the Aegean area. One was used to decorate walls (and later floors in the Mycenaean palaces), and it involved the use of lime plaster and a range of pigments, including blue (and thus green), executed in some form of the fresco technique; while restricted by the architectural framework of the wall, it afforded a range of scale from miniature figures of six to eight centimeters in height up to lifesize figures. The second type of painting is found on objects of clay and is usually in the technique of the vase-painter, where the colors were put on before firing and were restricted to various colors of clay paints or slips. In these the field was limited by the size and curvature of the object, but in exceptional cases, like the Warrior Vase from Mycenae (Pls. 84–86), it did allow for figures of about twenty centimeters in height, approximating those of most Mycenaean frescoes (see chapter 6), and in some of the larnakes for a rectangular composition up to a meter in length. The tripod tables of offering comprise an intermediate group, made of coarse clay, but usually stuccoed and painted like a fresco or occasionally decorated like a pot.



3

THE BEGINNINGS: MINOAN PICTORIAL ART BEFORE THE FRESCOES

The sudden flowering of Minoan wall painting soon after the construction of the New Palace at Knossos begs for an explanation, since there is very little evidence for its antecedent stages in the Old Palace period, at least in the fragments of wall plaster that have been preserved. And yet by the time of the Thera eruption of little more than a century later, the main types of Minoan painting—scenes of nature, lifesize human figures, miniature friezes with landscape and architectural settings—had already evolved to a high degree of artistry, as will become clear in chapter 4.

These achievements can scarcely have taken place without some preliminary experimentation, but this does not seem to have occurred in wall painting, where we have no evidence for figural frescoes in the Old Palace period. Although Evans dated his “Blue Boy” or Saffron-Gatherer (Pls. 10–11) to Middle Minoan II, he considered it “the only figural fresco preserved from this early period,” and few today would make it significantly earlier than the blue monkeys from the House of the Frescoes or those from Akrotiri of Late Minoan IA.¹

Since the Early Minoan period the Minoans had been plastering their house walls with a lime plaster usually colored red (see chapter 2). However, while the scraps of wall plaster assignable to the Old Palace period at Knossos and Phaistos show both a technical improvement over the plasters of the earlier period in terms of lime content, smoothness, whiteness, and in the introduction of a new pigment, “Egyptian blue,” they provide no evidence at all for

pictorial frescoes in a developmental stage. Granted that the evidence may be insufficient, it is surprising that no scrap of figural painting has survived from either palace. At Phaistos the earlier excavations of Pernier yielded a fragment with spiral bands of red and white picked out with blue (Fig. 6a) and a foliate band (probably not a palmette) of yellow, cream, and black against a blue ground (Fig. 6b), and the new excavations of Doro Levi further south produced several interesting fragments of floor (or wall) plaster, one with brown quatrefoils in a repetitive pattern on a white ground (Fig. 6c) and another with labyrinthine patterns, also in brown on white (Fig. 6d).² At Knossos a dado with curving bands of gray, yellow, red, and white, perhaps imitating variegated stone (Fig. 6f), came from the Loomweight Basement, a context that also yielded the fine Kamares jar with triple palms (Pl. 4), which is already pictorial in its effect. However, there is nothing comparable in fresco painting from the Old Palace period, and the closest approach to naturalism are the sponge prints in bright orange against an almost black background (Fig. 6e) which were mechanically reproduced from the natural object, much like the shell reliefs on contemporary pottery.³ This absence of figural wall painting in a period that was experimenting with reproducing objects from the natural world on a small scale may seem surprising, but it has the support of a number of scholars.⁴

The sudden emergence of representational painting on a large scale can be explained either as the natural outgrowth of a slow evolution that had been taking place in the minor arts during the Early and Middle Minoan period or as the result of contact with the older cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, each of which had wall paintings and carved stone reliefs at the time of attested Minoan contacts in the early second millennium. Both explanations have much to recommend them, and it was probably a combination of the two that led to the rapid development of monumental wall painting. Let us look first at its antecedents in earlier Minoan pictorial art.

Crete stands out from her Aegean neighbors in her early preference for and development of a representational art vocabulary. Although today one is apt to take for granted the Classical and Renaissance accomplishments in rendering nature more or less as it appears to the eye, this ability is no mean accomplishment, as anyone who has made a detailed study of the conventions of Egyptian art, or has watched a small child attempting to draw a familiar object, knows all too well.⁵

A brief survey of the other regions of the Aegean world may highlight the uniqueness of Crete in its ability to represent nature. For much of Europe after the end of the Palaeolithic period, and the splendid cave paintings in southern France and Spain with their lifelike bulls, horses, and other animals (which have reminded some of the Minoan artist's intuitive ability to represent nature),⁶ and for most of the Aegean, such art seems not to have been the goal, and only rarely appears on objects that have survived. Although the wall paintings from houses and shrines at Çatal Hüyük in central Turkey and certain rock engravings in the Cyclades and elsewhere⁷ may represent late offshoots from such Palaeolithic art, they seem dead ends that do not lead to further developments of pictorial art in their respective countries. This absence contrasts with the rather remarkable development of plastic forms found in the Cycladic marble figurines of nude females and musicians and the occasional lifelike terracotta figurines of hedgehogs from Syros and Keos. In general, however, the treatment of two-dimensional surfaces is essentially abstract, as is apparent in the incised decorations on

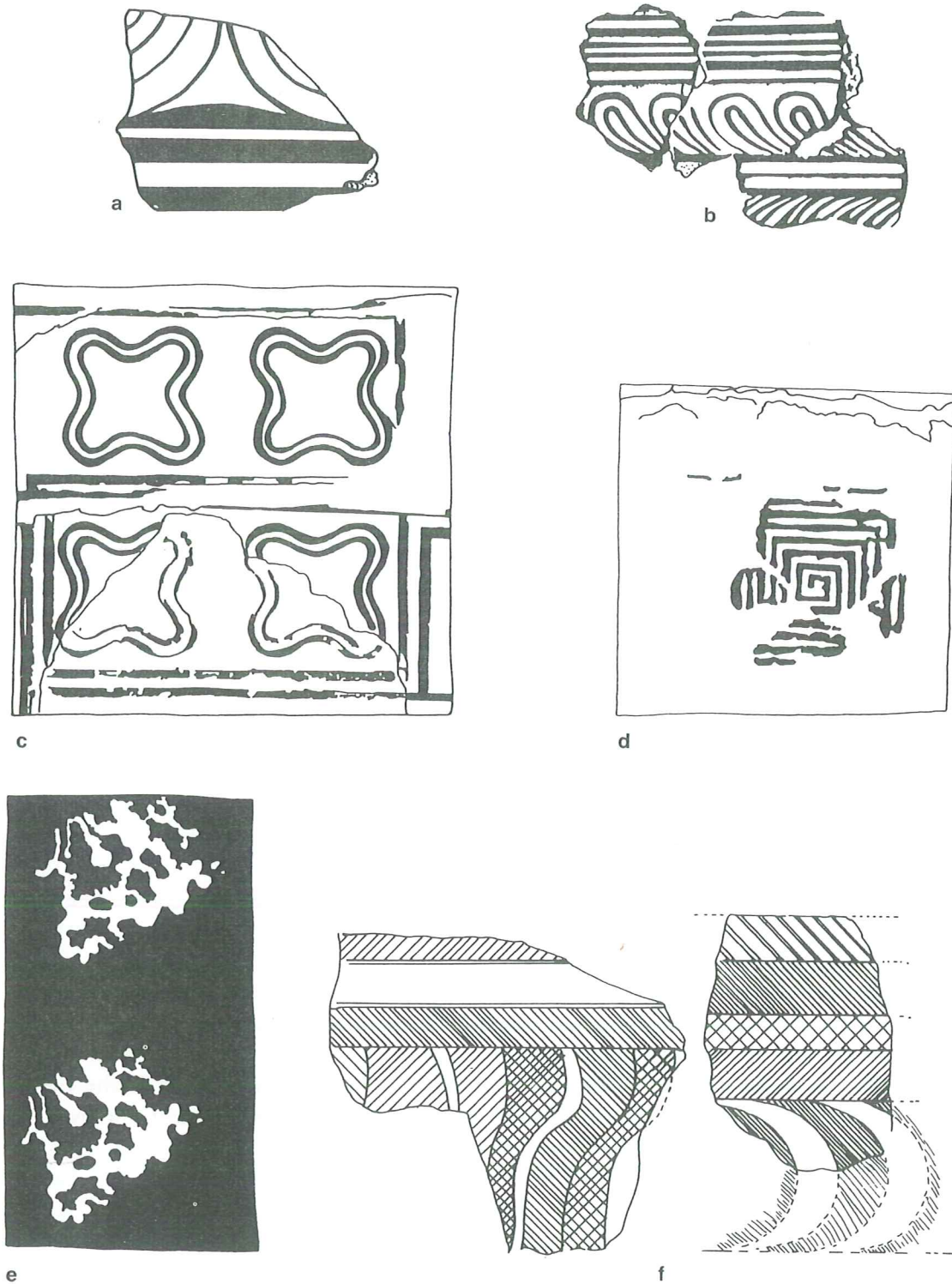


Fig. 6. Fragments of painted plaster from Old Palaces: a–d, Phaistos; e–f, Knossos

pottery and stone vessels, as well as on seals, and in the rarer painted pottery of the Early Cycladic period.⁸ An exception to this rule are the long ships with their high bows and fish ensigns that occur on some of the ritual “frying pans” from Cycladic tombs, especially from the island of Syros (Pl. 3). However, here the representational element is subordinated to a complex network of spiral decoration and does not create a truly pictorial effect, certainly not comparable to that on the Early Minoan seal with ship and dolphins (Fig. 9f). The conclusion seems inevitable that it was not until the period of strong Minoan influence in the Middle Bronze Age that the world of nature really interested the Cycladic painter (or draftsman). Then in a burst of curvilinear painted decoration on beaked jugs and other shapes from Melos and Thera, we find birds of several types and many flowers (crocuses, tulips, lilies) which were apparently inspired by imported Minoan pottery or by fresco painting (see Pls. 2, VI). These are in the matt-painted pottery technique discussed in chapter 2, and their dependence upon Crete is important in assessing the degree of independence or imitation of Minoan in the paintings from Akrotiri to be discussed in chapter 4.

On the mainland of Greece the awakening from an essentially abstract art came even later, toward the end of the Middle Helladic period, again under Minoan influence. The Early Helladic period, although having close affinities with the Cyclades, showed a greater preference for monochrome polished or glazed surfaces (“Urfirnis”) in its pottery. Occasionally in this period, but so rarely that these stand out as “sports,” there appears a simple incised representation—the ship on an askos handle from Boeotian Orchomenos (Fig. 7d), perhaps witness of direct Cycladic inspiration, or the remarkably convincing dog on a pithos from Raphina in Attica (Fig. 7c).⁹ These are best seen as the expression of individual artists rather than as portents of a general movement toward representational art.

For Early Helladic the site of Lerna in the Argolid deserves special mention in relation to Crete because of its imposing building with plastered walls painted red and the large deposit of sealings (seal impressions) preserved in the great conflagration that destroyed it. This “House of the Tiles” is the best-preserved mainland counterpart to the Early Minoan Prepalatial buildings at Vasiliki and Myrtos, and the sealings provide comparisons with Early Minoan seals from the Mesara tombs to be discussed below. In architecture and seal designs, independence rather than imitation seems to be the rule. At Lerna the building was rectangular with a tiled gabled roof, and the plaster still preserved on its interior walls was of mud rather than the lime plaster of Crete. The seal designs, which have been carefully published and analyzed,¹⁰ show a highly accomplished sense of design in the use of interlacings as well as spirals and a recognition of the frame or border, but only rarely does a representational form intrude—the occasional spider or ritual jug (Fig. 7a–b). While their relation to the Cretan series is still not altogether clear, they are apparently somewhat earlier and certainly more abstract.

The new culture that came in on the Greek mainland with the Middle Helladic period about 2000 B.C., or somewhat earlier at Lerna and some other sites,¹¹ was even more chary of representational art, preferring the monochrome surfaces and tectonic forms of Minyan pottery or the abstract geometric designs of matt-painted pottery. Seals and sealings are nonexistent and figurines very scarce. Toward the end of this period birds, and an occasional ship (Fig. 7e–f),¹² usually in the polychrome matt-painted technique, are introduced, probably as

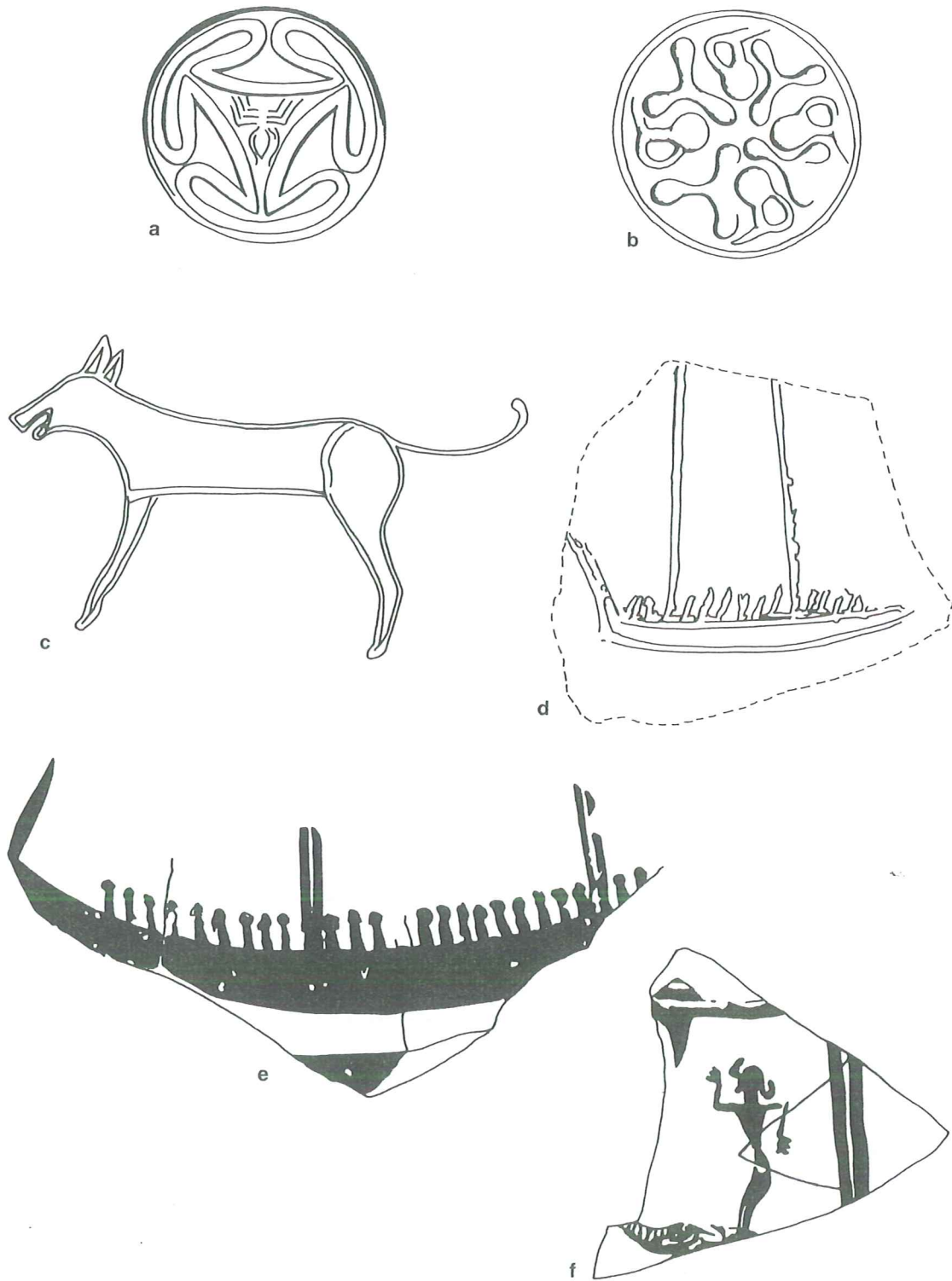


Fig. 7. Mainland pictorial art: a–b, Lerna; c, Raphina, d, Orchomenos; e–f, Aegina

a result of influence from the Cyclades. It was only, however, contact with Crete that introduced to the mainland a real interest in representational art, as well as the technical means to produce it, in some cases through migrating artists. This contact culminated in the art of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (of the late seventeenth and sixteenth centuries) contemporary with the paintings to be discussed in chapter 4.

This digression may serve as background for the very different path taken by the Minoans toward representational art. The richest body of pictorial material for the early periods is found on the seals and sealings. In spite of their diminutive size and the fact that their designs were incised, not painted, they reveal many of the artistic principles that characterize later Minoan painting, especially a sensitivity to nature, an interest in animals and their surroundings, as well as certain compositional conventions found in the frescoes. Although their dating is difficult, the majority seems a little later than the Lerna sealings of Early Helladic II. Most of the early seals were found in the round family tombs (“tholoi”) of the Mesara plain in southern Crete, which date from EM II or III through Middle Minoan II. Although the stratification was often confused, with the tombs continuing in use, specialists have been able to establish a sequence of styles. Foremost among these scholars was the late Friedrich Matz, who began the project based in Marburg, which will lead ultimately to the complete publication of all Aegean seals and sealings arranged according to museums and private collections (*Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*: hereafter *CMS*).¹³

Prepalatial Minoan seals (EM II–MM I) belong to two traditions—the ivory cylinders and stamp seals in the form of animal statuettes and the steatite (or soft stone) prisms with several engraved faces. Neither can be traced back much before EM III (toward the end of the third millennium), and both certainly continued into the transitional MM I period, and probably also were still in use at the time of the first palaces (as shown by the sealings from Phaistos, see below). For the ivory seals the original inspiration seems to have come from abroad, as did also the material, whether elephant or hippopotamus tusk. Evans thought Egypt was the inspiration; more recent scholars favor Syria or the Near East in general, where both the stamp seal and such motifs as the lion were at home.¹⁴ Their rather sophisticated style contrasts with the steatite seals, which seem more purely local.

Foreign influence does not mean that the ivory seals were not produced in Crete, for they already show acclimatization of foreign elements to the Minoan idiom. A few examples may make this point. An ivory cylinder from Platanos (Fig. 8a) is one of a number of seals decorated with a procession of realistically drawn lions arranged head to tail around the circumference in a good Near Eastern composition. Here the outer circle of seven lions is enriched by an inner circle of six spiders (a motif also found at Lerna) seen from above, their extended legs giving a sense of whirling movement, which is even more apparent in the three scorpions carved on the other end of the cylinder (Fig. 8b). This triskeles-like compositional pattern looks forward to some of the whirling designs on Kamares pottery of the next period. Another ivory cylinder, from Marathokephalo in southern Crete, introduces a human figure, nude and crouching behind a spiral chain of leaves, with two lions parading in a vertical direction on the other side (Fig. 8c). Is this a Minoan version of the old Oriental scene of combat of man with beast, here misunderstood? The reverse (Fig. 8d) is typically Aegean, a



Fig. 8. Early Minoan seals: a-d, ivory; e-j, steatite

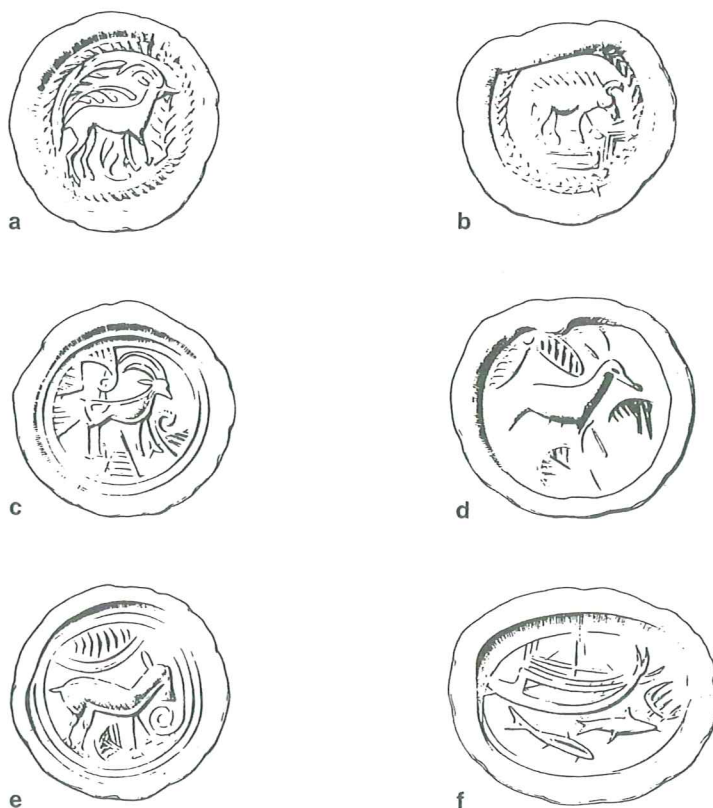
quadruple spiral with fillings which will be found in the later decorative systems on pottery and frescoes.

While lions, spiders, scorpions, are characteristic of this group of ivory seals, the steatite prisms show more benign and local fauna apparently based on real-life observation. One finds Cretan wild goats or *agrimia*, dogs, bulls, waterbirds, and fish done in a vigorous if somewhat rude and impressionistic style. These renderings anticipate the “naturalism” that is to mark later Minoan art (see chapter 4, I)—the barking dog with head turned back and paw raised as if to scratch (Fig. 8e), the attentive antelope (Fig. 8f) in a position surprisingly like one of the antelopes from Thera (Pl. VIII), or wild goats whose long horns and delicate legs conform to the circular frame (Fig. 8g).

Human figures appear with greater frequency on the steatite seals, and they too show a certain rude naturalism, but with their birdlike faces and exaggerated gestures they hardly seem the precursors of the figures in the later frescoes. Their world is that of the common man—the fisherman (?) (see *CMS* VII, 3), the hunter (Fig. 8h), the potter (see *CMS* XII, 28)—rather than palace life or religious ritual. Such genre renditions we meet again only in the miniature frescoes, especially in those from the Cyclades (see chapters 4, III, and 5, I). A few figures with exaggerated full-view shoulders (Fig. 8i) suggest some acquaintance with the Egyptian canon, but on the whole the figures are shown in remarkably free positions. Once a female (?) figure in frontal pose with upraised arms (Fig. 8j), from the Stonecutter’s Workshop at Mallia, seems to anticipate later representations of the Minoan goddess.

Thus, the steatite prisms appear to be in a more purely Minoan style and iconography than the ivory stamp seals. However, another group of ivory seals, also from the Mesara tholoi but apparently somewhat later (EM III/MM IA), shows a closer affinity to the types on the steatite prisms. They occur in new forms—the bead seal and gable, or a cylindrical shape with many squared faces, once in compound form with fourteen faces (*CMS* II, 1, 391, from Arkhanes). Furthermore, they specialize in fine detailed renderings of a single animal, usually placed within a distinct circular border, sometimes braided or foliate. Here the animals are purely local—wild goats (Figs. 9a and c), deer (Fig. 9d), boar (Fig. 9b), donkey (Fig. 9e)—and are shown with a vividness that captures the essentials of the species even on so small a scale. They thus look forward to the naturalism that is to characterize the animals of later Minoan frescoes. Another important innovation in these seals is the attempt to place the animal in its natural surroundings by introducing leafy foliage, palmette-shaped forms (lotus or papyrus?), hatched triangles or semicircles, and in the case of the boar a series of straight lines and right angles that suggest a trough. The frame is important for defining the area, and those elements that create the setting depend from it or surround the animal in much the same way as do the veined rocks in the later frescoes (see chapter 4, pages 41–42). One of the most fully pictorial scenes on the later ivory seals is the curve-hulled sailing ship moving through a sea of dolphins (Fig. 9f), which anticipates the Thera Ship fresco (Pl. XIV) in its iconography and suggestiveness of setting. This pictorial “scene,” for it is now more than a mere device, occurred on one face of a three-sided ivory prism from Tholos B at Platanos, a collective tomb which was used over a long period of time and contained an Old Babylonian cylinder seal, perhaps of Hammurabi.¹⁵ At any rate, it ought not to be later than about 1750 B.C., near the end of the Old Palace period, and thus it precedes any known wall painting with such a theme.

Fig. 9. Early Minoan III to Middle Minoan I ivory seals



The hoard of several thousand clay sealings from the Old Palace at Phaistos provides our richest glimpse of the pictorial art and foreign contacts of this period.¹⁶ Although none of the actual seals was found, the sealings show that a variety of types and materials was represented in a cache that probably covered several centuries and included at least one stamp with a lion procession (*CMS* II, 5, 281) and several probably made by steatite prisms (*CMS* II, 5, 261–66). About two-thirds, however, were made from stamp seals cut from some soft material and have abstract designs—complicated loops and interlacings, S- and C-spirals, stars and cross patterns—which have reminded scholars of the earlier sealings from Lerna or the nearly contemporary sealings from Karahüyük in Anatolia.¹⁷ Suggestive as these Anatolian connections are, they do not explain the interesting and sometimes exotic representations on another class of impressions, the majority of which seem to have been made by a metal signet of oval shape. Here the representations suggest renewed contacts with the Near East—Egypt and Syria, as well as Anatolia—although exact parallels and the means of transmission remain obscure. It is clearly not a question of imported seals, but rather the introduction of new motifs which were to play an important role in later Aegean art. However, the compositions are far more Aegean than Oriental, and there is not the same emphasis on ornamenting the circumference as in the sealings from Karahüyük.

Among the new motifs of foreign origin on the Phaistos sealings, two were destined to play an important role in later Aegean art and occur in both Minoan and Mycenaean painting. One was the Cretan griffin (Fig. 10a), an imaginary creature with lion's body and the head of a bird, usually winged and with spiral curls on the neck, a creature most likely introduced from Syria.¹⁸ The Phaistos sealings represent its earliest occurrence on Aegean soil, but it will be found again in fresco fragments from Knossos as a textile pattern decorating the skirts of seated women, and still later as lifesize animals guarding the thrones at Knossos and Pylos (see chapters 5 and 6, pages 96–98). The Minoan “genius” (Fig. 10b), on the other hand, was derived from the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Taurt, there the protectress of women in childbirth, and in the Aegean it seems to have played a different but equally beneficent role.¹⁹ It often appears as on the Phaistos sealing with a libation jug, and was probably connected with water and fertility.

The new lion type of the Phaistos sealings (*CMS* II, 5, 270–75) resembles the Anatolian rather than the Mesopotamian type of the earlier ivory stamp seals. With a square muzzle and open jaw (Fig. 10d), it does not occur in processional arrangements, but appears either singly or once in an antithetical scheme, with heads turned back (Fig. 10e), a pose also found in Anatolia, and not very different from the scheme of the later Lion Gate at Mycenae.

The landscape elements noted in the second group of ivory seals become in the Phaistos sealings even more descriptive of an actual setting with rocks, flowers, and trees. (*CMS* II, 5, 259, 270, 272–73, 276, and 285 are good examples of such pictorial settings). But the most important artistic innovation is the new “flying gallop” pose in which Cretan wild goats and other animals rush across the terrain with forelegs and backlegs extended almost horizontally (Fig. 10c and f). Whether this new pose came from the Near East (Syria) or was a purely Aegean creation is a matter of debate.²⁰ Whatever its ultimate origin, it soon became identified with the Aegean and contributed as much as anything to the sense of naturalism and “absolute mobility” in animal portrayals. Whereas the earlier seals had shown animals mostly in a quietly standing or walking pose, many new attitudes based on observation of nature now occur. There are goats with folded legs browsing on a shrub (Fig. 10h), butting bulls (Fig. 10g), predator scenes (*CMS* II, 5, 285–86), and a bird with puffed-out chest and ruffled feathers under a branch (Fig. 10i). In the most fully pictorial seal represented by two incomplete impressions (Fig. 10j), a wild goat on a high rock is apparently pursued by a leaping dog. In this landscape setting we come close to some of the sealings from the Hieroglyphic Deposit at Knossos,²¹ which must be slightly later and seem to lead directly into the style of the frescoes.

From the Phaistos deposit there are very few sealings with human figures (*CMS* II, 5, 323–26) and only one that looks forward to the more fully representational style. In this example (Fig. 10k) a couple, man nude, woman wearing a patterned skirt, face each other under a tree, their arms touching. They are done in a rudely vigorous style which omits hands and feet, and they are certainly not to be compared with the animals in naturalism, nor do they approach Evans's “portraits” of king and prince from the Hieroglyphic Deposit (Fig. 13).²²

The development of pictorial art and the trend toward naturalism in the seals and sealings of the Prepalatial and Old Palace periods in Crete is a truly remarkable phenomenon that certainly precedes any figural fresco painting. To what extent could they have influenced the latter? Their scale was small and they depended on line (carving) rather than color. One might



Fig. 10. Phaistos sealings (MM II: all from *CMS* II, 5)

expect that painted pottery would provide a closer anticipation of wall painting, but this does not seem to have been the case until near the end of the Old Palace period. Although the Early Minoan Light-on-Dark ware of East Crete²³ had shown some interest in representational forms—a row of fish (Fig. 11a), goats, or other animals based on pictorializations of hatched triangles (Fig. 11b–c), and even a man from Palaikastro (Fig. 11d), whose white silhouette is rudimentary and resembles some of the human figures on steatite seals (Fig. 8i)—these early experiments were not followed up to any extent in Minoan pottery, for by and large the Minoan potter excluded the human figure and most animals, except marine life, from his decorative repertory. In this respect he was unlike Mycenaean and later Greek pot-painters. Instead, he developed a highly decorative system based on spirals and other whirling patterns that covered the surface of his pot in an all-over “torsional” composition.²⁴

The beautiful Kamares pottery of the Old Palaces specialized in white curvilinear patterns accented with crimson red, orange, or yellow against a lustrous dark ground. Named after its first findspot, the Kamares cave on Mt. Ida, this pottery was a specialty of the palatial workshops at Knossos and Phaistos. From the latter site a particularly rich series of vases has

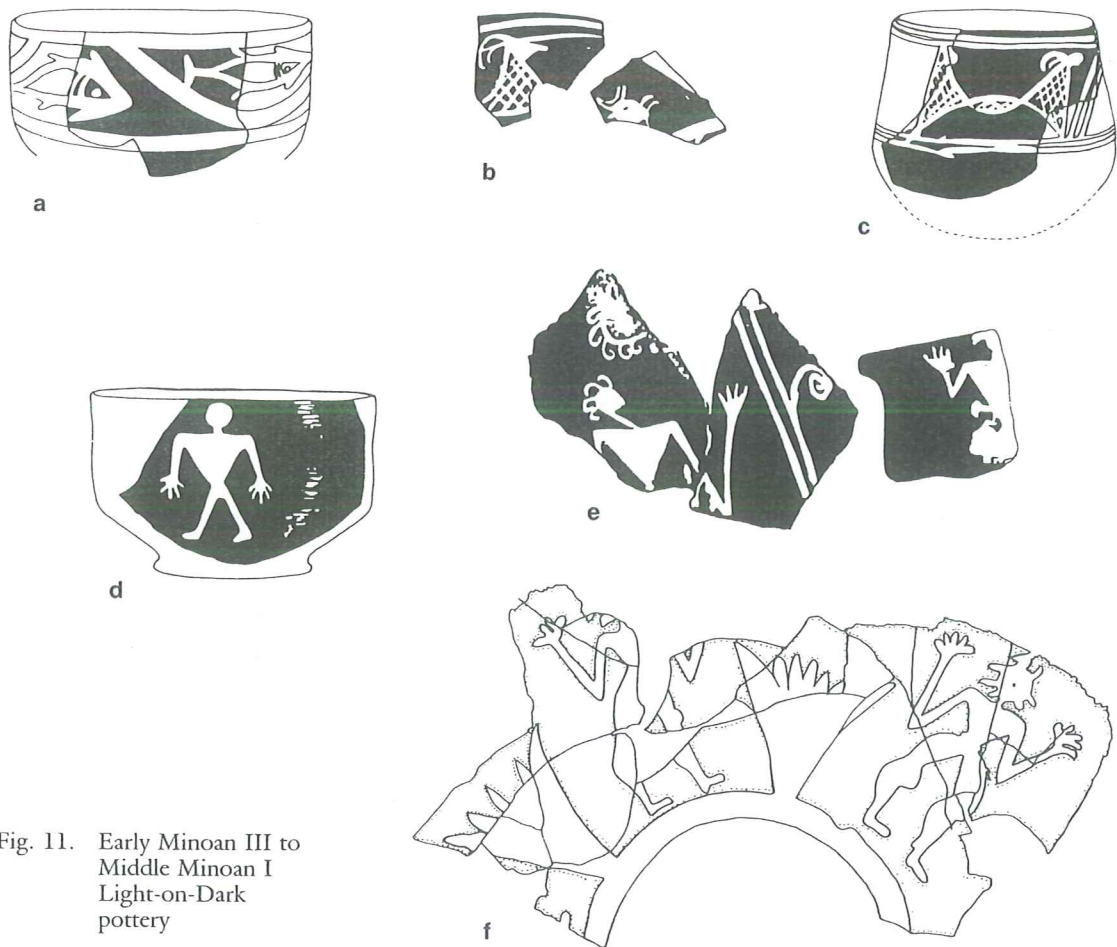


Fig. 11. Early Minoan III to Middle Minoan I Light-on-Dark pottery

recently been excavated and published in color plates.²⁵ From the beginning Kamares decoration made use of petal-like forms, rosettes, excrescences that resemble tendrils or leaves, and these gave a “living” or organic quality to its essentially abstract decoration. However, before the end of Kamares ware, in Middle Minoan II to IIIA, actual plant forms—the daisy, lily, crocus, tulip, and palm—which were to characterize the later frescoes with scenes of nature, can be found on the vases. They appear first as “pictorializations” (that is, adaptations of abstract patterns to approximate a living form) and later as more naturalistic renderings.²⁶ This is true also for certain marine forms like the octopus and the fish.

Two large vases of the Classical Kamares phase go beyond purely decorative schemes and create a real ambience of nature. A large squat amphora from the Loomweight Basement at Knossos has a group of triple palms on either side and no other decoration except a curving groundline at the bottom from which the palms grow (Pl. 4). Although the palm motif is based on a formal pattern of Kamares pottery (“antithetic J-spirals”), it here suggests firsthand observation of nature in the red inflorescence and the triple grouping with small trees diverging on either side, as one can still observe in the native wild palms at Vaia and other sites in East Crete. The other vase is a large pithos-shaped jar with four handles from Phaistos, decorated with a circular motif in the handle zone on each of its four faces (Pl. I). The main motif consists of a remarkably lifelike fish in red with white details, from the mouth of which emerges a petaloid loop with cross-hatching vaguely suggesting a net; below the handles white detached spirals with tails anticipate the argonaut shells of later marine decoration. Likewise the wavy lines below the main composition and the white scalloped band under the projecting lip produce the effect of sea, waves, and sky without really attempting to represent them. The spirit of the later marine frescoes like the Flying Fish from Melos (Pl. 16) or the Dolphin fresco from Knossos (Pl. 31) is already present, even if only the fish are truly representational.²⁷

In general, Kamares ware avoided too specific references to reality, preferring “pictorializations.” This distinction comes out clearly on three vases from Phaistos with human representations. The first, a pinch-necked amphora (Fig. 11f), is decorated with two crudely painted male figures in white silhouette between two large lotus flowers. It belongs to the tradition of the Palaikastro man (Fig. 11d) and is closely related to fragments from Phylakopi (Fig. 11e), conveying little promise for the future. However, on the other two vases the human figures, while less accurately detailed, being based on the curvilinear syntax of Kamares decoration, are full of life and movement and are parts of *scenes*, the iconography of which anticipates later religious frescoes. Indeed, these two vases almost certainly had a religious meaning, since they were found together with other cult objects in rooms belonging to a sanctuary opening onto the West Court of the Old Palace.²⁸ A shallow bowl with loop handles is decorated on the interior with a scene showing the epiphany of the Minoan goddess flanked by two dancing votaries (Pl. II). The goddess is presented in stylized form with triangular body outlined by loops (snakes?) and has no arms, but the dancers, whose bodies have been developed from the “petaloid loop,” sway and bend with extended arms and feet projecting below their skirts. They seem to be the forerunners of the dancers on the “Sacred Grove” painting (Pl. 23) or the gold ring from Isopata (see chapter 4, III). On the bowl the outdoor setting was indicated by a small lily blossom near the rim, and the central figure must be the great Minoan Goddess of Nature, here risen from the earth.

The other vase, a fruitstand, is even more ambitious, and was certainly painted by the same hand (Pl. III). In the center of the bowl, once again there is an epiphany of the goddess, but here she holds lilies aloft in her upraised hands. Around the rim, groups of three small figures bend over with outstretched arms. Despite the schematic rendering of their bodies (in dotted robes) and limbs, they convey very well the sense of worshippers, especially in the bent heads with hair hanging forward. We do not know whether they are merely prostrating themselves in the presence of the goddess, or perhaps performing some religious act such as gathering saffron. It is tempting to think of these figures as the ancestors of the Saffron-Gatherers in the beautiful frescoes of young women from Thera (see Fig. 20 and chapter 4, II). On the upper surface of the foot plate the theme of ritual dancing is repeated; here the four dancers with hands on hip, although presented horizontally, convey the idea of a dance in ring formation.

Two other slightly later Kamares vases from Phaistos show an interesting combination of painted and relief decoration, with a mold-made wild goat or agrimi applied to the surface. One is a conical rhyton (*Festàs* I, pl. LXXXI), the other a hole-mouthed jar (Pl. IV), and both were obviously the work of one artist, the "Agrimi Master" as he has been called.²⁹ The jar, which is better preserved, shows the goat with lowered head in a circular rondel beneath the vertical handle opposite the spout. The white animal is posed against a black background outlined in white, which in turn is set against a deep red surrounded on three sides by an irregular black band dotted white and bordered by wavy white lines. The whole effect is surprisingly similar to the later wavy rockwork bands of Minoan frescoes, such as the Partridge fresco from the Caravanserai at Knossos (Pl. 30, see chapter 5, I), where Evans likened the impression of the black background to a "dark cave mouth." Despite the pictorial effect of the "scene" on this vase by the Agrimi Master, it is hardly likely that figural frescoes go back to this period. With these two post-Kamares vases from Phaistos that date to MM IIIA should be placed the new bucket-shaped jar from the sanctuary at Arkhanes, which has the relief appliqué of a white and red dappled bull shown against a dark background with scattered white floral ornaments (palm, dittany, papyrus?) that convey the effect of a flowery meadow (Pls. 8–9).³⁰ Although these vases appear close to some of the nature frescoes discussed in chapter 4, I, there is no evidence that Minoan artists were as yet using such themes on a monumental scale for wall decoration.

While the internal development toward naturalism and pictorial representation can be followed in Crete on seal designs and painted pottery, their scale remained small and the color conventional within the limits of the Kamares technique; furthermore, the rendering of the human figure as seen on the seals and the Phaistos vases, while expressive, was rudimentary. Was not some foreign impetus from regions where monumental painting existed needed to transform these native achievements into the splendid wall paintings that must have decorated the New Palace at Knossos, the influence of which can be observed in the more complete Theran paintings?

The foreign contacts of Crete in the Old Palace period were mentioned in chapter 1, in reference to the export of Kamares pottery to Egypt with its important synchronism with Middle Kingdom deposits. Egypt, however, was not the only region where the Minoans traded, for Minoan pottery and metal vases of probable Minoan inspiration have been found along the eastern Mediterranean coast at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and Byblos (see map, Fig. 12).

Furthermore, the mention of Kaptara (Crete) in the cuneiform texts from the palace of Mari on the upper Euphrates suggests some knowledge of their respective cultures. The Mari paintings from the palace of Zimri-Lim, a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon (c. 1750 B.C.), seem stylistically far removed from Minoan frescoes. Although it has been suggested by W. S. Smith that the Mari artists themselves may have incorporated some Minoan decorative motifs like the spiral band or flame pattern in their paintings, it seems more likely that these were disseminated through portable objects rather than through the actual presence of Minoans at Mari. With the paintings from Alalakh (Tell Atchana) in North Syria the situation is somewhat different. The excavator, Sir Leonard Woolley, claimed they were in the fresco technique and ancestral to the Minoan, but as was noted in chapter 2, the far longer tradition for the use of lime plasters in Crete and the lowering of the date of the palace of Yaram-Lim make it more likely that the influence went in the other direction. Furthermore, the paintings are very fragmentary and not really susceptible to stylistic comparisons with the Minoan.³¹

Egypt, then, seems a more likely candidate than the Near East as the inspiration for monumental wall painting. The large quantity of Middle Minoan pottery from Egypt (which far exceeds the quantity of Late Minoan, at a time when the Keftiu, or Cretan, emissaries are represented in Egyptian tombs) and its occurrence, together with Minoanizing imitations, in rubbish deposits at Kahun and Harageh in the Fayum (Fig. 12), strongly suggest the actual presence of Minoans. These sites were workmen's villages connected with the building of the pyramids of Senusert II and III, and it is tempting to think that some Minoans may have been employed there as artisans.³² Were they learning techniques of ashlar building and perhaps exploring monuments replete with paintings and reliefs representative of more than a millennium of development of pictorial art on a large and grandiose scale? Unfortunately this hypothesis of the influence of Egyptian art upon the Minoan is hard to document for this period in Aegean painting, owing to the absence of pictorial frescoes from the Old Palaces. A discussion of whatever technical and artistic conventions the Minoans may have borrowed from Egypt is better postponed to the following chapter, which deals with the paintings from the earlier New Palace period.

A recent discovery at Mallia, however, has strengthened the theory of direct connection between Crete and Egypt in Middle Minoan times. From the palatial workrooms (the so-called Quartier Mu), a series of Middle Minoan II pots with relief decoration has suggested to the excavator inspiration from Egyptian works of a type that could only have been seen in Egypt; for example, the wingless sphinx type with portrait head. Furthermore, several other pots with reliefs of crouching cats against a tree (acacia or olive) in a thoroughly pictorial style (Pl. 5) invite comparisons with Egyptian Middle Kingdom tomb paintings, for example, those from the tombs of the nobles at Beni Hasan (Pls. 6 and 7). Although one cannot prove that Cretans saw these particular paintings, or even that such tombs were open for their inspection, the pictorial vignettes of cat and tree stand out as un-Minoan in their surrounding relief decoration of cockle shells and strongly suggest foreign inspiration.³³

Such mold-made appliqués involved sophisticated craftsmanship which might well have been acquired in Egypt. They are related also to the development of molded faience plaques, for which the technique must originally have come from Egypt or the Near East.³⁴ The most fully descriptive and pictorial work of this transitional period between the Old and New

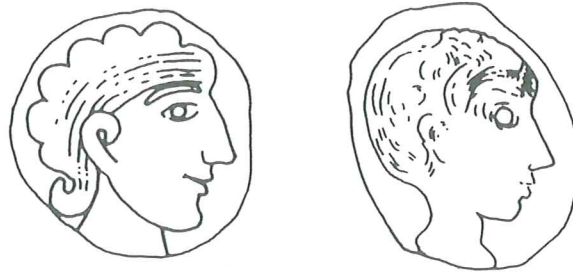


Fig. 12. Map of the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt

Palaces is the famous Town Mosaic from the Loomweight Basement at Knossos. It consisted of a number of separate faience plaques (Fig. 21 and Pl. 24), which probably decorated a chest or piece of furniture. Stylistically they connect with the relief appliquéés from Phaistos and Arkhanes in the type of relief and thematically with the later miniature frescoes. Egyptian influence seems likely in some of the motifs and in the overall conception. Although earlier, the Town Mosaic is best discussed with the miniature frescoes (see chapter 4, III).

To this same transitional period should be assigned the great hoard of sealings from the Hieroglyphic Deposit at Knossos, some of which are in the older "talismanic style," while others carry on and develop further the pictorial settings seen in the Phaistos sealings.³⁵

Fig. 13. Portraits from Hieroglyphic Deposit



Among the most interesting of the sealings are the two “portrait heads,” a mature male with prominent aquiline nose, clean-shaven but with curling locks creating a scalloped crest and a small queue at the back, and a young boy with a similar nose and rather delicate mien; Evans called them the “priest-king and his infant son” (Fig. 13). The resemblance of the man’s head to that of the sphinx in the appliqué from Mallia is both confirmation of the early date of the Hieroglyphic Deposit and is suggestive of Egyptian influence on the idea of portraiture in Minoan art.³⁶ In any event, the rendering of the human face has advanced almost miraculously from the birdlike features of the early steatite seals (Figs. 8i and 10k) or the goddess and dancers on the Kamares vases from Phaistos (Pls. II and III). Minoan art at the threshold of the New Palace period is ready for the achievements in mural painting to be discussed in chapter 4.



4 THE FIRST PHASE OF AEGEAN WALL PAINTING

However one decides the degree of foreign influence on the formative period of Minoan art discussed in chapter 3, two important conclusions emerge. First, representational art in Crete began on a small scale; the designs on seals and pottery of the Old Palace period were *not* derivative from wall painting, however pictorial some of them appear, for the wall decoration of this period, as far as one can tell, seems to have been purely abstract. The second conclusion is in a sense a corollary to the first. When wall paintings emerged in the New Palace period, they came full-blown without any tentative developmental stage. To a great extent the paintings of this first phase down to the eruption of the Thera volcano are the finest examples of Aegean mural art. They are found in Crete and in the Cyclades, at Phylakopi on Melos and at Akrotiri on Thera, with the latter site providing a fixed date of about 1500 B.C., before which these types must have originated, almost certainly on Crete, whatever local variations occur. How much earlier they can be traced back on Crete is debatable, owing to the incomplete publication of the fresco material from Knossos and Evans's somewhat haphazard presentation of the stratigraphy (see chapter 5, pages 77–78). While sometime in the later seventeenth century would seem likely, the bulk of the frescoes of this early period must belong to the sixteenth century, between the rebuilding of the palace after the MM IIIB earthquake, about 1600 B.C., and the eruption of the Thera volcano at the end of LM IA.

I will discuss three major classes of wall painting in separate sections, the first dealing with nature frescoes concerned primarily with the world of plants and animals or creatures of the sea. In these murals human figures are usually not present, although occasionally there is a

juxtaposition of human and animal. It will become apparent that these paintings are more than purely decorative and most likely had a religious significance. The second major class portrays large-scale human figures, both male and female, although female figures seem to predominate. They are sometimes rendered in a low stucco relief, or a combination of relief and flat painting, but this technique is limited almost exclusively to Crete. The scale is often lifesize, but sometimes smaller (within the range of one-half to two-thirds lifesize). The emphasis here is on the human figures rather than the background, which can be treated quite abstractly, or is relatively neutral. While the female figures undoubtedly show the court dress of the palace at Knossos, with much emphasis on intricate cut, textiles, and jewelry, it is not always clear whether priestesses or ordinary women in festal dress are represented, and in at least a few cases the Minoan goddess seems present in mortal form (see Fig. 20 and below for paintings from Xeste 3). The third group of wall paintings of this first period, the so-called miniature frescoes, combine small human figures, roughly from six to ten centimeters in height, with a landscape or architectural setting, and often show with great verisimilitude details of daily life, ships and pastoral life, festivals, and sports. Here the genre aspect seems to predominate, and the miniature frescoes, being more complete, give us our fullest picture of life at the palace of Knossos, or in the towns at Akrotiri and, slightly later, at Ayia Irini on Keos. They also reveal interesting conventions of Minoan and Cycladic art in the representation of space, for in the other two classes the emphasis was either on the natural world or on the human figures, but rarely on the two combined.

In discussing these three classes of painting, all of which are found at Knossos and Akrotiri, it might seem desirable to begin with those from Knossos, the center from which the art radiated, but this is hardly feasible in the light of the new Thera discoveries. The examples from Akrotiri are far more complete, often revealing the relation of the frescoes to the architecture, and they have a fixed terminal date. Consequently, it seems preferable to group together examples of comparable type from both regions, an arrangement that may make it possible to highlight certain stylistic and iconographic differences.

I. Nature Paintings and Naturalism

Sir Arthur Evans used the term “naturalism” to refer to the sudden spurt of interest in the living world of nature, the flowers and animals of Crete, as well as the rocks and marine life of its coastline, which characterized later Middle Minoan art. For him this was something new that appeared in the later Kamares pottery and some of the sealings from the Hieroglyphic Deposit at Knossos. He explained this naturalism as a “reaction” due to the influence of the

major art of wall painting, for he believed that there were already frescoes like the Saffron-Gatherer (Pls. 10–11) on the walls of the Old Palace. However, its early dating can no longer be accepted, and as was shown in chapter 3, an interest in nature and the growth of naturalism in representing the Cretan landscape was a gradual phenomenon that need not have been dependent on wall painting. Rather, frescoes of this type seem to represent the culmination of an indigenous tradition.¹ Furthermore, the term “naturalism” is really a misnomer, for there is more artistry than realism involved. In Minoan painting there is seldom, if ever, any true comprehension of depth, either by linear or aerial perspective or by modeling in light and shade. Thus, when speaking of Minoan naturalism we use the term only relatively in comparison with the analytic conceptual system of the Egyptians, their register arrangement, and their frozen or “timeless” presentation of the natural world; yet in many ways the Egyptian renderings of plants and animals are more botanically or zoologically accurate than the Minoan. What is unusual in Minoan painting is its sense of animation and living movement, its spontaneity and delight in nature, which sets it apart from the contemporary art of Egypt or Mesopotamia.

Let us begin with the painting Evans made the earliest surviving example of this new “naturalistic” style, the Saffron-Gatherer or “Blue Boy” (Kn No. 1.)² Although Evans restored the fragments (Pl. 10) as a boy picking or arranging white crocuses in low stone containers (*PM* I, pl. IV), the figure is now recognized as a blue monkey, the Minoan version of the gray-green Sudanese monkey that occurs in Egyptian paintings.³ Its activity was either predatory, as will be seen in the monkeys from the House of the Frescoes (see pages 42–46), or perhaps ritual, since at Thera a blue monkey attends the goddess (see Fig. 20 and pages 61–62) and is connected with the rite of gathering saffron. Evans dated the painting to MM II primarily on the basis of certain comparisons with late Kamares pottery, especially for the crocus blossoms, but he recognized that the stratigraphy where the fragments were found was confused and that the painting had probably fallen from some upper room. The old fragments have now been rearranged, giving the “boy” a simian tail (Pl. 11), and additional fragments suggest that at least two monkeys were involved. The painting can hardly be appreciably earlier than the blue monkeys from the House of the Frescoes or those from Akrotiri (Pls. 12–13), but it is probably not later than LM IA.⁴

To what extent can the term “naturalism” be applied to this painting? Recognizing that the Saffron-Gatherer is not human sheds a new light on his color, since the Minoans seem to have interchanged blue for green from the Egyptian color convention, but even so, the attenuated limbs and lithesome grace of the figure are decidedly less apelike than some of the monkeys represented at Thera. The red bracelets, anklets, and circlets about the waist and chest suggest that he is a tame monkey, perhaps performing some sort of ritual activity, so that the term “saffron-gatherer” is equally appropriate to monkey or boy. The red background is essentially decorative, as are the white outlined scalloped rocks with black and red veinings, which remind one of the sections of variegated marbles used by the Minoans for their stone vases. What is especially noteworthy in the background is the way the rocks and the white crocuses that sprout from them (as they still do in the rocky landscape of Greece) frame the figure above as well as below. This is a type of all-embracing landscape that surrounds the figure, comparable to that noted in the late Kamares vase with goat appliqué (Pl. IV). It is as if the

rocky landscape were viewed from a high point and thus surrounded the figure without any intervening horizon or sky.⁵ The sense of naturalism comes primarily from the freely drawn crocuses, which sway and bend as if caught by the wind. Also the agility and grace of the lightly poised figure, without any groundline, contribute to this momentary effect. In short, the painting conveys a remarkable delight in nature, even if the means are more decorative than realistic.

It now seems that the Saffron-Gatherer is an excerpt from a larger painting with at least two monkeys. If one can judge from roughly contemporary paintings at the House of the Frescoes or at Akrotiri, it may have contained more. However, in these other paintings the monkeys are presented much more as if they were in their wild habitat, pillaging the nests of rock doves or clambering over rocks. In both examples the painting covered more than one wall without a line of demarcation and showed six to eight monkeys in active, individualized poses.

Especially realistic are the animals in the Monkey fresco from Thera (Ak No. 1, Pls. 12–13). Here the variety of poses suggests actual observation from nature; especially effective are the monkey near the top who swings from a rock and braces his legs against another rock, or the one who peers out frontally with projecting pink ears and mischievous expression. The fact that the skeleton of an ape was found under volcanic debris on the island⁶ makes it highly likely that apes had been imported from Egypt and could have been observed firsthand. Unfortunately this fresco was found badly preserved, its fragments having collapsed into a small basement room (B6) (see plan, Fig. 14), and consequently its reconstruction in the National Museum in Athens has undergone several changes.⁷ Wavy sinuous bands of blue, yellow, and red, undoubtedly representing a river, occupy the bottom of the frieze, and at the top is an elaborate blue and white spiral band against a red background enclosed by horizontal stripes. The middle section, comprising about half the total height of the wall, is given over to the monkeys, who against a white background clamber over russet cellular rock formations, apparently searching for food. Although no nests or fruit appear in the restoration, the gestures of the monkeys suggest their predatory intentions.

In the comparable painting from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (Kn No. 2) (see plan of palace environs, Fig. 15), the emphasis is different, for the background has become a veritable garden of Cretan flora (Fig. 16). Madonna and pancratium lilies, wild rose, iris, crocus, vetch, papyrus, reeds, ivy, and myrtle grow among multicolored veined rocks against a background that is partly vermillion and partly creamy white. Sometimes the rocks extend into or beyond the upper border; in general, the plants grow upright with only some ivy or wild rose trailing downward. Through this colorful landscape meander several curving blue streams.⁸ There are also sandy speckled bands, perhaps derived from the Egyptian desert convention, but here they also contain gaily striped pebbles that suggest “Easter eggs,” a feature which becomes common in later Mycenaean painting (see chapter 6).

Evans’s artist-technician, E. Gilliéron Fils, restored three panels, which have long delighted visitors to the Herakleion Museum. One has a red background with a blue monkey scrambling to the right over veined rocks with ivy, crocuses, vetch, and other flora (*PM* II, 2, pl. X); another has a cream ground with a blue stream and sandy area at left with the monkey in a more Nilotic landscape with reeds and papyrus (*PM* II, 2, 451, fig. 264);⁹ and a third with a frontal blue bird, probably not a roller but a rock dove, has a background that changes from

Fig. 14. Plan of town of Akrotiri showing location of houses with major frescoes

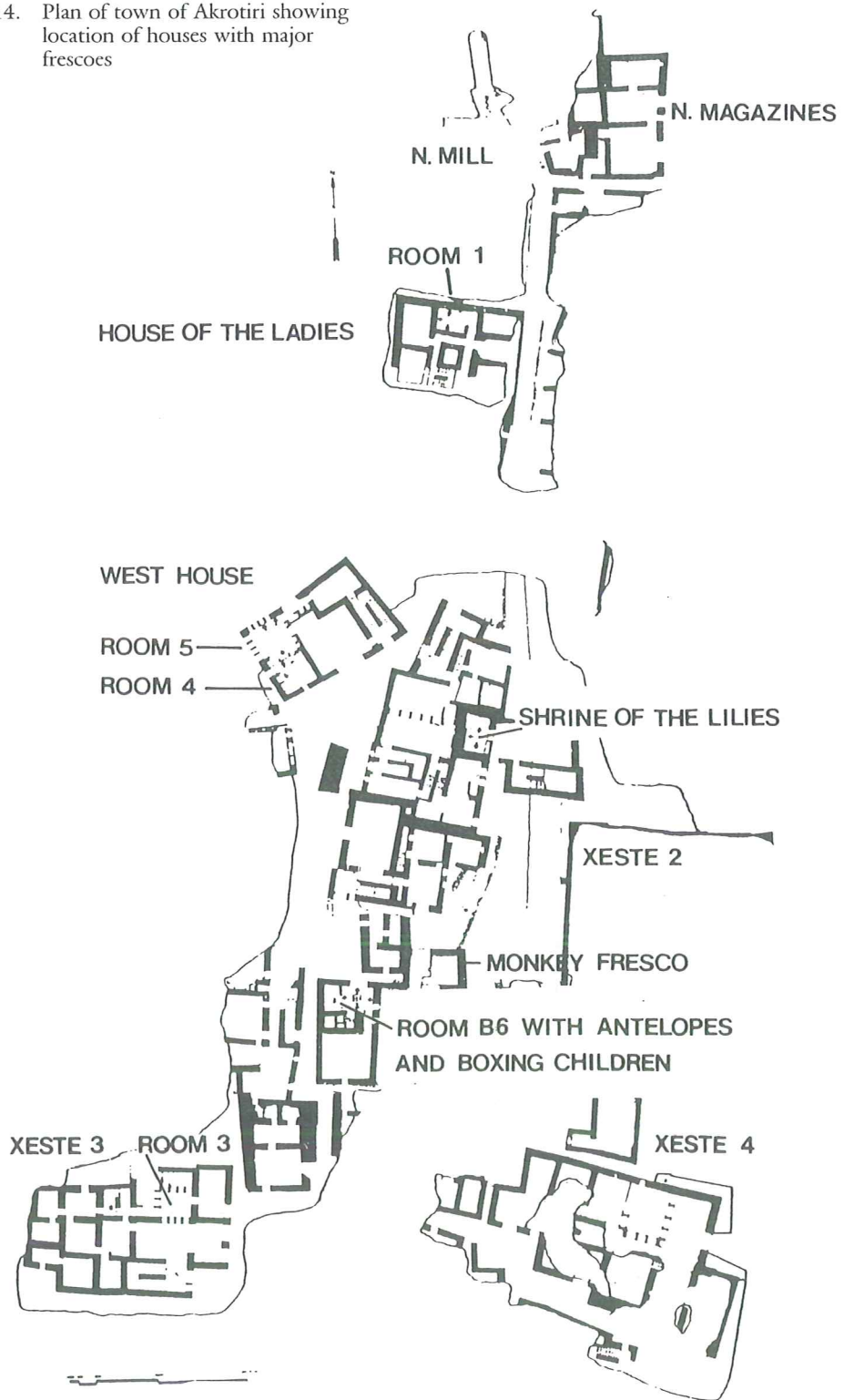
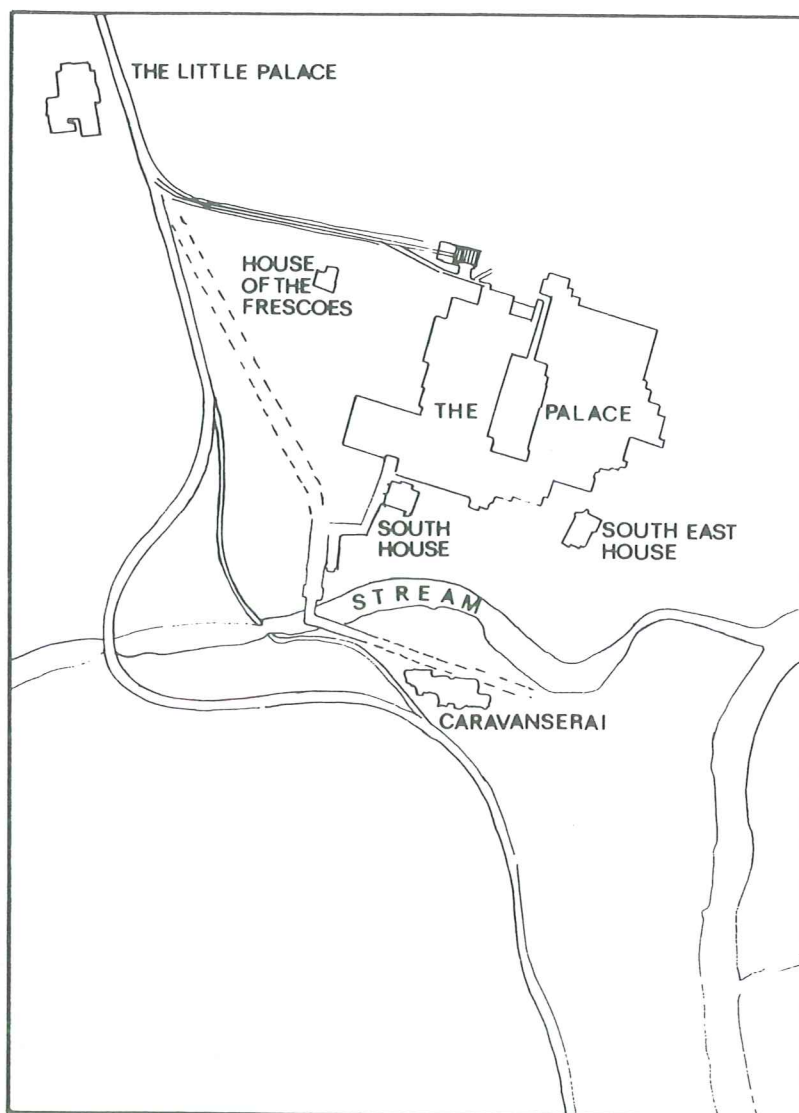


Fig. 15. Plan of environs of palace at Knossos (after Pendlebury, *Guide*, Plan 4)



cream to red and contains wild roses and vetch, as well as clumps of iris and pancratium lilies (*PM* II, 2, pl. XI). Evans envisaged these as separate but related panels that decorated a “small burgher’s house,” and he thought that the fragments he found in a small annex of a ground-floor room had been intentionally removed from an upper-story room during redecoration of the house. But, as noted earlier (see chapter 2, page 14), it is more likely that they were precipitated from above at the time of a great earthquake, perhaps in connection with the eruption of the Thera volcano.

What is especially important about the paintings from the House of the Frescoes is the number of high-quality fragments not utilized by Gilliéron in his panels, for they preserve the fresh colors of the original untouched by the restorer’s hand, and they have enabled important technical observations to be made.¹⁰ The floral pieces are especially attractive: sinuous sprays

of ivy with leaves on the same stalk alternately sky blue or olive green, which give the impression of filtered light, mauve pink and light blue dwarf iris, a pink wild rose, blue papyrus with orange florets, and white Madonna and pancratium lilies against a coral red ground. Although not botanically accurate in all details, the individual species are recognizable, and one can appreciate the artist's delight in recording his beautiful natural surroundings. The same hand has been seen at work in more fragmentary paintings from contemporary private houses at Knossos; for example, the South House with its fragments of papyrus and a bird (Kn No. 4) and the Southeast House with white Madonna lilies against a dark red ground, or the fragment with windblown flowering grasses and what must be the tail of a small mouse curling about one of them (Kn No. 5).

From the unutilized fragments it is clear that Gilliéron's three panels give only an incomplete impression of the decoration of this main room in the House of the Frescoes. Mark Cameron, who made a careful study of the fragments together with the dimensions of the room, has given an artist's impression of the whole composition on paper (central part in Fig. 16).¹¹ He restores a frieze along the east wall of an upper main room with short returns on the

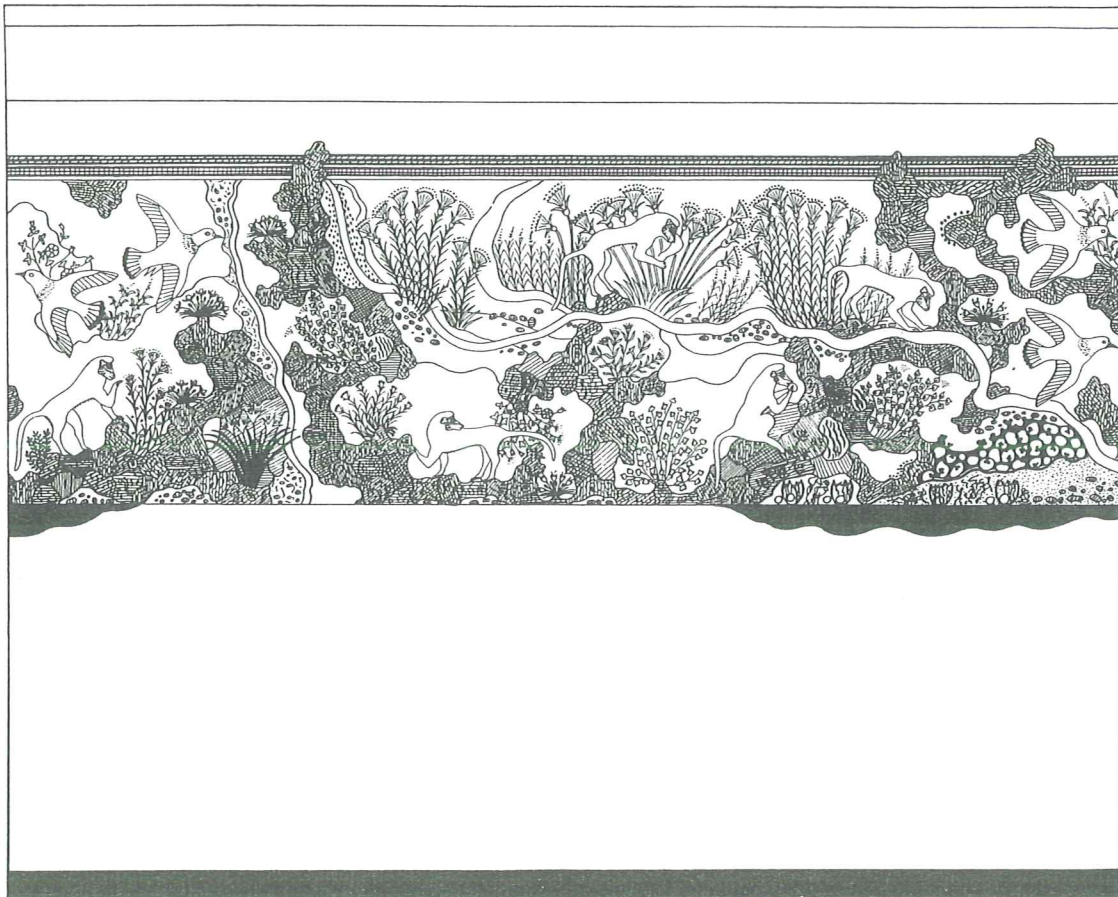


Fig. 16. Reconstruction of composition of Monkey fresco in House of the Frescoes

north and south walls, giving a total length of about 5.5 meters with a height of about 0.85 meters. There is evidence for at least six monkeys and eight birds, three or four waterfalls, and several nests with eggs set in the rockwork at the bottom of the frieze, and he thus interprets the subject as monkeys foraging for food and raiding the nests of rock doves.

While none of these frescoes so far considered, with the possible exception of the Saffron-Gatherer, seems to have had a specific religious implication, another group of fragments which probably decorated an adjoining room in the House of the Frescoes has a more formal and hieratic quality and might be connected with the theme of a mountaintop sanctuary (Kn No. 3). Cameron's restoration of these fragments shows two wild goats (*agrimia*), of which only their horns are preserved, arranged heraldically on either side of an olive tree, of which there are a number of fragments. The major pieces, one published by Evans (*PM* II, 2, 459, fig. 271), however, show clumps of crocuses, mauve pink with red stamens, set against a buff ground, framed below by undulating bands of black, blue, and white above a white field. The resulting two-tiered arrangement, with the crocuses above, the goats and tree below separated from each other by the undulating bands (see Cameron 1968a, 25, fig. 12), is surprising, but a somewhat similar scheme has more recently been found at Thera in the House of the Ladies (see Fig. 17). At any rate, the association of wild goats with mountaintop sanctuaries and clumps of crocuses is well attested.¹²

While Evans thought these nature paintings represented the individual taste of a cultivated private citizen, and Swindler interpreted them as the expression of the "first people known to us who created works of art for the sheer joy of expressing the beauty they felt in their restless, active lives," such a degree of individual liberty in selection of theme seems unlikely in Minoan times. Surely these paintings are more than mere decoration, and the idea of "art for art's sake" seems curiously anachronistic when considered against the background of Egyptian and Mesopotamian art.¹³ However, if we think of "sheer joy" in the beauty of nature as part of a mystic communion with the great Minoan Goddess of Nature, who occasionally appears in these paintings (see chapter 4, II, pages 59–62), we shall not be wide of the mark.

The paintings from Thera, which because of the volcanic eruption have in many cases survived more or less complete in their architectural setting and with their complexes of pottery and other artifacts intact, have provided a new insight as to their religious implications.¹⁴ This is especially true for the best-preserved Aegean nature fresco, the Lily or "Spring" fresco, which decorated a small ground-floor room at $\Delta 2$ (see plan, Fig. 14). The small room (2.62 × 2.30 m) had a door and a double window opening onto a little court to the east, and its other three walls were decorated with a continuous frieze extending up about two meters (Ak No. 2, Pls. VII, 14–15). At ground level are fantastic pinnacled rocks striped in blue, red, and yellow. From these spring clumps of red lilies with golden brown leaves and stalks, between which dart swallows, singly or in pairs, against a white background. There has seldom at any period been such a successful evocation of springtime, yet there is much that is pure artistry, or artistic convention, in the painting. While the rocks have been compared to some of the fantastic volcanic formations of Santorini, they are arranged in triplicate, yet varied, form on each wall, and they seem ancestral to some of the later conventionalized rocks at Mycenaean Pylos (see chapter 6).¹⁵

The lilies also are arranged in clumps of three, sprouting from each pinnacled rock and

intervening void, yet again there is infinite variety in their groupings and in their stages of development, from bud to half-open to full-blown with lightly recurved petals (Pl. 14). In foliage and upfacing blooms these are clearly the white Madonna lily, and not the red *lilium Chalcedonicum*, which droops and has sharply recurved petals, and also blooms somewhat later in early summer.¹⁶ It looks very much as if once again the artist had taken liberty with his colors, probably as contrast with the white background. The swallows are without doubt the most remarkable feature of the painting, for no two are alike. With a kind of intuitive grasp of how the birds move, the artist has given us the impression of their rapid, darting flight and has managed to show one in three-quarter view from below with its far wing foreshortened (Pl. 15). Swallows are perhaps a local Theran specialty, for they occur also on pottery of the polychrome matt-painted class (see chapter 2, pages 18–19), one jug of which was even exported to Mycenae.¹⁷ The swallows, above all else, give a sense of depth to the painting and transform the neutral white background into air, for the rest of the landscape is essentially flat and decorative.¹⁸

The Spring fresco covers at least three-quarters of the height of the room, beginning with the rocks at ground level and terminating above the lilies and swallows with a simple black band, topped by a plastered shelf painted a solid red like the wall above it. This shelf and a small cupboard in the corner of the room were crammed with pottery, more than two hundred vases, some of which seem to have been of a ritual nature.¹⁹ Other objects, including a wooden couch (now in replica in the National Museum) and some large storage vessels, were probably brought into the room after the pumice had begun to fall, but cooking utensils and a bronze sickle for cutting grain may have been part of the cult equipment. If this were connected with the fertility of the land, a painting glorifying the rites of spring, with blooming lilies and courting swallows, would be entirely appropriate. In any event, it is hard to imagine this small ground-floor room, which communicates only with the court outside, as anything other than a shrine. Its paintings have thus done much to explain the meaning of other frescoes depicting pure nature, which otherwise might have been regarded as mere decoration.

Red lilies occur elsewhere at Thera: in fragments from the old French excavations of 1870²⁰ and in the more formal potted sprays that decorated the window reveals in the West House (see pages 63 and 145). But they cannot be considered unique to Thera, for they form part of the floral setting in the paintings from **Room 14 of the Little Palace at Ayia Triadha**, which had perhaps the finest of all nature paintings, although the colors have been destroyed in a disastrous fire (Pl. 18 and page 49). Furthermore, red lilies as fresco decoration are found far away in an eastern outpost of Minoan civilization, in a house at **Trianda** on the island of Rhodes (Tr No. 1), where their naturalistic form and close relation to the other examples we have considered surely suggest a Cretan artist at work.²¹

In many ways the Spring fresco from Thera has come to epitomize what seems typical of Minoan nature painting—vivid colors and lifelike movement or “absolute mobility”²² combined with a keen sense of design. Although these qualities seem typically Minoan, one should remember that the Theran paintings may well have been painted by Cycladic artists trained by Minoans. Much the same qualities are to be found in another fresco, also from the Cyclades, the well-known Flying Fish from **Phylakopi on Melos** (Ph No. 1, Pl. 16). Discovered in

1896, at a time when such a work was still termed “Mycenaean,” its superior freshness and quality made an immediate impression. As soon as Evans’s excavations at Knossos began to turn up comparable works in the early years of this century, it was rightly compared to Cretan art, and the idea of an imported panel painting from Crete was put forth (see page 13). Although this theory has been disproved, the Phylakopi painting is undoubtedly the product of the Minoan interest in the sea and its manifold marine life, an interest that can be traced back into the period before there were pictorial frescoes (as noted in Chapter 3). In fact, many of the earlier expressions of naturalism involved making use of actual marine elements, molding shells for ceramic appliqués, using a sponge dipped in paint to achieve a repeated motif in wall painting (Fig. 6e), painting actual cockle shells, and molding faience flying fish for a small shrine in the Palace at Knossos.²³ Thus, behind the Flying Fish fresco and other marine paintings, as well as the somewhat later Marine-style pottery (LM IB), there was apparently the concept of the life-giving fecundity of the sea.

Like the swallows and the lilies of the Spring fresco, the flying fish of the Melos fresco are also seen against a white background (a Cycladic characteristic) and are painted with great dexterity and economy of means. They also give a vivid impression of the swift darting movements of the fish, no two alike, among the sponges and egg-shaped pebbles that frame the picture above and below, as in the Saffron-Gatherer. Although the colors are now sadly faded in the fragments on display in the National Museum in Athens, the original watercolor by Gilliéron (*Phylakopi*, pl. III) shows a color scheme of robin’s-egg blue and saffron yellow against a cream ground with details in black, and framed by a black border stripe at top and bottom. The background is flecked with blue speckles, bubbles or foam, which enhance the sense of movement of the fish. Recent excavations at Phylakopi have enlarged the composition and have more accurately fixed its date and probable association with other paintings from the same house, which feature women apparently in a marine setting (see pages 62, 161, and Ph Nos. 2 and 3).

Although the **Dolphin fresco** (Pl. 31; Kn No. 6) from the area of the Queen’s Megaron at Knossos has often been associated in style with the Flying Fish, it presents so many problems concerning its date and function that it will be discussed in chapter 5, when I examine the findspots of the frescoes and the decoration of the Late Minoan palace. Nonetheless, whatever date is attributed to this painting, there must have been marine paintings with dolphins in the LM IA period to have inspired the Thera table of offerings with dolphins (Pl. V) and to have given rise to the Marine-style pottery of LM IB.

The paintings I have considered so far represent nature itself without the intrusion of the human figure, and if they were to inspire a reverence for nature, it is as if the worshipper were standing outside, for example, outside the small room with the Spring fresco, which must have been a shrine. This was not always the case, however, for in some paintings human worshippers participate in ritual activities, as was the case with the frescoes from the lustral basin of Xeste 3 (see Fig. 20 and pages 59–62). However, in most of these the landscape setting is subservient to the human figures, and only rarely does it have the wealth of detail characteristic of the true “nature” paintings.

Before considering an exceptional example of this latter type, mention should be made of a

compositional form which seems unique to Thera. In at least two examples, a theme of nature is shown next to, or compared with, human figures on adjacent walls of probable shrines (Fig. 14). In one case (B1) antelopes, singly or in pairs, are juxtaposed with the figures of two youthful boxers (Ak No. 4, Pls. VIII and X), and in the other (Room of the Ladies) the association is made between stately groups of blue papyrus and elegant ladies preparing for some festal occasion (Ak No. 5, Fig. 17, and Pls. XI–XIII). These paintings will be considered in more detail in section II of this chapter, dealing with the portrayal of the human figure, but here we are concerned with the treatment of the background and the attempt to unify the whole composition. In each case the use of the same border pattern on adjacent walls—parallel stripes of black, blue, and red in the Room of the Ladies, a conventionalized blue and red ivy border in Room B1—suggests that one is meant to think of the decoration of the room as a whole rather than as a series of separate walls. Furthermore, in the Antelope and Boxer paintings there is the same rather abstract red and white background with a curving line of separation, the red occurring above the heads of the boys and antelopes. The animals, about lifesize, are drawn very impressionistically with thick and thin black outlines against the white ground, their horns extending up into the red. There is much spirit in their heads, turned toward each other, with open mouths and large eyes, and they seem poised for flight, since in characteristic Minoan fashion their feet are not fixed to any groundline. In the Room of the Ladies there is a less clear bond between papyrus and women, and there is the likelihood that one should think of two distinct scenes, or locales, with the women indoors under a star-studded canopy²⁴ and the large triple clumps of papyrus (as tall as the women) rising from the natural undulating brown ground outdoors.²⁵

Let us return to Crete to end this section with what may have been the finest of all Minoan nature frescoes, the series that probably decorated three walls of a small room (shrine or bedchamber?) in the Little Palace at Ayia Triadha (A.T. No. 1). Unfortunately not only were the paintings badly discolored in the fire that destroyed the building at the end of LM IB (see page 9) so that their colors are now mostly browns and grays, but they have never been fully published, although they were discovered in the early years of this century. Individual panels as set up in the Herakleion Museum are often reproduced, among them the cat lurking behind a clump of ivy ready to spring upon an unsuspecting pheasant (Pl. 17) or the deer leaping over an ivy-covered rock. But these are only part of the decoration of this small room, which contained at least two lifesize figures of women, one seated at an altar or shrine (Pl. 18), the other kneeling and picking crocuses. Smith has given us the best indication as to how the paintings may have been arranged to represent a mountaintop sanctuary like that depicted on the stone rhyton from the palace at Zakros.²⁶ As in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos, great attention was given to portraying Cretan wildflowers—clumps of crocuses, sprays of ivy, myrtle shoots, red lilies, even violets are easily recognizable. Some fragments have a background change of color from red to white as in the House of the Frescoes, and it is quite possible that the same artists who decorated that house and other villas at Knossos also worked at Ayia Triadha.

Although this villa or Little Palace at Ayia Triadha was destroyed by fire in the subsequent LM IB period, its paintings must have originated in the preceding period. Late Minoan IA, the period of the Thera frescoes, the houses at Phylakopi, and Trianda on Rhodes with their

wall paintings, as well as the Knossian examples which inspired them, was the height of Minoan naturalism in portraying the world of nature. As noted, this "naturalism" was always tempered by convention or artistic license and never really evoked an illusionistic rendering of space, although the swallows in the Spring fresco (Pl. 15) give an impression of depth. Sometimes nature was represented on its own, as in this Room of the Lilies, at other times it was combined with human (or divine?) figures, as at Ayia Triadha, but at all times one senses a reverence for nature and the implied presence of the Goddess. Section II will examine how the human figure, both male and female, was represented in this phase of Aegean painting.

II. The Human Figure

Unlike the antecedents of the nature frescoes which are more easily traced in earlier Minoan art of the Old Palace period (see chapter 3), the human figures which suddenly appear at the time of the decoration of the New Palace at Knossos have no recognizable experimental stage. Indeed the finest lifesize, or approximately lifesize, figures belong to this first phase of Aegean wall painting before the eruption of the Thera volcano. The evolution that follows down to the latest Mycenaean paintings from Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos is essentially a schematization of the theme of large-scale women in Minoan festal costume, and to a lesser extent variations on the male figure as it had been represented in Minoan art.¹

The skill and artistic ability that characterize the Theran Fishermen from the West House (Ak No. 11, Pl. IX) or the saffron-gathering girls from Xeste 3 (Ak No. 6, Fig. 20) naturally raise questions. To what extent should the inspiration be sought outside the island, or are these paintings the result of a highly gifted local atelier? Certainly one cannot minimize the influence of Crete and the palace at Knossos, although only fragments of work from this early period are preserved. However, these fragments, particularly stucco reliefs like the "Jewel" fresco (Kn No. 9) and the athletic limbs from the East Hall (Kn No. 8) suggest that even finer work existed there and that the use of modeled stucco enabled the artist to achieve a three-dimensional effect superior to that of flat painting.² Should we then suppose that Cretan artists independently created this new interest in the depiction of the human form on a large scale, and the techniques necessary for it, or is there evidence of outside influence? Some acquaintance with Egyptian painting and painted reliefs, usually of stone but sometimes supplemented with stucco,³ seems a possibility, but in order to resolve the question of possible Egyptian influence, one should first look at the Aegean examples to see what stylistic characteristics emerge as specifically Aegean.

I begin with the Theran examples because of their better preservation and more certain

date, and will attempt to relate them to the Cretan examples, taking up first the male figures and then the female. The two Fishermen from the West House at Akrotiri (Ak No. 11) can best serve as typical examples of the Aegean type of youthful male because they are unencumbered by clothing. One is completely preserved (Pl. IX), having been painted on a clay slab which was embedded in the wall (see page 13). As the first large-scale nudes in Greek, albeit Aegean, art they are quite remarkable. They were shown facing each other with their offerings of fish at opposite corners of Room 5 (see plan, Fig. 18), the room with the Ship fresco, which will be discussed in section III. Although somewhat under lifesize (in the two-thirds scale favored at Thera), their dark red bodies and blue shaved heads with reserved black locks (see page 52) present striking silhouettes against the white ground with their "catches" of blue and yellow fish as accents. The better-preserved youth with the frontal upper torso holds two strings of fish in his outstretched hands, while the youth in profile holds one. The boys' silhouettes are stark and unrelieved except for their almond-shaped white eyes with black iris and eyebrow, a touch of yellow at the lips, and a yellow knotted cord about the neck. Only the line separating the legs and indicating the pudenda provides further anatomical detail,⁴ yet the artist has suggested the natural three-dimensional forms of the body through the sensitively contoured silhouette, which is like a shadow projection. He has varied the positions of his two figures, giving one a kind of rudimentary three-quarter view, the other a fairly convincing profile (with the exception of the full-view eye).⁵

How do these figures compare with Egyptian portrayals of the male figure?⁶ While the red skin color and the combination of full-view shoulders with profile legs in the better-preserved figure strongly suggest some influence from Egypt, the forms of the Aegean figure are lither, the contours less angular, and the transitions from full view to profile seemingly more natural. Furthermore, the fisherman in profile (cf. *Thera* VI, col. pl. 6) gives a more successful impression of the attachment of arms to shoulders than was almost ever achieved in Egypt.⁷ The conceptual building up of figures in parts (fractional representation) that stamps Egyptian art seems here transformed by an artist with an intuitive feeling for how parts of anatomy go together to give a visual impression of the whole, yet not all details are quite accurate. The thumbs are unnaturally long, and the position of the left wrist and hand are so twisted that it seems incapable of supporting the weight of the string of fish. The feet too, as in Egypt, seem to be based upon the memory image of the foot seen from the inside with the great toe extended in each case.⁸

There are no figures in the Knossos paintings comparable to the Theran Fishermen in their nudity, shaved heads, or in their offerings of fish, which take on the aura of a superhuman catch. Perhaps this may be seen as a more specific Cycladic type, for one is reminded of the Fishermen Vase from Melos (Pl. 2, and see page 18) with its cruder procession of fishermen dressed in loincloths, each holding one gigantic fish. On the other hand, fishermen appear on earlier Minoan seals, and the basic figure type must have developed under strong Minoan influence.

With the painting of the Boxing Boys (Ak No. 4, Pl. X) from B1, the room with the Antelopes (Pl. VIII, page 49), the ties with Crete seem even closer thematically, for boxing as a ritual sport comparable perhaps to the acrobatic bull games was an important part of Minoan life.⁹ This is suggested by certain stone vases with relief decoration, for example, the

conical rhyton or filler from Ayia Triadha with friezes of boxers and bull-leapers (Pl. 20).¹⁰ Such representations in turn doubtless were based upon the stucco reliefs in the palace at Knossos, particularly those from the East Hall (see below). But whereas the Cretan examples represent adult male boxers, the Thera painting shows young pre-adolescent boys of perhaps six or seven years. Furthermore, the iconography seems more symbolic or mythical than depicting an actual contest in the palaestra. Instead of the square pillars with beam-end capitals that figure prominently behind the young men on the Boxer Vase and connote the sports arena, the background of the painting consists of the red and white wavy bands that link the boys with the antelopes. It has been suggested that the room in which these paintings were found was a shrine.¹¹

Let us look at the painting in more detail. Two young boys are engaged in a strenuous sparring match, and the younger figure on the right seems to be gaining the advantage, possibly indicated by the paler color of his adversary, who is also decked out with jewelry—an earring, probably of gold, and a necklace, armband, and anklet of blue beads.¹² They are nude except for a broad belt, probably of leather, which does not constrict their stomachs as in the adult boxers on the vase, and there is no indication of the sheath or codpiece, nor are the pudenda represented as on the fishermen. Each wears one mitt-shaped boxing glove on his right hand. They assume the two traditional boxing poses found on the Boxer Vase and discussed by the anatomist Coulomb¹³—a successful profile view throughout for the boy on the left, whereas the boy on the right lashes out with his right arm, swinging his upper torso into a more or less frontal view. Since they are so young there is no indication of musculature, and the emphasis is on their childish rounded forms, here rendered as flat silhouettes without interior markings. Nonetheless, as has been noted by an artist, the Thera painter shows a clear understanding of the separation of planes, for the blue necklace of the left-hand figure disappears behind the foreshortened shoulder of the right arm and reappears on the chest.¹⁴

The hair is rendered as a blue caplike form with short black locks on the forehead and two long tresses extending below breast level. Most likely it represents a partially shaved head with reserved locks, a style found on some of the girls in the paintings from Xeste 3 (see below), and it may be taken to denote youth. The boxers on the Ayia Triadha vase mostly wear helmets with visors but also have flowing locks. The boys' eyes are large, frontal, and almond-shaped with brown irises and sweeping black brows, and they gaze at each other intently, not unlike the pair of antelopes in the adjacent panel.¹⁵

At Knossos we have far less complete representations, but it appears that some of the finest large-scale human figures were executed partly in stucco relief and partly in flat paintings, as in the reconstruction of the so-called "Priest-King," or "Prince with Lily Crown" (Kn No. 7). As restored by Gilliéron, the somewhat over-lifesize figure (Pl. 19) strides to the left with his right arm bent across his full-view chest, his left extended behind, perhaps leading a leashed griffin or sphinx. The torso, thighs, and headdress (which with its flat band adorned with lilies and its peacock plumes is more like that worn by sphinxes or certain priestesses) are modeled in low relief, whereas the background was flat, apparently red and white with papyrus and butterflies. The tight belt and codpiece with short apron or loincloth are like those worn by bull-leapers, both male and female, but also occur on the boxers on the Boxer Vase (Pl. 20). Both Evans's date and the reconstruction, as well as his interpretation of the Priest-King, have

recently come under attack from several quarters, and it is quite likely that the relief is made up of fragments from several different figures. A pair of boxers in positions similar to those of the Boxing Boys from Thera has been suggested.¹⁶ Although the reconstruction cannot be taken as definitive for the lifesize male figure, its separate parts, each genuine, show the skill of the Minoan artist in suggesting the anatomy and the three-dimensional form in a way that flat painting, without shading, could not do.¹⁷

Other fragments of stucco reliefs, somewhat higher in projection, came from the northeast part of the palace and were assigned by Evans to his East Hall (Kn No. 8). They are mostly *disiecta membra* of athletic male figures, probably boxers and taureadors, but among these fragments are some that clearly belonged to women. One cannot here do justice to the stucco reliefs, which have been the object of a separate study by a German scholar.¹⁸ Our main concern is their relation to mural painting, for they seem not to have developed as a separate art so much as they represent an enhancement of the latter. They apparently belong to the earlier phase of Aegean painting and are especially concentrated at Knossos. The high quality of such reliefs comes out in the small fragment which Evans called the "Jewel Fresco" (Kn No. 9). In this a male hand held a necklace with gold pendants in the form of frontal heads, which he was apparently fastening about a female neck. The theme, suggestive of an intimacy not found in more complete works, may have had a ritual meaning.

Although the famous Cupbearer (Kn No. 22, Pl. 38) and the other figures from the Corridor of the Procession at Knossos are considerably later (probably LM II, see chapter 5, page 88), they apparently were not the first procession. An earlier example has been proposed for the Grand Staircase, with male figures clad in loincloths standing on different levels and massed more freely like those on the Harvester Vase from Ayia Triadha.¹⁹ And from Thera a procession of large male figures from Xeste 3 has been reported but is not yet published.²⁰ Male offering-bearers are strongly suggestive of contact with Egypt, since the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb paintings at Thebes picture the Keftiu (Cretans) among the tribute-bearers from other countries. This question of the relation of the Aegean processional theme to Egypt will be discussed in chapter 5.

In summary, while the earlier Aegean paintings with large male figures suggest some contact with Egypt in their red coloring, general flatness, and certain conventions (perhaps also in the use of stucco relief), they reveal a far freer, more impressionistic, and less conceptualized rendering. The types represented are generalized, essentially idealized youthful males, the Theran boxers (Pl. X) exceptional in their extreme youth. Clearly no specific individuals, such as kings or rulers or the deceased, are being represented, and it is unlikely that divinities were intended. The Priest-King (Pl. 19) might qualify as an exception, either a religious or secular person of some importance, could we be sure of Evans's and Gilliéron's restoration. But since the whole figure is so controversial, it is better not used as evidence for special male status. On the whole, in Minoan painting, the male figures seem subordinate to the female and are depicted as ministrants (offering-bearers) in the service of a female divinity, or performing ritual sports, probably also in her honor.

Representations of females present a somewhat different picture. They are not only more numerous, occurring at almost every site touched by Minoan culture, but they also show more clearly the impact of the religious life and the court dress of the palace at Knossos. They seem

less inspired by Egyptian models, for the flesh parts are in pure white, not in the yellow or pale beige tone of Egyptian women. They are often drawn in fine outline against a white ground, somewhat in the manner of the much later Classical figures on Attic white-ground lekythoi (see the hand fingering a necklace **Kn No. 11**, Fig. 32b, or the hand with the rock-crystal beads of **Ak No. 6**, Fig. 32a). The costumes too are purely Minoan in style and can be traced back in simpler form in the statuettes found in peak sanctuaries from the beginning of the Middle Minoan period.²¹ The tight-fitted, sleeved bodice, cut low to expose the breasts, and the bell-shaped or flounced skirt, often in a contrasting color or with elaborate textile designs, form a marked contrast to the simple, clinging, sleeveless white linen dresses of the Egyptian women, for whom elaborate necklaces of multiple strings of beads provided the main color accent.²²

Of the large, early female figures from Knossos, only fragments survive, such as were used for the restored "Ladies in Blue" (**Kn No. 11**; see also the recently published "Lady in Red" **Kn No. 12**), or the skirt fragments that may have belonged to an earlier procession in the Corridor of the Procession (**Kn No. 13**). Other fragments with miniature designs of sphinxes and griffins (**Kn No. 14**) may have come from the textile patterns on the skirts of seated women. All these fragments were interpreted by Evans and Gilliéron on the basis of the complete women, both seated and standing, represented in the miniature frescoes (Pls. 22–23 and pages 64–66). The essential correctness of their restorations has now been confirmed by the far more completely preserved, and numerous, large female figures from Thera. To date the excavations at Akrotiri have yielded three women from the Room of the Ladies (**Ak No. 5**), eight from the lustral basin of Xeste 3 (**Ak No. 6**), and three from the polythyron (Room 3) of the same building (**Ak No. 7**), as well as the Priestess from the West House (**Ak No. 8**) (see Figs. 14, 18, and 19). These paintings, richly detailed and for the most part well preserved, form a good beginning for an investigation of the way in which women and young girls were depicted throughout the Minoan world. They may also help to explain the iconography of the paintings and stucco reliefs of large-scale women in festal dress from elsewhere in Crete and the Cyclades, for example, the women from Room 14 of the villa at Ayia Triadha (**A.T. No. 1**) or those from Phylakopi (**Ph Nos. 2 and 3**) and Pseira (**Ps No. 1**).

The three women represented in the frescoes from the Room of the Ladies (**Ak No. 5**, Fig. 17 and Pls. XI–XII) have been on display in the National Museum in Athens for some years. For a discussion of Minoan costume they form excellent examples, since the garments are meticulously rendered down to such details as seams, buttons, and tasseled cords. Furthermore, the scene most likely represents ladies attiring themselves for some festal occasion, and thus gives us a glimpse as to how the garments were put on, enabling us to speculate on their parts. The north wall of this rectangular room, which featured at its west end stately triple clumps of papyrus (see page 49 and Pl. XIII), depicted two women (Pl. XII). At the left a mature woman, fully dressed, bends over, her pendulous breast escaping from her open bodice, and adjusts something with her left hand against what appears to be the back of a poorly preserved figure at the right. The reason for this activity has been explained in connection with the donning of the festal flounced skirt by the second woman.²³ This skirt, which appears at the bottom of the main fragment, is *not* the skirt of a seated figure (as Marinatos thought) but rather a separate garment being held out by the first woman. On the south wall a

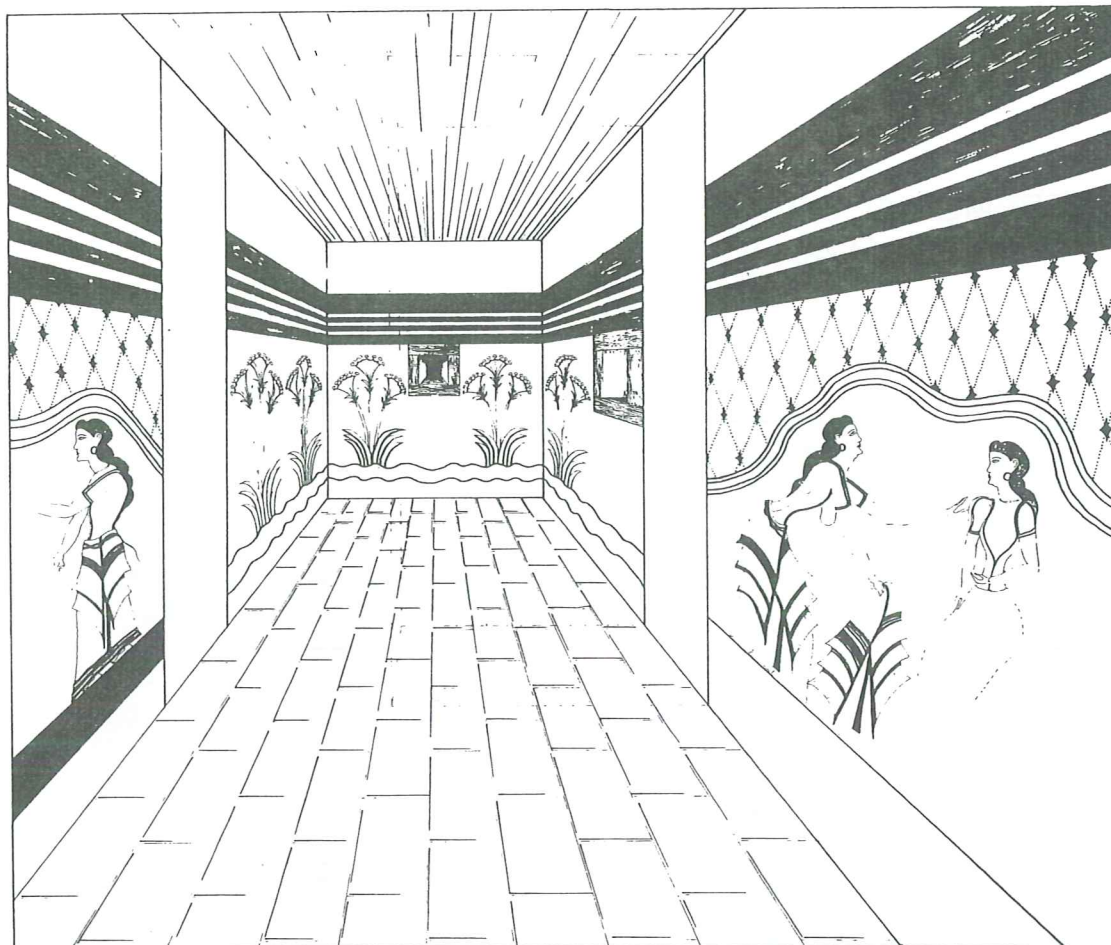


Fig. 17. Tentative reconstruction of Room 1, House of the Ladies, Akrotiri

standing lady fully dressed walks to the left (Pl. XI), that is, away from the papyrus plants and the innermost part of the room; indeed on both walls the action is outward as if the women, when dressed, would proceed to another area (see Fig. 17).

The paintings in this room are important in showing us that the Minoan festal costume consisted of several parts. Its top was a fitted and seamed bodice with decorated borders at neck, décolletage (open to the waist), short sleeves, and shoulder seams, which were sometimes buttoned or laced together with little tassels showing at the bottom of the sleeve. The length of this bodice is not clear, nor whether it was a separate garment, for the flounced skirt was applied over it. From the partially dressed fragmentary figure on the right, it seems to have extended below the waist, perhaps as the upper part of a kind of shift, or alternatively it might have been attached to the bell-shaped skirt seen beneath the flounces of the shorter festal skirts of the other two women. The faience “robes” found in the Temple Repositories at Knossos²⁴ lend support for the idea of a one-piece garment. On the other hand, the material of

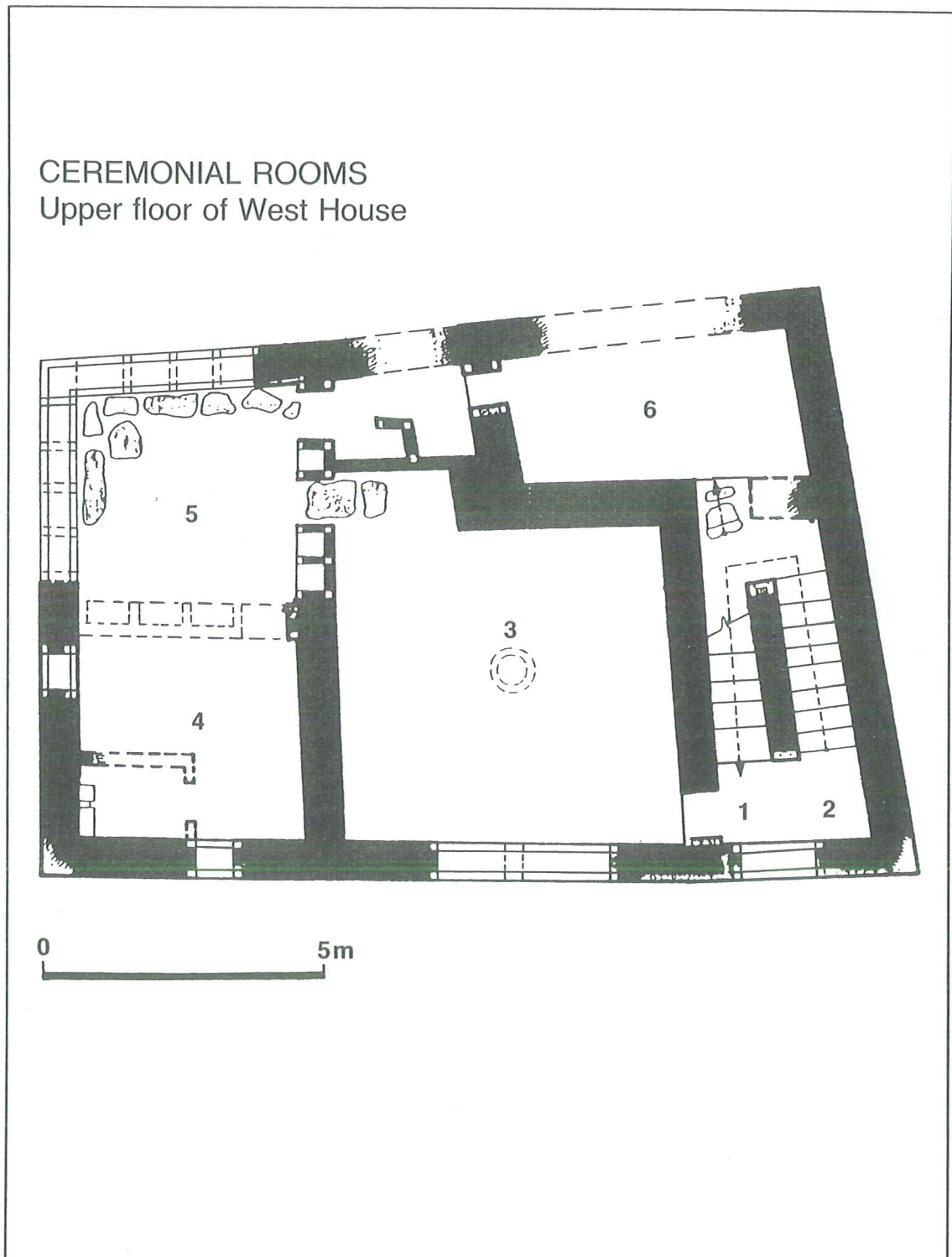


Fig. 18. Plan of West House, Akrotiri

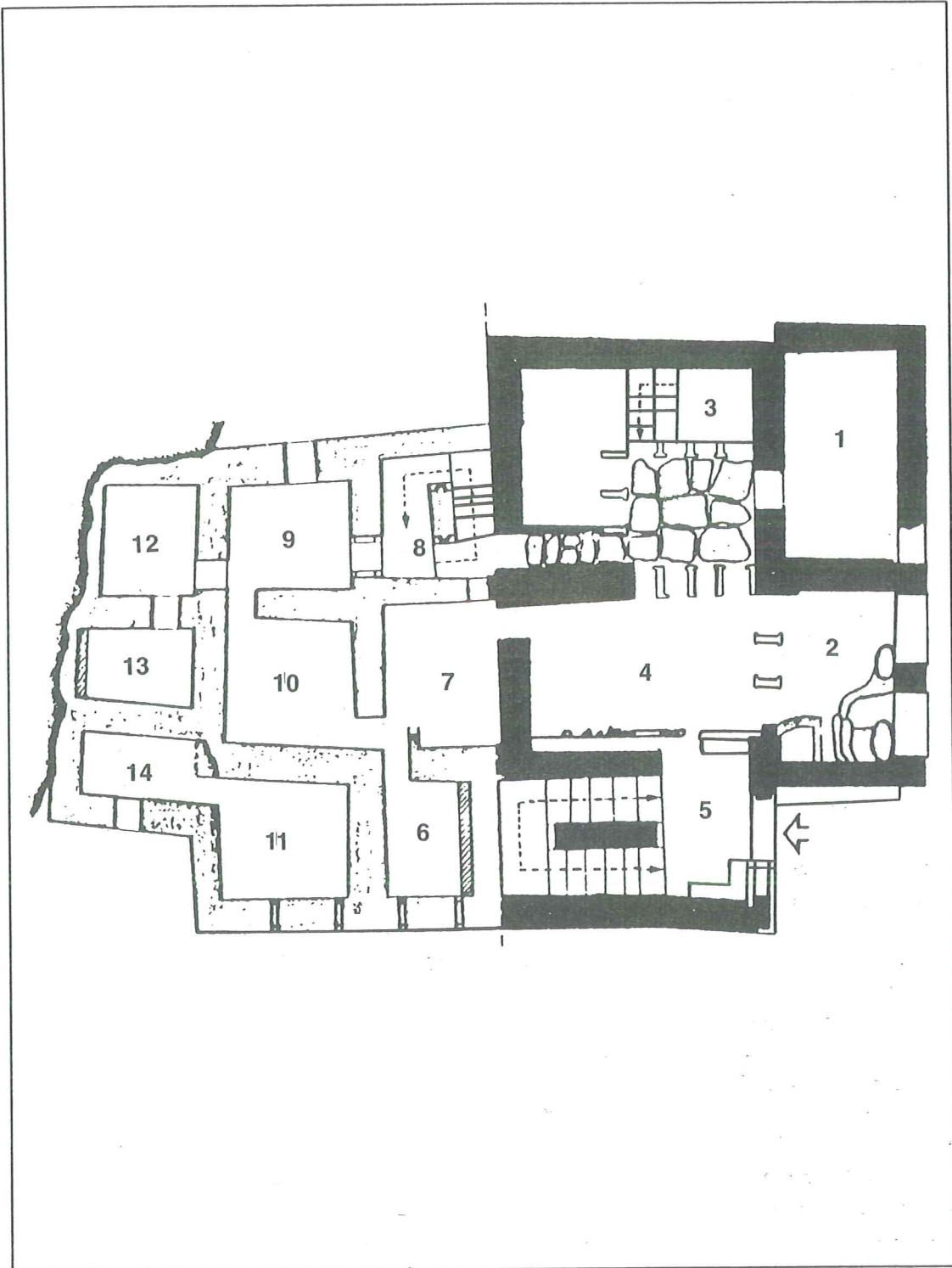


Fig. 19. Plan of Xeste 3, Akrotiri

the skirt seems stiffer than that of the bodice and is sometimes of a different color. It was apparently tucked horizontally (the stitching indicated by rows of dots) and often had applied bands of contrasting color. Doubtless, as in more modern times, there was not complete uniformity in Minoan costume beyond the general style of a tight bodice or jacket, constricted waist, and long full skirt, for the women and girls of the lustral basin and polythyron paintings from Xeste 3 (Fig. 20) show considerable variety in dress. Over this ankle-length skirt (whether separate or attached to bodice) there was worn for festal occasions a shorter flounced skirt open in front and descending in points. It occurs on women in religious scenes on Minoan seals and signets, where it sometimes gives the effect of culottes.²⁵ This short skirt was fastened at the waist over the bodice or shift with a doubled cord terminating in one of the numerous stone "whorls" or buttons that have long puzzled archaeologists.²⁶ The upper part of this skirt fitted the hips snugly and could be of a stiff patterned textile, whereas the flounces, two or more in number, hung free, either flaring out from colored bands or gathered into pleated flounces. Both styles are found in the Room of the Ladies' frescoes. A curious feature is the fleecy fringe that defines the central opening.

It is clear that the female garments depicted in such detail are far more elaborate in cut and fabric,²⁷ than contemporary Egyptian or even Near Eastern clothing. This costume has been described fully since it forms the basis of all Aegean female dress down to the latest Mycenaean processional and religious paintings (see page 114).

In contrast to their elaborate clothing, the women themselves are simply rendered through outline drawing against the neutral white ground. The only color applied, apart from the massed black wavy locks of hair, are the fine black outlines of their almond-shaped eyes and arching brows, the spots of pink on cheeks and lips, and their dark red (gold?) hoop-shaped earrings, reminiscent of some from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.²⁸ No other jewelry is worn except for a simple fillet or necklace, indicated by two dark lines encircling the neck of the standing woman, and a dark bracelet on the wrist of the woman bending over. This relative simplicity contrasts with the greater display of jewelry on the women in the paintings from Xeste 3.

With this background it is easier to assess the fragmentary material from Knossos. The fresco termed by Evans "The Ladies in Blue" (Kn No. 11) consists of fragments of at least three women with frontal torsos; their décolleté bodices expose their breasts, which are indicated by the outward curve of the bodice border and a pink rosette for the nipple. The bodices are apparently of a richer, heavier material than those worn by the ladies in the Thera paintings I have just considered, a kind of brocade in scale or net pattern with decorated borders. The cut, however, is the same, with the shoulder seam defined by this border. Nothing is preserved of their heads, but they were most likely shown in profile (the position of all the female heads in the miniature frescoes), and their black locks of hair may have been bejeweled with beads, as in the reconstruction (on the basis of another fragment from Knossos).²⁹ They wear multiple necklaces of variously shaped beads and bracelets of several strands; the most attractive fragment, now incorporated into the middle figure, showed a sensitively drawn right (?) hand fingering a necklace of blue beads (Fig. 32b) (however somewhat distorted in position if the restoration in *PM* I, fig. 397, is correct). One cannot tell

from the fragments whether the women were standing or seated, but the latter seems more likely because of the frontality of their torsos and the overlapping of shoulders. They are best compared to the seated ladies from the miniature “Grandstand” fresco (Kn No. 15, Pl. 22). The “Lady in Red” (Kn No. 12), recently published for the first time, although it had aided Gilliéron in his reconstruction of the “Ladies in Blue,” consists of a large fragment of a similarly dressed, slightly underlifesize woman wearing a red bodice with blue borders seen against a background that changes from red to blue. The textile pattern of her bodice, based on a net or diamond, was established by the aid of impressed string lines while the plaster was still wet, a practice found in other Aegean textile representations and perhaps learned in Egypt.

The skirts of some Minoan ladies seem to have been decorated with pictorial designs, rendered either in tapestry or embroidery.³⁰ The faience “votive robes” from the Middle Minoan IIIB Temple Repositories show clumps of crocuses framed by curving bands at the top, which doubtless were intended to recall a mountaintop sanctuary (see page 46). Several fresco fragments from a discard heap (Kn No. 14) featured miniature designs of bull’s heads, griffins, sphinxes, and rows of lilies; Evans suggested that these too were textile designs at the bottom of women’s skirts. And the seated woman from Phylakopi (Ph No. 2) has a design of swallows and rockwork on her skirt. Representations of standing women may have occurred at this period at Knossos, but there is little to go on other than some scraps of textile patterns from beneath the later Corridor of the Procession (Kn No. 13).

While the paintings of women from Knossos, as known from the restorations and from Evans’s *Palace of Minos* (especially PM III, 31–63), might suggest a secular society in which fashion dominated, it is clear from other paintings that this court dress was the costume in which the Minoan goddess was depicted (on the rare occasions in which she does appear) and that it was worn by her votaries, women and young girls, wherever Minoan culture and religion had spread. Nowhere does this close union between the goddess and her attendants come out better than in the beautiful paintings discovered in 1973 in a building at Akrotiri termed Xeste 3 (the term refers to its construction of large cut blocks laid in ashlar masonry). The architecture (plan, Fig. 19), with its Minoan features of lustral basin and polythyron (or room with many doors) is a fit setting for paintings of such high quality.

These frescoes (Ak No. 6; Figs. 20, 26 a–d, 32 a and c) were discovered, shortly before the excavator’s death, in a very fragmentary condition, which required time-consuming and costly restoration, only recently completed. Although still not on public display—they will be shown in the new museum on the island of Thera—sufficient photographs were published by Marinatos before his death (*Thera* VII, pls. A–K in color and 58–64) to reveal their exceptional interest and individuality. Further research by the Greek Archaeological Society under Doumas has ascertained their location in the building and their probable arrangement.³¹ The paintings decorated two levels of a small L-shaped room with descending steps, a type termed “lustral basin.” Although the purpose of such rooms has been debated,³² the religious iconography here leaves little doubt that this particular lustral basin served a cultic function.

In the 1976 publication (*Thera* VII) only one unified composition was shown, the “Saffron-

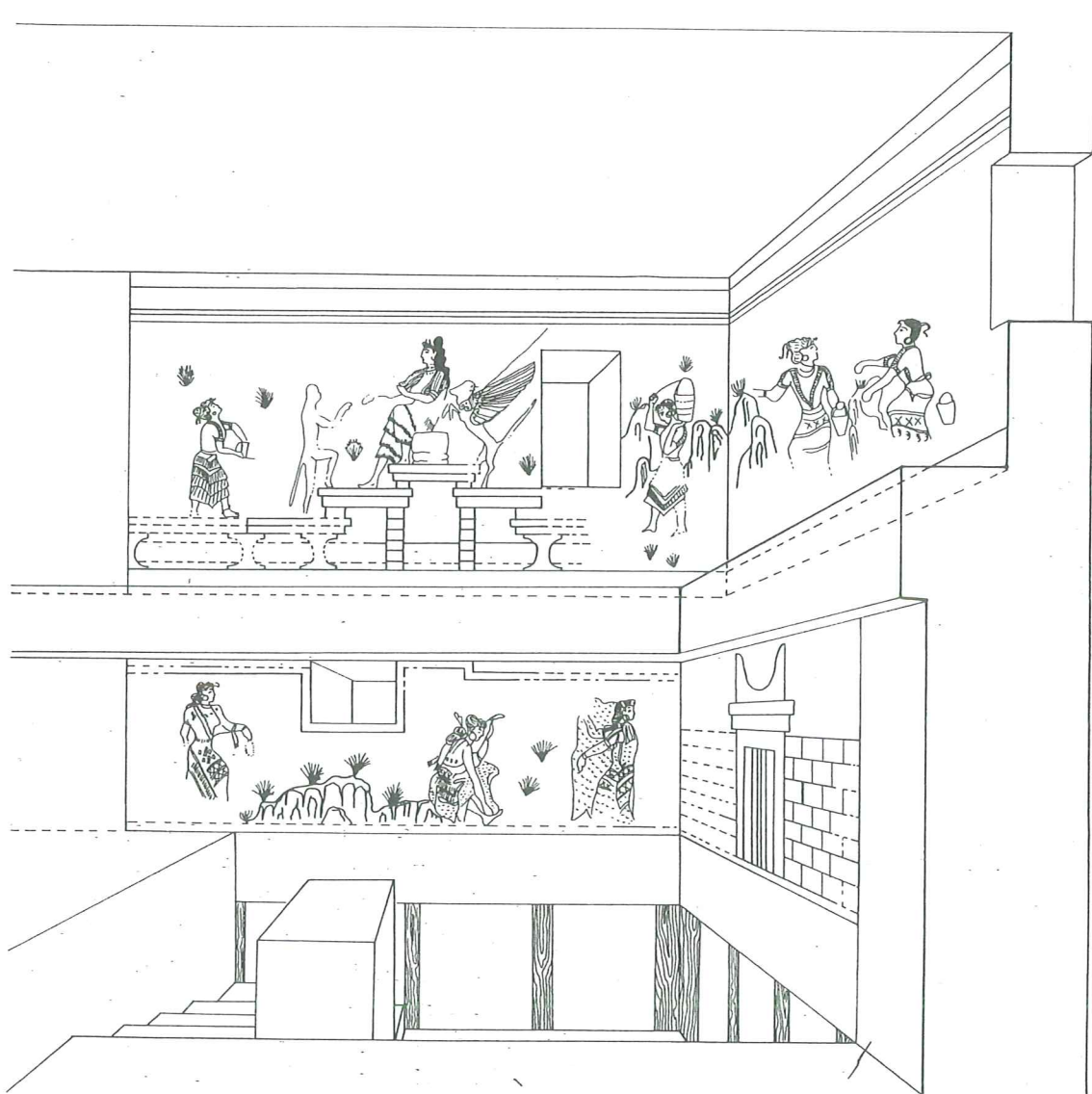


Fig. 20. Reconstruction of frescoes in the lustral basin (adyton) of Xeste 3

Gatherers,” two young girls with baskets picking crocuses, which sprout from rocks in the background (Fig. 26 a–b for heads).³³ It is now assigned to the short east wall of the upper level (see Fig. 20), and clearly represents a mountainous setting typical of Minoan mountain-top sanctuaries. Indeed the entrance to a sanctuary similar to that depicted on the rhyton from Zakros (M–H, *KTM*, pls. 108–10) has been found among the fragments of fresco from this room and is now assigned to the wall below the Saffron-Gatherers. The hilly setting is indicated by arranging the girls on different levels and by placing a rocky eminence (like the rocks in the “Spring” fresco, Pl. VII) between them. In the original publication four other

women were illustrated, and although more fragmentary, they show striking individuality: a girl with head and body covered with a dotted veil over an otherwise typical Minoan costume (*Thera* VII, pls. A and 58: here Fig. 20, lower register, right), a young girl holding a string of rock-crystal beads (pls. F–H, 62–63: here Figs. 26c and 32a), another seated on a rock holding her injured foot (pls. I–J: Fig. 20, lower register), and a fourth less well preserved, a girl emptying a basket like those of the Saffron-Gatherers.

The clothing worn by these figures is the same type as that in the attiring scene from the Room of the Ladies (Pls. XI–XII), but here the dresses are even more elaborate, showing patterned textiles like those worn by the Knossian “Ladies in Blue,” and their jewelry is more abundant and ornate. All wear large gold hoop earrings, and several have gold hairpins with floral terminals in their long black snoods. One wears two gold necklaces of different types of beads (Fig. 26c), and carries a string of rock-crystal beads (Fig. 32a). Several wear blue bracelets (silver) twisted about their wrists like snakes (Fig. 32a and c). The closest parallels come from the royal Shaft Graves at Mycenae, to which period the paintings belong.³⁴ Even the cords that are attached to some of the bodice sleeves sport a series of tassels or pendants (for example, on the young Saffron-Gatherer (Fig. 32c), who also seems to have a tattoo of an animal on her right forearm).

The hairstyles differ and the faces are quite individualized, although in all cases the profile view with large almond-shaped eye is used. It has been suggested that the manner of wearing the hair may be an indication of age.³⁵ The girls who appear to be the youngest, that is, those with covered or less prominent breasts, have blue (probably shaved) heads with a ponytail in back (the Saffron-Gatherer, Fig. 26a) or a few reserved locks (the girl with the veil, *Thera* VII, pl. A). Several have short curly hair with a ponytail, the curls perhaps indicated at the stage in which the hair was growing back; in one case the curls were indicated by incision (the seated Saffron-Gatherer, Fig. 26b), and in another (not illustrated) the hair is red. At least two young women have luxuriant long black tresses looped into a kind of snood and fastened with a decorative pin (the woman with the rock-crystal beads, Fig. 26c, and the girl who has injured her foot, *Thera* VII, pl. I); in the former a mature young woman with a well-developed and exposed breast is represented. It looks very much as if the artist has attempted to give a picture of real young women engaged in a ritual, perhaps connected with puberty, that took place at a mountaintop sanctuary where the saffron crocuses grew, but that also involved some rites in the lustral basin, where the paintings themselves were located.³⁶

This sunken room was adjacent to a larger room with many doors, the “polythyron,” where women could have gathered. As previously described, the lustral basin was decorated on two walls with superimposed friezes (see Fig. 20). These featured the Saffron-Gatherers and the sanctuary on the short east wall, and three women (including the wounded girl) on the lower course of the long north wall. Above this came a composition that has not yet been illustrated in photographs, but which fully confirms the religious nature of the activity.³⁷ In the center on a low platform or altar a mature woman, even more lavishly dressed than the girls, is seated turned to the left. She is flanked by a griffin on the right, and approached from the left by a blue monkey, evidently presenting her with the saffron the maidens have gathered. From the

left and right come two young girls with their baskets (*Thera* VII, pl. K, and the redhead who carries hers on her shoulder). The central figure must represent the goddess herself, or her epiphany, for the protective griffin and the blue monkey in adoration remove the scene from the realm of reality. She must be thought of as the goddess of nature and fertility, protector of young women and girls in their role as child-bearers.

Fresco fragments representing three lifesize women were discovered in the polythyron adjacent to the lustral basin (*Ak* No. 7), and these too seem highly individualized. One has her dark hair done up in a bun in back and wears a bodice embroidered with red lily blossoms, as well as two strings of beads (*Thera* VII, pl. 65: here Fig. 26d); the other has her hair completely coiled in a decorated kerchief and wears a heavy choker necklace (*Thera* VII, pl. 66). They appear to be more mature women than the girls represented in the frescoes from the lustral basin. Both of the women illustrated carry large bunches of red roses (or cistus); these offerings suggest that they are processional votaries, a theme connecting them with the later Mycenaean frescoes depicting women in a procession (see chapter 6, II).

It thus seems clear that the paintings from Xeste 3, both in the lustral basin and the polythyron, were religious in nature and devoted to the cult of a female divinity to whom women and young girls, from puberty on, paid homage. They have done much to elucidate the meaning of other Minoan paintings with women. For example, the woman in a flounced skirt seated on an altar, or before a shrine, in the fresco from Ayia Triadha (*A.T.* No. 1, Pl. 18) who occurs with a kneeling votary in a crocus-strewn setting, along with creatures of the wild (cats, deer, pheasant) on adjacent walls, must represent another aspect of the same goddess, perhaps in her role as protector of animals. And at Phylakopi the seated woman with the elaborately decorated skirt (*Ph* No. 2) who has been thought to draw a net may suggest the goddess' role in assuring the fecundity of the sea, with which the Flying Fish fresco (Pl. 16 and pages 47–48) from the same context would accord. The young girl bending over (*Ph* No. 3) would then be interpreted in the role of votary. Fragmentary stucco reliefs of seated women from the little island of Pseira (*Ps* No. 1) and from Palaikastro in east Crete (*Pa* No. 1) most likely represent the goddess herself.

The question of the degree of outside influence on this phenomenally rapid development in portraying the human figure in Aegean lifesize painting must remain unresolved. Large figures, both male and female, appear fully developed without any apparent experimental stage. There are clearly some signs that Minoan artists knew something of Egyptian painting and painted reliefs, from which they adopted certain technical features (the color code, use of grid lines, stucco for reliefs)³⁸ and above all received the stimulus to monumental scale. If artistic conventions were taken over, such as fractional representation and the full-view eye in the profile face, most were quickly transformed by the Minoan artist's way of looking at nature, which was much more intuitive than analytical. This approach succeeded in creating paintings of the human figure which, while not absolutely correct in all details, endowed them with a sense of life and mobility. The early naturalism of figures such as the Theran Boxers and the Saffron-Gatherers from Xeste 3, and their more fragmentary Knossian relatives, must still remain something of a mystery. If Egypt served as a catalyst, the products are purely Aegean but do not develop toward further naturalism; from here on down to the final stage in Mycenaean painting there is progressive conventionalization.

III. The Miniature Style

Perhaps the most interesting and informative type of painting is that termed by Evans the “miniature class,” which he believed was characteristic of an early phase.¹ However, he used the term somewhat loosely to apply to any small figural painting, either a self-sufficient composition rendered entirely by figures in a small scale or small figures subsidiary to a much larger figure, as were the sphinxes and griffins that apparently adorned the dresses of lifesize women (Kn No. 14). The term is being used here only for the first type, the genuine miniature style. In respect to chronological development the new discoveries at Thera have shown that large-scale figures and miniature paintings flourished at one and the same time, and that the choice of scale was a matter of location and purpose.

In the West House at Akrotiri (plan, Fig. 18), Marinatos found not only the two nearly lifesize fishermen (Ak No. 11; Pl. IX) and a priestess (Ak No. 8; Pl. 21), seven or eight *ikria* or lifesize representations of portable ship’s cabins (Ak No. 9; Pl. XV), a window replete with painted decoration on its jambs of red lilies in stone vases (Ak No. 10), and more than seven meters of a frieze in the miniature style (Ak No. 12; Pls. XIV, 25–29) that may have been over twice that length.² Thus, the scale of the work, whether large or miniature, was conditioned certainly in part by the position of the painting on the wall, the Fishermen and Priestess being self-contained panels on narrow vertical spaces above a marbled dado (which also ran below the frieze of *ikria* in the adjacent room and decorated the sill of the window with the lily vases on the reveals), whereas the miniature paintings were a frieze above the level of the doors and windows. Naturally the “program” also had something to do with the scale chosen, for any composition that had a narrative or descriptive function in which figures had to be shown in an architectural or landscape setting could hardly have been achieved with large figures.

Although the miniature fresco from the West House is the best-preserved example of this class and provides parallels for many of the motifs that had previously only been surmised as existing in painting from their occurrence in metalwork in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae,³ the discussion of these paintings is better deferred until after the evidence from Crete has been presented. Then it may be possible to recognize what is un-Minoan, that is, Cycladic or Helladic, in the Theran paintings.

Unfortunately the miniature paintings from Knossos had all fallen from the walls of the palace some time before its final destruction and are thus very fragmentary. Nonetheless, we tend to think of the Gilliéron reconstructions of the two panels—the “Grandstand” or “Temple” fresco with its columnar shrine and seated women (Kn No. 15; Pl. 22) or the “Sacred Grove and Dance” (Kn No. 16; Pl. 23)—as fairly complete paintings. These reconstructions, however, give a false assurance, for there is no certainty as to how high the individual compositions were, let alone their lengths, whether panels or part of a frieze. If one can extrapolate from Thera, they may well have been friezes on different walls of a small shrine near the North Entrance to the palace, the Room of the Spiral Cornice, so-called because of the molded stucco which Evans believed formed its ceiling (Kn No. 38; Fig. 39c). The

fragments had fallen from above and were mixed with later material, so there is no sure evidence for their date. Evans assigned them to the MM IIIB reconstruction of the palace, after initially considering them “on the verge of decadence,” but they have also been put considerably later.⁴ Since this true miniature style is not characteristic of the latest paintings at Knossos, they ought to belong to LM I, though perhaps somewhat later than the Theran miniatures.

Even if these best-known Knossian miniatures are assigned to LM IB, there must have been earlier examples at Knossos to have inspired the Theran paintings. It is to these antecedent stages, however fragmentary, that we now turn. A second deposit of miniature frescoes (**Kn No. 18**), although in a somewhat larger scale, was found in the cists of the Thirteenth Magazine in the west storage area (Fig. 25, No. 4). These cists were presumably closed and filled in after the great MM IIIB earthquake about 1600 B.C. Accordingly, these fragments should be somewhat earlier, that is, in the seventeenth century, although there is some controversy on this dating too.⁵ Nonetheless, their style is somewhat different from the better-known panels, larger in scale and more tentative in the use of shorthand conventions (see below).

Three probably related subjects are preserved. A massed group of men faces right against a yellow and light blue ground; presumably behind a barrier or wall indicated by a white band at the bottom that cuts them off at shoulder height (*PM I*, fig. 384). A largish bull is shown in profile to the right, grayish blue with black details of bristling hide, against a yellow ground (*PM I*, fig. 385). Finally, there are two important architectural fragments, one with large horns of consecration between red downward-tapering Minoan columns that have small white double axes stuck in their capitals (*PM I*, fig. 319), the other showing a beam-end frieze and horns on a building that seems to have had several different parts, or elevations, and was also characterized by black and white checkered ashlar masonry and rectangles that may imitate breccia or conglomerate slabs (*PM I*, fig. 321). The fragments seem connected iconographically, because they depict an architectural setting with religious implications (the double axes and horns), a crowd of spectators, and almost certainly a representation of the acrobatic bull games, suggested by the raised head of the bull, his red-rimmed eye, and the black wavy lines below his horn which should be the streaming hair of an acrobat. While these fragments preserve no women as spectators, it would be rash to assume that they were not present, for they occupy a prominent position in the “Grandstand” fresco. There the object of the spectators, which was also very likely the bull games, was not represented, or is not preserved.

The **Grandstand fresco** as restored by Gilliéron (Pl. 22) is a panel about one foot high by three feet wide (c. 30 x 90 cm) rather dark and discolored by shellac; one can get a better idea of the brightness of the original and the quality of the sensitive drawing of the women from small fragments not incorporated in the restoration.⁶ The composition consists of an elaborate architectural facade, the so-called tripartite columnar shrine, flanked by seated women carefully depicted, and massed crowds of men rendered in what Evans termed “shorthand perspective,” whereby only such salient details as their white-dotted eyes, neckbands, and black hair are shown against a uniformly red ground. In addition, at left and right there are superimposed piers of a grandstand with square impost capitals with beam-end decoration (of the type

that appears in pugilistic scenes),⁷ and on the steps appear full-length standing women with additional seated ones at the extreme right, perhaps balanced by others at the left. Spatially this arrangement makes sense, although the seated women are large in proportion to the rest; however, the fragment of massed men below, in shorthand, with a streamer of female heads at the right is harder to place topographically. Nonetheless, the interspersing of women in the crowd is interesting and suggests that there was no rigid separation of the sexes in Minoan times.

The accurate detail of the architecture (Fig. 34e, page 126) in this painting was an invaluable aid to Evans in his actual restorations of the palace. Such features as the red or black columns with contrasting capitals and white fillets and the horns of consecration on the roof were largely inspired by this fresco. The central architectural feature perhaps represents the tripartite shrine that has been postulated for the west side of the central court.⁸ In that case bleachers or grandstands may have been constructed to the north and south of this shrine, and possibly at either end of the central court. The massed crowd at the bottom of the painting might then be construed as those persons standing on the other side of the central court, it being suggested by the narrow strip of white in the middle. There would thus be a combination of bird's-eye and more normal straight-on perspective, not unlike that in the Saffron-Gatherer (Pl. 11) with the profile monkey amidst the crocuses and rocks framing him from top and bottom. According to this topographical interpretation, the "event" for which the crowds have gathered would not have been depicted in this particular painting. One thinks of the bull games, which Graham has given good arguments for locating in the central court of Minoan palaces,⁹ but there is no certainty. At any rate, despite the rather secular appearance of the richly adorned, and apparently gossiping, ladies, the occasion must have had a religious significance. These ladies too, although not more than a few inches in height, were of great help to Gilliéron in restoring the fragmentary lifesize "Ladies in Blue" (Kn No. 11, cf. pages 58–59). Indeed before the discovery of the Thera paintings our knowledge of Minoan fashions depended largely on this painting and its companion piece, the "Sacred Grove" (Kn No. 16).

This second panel as restored by Gilliéron (Pl. 23) is about twice as high and less broad. Although the right margin and part of the bottom may be intact (giving a total height of about 70 cm), the painting could have continued some distance to the left.¹⁰ The massed crowds of men and women in the upper half look toward the left and raise their arms as if pointing to something beyond. Likewise the movement of the dancing women in the lower half is toward the left, and one might conjecture that it is the epiphany of the goddess that is awaited, or even depicted, as on the gold ring from Isopata.¹¹ The setting is outdoors, as shown by the narrow band of blue above the gesticulating male arms, by the spreading olive trees with their shimmering gray foliage against a blue form, and by the stone causeways that traverse the area horizontally and diagonally. Although they were originally taken to represent "isodomnic walls" of some unknown temenos, it seems far more likely that they represent the causeways of the West Court leading to the theatral area and that the scene took place just outside the palace proper.¹²

Much the same shorthand conventions are used in this painting as in the Grandstand panel, although the serried ranks of male heads are relieved by showing the two front rows complete

with their black boots, tight white belts, and codpieces. The women cluster around the olive trees, presumably *under* them, although their heads are delicately drawn in black against a white area that surrounds the trees, and there is scant indication for those that Gilliéron has drawn seated underneath. The movement of the fully drawn women below the causeway is stately and rhythmical rather than orgiastic, as sometimes shown on the seals and rings; they are dressed in their festal "best," with flounced skirts of various patterns and sleeved bodices, carefully rendered in diminutive scale.

Several more fragments of miniature frescoes were found in the same deposit, or just beyond (Kn No. 17). Two with women in an architectural setting may possibly have been associated with the Grandstand fresco, although their positioning is uncertain. One (PM II, 2, fig. 376), which shows a woman standing behind a fence, or on a balcony, has been connected with the temporary barriers erected at the time of the bull games.¹³ Another shows women in rectangular apertures framed with wood (PM II, 2, fig. 375) apparently observing an event from windows as occurs in a later painting from Mycenae (Pl. 54).

The other group of miniatures from the same deposit has been the cause of much discussion, since Evans thought it showed a military exploit with warriors hurling javelins (PM III, fig. 45), and on another fragment a youthful officer standing at attention with his left arm resting on a spear or staff, the top missing (PM III, fig. 46). However, there is no certainty that a military exploit is involved, for the "soldiers" with their javelins may be participating in some kind of sport, and the officer as restored bears a remarkable resemblance to the young chieftain on the steatite cup from Ayia Triadha (M-H, CM, pl. 100), where there is also some question about the interpretation of the apparent military paraphernalia.¹⁴ At any rate, this painting is too fragmentary to be used as precedent for the theme of the sack of a walled city like that on the silver rhyton from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (M-H, CM, pl. 174), for which a part of the miniature fresco from the West House at Thera provides a much closer parallel (see below).

This need not imply that the themes of the Knossian miniature paintings were as restricted to ritual events as the best-preserved examples would suggest, but evidence for a more genre type of representation, such as we find at Thera (and also at Tyliisos and Keos), is extremely scrappy. There is only one small and enigmatic fragment that has been interpreted as representing an informal secular activity. This is a small piece with dark red figures on a white ground which Evans sought to recognize as young boys playing a pavement game (Kn No. 19, PM III, pl. XXV), but which has been questioned as to its subject. It has even been thought to show the leaves of an olive tree.¹⁵ However, the general resemblance to the long-limbed red-silhouetted figures of young boys running up a hill to greet the fleet in the Thera fresco (Pl. 29 and Thera VI, col. pl. 9, below right) seems to support Evans's interpretation.

The only other miniature frescoes from Crete that can be related to those from Knossos with religious or festal scenes are some fragments from Tyliisos, a site about twelve kilometers to the west of Knossos, where three large Minoan houses were found. House A had one room (17) which apparently was decorated with figural frescoes in a miniature scale, now recently restudied (Ty No. 1).¹⁶ The fragments include women in festal garments like the dancers in the Sacred Grove, and they also were in an outdoor setting, since one or more trees occur. But there were other active figures of men wearing white belts and codpieces, and in one case

boots. Furthermore, a building seems to have been represented, as well as a crowd of spectators, of which only a small fragment remains. The background color changes from white to red, one or more times, and in one fragment shows the characteristic curving “festooned” border found in the Sacred Grove fresco. However, a more everyday or genre spirit pervades the composition, for some fragments show large amphoras being transported, perhaps for a feast. This is more akin to the miniatures from Thera and the somewhat later frescoes from Ayia Irini on Keos (see chapter 5, I). Whether the men are engaged in pugilistic contests as Evans thought, because of their resemblance to figures on the Boxer Vase (M-H, *CM*, pls. 106–7), or are merely striding about purposefully, they show a remarkable ability on the part of the artist to render anatomy and movement on a diminutive scale, a characteristic found also at Thera. Even if the house itself was not destroyed until the LM IB disaster, the paintings ought to be somewhat earlier.¹⁷

Aside from the olive trees in the Sacred Grove, there is little evidence in the preserved material from Knossos to show any rendering of nature on a miniature scale, but this again is perhaps an accident of preservation. The small fragment from the Southeast House (**Kn No. 5**) which shows grasses and the tail of a mouse is almost miniature work, but somewhat too large (about 2 inches in height) to be grouped with the following. Cameron has called attention to a fragment with diminutive crocus plants, blue sky, and green rockwork from a refuse deposit, or *bothros*, some little distance to the northwest of the palace, which may have contained material from a private house contemporary with the House of the Frescoes, that is, LM IA (*BSA* 71, 1976, pl. 3a–b).¹⁸ From a house at Prasa near Herakleion came a fragment with a row of diminutive cypress trees painted in a ruddy brown on a white ground (**Pr No. 1**: *BSA* 71, 1976, pl. 3c). These can be compared with some of the more Minoan plants in the Nilotic landscape from the West House (Pl. XIV below) and show the same sensitivity in handling nature as found in the paintings from the House of the Frescoes. Again the context is LM IA. And from a house at Katsamba, the harbor town of Knossos, came another miniature fragment showing two hoopoes flying over rushes (**Ka No. 1**), datable from its context to MM III or LM I.¹⁹ In this case the miniature pictorial scene may have represented an embroidered textile pattern rather than an actual depiction of nature, although there is less formality than in the sphinxes and griffin from Knossos or the swallows from Phylakopi (see page 59). Nonetheless, these small scraps of nature painting in a miniature scale from the Knossian school are important as evidence for the background from which the Theran artists sprang.

For representations of architecture in a miniature scale, the number of examples from Knossos is much greater. There can be no question that Minoan architecture, particularly that of the palace, was carefully observed and recorded, following Minoan and other early conventions, for example, the Egyptian. The complete elevation of a building was shown head on without any foreshortening and without much respect for the size of human figures associated with it, somewhat like a stage background. Conventions developed for showing different materials, for example, the black and white (or multicolored) checkerboard to depict ashlar masonry,²⁰ yellow or red grids for the wooden framing of doors and windows, and light blue (sometimes red or yellow) for apertures, unless closed with a latticed grille (e.g., *PM* II, 2, fig. 376). Columns were red or black, downward tapering, and often with contrasting capitals.

The beam-end frieze had contrasting colors to distinguish its parts; horns of consecration were white, presumably representing stuccoed clay or limestone; black and white speckled panels suggest breccia revetments (*KFA*, pl. V, 2). Details were carefully drawn, and there was much use of impressed string lines to keep the horizontals and verticals parallel, but they were not always exactly followed in the final painting.²¹ These conventions for rendering architecture were to last throughout Aegean painting and are found more or less unchanged at Mycenae, Orchomenos, and Pylos two hundred or more years later (see chapter 6 and Figs. 34–35).

The sources of inspiration for the miniature style are perhaps to be sought in the native tradition of working on a small scale, for example, on seals, but also in painting on other materials, for which we have very little evidence. The crystal plaque with an acrobatic bull scene, which was found in the lustral basin of the Throne Room complex is one example (*PM III*, pl. XIX).²² There was also, I would venture, some acquaintance with the detailed renderings in Egyptian painting or painted reliefs. In support of this connection, the so-called **Town Mosaic** is significant (Fig. 21 and Pl. 24). Consisting of a series of faience plaques with molded and painted decoration which probably adorned a wooden chest or piece of furniture, the Town Mosaic is not only earlier than the miniature frescoes but has some curiously Egyptianizing features; for example, the conventional rendering of water by parallel zigzag lines²³ and the representation of donkeys, who are otherwise uncommon in Minoan art.²⁴ Likewise the techniques of molded faience and furniture inlay probably reached Crete through contact with Egypt (or the Egyptianized Levant) in the Old Palace period (see page 35).

Unfortunately the exact date of the Town Mosaic is not certain. Although it came from the Loomweight Basement area in the east wing of the palace, an area which had MM II material, and was originally dated by Evans to that period,²⁵ it is now generally thought to be somewhat later, probably MM IIIA. What is so remarkable about the Town Mosaic is the way in which it anticipates motifs of the miniature frescoes, both at Knossos and especially at Thera. The majority of plaques depict architecture, either a house facade or in some cases a tower or gateway, which suggested to Evans a walled town and gave rise to his comparison with the Mycenae silver Siege rhyton. The houses, two or three stories high, show interesting differences in detail of windows and doors but depict many of the same architectural features that occur in the miniature frescoes, for example, isodomic masonry, beam-end friezes, and wooden framing (Fig. 34a, page 126). However, columns and horns of consecration do not occur, although the incurved base associated with Minoan altars is found on two plaques.²⁶ In general, the effect is more archaic, and certainly less palatial, than the architecture of the miniature frescoes from Knossos, and comparison with the terracotta shrines from the Loomweight Basement tends to support an early dating of the Town Mosaic.²⁷

There was some indication of landscape, but the number of preserved tiles with plants or water seems small for an outdoor setting (see Fig. 21). At least two showed water rendered by parallel zigzags which ran horizontally rather than vertically, as they did in Egypt. Several depicted plants, ivy, or dittany, and myrtle, Minoan rather than Egyptian; they can be related to the “sprays” on earlier Minoan seals (Figs. 9a, 10b, 10i, etc.: page 31), as well as to the later and more naturalistic flora of the frescoes. A number of small plaques were in the form of a

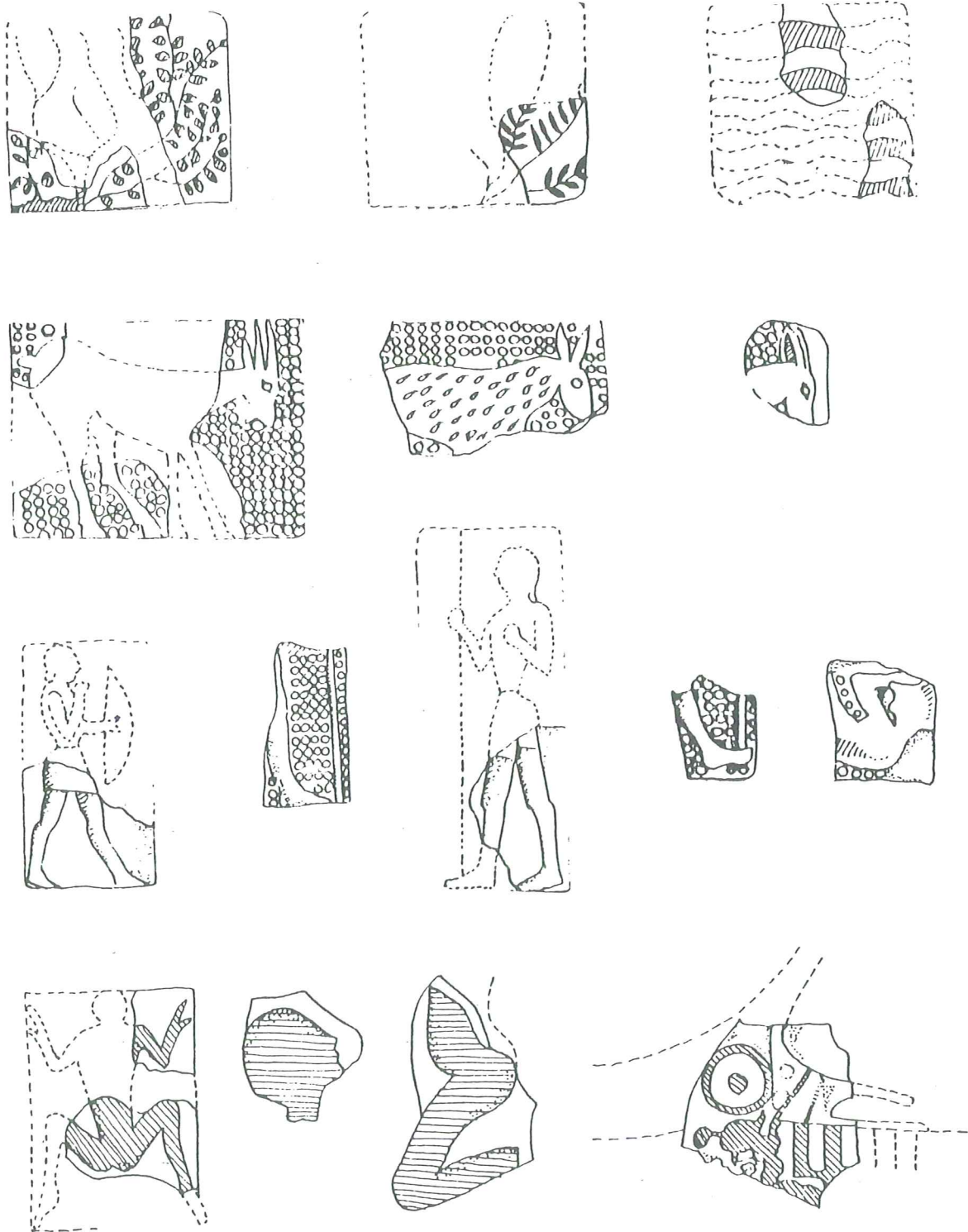


Fig. 21. Plaques of Town Mosaic with landscape, animal, and human figures

scale, suggesting that they were set to indicate rocky terrain according to the Mesopotamian convention, also used on the Mycenae silver Siege rhyton.²⁸

Animal plaques lend support to the idea that part of the setting was pastoral. Although the Cretan goat or agrimi occurs, he stands rather placidly, and donkeys and oxen suggest the farm rather than the wild. Nowhere do we see the flying gallop, and one is reminded of the agricultural scenes of Egyptian painting rather than of the typical Minoan portrayal of nature. In the style of relief, these animal plaques stand closer to the rather flat ceramic appliqués on post-Kamareos pottery, the agrimi from Phaistos or the bull from Arkhanes (see page 34 and Pls. IV and 8), than to the more fully modeled plaques of cow and calf, goat and kids, from the Temple Repositories of the MM IIIB period.²⁹ This comparison also tends to support an early dating for the Town Mosaic.

The overall interpretation of the theme depends upon our understanding of the actions of the human figures, but they are unfortunately fragmentary and few in number (see Fig. 21). More than one race was represented, some pale yellow-skinned and wearing kilts, others grayish black, nude, and perhaps Libyan. Evans believed that a hostile attack on a walled city was depicted, and he compared the theme to that on the Mycenae silver Siege rhyton. Some of the kilted figures were apparently equipped with a spear or a bow, whereas some of the blacks are shown swimming a kind of frog-kick; however, the fragments Evans interpreted as plumed helmets are by no means certain.³⁰ The strongest argument in favor of some kind of an attack rests in the representation of the two racial types and the likely presence of a ship (perhaps a shipwreck with swimmers), features which occur also on the Mycenae rhyton and on the north wall of the miniature fresco from the West House at Thera. Thus, the Town Mosaic is important in providing an earlier example for a kind of "historical" narration, or portrayal of a city and its inhabitants, that we otherwise do not know from Knossos.

In the 1971 excavations of a house on the west side of a triangular court at Akrotiri, Marinatos found two fragments of a fresco in the miniature style (*Thera* v, pl. 97b), which, while provocative (were they parts of ships?), hardly anticipated what was to come the following season. It was then discovered that they were part of a frieze that ran around three, and possibly all four, walls of an upper room (Room 5) in the West House (plan: Fig. 18). At least seven meters of this frieze have been preserved, but that is probably less than half its length, since nothing of the west wall survived the explosive force of the volcano and only a small part of the north and about half the east, whereas the south is more or less complete (*Ak No. 12*).³¹ Within this narrow band, which ranged from about eight to sixteen inches in height (20 to 40–43 cm), the east being narrower, were depicted at least three "towns" (or architectural complexes) and several different landscapes: one pastoral, another tropical or Nilotic, and the third mountainous and wooded. But the scene or scenes serve as background for a marine setting with ships, some twenty in all (Pls. XIV, 25–26). It is these that give unity to the paintings, for one senses that the landscape and its towns is that viewed *from* the ships. Seven are large vessels equipped for rowing or sailing, depending upon wind conditions. They are real seagoing merchantmen or warships, thirty meters or more in length, such as must have conveyed the Minoans in their colonizing and trading ventures (drawing of best preserved, Pl. 26). Most of the others are smaller craft that would have been used nearer shore, but the three

large fragmentary ships of the north wall have conveyed a party of soldiers who have landed and are ready to attack (?) a pastoral village (Pl. 27).³²

More than eighty human figures are represented, ranging from soldiers and sailors, shepherds, goatherds, and fishermen, to guardsmen and retainers of the “palace” (or the large complex at the southwest corner of the south wall: Fig. 34d and Pl. 29). There are also priests, or officials in long robes, in the so-called “Meeting on the Hill” of the north wall (*Thera* VI, pl. 101), which may represent a mountaintop sanctuary.³³ Women occur, but less frequently than in the Knossian miniatures, probably because of the nature of the subject matter. They are seen in the time-honored role of water-carriers, balancing jars on their heads, in the pastoral setting of the north wall (Pl. 27), or as sequestered spectators watching the return of the fleet from roofs, or towers of the grandiose building on the south wall (Pl. 29); once the woman is accompanied by a child (*Thera* VI, pl. 105). Nowhere do they display their feminine costumes and charms as in the Knossian Grandstand fresco, nor do they engage in ritual dancing as in the Sacred Grove or at Tylissos. This seems to be much more a man’s world of adventure and strife.

Animals are sensitively drawn, particularly the oxen, sheep, and goats of the pastoral scene (*Thera* VI, pl. 96), or the tawny lion in flying gallop pursuing a herd of fallow deer through a mountainous forest at the southeast corner of the south wall (*Thera* VI, pl. 94: here Pl. XIV). The fauna of the Nilotic landscape of the east wall seems more conventionalized (Pl. XIV below). For example, the imaginary griffin in flying gallop might be an excerpt from an ivory or inlaid weapon, and the running leopard and fleeing deer create a more decorative than pictorial effect (*Thera* VI, color pl. 8). The ducks are carefully drawn, flying or walking by the riverbank, and seem more real than the other animals in this scene. They owe something perhaps to the ultimately Egyptian background of the theme of the river with its teeming life, which is here transmuted along Minoan lines to a sinuous curving band like that on the inlaid dagger from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae (*M-H, CM*, pl. XXVII, top). Fish are not present in the preserved parts of the fresco, as they are in Egyptian paintings and on the weapon.³⁴ The only other fauna in the Thera miniatures are the large dolphins that follow the fleet on the south wall, cavorting singly and in pairs between the second and the third towns (Pl. XIV). They are painted against a neutral white or pale blue background and create the sense of sea more than any other landscape feature. This is an old Minoan practice that goes back as far as the ivory seal from Platanos (Fig. 9f). To me at least, the presence of dolphins here supports the notion of a sea voyage and some little separation of the two towns depicted on the south wall, whatever the present activities of the fleet may be.

Before considering some of the theories that have been proposed for interpreting the frescoes, we should note how the landscape and the architecture are depicted and how these compare with Minoan renditions. In general, the landscape is suggested by individual features which are fairly carefully detailed without any real attempt to incorporate them into a pictorial whole. This would have been true also of a Minoan painting had we sufficiently well-preserved examples for comparison, and indeed such a system is characteristic of any “primitive” painting before the advent of perspective. One difference from Knossos may, however, be noted. The sky (or background at top) in the Sacred Grove fresco (Pl. 23) was painted

blue, whereas here—and in most of the other Thera paintings—the neutral white of the wall plaster serves both for sky and stretches of sea, against which various “features” are drawn in elevation or profile, be they mountain peak or architecture, ship hull or dolphin. Leaving aside for the moment the east wall with its Nilotic landscape, let us see how the landscape or topographical setting of the other two walls is indicated.

The two disconnected segments of the north wall,³⁵ the “Meeting on the Hill” and the “Shipwreck and Landing Party” (*Thera* VI, col. pl. 7: here Pl. 27 for part of latter), are rather sparse in their introduction of landscape features but manage nonetheless to convey a sense of topography. This is achieved partly by the action of the figures and their dispersal over the frieze rather than being confined to any groundline, but a few key landscape elements are introduced. There are, for example, the colorful rock formations of the hill up which the figures trudge, and the wildly indented shoreline suggesting rocks at the right of the shipwreck fragment. Below them appear the ships, one with broken bowsprit, and the capsized sailors, swimming or drowning with their floating paraphernalia (*Thera* VI, pl. 93). In both cases the neutral white background remains paramount, serving as sky for the meeting and as sea for the shipwreck, with no horizon indicated. The distances, however, in this second fragment are more complicated, with at least three more planes suggested and continuing to the top of the frieze. We have first the sandy shore indicated by a brown curving wash with a small building at the left, past which a youth is walking, and the landing party of soldiers strung out to the right in a slightly ascending direction as if proceeding back into space (Fig. 38a). The second plane features several unconcerned youths, three standing and looking in the opposite direction from the landing party and another squatting, plus two women proceeding to the right with their water jars (Pl. 27). Although all these are aligned with the flat roof of the building, they must obviously be construed as being behind it, or further back in space. This distance is suggested by the association of the girls with the rectangular wellhead and its jars, from which they have just departed. This, then, would be the third and most distant plane: the well, the circular corral with its tree, and the arriving and departing goatherd and shepherd with their flocks, perhaps the upper row of already-watered animals still more distant. With much the same clarity of detail seen in Egyptian paintings with the individual figures strung out paratactically,³⁶ the Aegean artist has nevertheless avoided the confining register system and has created a semblance of convincing, or readable, space.

In the much-better-preserved Ship fresco of the south wall (*Thera* VI, color pl. 9: here Pl. XIV for part), similar methods were used to convey the topographical setting. Once again the sky and large parts of the sea are the neutral white of the wall plaster, but here a mountainous skyline with blue peaks provides the horizon for the land mass on which each town is situated. Against the skyline on the left appear brownish trees with leafy tops of various sizes (oaks or pines?) quite impressionistically drawn, but perhaps more carelessly than one would expect from a Minoan artist. This represents the forest of the mountain—not necessarily *on* its summit—through which the mountain lion pursues the fallow deer (Pl. 28). Both land masses terminate at shoreline in projecting promontories, that at the right much rockier and with an inlet or harbor in which small boats are moored, one being paddled (Pl. 29). The shoreline of the town at the left is marshy with tall brown reeds; two figures walk between these and the large building, which occupies several levels, and they are realistically shown partly obscured

by the reeds (Fig. 34c and Pl. 28). The difference in scale between the smaller detached buildings at the extreme left and the large building in the foreground might be noted. Is it merely a matter of their respective size, or is there a kind of intuitive realization of perspective? One other topographical feature deserves mention. The blue stream that descends from the mountain and joins another that surrounds the main architectural complex, separating it from the houses at the left, is depicted in a bird's-eye or maplike perspective. In this respect it relates to the river of the "Tropical Landscape" shown on the east wall (Pl. XIV).

This Nilotic landscape (*Thera* VI, color pl. 8) is both more conventionalized topographically and yet more sensitive in its portrayal of individual plants. The river flows as a winding blue ribbon seen from above, edged on both sides by a brown sandy bank, while the palm trees and other plants grow upward, rooted on the far bank or from the irregular rock formations at the bottom of the frieze. Colorful egg-shaped rocks, the so-called "Easter eggs," that are to characterize later paintings even down to the Mycenaean palace at Pylos (see chapter 6) are scattered about by the riverbank and in the foreground. The background once again is white. The plants consist primarily of palm trees and palmettos, which create a generally Nilotic effect, enhanced also by several blue papyrus, but there are also a number of finely drawn brown plants that resemble Minoan reeds and vetches. In fact, it is a Nile landscape rendered in Aegean terms, by someone who has doubtless never seen the Nile.³⁷ Worth noting is the spatially convincing group of two large palm trees that grow from the bottom of the frieze, their trunks cutting across the river and their leafy fronds drooping diagonally from the top of the frieze. Once again, as in the houses of the south wall, there seems to be an intuitive realization of perspective, that nearer objects are larger.

The architecture of the frieze gives a generally Minoan appearance, especially in the large building at the extreme right of the south wall (the "third town," Pl. 29 and Fig. 34d). It has horns of consecration and great stretches of ashlar masonry that suggest a high bastion or wall.³⁸ However, most of the architecture shown in the painting is closer to the buildings of the Town Mosaic (Fig. 34a) (or rather it seems a kind of piling up of such house facades) than to the architecture of the Knossian miniature paintings, for example, the Grandstand fresco (Fig. 34e) and related fragments. But the latter most probably depicted *interior* rather than exterior facades, which may have been starker and more like the Thera paintings. At any rate, the flat roofs and terraces at different heights, three or more stories, windows of varying sizes, ashlar masonry combined with wooden framing, the beam-end frieze and horns of consecration all suggest Minoan architectural influence, although nowhere do we see the Minoan column, or the usual triglyph and half-rosette frieze as found at Knossos.³⁹ But it is doubtful if any of these would have been visible on the exterior of a Cretan building. However, the actual architecture of the town of Akrotiri is remarkably devoid of columns, and purely Minoan features such as the pier-and-door arrangement or the lustral basin have as yet been found in only a few cases.⁴⁰ One wonders whether the architecture of the frieze is not that of the town itself rendered according to Minoan painting conventions, but an answer depends upon the interpretation of the frescoes.

From their very first discovery, followed by Marinatos's prompt preliminary publication and the display of the frieze in the Thera room of the National Museum in Athens,⁴¹ the paintings have called forth theories, but no unanimity, as to where the actions are taking place,

who the people are, and exactly what maneuver the fleet is engaged in. Clearly these paintings are the most descriptive and detailed of any Aegean works yet discovered, and they provide answers to many previously unresolved problems, such as the exact form of the Aegean ship, which end was bow and which stern. They also suggest connections which had previously only been guessed at, for instance, that the Mycenae Siege rhyton had its origin in some lost miniature paintings.⁴² However, the seeming verisimilitude of details which suggests a narrative content with *specific* identifications may be misleading, for many features should be attributed to pervading Aegean conventions. Thus, it seems to me unlikely that an expedition to Libya is being represented, as Marinatos and several others have thought,⁴³ and almost as unlikely that *specific* towns in the Aegean should be sought through the topographical indications of promontories and peaks, harbors and shoals.⁴⁴

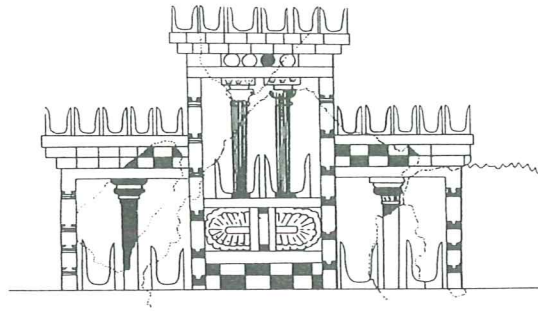
It is clear, however, that the paintings illustrate and emphasize the importance of seafaring in the Aegean Bronze Age and show the types of ships used, and the presence of soldiers as well as sailors aboard. They also hint at the establishment of colonies or settlements on distant shores and allude to the danger implicit in such undertakings. This is suggested by the shipwreck scene and the landing party of the north wall (Pl. 27), themes also found on the Mycenae Siege rhyton. Geographic distance was perhaps created by the Nilotic landscape of the east wall that intervenes before the joyous return of the fleet on the south wall. Such an interpretation, however, is dependent upon the order in which we read the walls, and in the absence of any part of the west and the destruction of half the north we cannot be certain.⁴⁵

Is the south wall the return of the fleet or the beginning of the sailing season, as has been suggested? Several scholars have pointed out that this is no ordinary return of a fleet, but rather a nautical festival with religious implications.⁴⁶ The ships are being paddled rather than rowed, they have their landing platforms (*holkeia*) attached (Pl. 26), and one ship, probably the admiral's, is decked out in full colors (Pl. 25). Furthermore, all the ships have decorated hulls, ornaments on the bowsprit, and devices that look like animal mascots (lion, griffin) at their sterns. None of these features is found on the ships of the north wall, which have clearly been out on an expedition and have even met with some calamity (Pl. 27). Thus, a festival seems assured for the south wall. But could it not represent a celebration *after* a safe return, perhaps from a distant voyage, this idea conveyed by the events of the north wall and the passage of the east wall? It is unlikely that we will ever know the specifics as to time and place, for despite their seeming actuality the paintings have an epic or formulaic quality that defies exact interpretation.⁴⁷

Nonetheless, the pervading nautical theme of the frieze is clear and may have something to do with the building where it was found. Marinatos thought that the West House belonged to a ship captain, possibly the admiral of the ship in full colors represented in the fresco.⁴⁸ But it has also been proposed that the building had a religious function connected with seafaring, which must have been the most important enterprise for an island community like Akrotiri.⁴⁹ Certainly the miniature frieze must be read with the other paintings of the house—the two Fishermen (Ak No. 11: Pl. IX) with their gigantic catches that are being presented like votive offerings, the Priestess with her incense burner (Ak No. 8: Pl. 21), whose activity has been compared to the Egyptian ritual of preparing a ship for a voyage,⁵⁰ and the *ikria*, or portable cabins, that decorated the adjacent Room 4 (Ak No. 9: Pl. XV; see page 140). These are the

lifesize counterparts of those depicted in the Ship fresco within which the admiral and the captains sit. Is it accidental that there are seven ships in the festival painting and apparently seven cabins in Room 4?⁵¹ This coincidence might suggest that the West House was the place where the participants for a nautical ritual gathered.

One last question involves the nationalities of the peoples represented in the miniature frescoes, as well as that of the owner of the West House. Were they the local Cycladic islanders, Minoan colonists, or Mycenaean mainlanders, or is there something of all three present? I have suggested elsewhere that the owner/admiral may have been a Mycenaean and that Mycenaeans seem to have been present on the ships as the soldiers seated under the awnings (Pl. 26), as well as in the landing party of the north wall (Fig. 38a).⁵² Certainly their tunics, weapons, and defensive armor, including a number of examples of the boar's-tusk helmet, foreshadow what is to be characteristically Mycenaean in the later paintings of the Greek mainland. Perhaps, however, we should consider them part of the fundamentally Aegean amalgam represented in the paintings, and presumably also at Akrotiri itself, an amalgam of Cycladic islanders, Minoans, and Mycenaeans. Whatever the ethnic origins of the individuals depicted, the underlying artistic style of the paintings was Minoan, even if transformed along Cycladic or "provincial" lines. Without the development of the miniature style of painting in Crete, it is highly unlikely that these paintings could have come about. At the same time, as has been pointed out,⁵³ the mixed culture of Akrotiri, where Mycenaeans were certainly one component, may have led to the development of the Mycenaean style of wall painting, about which very little is known of its formative stage. The miniature frescoes from Ayia Irini on Keos, which are apparently a little later than the Thera, take us a step further in the creation of the Mycenaean style (see pages 82 and 83).



5 LATER MINOAN PAINTING AND THE FORMATION OF THE MYCENAEAN STYLE

The period between the eruption of Thera and the destruction of the Palace at Knossos is undoubtedly the most complex and controversial period of Aegean history. Within this period of a hundred or more years Mycenaean mainlanders were increasing their importance in the Aegean world, and by the end of the period the earliest Mycenaean style of painting had come into existence. The real difficulties involve divisions within this period and especially its terminal date. Current scholarship not only downdates the destruction of Evans's Late Minoan palace (now often referred to as the "penultimate" palace) to sometime in the second quarter of the fourteenth century B.C., but views its subsequent reconstruction as something far more important than "squatter reoccupation." Many would now assign the bureaucratic administration of Mycenaean Greeks with the Linear B archives to this Postpalatial or final period.¹

These uncertainties cannot be resolved within the compass of this book, and my aim will be to present the paintings in as coherent a stylistic sequence as possible without contradiction to the stratigraphy wherever available. The first section deals with frescoes from sites in Crete and the Cyclades that were destroyed at the end of LM IB (about 1450 B.C.) by fire or earthquake, apparently unconnected with the eruption of the Thera volcano about fifty years earlier (see chapter 1, pages 8–9).² The second section concerns the later paintings from the Palace at Knossos, those that are clearly post-Theran in style, for the palace continued into the

LM II phase and somewhat beyond into LM IIIA. This period saw the introduction of many new features—the formal Palace-style vases, warrior tombs with a full complement of weapons, alterations to the Throne Room and to other parts of the palace, and most likely the creation of the Linear B script, now recognized as an early form of Greek. These features have parallels on the Greek mainland and suggest that Mycenaean were now in control of Knossos and were perhaps the agents of destruction at other Cretan sites. Controversial, however, is the relation of the Linear B archives to this palace or to a subsequent phase of occupation. This controversy has brought into question the archaeological record of Evans's excavations and has raised the possibility of downdating the frescoes and the date of the final destruction.³ The third section deals with the later paintings from Ayia Triadha, the sarcophagus and similar frescoes, which must be contemporary, or just subsequent to, the later Knossian paintings.

I. Crete and Keos Before the Disasters of 1450 B.C.

The villa at Ayia Triadha with its important paintings in Room 14 was destroyed by fire at the end of LM IB, and a contemporary conflagration destroyed House A at Tylissos, the villa at Amnisos, the town on the island of Pseira, as well as other towns and palace sites in eastern and southern Crete (Gournia, Palaikastro, Zakros, Phaistos, with damage at Kommos) (see map, Fig. 2). Not all these sites have yielded significant figural frescoes, but those from the first four (the nature and women frescoes from Ayia Triadha and Amnisos, the stucco reliefs of seated women from Pseira, and the miniature frescoes from Tylissos) have so much more in common with the LM IA paintings of chapter 4 that they were discussed there (see pages 54 and 62 above and Pls. 17–18). Indeed, as Cameron also has suggested, it seems likely that they antedate by some years the actual destruction date of the buildings they adorned.¹

For the LM IB period itself the great interest in scenes of nature appears to have been on the wane. At least there are no preserved wall decorations like the Spring fresco from Akrotiri (Pl. VII) or those in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (Fig. 16), unless the paintings from Amnisos and the Villa at Ayia Triadha are assigned to this later period. More characteristic of LM IB seems a decorative excerpting from the earlier style, with which the creation of the Marine style of pottery might be compared. A good example in wall painting is the narrow frieze with partridges and hoopoes (Kn No. 20, Pl. 30) from the Caravanserai at Knossos (plan, Fig. 15).² It ran as a band about 28 centimeters high at the top of the three enclosed walls of a room Evans considered the dining room of the inn. The rest of the wall surface was decorated with a pseudo-architecture—yellow ochre “pillars” with red bases and blue capitals

against a white ground supporting a yellow-ochre “architrave” (probably covering the real beam) that ran above the door and under the frieze (see Evans’s reconstruction, *PM* II, 1, 108, fig. 49). This architectural setting emphasized the function of the painting as an ornamental frieze and lessened any religious or narrative implication. There is a kind of secular opulence in the plump partridges, eminently suitable for a dining hall, yet the elements of the painting are closely related to LM IA nature paintings but are more formalized. The rocky setting with uneven groundline and striped “Easter egg” pebbles recalls both the paintings from the House of the Frescoes and the Nilotic scene from the West House (Pl. XIV, bottom), but unlike the naturalistically veined rocks in the former, here the alternations of color follow the contours and indeed suggest the winding river motif as shown at Thera.³ However, if there has been a contamination of the two, these “streams” function like rocks, some pendant from the upper border and others enclosing the birds in little groups; they also form the basis for the alternation of the background color from white to black, which led to Evans’s suggestion that the latter might represent a cave mouth against which the partridges are viewed. But such an enclosed area is better seen as an old Minoan convention that can be traced back into the Kamares period, as on the jar with goat appliqué from Phaistos (Pl. IV).⁴ In contrast to the wealth of flora in the House of the Frescoes, only two types of foliage occur here: stiff myrtle shoots and a bush that recalls the Cretan dittany, on which the hoopoes alight. The general effect here is remarkably similar to the hoopoe and other birds shown on an acacia bush from the Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Beni Hasan in Egypt, discussed above in connection with the Mallia reliefs (pages 35–37 and Pls. 5–7). If there has been Egyptian influence, it may well have come in at an earlier time.

The closest parallel to the Caravanserai frieze is the Bluebird frieze from **House A at Ayia Irini on Keos (A.I. No. 1, Fig. 22)**. This town (Fig. 24), only recently excavated and still in the process of publication, suffered a severe earthquake at a time when LM IB pottery was being imported.⁵ The frescoes here and elsewhere at the site belong to the pre-earthquake stratum, which would make the Bluebird frieze contemporary with the paintings from the Caravanserai. However, the Keian example, preserved only in fragments, shows a number of features that suggest Cycladic simplification in the direction of the later Mycenaean style. Although the birds are similar to the “bluebirds” or rock doves from the House of the Frescoes (Fig. 16) and are shown in a variety of poses, they stand against a neutral yellow-ochre background on an uneven sandy ground created by red stippling against white hillocks, and there does not seem to have been any foliage interspersed between the birds. Now believed to have been at least twenty-two in number, they were shown in a variety of poses with some overlapping.⁶ The idea of a bluebird frieze survived into Mycenaean times, as shown by fragments from Pylos (see pages 141, 167, and Pl. 81), where there was further conventionalization and the repetition of a single pose for the birds. This coincidence lends support to the role of the Cyclades in the transmission of Minoan motifs to the mainland.⁷

Also from Ayia Irini was a Dolphin fresco (A.I. No. 2, Fig. 23) found in Area J and also dating to the pre-earthquake period.⁸ Six to nine large dolphins painted in light yellow-ochre, blue, or pink with a contrasting horizontal line of color along the body were shown against an unpainted white field, with apparently no rocks, bubbles, or spray as in the earlier Flying Fish



Fig. 22. Reconstruction of Bluebird frieze, Ayia Irini

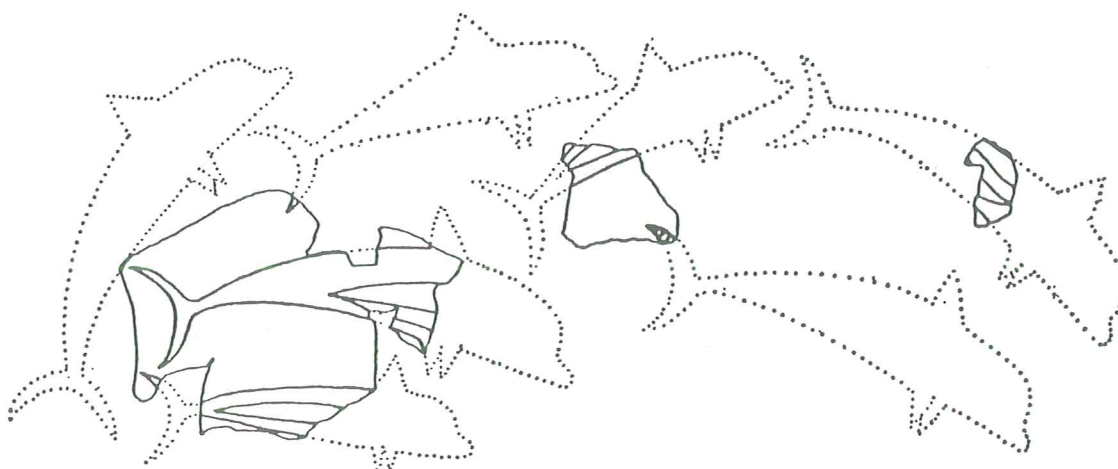


Fig. 23. Reconstruction of Dolphin fresco, Ayia Irini

from Phylakopi (Pl. 16) or the Dolphin fresco from the Queen's Megaron (Pl. 31).⁹ The decorative coloring of the dolphins in the Keian example reminds one of the Thera paintings, for in the miniature frieze and on the plastered table of offerings from the West House (Pls. V and XIV) the dolphins display wavy bands of red, yellow, white, and gray-blue arranged in varied and quite arbitrary sequence.

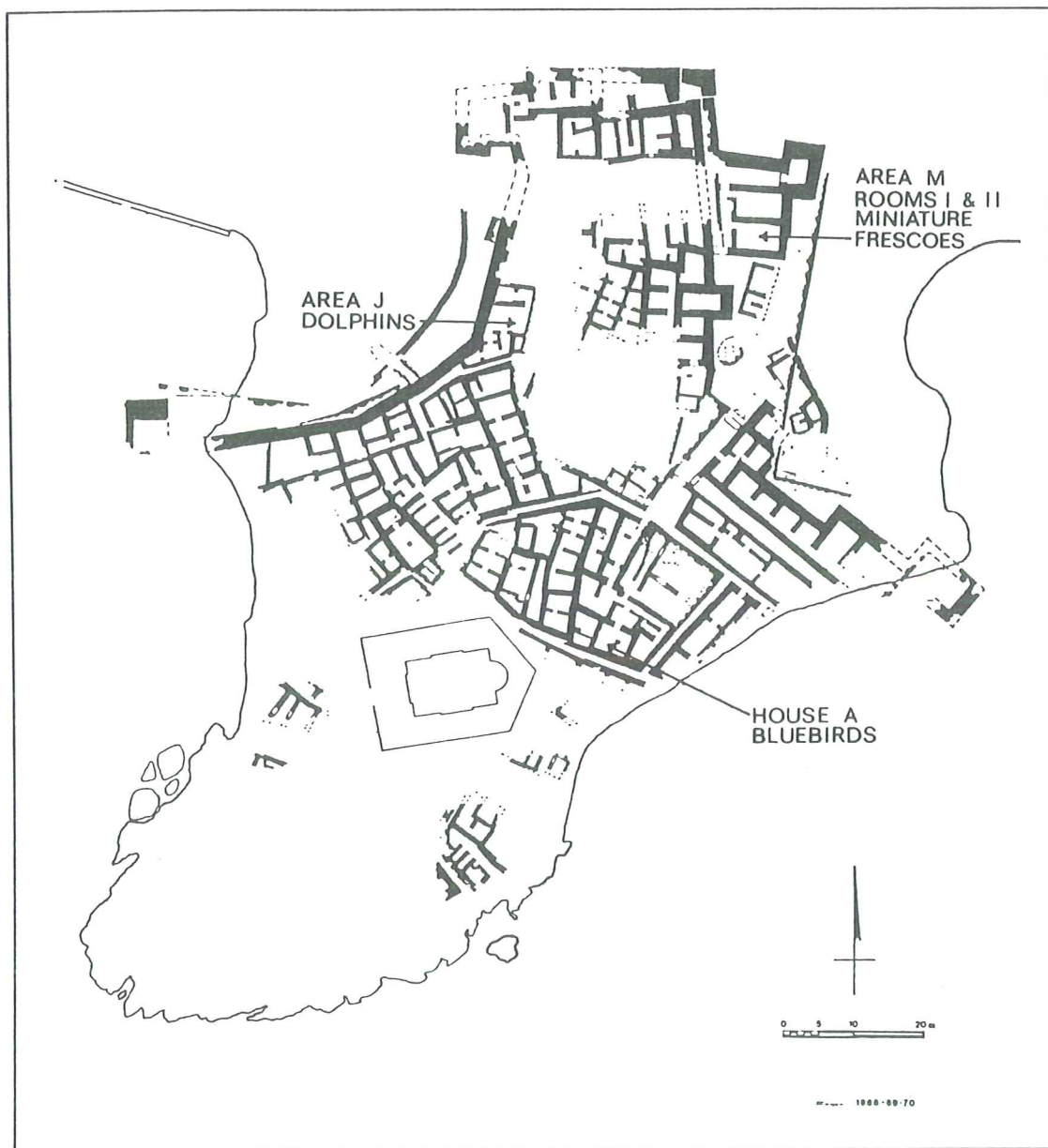


Fig. 24. Plan of town of Ayia Irini showing location of major frescoes

From Area M, Rooms I and II (see plan, Fig. 24), the same area that produced fragments of an important miniature fresco, came some floral paintings, which also show the gradual deterioration of the Minoan naturalistic style (A.I. No. 3).¹⁰ One shows marsh grasses and bushes on a small scale and is possibly to be associated with the miniature paintings, but the other type, on a larger scale, features two kinds of plants, intertwined and overlapping,

probably arranged in panels. These consisted of myrtle shoots with red stalks and ochre leaves overlapped by “brambles” with thick thorny red stalks and trefoil clusters of serrated leaves in yellow-ochre or light blue against a neutral cream ground. Although there is an overall freedom in arrangement reminiscent of the plants from the House of the Frescoes, the colors are dull and their usage quite arbitrary, unlike the clear blue and olive green of the ivy at the Knossos villa (see pages 44–45) suggesting filtered sunlight, or the green, red, and black of some olive foliage from the Palace (*PM* I, fig. 389 = *KFA*, pl. D, fig. 2) that gives the effect of “seasonal variations” or perhaps the way the wind exposes the underside of some leaves. In any event, the effect at Knossos is of the foliage of a living plant or tree rather than a conventionalized alternation of color.

Although the main period for miniature frescoes seems to have fallen in the preceding period, as shown by the frieze from the West House at Akrotiri, the existence of an important but more fragmentary example from the earthquake stratum at Ayia Irini suggests that the style may well have continued into the mid-fifteenth century. The fragments had fallen into basement rooms of the northeast bastion (Area M) of the fortification wall of the town (*A.I. No. 4*; see also plan, Fig. 24).¹¹ While badly preserved and representing only a fraction of the original composition, they are important in showing affinities with both Minoan (especially Tyliisos) and Cycladic miniature paintings, and at the same time in anticipating later Mycenaean painting in a number of iconographic features. Although the paintings have been carefully described in a preliminary publication, there are still many unanswered questions, which it is to be hoped the final publication will resolve.¹² One wonders whether it is the closer proximity of Keos to the Greek mainland that accounts for a more typical Mycenaean iconography, or whether Mycenaean may have been present in some quantity in the town, perhaps as the garrison of the barracks adorned by the paintings. One wonders also whether there may have been an equivalent style of painting on the mainland which has not survived. The frescoes are considered by Abramovitz as essentially Cycladic, but with a specifically local flavor that distinguishes them from the Thera miniatures.

The painting, probably a frieze along an interior wall above Rooms I and II, seems to have depicted a number of episodes—a dance, procession, hunt, preparations for a feast—in a single composition. These depictions were apparently scattered over the surface and were presented as separate episodes, as has been restored also for the Tyliisos paintings.¹³ The Knossian miniatures, the Grandstand and the Sacred Grove, and to a lesser extent the Ship fresco from Akrotiri, give a more unified effect, but in the latter case this was perhaps due to its better preservation. Landscape at Ayia Irini was apparently minimal, but perhaps more than at first recognized: some marsh reeds, blue at the bottom of the composition, suggesting water, and behind some of the architectural facades (sky?) (*Hesperia* 49 [1980], pl. 3, no. 38: here Fig. 34b center). Other buildings, however, are shown against a tan background (*Hesperia*, pl. 3, nos. 37, 48), the combination suggesting the representation of a hillside town. The same tan (earth?) occurs behind the deer and dogs of the hunt (*Hesperia*, pl. 6, nos. 106, 111–13: here Pl. 35), and there are some rock formations, but in general the landscape is sparser than at Thera, and trees are practically absent. Furthermore, at Thera a neutral white background throughout served both for sky and large portions of the sea, against which the

rock formations and architectural facades were projected. Also the rather dirty ochre of the Keian background seems not to have been a part of the Theran palette, but recurs in some later Mycenaean paintings (see page 99).

The use of architectural facades apparently derives from Minoan, but as at Thera these are simplified in comparison with the Knossian, and perhaps exemplify local architectural practices, for example, in the use of conical white crenellations on the roofs or towers at Ayia Irini (*Hesperia*, pl. 3, nos. 37, 38, 43, 48; see Figs. 34b, page 126), which are found nowhere else.¹⁴ Women are shown in windows or doorways (Pl. 32) wearing Minoan costume and coiffure, but simplified as in the Theran miniatures. Other details also point to connections with the frieze from the West House at Akrotiri. One notes a similar interest in depicting genre activities, for example, the woman in the doorway balancing a basket on her head (Pl. 32 left), who may be compared to the women with their water jars from the north wall (Pl. 27), the man with the “venison” slung from a pole (*Hesperia*, pl. 5, no. 83), or the tripod-tenders (*Hesperia*, pl. 6, no. 90), who recall some of the little figures engaged in daily-life activities from the “third town” of the south wall (Pl. 29). As has been pointed out, these paintings are perhaps “portraits” of their respective towns. In the Keian paintings at least one ship was represented, also decorated with dolphin ensigns on the hull (*Hesperia*, pl. 6, nos. 96–98); this may have been a Cycladic type and was certainly appropriate to an island town.

On the other hand, certain iconographic details have not been seen in earlier Aegean painting and anticipate themes that were to become popular in Mycenaean frescoes. One scene shows hunters in short tunics armed with spears, while fallow deer and stags are pursued by white dogs (*Hesperia*, pl. 5, nos. 83–88 for hunters; pl. 6, nos. 106, 111–13 for deer and dogs: here Pl. 35). Horses and a chariot are indicated by a few fragments (*Hesperia*, pl. 7, nos. 114–21), which, however small, confirm the typical four-spoked chariot wheel and the overlapping of animals distinguished by color, here black and white, of the typical Mycenaean two-horse chariot.¹⁵ Single horses also occurred, probably part of a procession with himation-clad men bearing offerings, sometimes suspended from poles (*Hesperia*, pl. 4, nos. 66–72). Festal dancing was also represented with men and women, two of the latter dressed in fleece skirts (Pl. 33), which suggest Minoan ritual connections.¹⁶ However, the general impression of the costumes, particularly for the men, is more Mycenaean than Minoan, for none of the male figures wears the typical Minoan loincloth and tight belt, although these occur in the Theran miniatures.¹⁷ Here they wear either the short tunic or long himation, or occasionally a short kilt or drawers, as in the tripod-tenders (*Hesperia*, pl. 6, no. 90).¹⁸

The overriding impression of the miniature paintings from Ayia Irini is one of Minoan technique and general style transformed by Cycladic painters who were acquainted with Mycenaean mainlanders and perhaps were even painting for them. The differences between the Theran and Keian miniatures seem the result of both chronology and geography, the Keian being somewhat later and the island much closer to the mainland. One awaits the full publication of the site and its frescoes to establish their date and composition more precisely.

II. The Later Palace at Knossos and Its Paintings

At Knossos, unlike Ayia Triadha and most other Cretan sites, there is no such clear demarcation as the LM IB disaster, for the palace continued without a real break into the fourteenth century. It is thus difficult to distinguish between decoration that may have been put on the walls as early as LM I and that added comparatively later in the history of the LM II/IIIA palace. A review of the findspots (see plan, Fig. 25) and the condition of the fragments ought to be of help, but there are certain difficulties in interpreting the evidence.

Parts of some paintings were still in place on the walls when excavated by Evans: the feet of the figures from the Corridor of the Procession (Kn No. 22), parts of the griffins from the Throne Room (Kn No. 28), a large bull painting from the West Porch (Kn No. 29), and another from the anteroom of the Throne Room (Kn No. 30). Other pieces were found above late material, for example, the stucco reliefs of charging bulls from the North Entrance (Kn No. 21), a circumstance which led Evans to conjecture that they had remained in place until after the arrival of the Greeks, thus giving rise to the legend of the Minotaur.¹ Others seem to have fallen from upper rooms into contexts that are considerably later than the date to which they would be assigned on the basis of style. This is true for the Taureador panels (Kn No. 23), found in debris in the so-called School Room (or Court of the Stone Spout), which had undergone repairs in LM IIIB. On the other hand, some which seem stylistically late were found *under* the latest floor level, as was the case with the so-called "Palanquin" fresco associated now with a newly discovered chariot composition (Kn No. 25).² Many were found without context in "fresco heaps," having been stripped from the walls at some time of repair or redecoration. One of these, the northwest fresco heap, or "threshing floor" area (Fig. 25, No. 7), contained mostly earlier material, such as fragments of lifesize women and miniature pieces associated with the Grandstand and Sacred Grove paintings (see pages 64–66). On the other hand, the dump outside the west wall of the palace opposite Magazines 11–13, with fragments of the "Campstool" fresco (Kn No. 26), must have been formed comparatively late, when material from some upper room tumbled during its destruction.³

Curiously, there is little evidence for burning on fragments found in floor deposits or fresco heaps, but others that remained in place, either wholly or in part, like the processional figures, show strong blackening from fire (Pl. 39). This might seem to indicate that the catastrophic fire postdated the fragments stripped from the walls or incorporated into later walls and floors, but it need not have been as late as 1200 B.C., the date Palmer proposed for the conflagration that baked the tablets. Indeed, whatever consensus scholarly opinion arrives at in dating the tablets need not effect the date when the frescoes *were painted*. Stylistically, they cannot possibly be assigned to the late thirteenth century, even if some of them remained on the walls until that late date. Clearly the palace suffered a major catastrophe at the end of LM II (now downdated to LM IIIA2 or the second quarter of the fourteenth century), and it seems likely that this is the chronological horizon to which the latest frescoes should be

assigned, with perhaps some minor late redecoration of certain rooms in the period Evans called "squatter reoccupation."⁴

The above discussion should highlight the inherent difficulties in arranging the Knossos frescoes chronologically on the basis of their stratigraphy. The following presentation will stress stylistic criteria relative to fixed points in time, namely, to material that precedes the Thera catastrophe and to the later material from the Mycenaean mainland palaces, while at the same time attempting to take cognizance of the archaeological record at Knossos.

The Paintings of the Entrance Systems

I shall begin with those works which are thoroughly Minoan in style and have some precedent in the earlier paintings. These consist of the two monumental works connected with the entrance systems of the later palace (see plan, Fig. 25), the North Entrance, with its stucco reliefs of charging bulls, and the Corridor of the Procession, beginning at the West Portico. Although apparently on the walls at the time of the destruction of the palace, they have stylistic affinities with earlier works and may have had a considerable lifetime.

The reliefs from the North Entrance (**Kn No. 21**) consist of the well-known lowered head of a red lifesize charging bull (Pl. 37), numerous fragments of his piebald body, fragments of a second bull, a female lower leg under stress, and pieces of the background, which contained one or more olive trees with foliage modeled in relief, parts of a pebbly foreground, and a background that was blue above, red below, separated by curvilinear raised bands (Pl. 36: restoration at site).⁵ These pieces, found in upper strata connected with the collapse of the west colonnade, or "loggia," were restored by Evans on its back wall in a composition that featured charging bulls pursued by a "cowgirl" in an outdoor setting like that of the Vaphio cup with the capture of wild bulls (*M-H, CM*, pls. 178–81). The few fragments from the east bastion he interpreted as a companion composition echoed in the second Vaphio cup, with scenes of the capture of a domesticated bull by means of a decoy cow (*M-H, CM*, pls. 182–85). Since he considered the stucco reliefs the prototypes for the Vaphio cup decorations, he placed them earlier than the archaeological context of the cups, which is Late Helladic II or contemporary with LM IB.⁶ In fact, he dated the reliefs to MM IIIB or LM IA, but they would hardly have survived intact the earthquakes of those periods, and it seems more likely that they themselves were based on earlier compositions, for example, the reliefs of bulls and acrobats from the East Hall. A detailed stylistic analysis of the type of relief in the two series has shown that the fragments from the East Hall are more subtly modeled and pictorial in their effect, like the faience plaques from the Temple Repositories of MM IIIA/B (*M-H, CM*, pl. 71), whereas those from the North Entrance are bolder and higher, but more simplified and with features such as the arcaded rockwork at the bottom that compare with works of LM IB to II. For these reasons they should probably be placed at the end of a series, with earlier

THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS

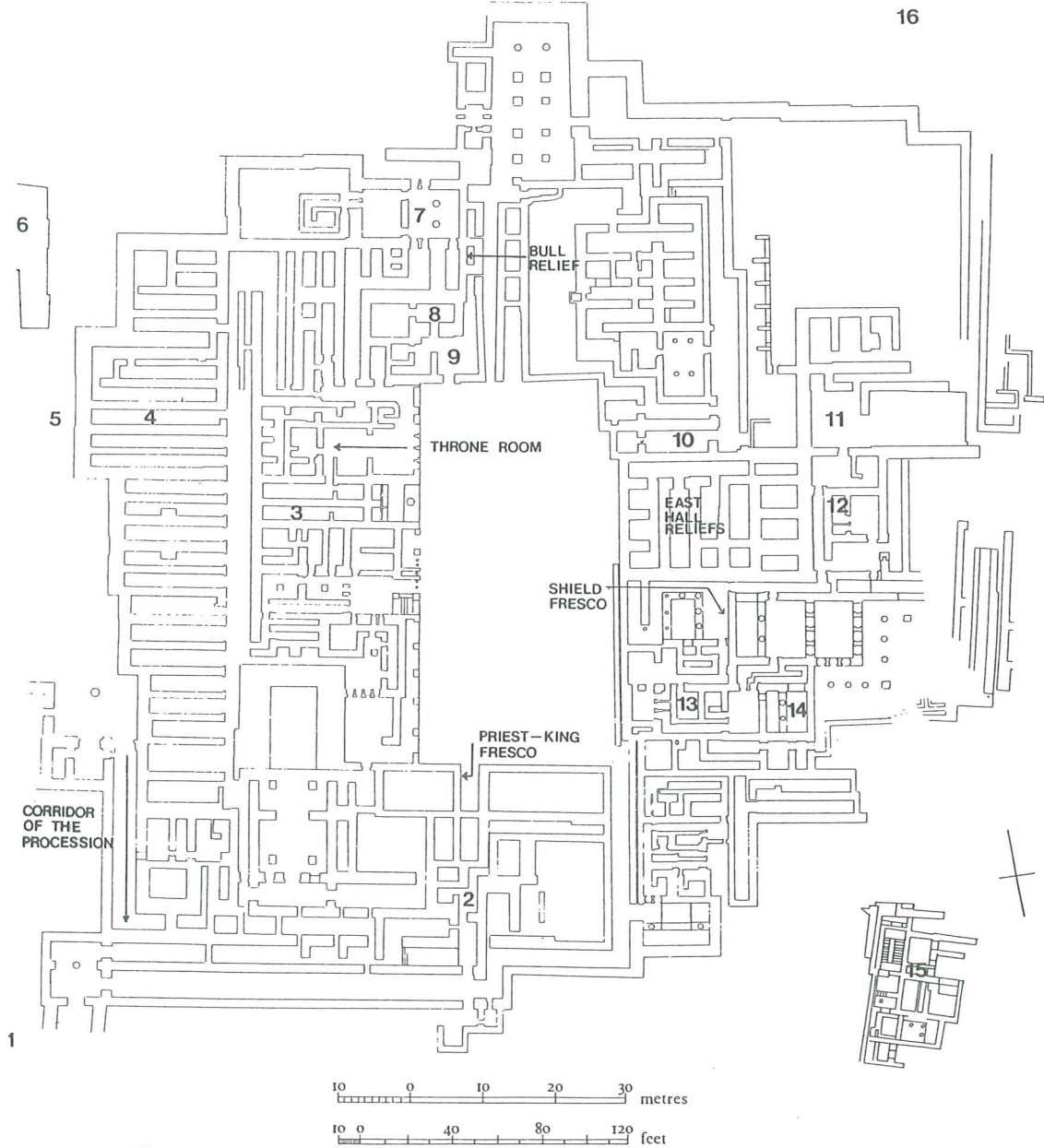


Fig. 25. Plan of Palace at Knossos showing location of major frescoes and deposits of fragments

1. Basement west of Stepped Portico: Flowering Olive
2. Room of the Clay Matrix: "Palanquin" fresco (Kn No. 25)
3. Magazine of the Vase Tablets: "Jewel" fresco (Kn No. 9)
4. Thirteenth Magazine: miniature frescoes (Kn No. 18)
5. West Facade: "Campstool" fresco (Kn No. 26)
6. Northwest Treasury: Bull-grappling fresco (Kn No. 31)
7. Northwest fresco heap (Kn Nos. 14, 19)
8. Room of the Saffron-Gatherer (Kn No. 1)
9. Room of the Spiral Cornice: miniature frescoes (Kn Nos. 15, 16, 17, 38)
10. "Ladies in Blue" (Kn No. 11)
11. Court of the Stone Spout: Taureador panels (Kn No. 23)
12. Lapidary's Workshop: part of "Palanquin"-Chariot fresco (Kn No. 25)
13. Ivory deposit
14. Light area east of Queen's Megaron: "Dancing Girl" and Dolphin fresco (?) (Kn Nos. 24, 6)
15. Southeast House: nature frescoes (Kn No. 5)
16. Chamber northeast of excavated area

Note also the following: "Priest-King" (Kn No. 7), East Hall reliefs (Kn No. 8), North Entrance bull reliefs (Kn No. 21), Corridor of the Procession (Kn No. 22), Throne room (Kn No. 28), Shield fresco (Kn No. 33)

examples being the inspiration for the reliefs on the Vaphio cups.⁷ However, even if the bull reliefs of the North Entrance are as late as LM II and the Mycenaean occupation of the palace, they are thoroughly Minoan in conception and basic style with earlier antecedents.⁸

Likewise the other late monumental entrance decoration in the Corridor of the Procession seems to have been based on earlier prototypes (see pages 53 and 174), although they are less easily documented. This program (Kn No. 22), featuring a procession of male offering-bearers and some female figures, began at the West Porch and followed the corridor that ran south and then turned east and finally north to pass through the South Propylaeum (where the well-known Cupbearer was found) and presumably on to the reception rooms of the *piano nobile* (see plan, Fig. 25). As a major entrance from the New Palace period on, it had perhaps been decorated at an earlier stage with lifesize seated women above gypsum orthostates, which were later stuccoed over when the corridor was decorated with the lifesize processional figures, fragments of which were still adhering to the east wall south of the porch at the time of excavation. Blackened by fire, these showed only the lower parts of the figures, primarily their feet, but furnished valuable information as to the number and direction of the figures, whether male or female and whether clothed in long tunics or short kilts (Pl. 40).⁹

On the basis of the well-preserved Cupbearer (Pl. 38), found in rubble debris beside the west wall of the South Propylaeum, and fragments of two youths found lying face down in the corridor (*PM* II, 2, 723, fig. 450, nos. 21–22: here Pl. 39), the general scheme for the male figures is assured. They were clean-shaven with long flowing dark locks, and their skin tone was a deep red, as in the earlier Fisherman from Thera (Pl. IX). However, they were shown more strictly in profile view, nude to the waist and wearing tight belts (presumably of metal) and patterned kilts that descended in a point in front, sometimes weighted with beaded tassels. Their bearing is that of courtiers, and their bodies were adorned with jewelry—blue armlets and anklets (probably of silver), possibly a silver earplate on the cupbearer,¹⁰ who provides the only preserved head. He also wears a lentoid seal of beaded agate on his left wrist. Their feet were unshod. Each figure apparently carried an offering, although only two are preserved: a large conical rhyton probably of silver inlaid with gold carried by the Cupbearer and a white flaring ribbed vase with blue base borne by a youth from the corridor (Evans's Group C, no. 20). This was perhaps of alabaster with silver fittings. A fragment found to the north of the palace showing a variegated stone vase held by a pair of male arms (*PM* II, 2, 724, fig. 451) was associated by Evans with this composition.

The Cupbearer and the small remnant of a figure in front of him both face left as if moving out from the South Propylaeum, but the general movement of the procession from the West Porch is inward. However, the fragments of feet and the lower part of figures preserved from the east wall of the corridor show that the composition was far more complicated than the simple repetition of single male figures each bearing an offering. From these remains Evans restored three groups of figures (*PM* II, 2, 723, fig. 450: cf. Pl. 40 with slightly different arrangement), beginning at the left or north end of the corridor just beyond the West Porch. They proceeded in a direction that is basically toward the right, with a few figures facing in the opposite direction. The composition consisted primarily of male figures in long robes or in kilts (presumed from their bare legs) arranged in overlapping pairs until the offering-bearers began (Nos. 19–22), but there were at least two female figures (Nos. 7 and 14), one in a

flounced skirt (priestess?), the other with only the patterned border of her skirt and her white feet to the right preserved. There is little justification for Evans's restoration of this figure (No. 14) in frontal pose as a goddess holding aloft double axes. She also may well have been a priestess, although the confrontation of figures Nos. 15–18 gives her special importance. The resemblance of the long robes with borders and central stripes to that worn by the lyre-player on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (Pl. 50; see below) is striking and suggests their ritual function, but the overlapping of the figures here leaves little room for the musical instruments restored by Evans.¹¹

The background behind the figures consisted of a wavy-edged blue band at waist level, framed by narrow white and black bands, with the ground color yellow below and white above, a treatment that is closely related to that on some of the earlier Mycenaean processional frescoes (see pages 115–17). The figures all stand in bare feet on a narrow black band at floor level with no indication of setting, although above the head of the Cupbearer are remnants of a patch of descending rockwork somewhat like that in the Caravanserai fresco (Pl. 30) but also found in some Mycenaean frescoes and on a number of the earlier pictorial-style vases (Pl. 46).

On the basis of the remains of these twenty-four figures (twenty-two in the corridor and two in the South Propylaeum), Evans conjectured a vast composition of more than five hundred figures arranged in a double-tiered procession on both sides of the corridor and the Propylaeum.¹² While there is no evidence for the use of a register system here, it did occur in the Campstool fresco (see below). Furthermore, the figures in the Procession fresco, although lifesize (1.75m or about 5 feet 8 inches), were placed at ground level and would not have covered the height of the walls of the South Propylaeum, estimated to have been over four meters.

The Knossos processional fresco raises interesting questions as to its relationship to Egypt as a possible source for the iconography of offering-bearers and for the register system, if it did exist in this painting. Both are characteristic of Egyptian painting from the Old Kingdom on, where the figures bring offerings to a seated representation of the deceased and are arranged in many superimposed registers. In the New Kingdom they are often shown as tribute-bearers from foreign lands that had political or diplomatic relations with Egypt, among whom, from the time of Hatshepsut on, the Keftiu or Cretans appear. The Theban tomb paintings of Senmut (vizier to Hatshepsut in the early years of the fifteenth century) and those of Useramon, Rekhmire, and Menkheperresenb (under Thothmes III and Amenhotep II in the second quarter and mid-fifteenth century) provide our best pictures of the Keftiu, who seem to be clearly Aegean, if not purely Minoan, by virtue of their hairstyle, costume, and the objects they carry.¹³ There has been much discussion on the significance of the change of kilt from the short loincloth with codpiece in the earlier tombs (Senmut and Useramon) to the later style of patterned kilt with descending point in front in the others, with the change taking place in the Tomb of Rekhmire, where the older form was actually overpainted.¹⁴ If the new type signifies a stronger Mycenaean element in the Keftiu, as has been suggested, it might constitute another argument for a Mycenaean presence at Knossos at the time of painting the processional fresco, which features this type of kilt, and the period ought therefore to be after 1450 B.C.¹⁵

Although the Theban tomb paintings of the Keftiu and peoples from the “isles in the Great

Green¹⁶ are the strongest proof of Aegean presence in Egypt, it is difficult to derive the Knossian processional fresco directly from these Egyptian paintings. For one thing, the Egyptian pictures of the Keftiu offering-bearers are small, barely a foot in height, and constitute an insignificant part of the overall tomb decoration, which piled one register upon another from floor to ceiling. The Knossian figures, on the other hand, are lifesize and create a monumental effect. These features may have derived, as has been suggested in chapter 4 (see pages 50–53), from an earlier contact with Egypt in the Middle Kingdom or First Intermediate period. Evidence is now accumulating for pushing back the processional theme of offering-bearers into the earlier period of Aegean painting, as the frescoes from Thera—the Fishermen from the West House and the more traditional offering-bearers from Xeste 3 and 4—and the fragments of an earlier procession at Knossos have shown. Possibly the iconography was reinforced by renewed contact, and the register system may have been introduced at this time, for it occurs in some of the next group of paintings to be considered.

Paintings with Small Figures in Panels or Friezes

None of this group was found adhering to walls, but in almost all cases the context suggests a late date. The format is very different from the monumental bull reliefs or the processional frescoes previously discussed. Here the works are much smaller, usually panels with a uniformly colored background often framed by a rather abstract border. The figures are about 30 to 40 centimeters in height (a foot or slightly more) and are thus three or four times larger than figures in the miniature style, and considerably smaller than the lifesize (or somewhat under lifesize) figures of the earlier period. Indeed there seems no good earlier precedent for these picturelike vignettes, most of which stress ritual events. Although the activities themselves were represented earlier in different formats, in style and scale these anticipate what becomes typical of Mycenaean frescoes (see pages 109–10, 122–23).

1. The Taureador Paintings

Acrobatic bull sports had been represented earlier in miniature painting (see pages 64–65) and in large stucco reliefs such as those from the East Hall and the North Entrance, but the full visualization of these games comes largely from the Taureador frescoes (Kn No. 23) found in the Court of the Stone Spout in the east wing of the palace (plan, Fig. 25, No. 11), where they had apparently fallen from above into a late context. Remains of at least three panels were found, divided now between the Herakleion Museum and the Ashmolean Mu-

seum at Oxford.¹⁷ The background of the separate panels (perhaps arranged in a frieze) apparently alternated between a sky blue and a saffron yellow, and all were framed at top and bottom by elaborate borders of overlapping segments of variegated rock pattern between narrow bands of tooth or dentil pattern, the latter forming the vertical divisions between the separate episodes.

The panel in the Herakleion Museum is the best preserved and helps to explain the other fragments (Pl. 41). A large charging bull in the center moves toward the left in flying gallop against a neutral blue ground. His head is reddish brown and lowered, while his hide is white and spotted with quatrefoil markings of the same reddish brown (similar to the stucco reliefs of the North Entrance). A female acrobat in profile at the left grasps the bull's horns preparatory to making a somersault over his body, while a second female at the right waits to assist with outstretched arms. Evans interpreted the male acrobat in the center with his hands on either side of the bull's back and his legs swinging in the air as the second stage of the maneuver, but there is some uncertainty as to exactly how the vault was effected. All figures wear the same tight belt and brief loincloth of the earlier Minoan costume, and, significantly, the girls also wear the codpiece of the male acrobats. Their sex, however, is clearly distinguished by their white skin, more elaborate coiffures and jewelry, and perhaps also by their striped gaiters and soft shoes with upturned toes, although these had been shown on the male Keftiu in the paintings from the Tomb of Rekhmire.¹⁸

Fragments of other panels from the same series do not admit reconstruction of the whole scene, but from individual figures the composition can be surmised. The Ashmolean has fragments from two separate panels, one with a yellow background (AE 1708), the other with a blue (AE 1707). The first (Pl. 42) shows a female alighting to the right in a rather remarkably twisted position, her upper torso turned in three-quarter view backwards while her legs are shown in profile. Her hair streams out, the tendons of her legs and the muscles of her shoulders and her ribcage are defined, and she wears bindings on her wrists to give them support. In this figure there is no softness of female flesh or breast development, suggesting that highly trained adolescent girls participated in the games. Since this figure alights at the right against a yellow ground, it must be part of another panel, with which can perhaps be associated a fragment of a male acrobat in the Herakleion Museum (Case 173, no. 55).

Two more fragmentary figures might be part of another composition with a blue ground divided between the Ashmolean and the Herakleion Museum. The Ashmolean fragment (AE 1707) shows a male figure alighting at the right with his arms extended but with his body turned more frontally than was the case with the female acrobat. He wore some kind of a white halter around his neck and also had bindings on his wrists. The location of this figure at the right of a panel is certain from the traces of the vertical border and the hindlegs of a white bull charging to the left. The fragment in the Herakleion Museum (Case 174, no. 34) shows the upper part of a female in frontal view, her head turned toward the right with hair streaming out on either side. She grasps the horns of a bull and should be somewhat further in her ascent than the female at the left of the first panel.

Although it is impossible to know how many separate episodes, or "panels," originally made up this composition, the general scheme seems clear: a charging bull in the center with two or more acrobats comprising, probably in every case, both sexes. The background, yellow

or blue, was neutral, and the figures do not stand on any groundline, which contributes to their sense of easy mobility and allies them to earlier Minoan works. However, the old treatment of the background as a rocky surround has here become a purely abstract and decorative border; this anticipates Mycenaean practice and should indicate a fairly late date for the Taureador frescoes, probably LM II/IIIA. The drawing, however, is fine and precise, without the heavy outlining of some of the other examples in this group.

2. The “Dancing Lady”

Stylistically closest to the Taureador paintings is the “Dancing Lady” (Kn No. 24, Pl. 43), fragments of which were found in a heap of fresco debris in the east light area of the Queen’s Megaron (plan, Fig. 25, No. 14) which also included fragments of the Dolphin fresco (Kn No. 6).¹⁹ Although the scale is somewhat larger, there are similarities to the Taureador panels in the neutral background (here the same creamy white as the flesh), in the fine drawing of the profile, and in the streaming black locks of hair, which are actually blown upward by the whirl of the dance (Fig. 26f). The woman, who seems more mature than the acrobats, wears a short-sleeved yellow jacket with blue borders and a flounced skirt, traces of which are seen at the bottom of the fragment. This, then, is the Minoan festal costume found earlier in the Theran Saffron-Gatherers and other paintings, but she also seems to wear a thin chemise under her jacket as found later in some of the Mycenaean paintings (see page 119 and Pl. XX). Her hair is carefully arranged in two rows of curls across her forehead with a ponytail at back, and while there is no trace of a fillet, the formality of arrangement looks forward to Mycenaean hairdressing.²⁰ Evans restored the Dancing Lady as part of a vertical panel decorating one of the pilasters of the Queen’s Megaron, but there is little evidence for this.

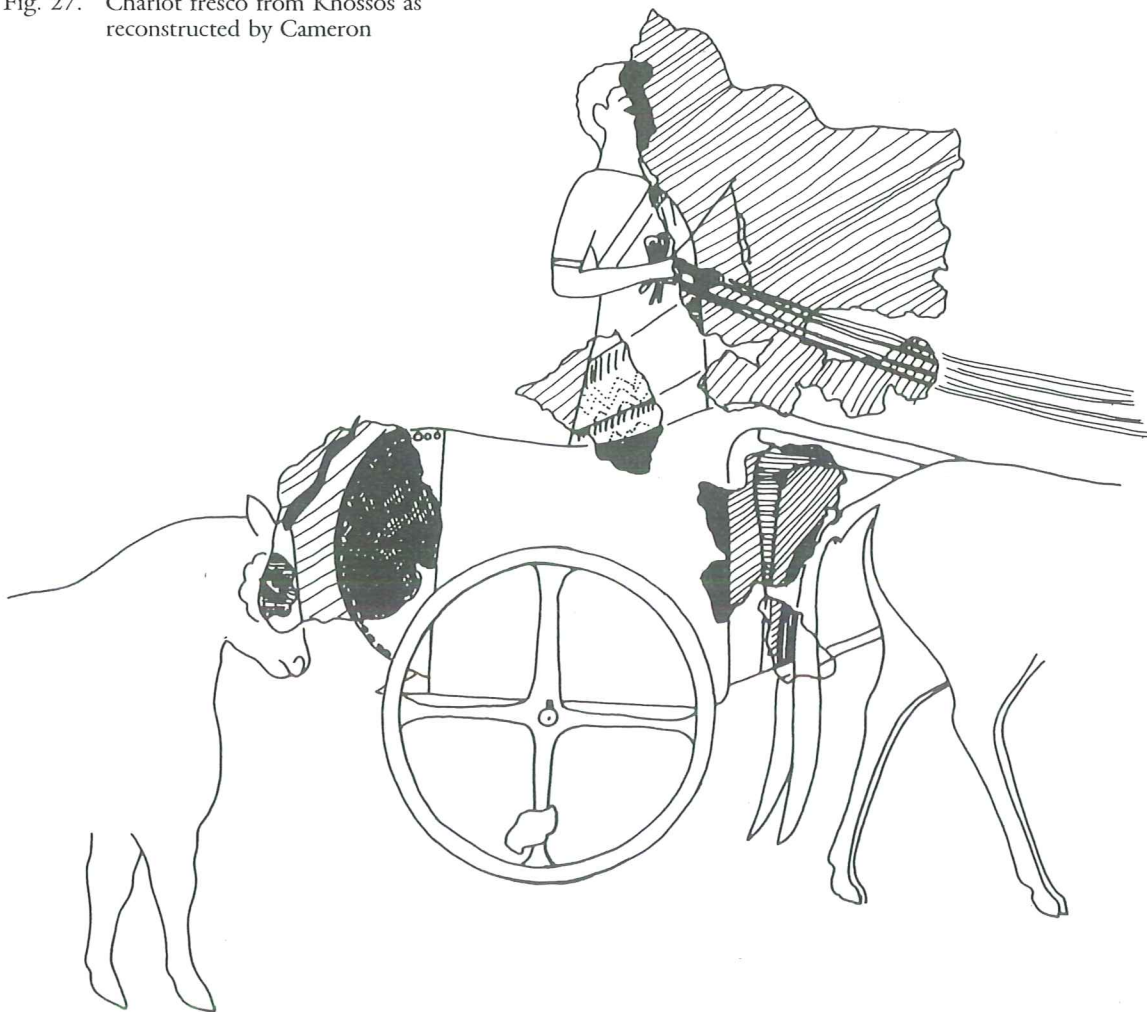
3. The “Palanquin”-Chariot Fresco

Perhaps the most interesting composition of this type is that recently put together by Cameron from fragments termed by Evans the “Palanquin” fresco and pieces of a chariot fresco found nearby in the consolidation of a late wall in the 1950s (Kn No. 25, Fig. 27). All fragments have a light blue background and nicely drawn figures of commensurate scale. Especially significant is the appearance of the chariot theme in its developed iconography, with charioteer, two horses of contrasting color, and dual-bodied chariot, for this theme became important in later Mycenaean frescoes (see pages 123–25). The major fragment published by Alexiou is an excellent piece. Against a sky blue background with a white wavy reserved area at the top containing striped “Easter eggs,” the profile of a charioteer facing right is preserved at the left edge. He wears a long diagonally striped robe and holds a whip



Fig. 26. Details of female heads:
a-d, Thera; e-f, Knossos;
g, Tiryns

Fig. 27. Chariot fresco from Knossos as reconstructed by Cameron



and two pairs of reins in his right hand. At the bottom, a small red area should be interpreted as the top part of a chariot of dual type.²¹ To this new piece Cameron added several other fragments from Evans's excavations, giving the lower part of the charioteer's garment, the pole support and tails of the horses, and the back part of the chariot body followed by the head of a spotted bull. The last fragment is especially important in showing the probable ritual use of the chariot in a procession, with the bull perhaps being led to sacrifice. With this composition Cameron associated Evans's "Palanquin" fresco, which he believed represented a figure (priest?) seated within a shrine rather than being carried in a sedan chair as did Evans.

The date of this composition is important because of its relationship to the ensuing Mycenaean style. From its findspots it must antedate the latest constructions and occupancy in the so-called Lapidary's Workshop in the south part of the palace (see plan, Fig. 25, near No. 2), since parts of it were built into late walls or found under a late floor, whereas other fragments

were found scattered and without context.²² One should also note that the dual-chariot type, first attested here, is the same as that pictured and described in the Linear B tablets from the Armory at Knossos, a fact which might argue in favor of dating these archives to a period earlier than Palmer's Mycenaean palace.²³ Stylistically, the fresco fragments seem early, for the fine delineation of the heads has much in common with the earlier Mycenaean kraters of pictorial style, which begin in the early fourteenth century and may have been inspired by such frescoes, either on the Greek mainland or perhaps even at Knossos.²⁴ The fresco is earlier than any extant mainland chariot fresco, but hardly as early as Alexiou's proposed date of LM IA/B. Cameron's date of LM II/IIIA1, or prior to the destruction of Evans's Minoan palace, seems right.

4. The "Campstool" Fresco

The "Campstool" fresco (Kn No. 26), so named by Evans because of the folding stools on which facing figures sit, apparently exchanging a loving cup or libation vase, probably decorated an upper hall on the west side of the palace (plan, Fig. 25, No. 5), since fragments were found on both sides of the outside wall of Magazines 13–15. Here there is definite evidence for the register system, at least two bands, if not four,²⁵ framed and divided by horizontal bands of black, red, and white. Against a background which alternates with vertical divisions between blue and yellow (reversed in the register above) sit male figures wearing long robes with diagonally wrapped or bordered skirts very much like feminine attire. The best-preserved pair (*PM* iv, 2, pl. XXXI, figs. A–C) exchanges a two-handled stemmed cup or kylix of Mycenaean type, while another figure (fig. G) holds what may reasonably be restored as a chalice of Minoan ancestry.²⁶ The stools, costumes, and attitudes suggest that these figures had a religious function, supported also by the best-known figure of the whole composition, the so-called "La Parisienne" (Pl. 44, Fig. 26e). With her large eye, black curl, retroussé nose, and red lips (the red somewhat carelessly applied), she has been taken as the epitome of Minoan female charm, but the blue knot (the so-called sacral knot) behind her neck suggests that she is a priestess.²⁷ While she certainly belongs to the Campstool fresco, either within it or in a related panel, her exact position is not easy to ascertain, for she may have been standing, and the size of her head would create a figure too tall for the registers as preserved.²⁸

Stylistically, the Campstool fresco shows connections with earlier Mycenaean pictorial-style vases (Pls. 45–46). Especially strong are comparisons of the female head with large eye and ear reserved in the mass of curly hair, but also in the robed seated figures.²⁹ The dual-type of chariots of these kraters can also be compared with the "Palanquin"-Chariot fresco, which must be about the same date as the Campstool fresco but was painted by a more skillful artist who did not rely upon the heavy outlining of this painting. These affinities with ceramic examples that can be dated independently would support a date in the first half of the fourteenth century, with which the Myc. IIIA form of the kylix would agree.

5. The “Captain of the Blacks”

Another fresco of this type with rather casual drawing and pronounced outlines, the so-called “Captain of the Blacks” (Kn No. 27), consists of only a few fragments found in upper levels near the House of the Frescoes (plan, Fig. 15). Against a blue ground a red-skinned figure with two spears in his right hand marches to the right; he wears a tight belt and a short kilt of yellow with a patterned border, which has a central point like that of the Cupbearer but is shorter and seems to be lapped. He also wears a bristly cap with horns, perhaps a goatskin. On another fragment, part of the head of a black-skinned figure wears a similar cap, and a black leg in a blue kilt appears behind the captain on the main fragment (*PM* II, 2, pl. XIII). The occurrence of dark-skinned figures on some of the plaques of the Town Mosaic (see page 70 and Fig. 21), suggests that the theme of foreign soldiers or mercenaries goes back much earlier in Minoan times, and it recurs in Mycenaean painting at Pylos (pages 118 and 197). Both the style of drawing and the alternation of blue and yellow background make it likely that the Captain of the Blacks belongs to the same period as the Campstool fresco.

The Throne Room Frescoes

The most controversial paintings of this period are the lifesize couchant griffins from the Throne Room in the west wing of the palace (Kn No. 28; see plan, Fig. 25). In the well-known Gilliéron reconstruction at the site (Pl. 47), antithetic cream-colored griffins without wings stretch their couchant bodies and raise their beaked heads with elaborate plumed crests on either side of the gypsum throne on the north wall, while a similar pair confronts the doorway to the “inner shrine” on the west wall. The overall composition is unified by a marbled dado that runs around the room above the level of the stone benches and serves as a groundline for the griffins. They themselves are set in a conventionalized landscape of alternating red and white wavy horizontal bands with tall blue papyrus plants.

While the paintings may be considered a continuation of earlier Minoan nature frescoes in which plants and animals, rather than humans, are glorified, they have here acquired a more symbolic function by making the throne and its occupant a part of the composition. Was this a priest-king as Evans believed, or was it a priestess, perhaps enacting the epiphany of the goddess, as others have suggested?³⁰ And what is the relationship iconographically and chronologically to the apparently similar composition in the Throne Room or megaron of the Mycenaean palace at Pylos (Fig. 29, room 6)? It was this similarity that led Carl Blegen to question the date of the Knossian Throne Room and the Linear B archives which closely resembled those at Pylos, the latter known to have been burnt in a conflagration about 1200 B.C.³¹ His queries in turn marked the beginning of the reinvestigation of Evans’s chronology

for the palace, an investigation that has led to the polarization of Aegean archaeologists, with some who basically support Evans's dates, while others attempt to rewrite the excavations and downdate the destruction of the palace to as late as 1200 B.C.³² For these reasons the interpretation of the Throne Room and its paintings is basic to our understanding of Minoan-Mycenaean relations.

In assessing the presumed resemblance between the paintings, the question of restoration must be addressed. The restored paintings in the Throne Room at Knossos, based upon blackened fragments in the Herakleion Museum, have raised doubts about their accuracy, which is not helped by a 1900 photograph of the excavation showing a palm tree to the right of the throne (Pl. 48). However, the existence of griffins flanking the west doorway seems certain, and Cameron affirmed the presence of a griffin's paw to the right of the throne.³³ Since the iconography of antithetic griffins is so well established on seals, where they usually flank the goddess or a column, it would seem perverse not to restore another griffin to the left of the throne, with palm trees (perhaps also at the corners) as well as papyrus providing the setting. At Pylos also, only one of the two presumed antithetic griffins, here to the left of the throne, is attested in the fragments, this time overlapping a lion (see chapter 6). However, in both cases griffins flanking the throne seem reasonably certain, but their presence need not imply contemporaneity nor identity of meaning.

As to their architectural setting, there is little resemblance between the Throne Room at Knossos and the one at Pylos. Although Evans considered the Throne Room system one of the latest elements in the palace, a *tabula rasa* or complete alteration, and found LM II/IIIA sherds under one of the anteroom doorways, the rounded northeast corner preserved part of an early insula, and it has recently been suggested that the layout of the rooms and the cult practiced there go back to the Old Palace period. There is little architectural similarity to a Mycenaean megaron, for the rooms are arranged on a horizontal rather than a vertical axis, the anteroom being to the right instead of in front; there is no fixed hearth, but instead benches and a lustral basin, both established features of Minoan architecture. These discrepancies were noted immediately by Helga Reusch in arguing against Blegen's theory of a "mainland intrusion," and they have been developed further in a thorough reinvestigation of the archaeological evidence and the documentary record of the excavations.³⁴ The conclusion is the opposite of Evans's theory of a late alteration or complete change (although some alteration of the doorways and threshold did take place), and it explains the lower level of the Throne Room and its early "mosaiko" flooring as part of the original palace, while the level of the central court rose. Nonetheless, the final rites and presumably the paintings belong to an advanced stage, as revealed by the flat stone alabaster, which have parallels in mainland Mycenaean pottery of LH II/IIIA.³⁵ But need this Mycenaean connection make the Throne Room at Knossos a mainland intrusion, as suggested by Blegen, or lower its date to the thirteenth century?

The paintings themselves, so far as they can be judged in the Gilliéron reconstruction, do not seem any later stylistically or more "Mycenaean" than the other paintings that have been discussed. The marbled dado beneath the griffins, although found later in Mycenaean painting, can be traced back into the formative period of Minoan painting and occurs in a form quite similar to this dado in the West House at Thera.³⁶ Likewise the red and white back-

ground is found in the Antelope and Boxer paintings, although there the color was confined to an undulating band above the heads (Pl. VIII), and the papyrus in formal clumps dominated the outdoor setting in the House of the Ladies (Pl. XIII). The antithetic griffins also are not new to Aegean painting, for they had occurred in miniature as textile designs presumably on the embroidered robes of lifesize seated women in the earlier period (see pages 59 and 63). However, at that time the imaginary beasts were shown winged, as were their Syrian prototypes³⁷ and practically all Aegean griffins, with the exception of those from the Throne Rooms at Knossos and Pylos, a detail that may be significant in establishing a connection between them. Likewise the unusual feature of cross-hatching or “shading” on the lower part of the griffins’ bodies at Knossos has been reinterpreted at Pylos as a rudely demarcated line of ingrowing hairs (see pages 136–37 and *Pylos* II, pl. P). Whether or not this detail at Knossos actually represented shading, or “chiaroscuro,” as Evans thought (*PM* IV, 2, 911f., figs. 884 and 886), the cross-hatching is quite different from ingrowing hairs and certainly contributes to the plasticity of the griffins’ bodies against the same cream-colored background. Perhaps it was an attempt to simulate the stucco reliefs of an earlier period.³⁸ The spiral black curl enclosing a blue and red rosette on the griffin’s chest is similar to motifs on late Palace-style vases, an affinity suggested also by the S-spiral curls of the crest with their *waz*-fillings.³⁹ Neither of these specific details is found in the Pylos griffins, yet their iconographic similarity to the Knossos painting suggests some knowledge, direct or indirect, of the prototype, which ought not to be dated later than LM II/IIIA.

One can only speculate on the manner of transmission and the transformation of this Minoan motif of the griffins guarding the throne (probably that of a priestess) to the Mycenaean megaron at Pylos, where the throne was occupied by the *wanax* or ruler, but this must wait for the succeeding chapter. In summary, the Throne Room at Knossos and its paintings seem a Minoan creation, even if the final form took place in a period in which Mycenaeans were present at the palace before its destruction in LM IIIA.

Postpalatial (?) Paintings from the Palace

If there was a reconstruction of this “penultimate” palace with a continuation into the developed Mycenaean period, as some believe, there are a few possible candidates for its wall decoration, but not in my opinion among the paintings already considered (unless, of course, they still remained upon its walls in a partially destroyed condition). Among these candidates might be the large late paintings of bull-grappling scenes, such as that still partially preserved on the east wall of the West Porch just before the beginning of the Procession fresco (*PM* II, 2, 676, fig. 429; **Kn No. 29**) or the hindfoot of a bull above a marbled dado on the south wall of the anteroom of the Throne Room (*PM* IV, 2, 893, fig. 872; **Kn No. 30**). These may have been late adaptations based on the earlier stucco reliefs

from the North Entrance, and they attest to the continued importance attached to the iconography of the bull games, if not their actual practice at Knossos in a late period. On a smaller scale, fragments of a fresco showing a charging bull to the left with the remains of an olive tree and the locks of a flying acrobat (*PM* II, 2, 621, fig. 389; **Kn No. 31**) came from a deposit to the northwest of the palace and were thought by Evans to be in "a late style that may well belong to the end of the Palace period."

Fragments of an Argonaut frieze, based on a schematic rendering of the shellfish that had been popular in the Marine style of LM IB pottery, show the triple tentacles against a background of upright plants with reedlike stems (*PM* IV, 2, 888–91, figs. 870–71; **Kn No. 32**). These fragments were found still attached to a wall between the upper Hall of the Doubles Axes and the East-West corridor (plan, Fig. 25) and were compared by Evans to the paintings from the Throne Room, but the style seems far more conventionalized and the colors muddier, so perhaps it belongs to a period of Mycenaean reoccupation. Much the same might be said about a number of fresco fragments from the "area of the fish fresco" (that is, in the south light area and corridor by the Queen's Megaron), for they are in a much coarser style and duller coloration (predominantly pinks, tans, yellow-ochres) than the best Minoan work. They strongly support the theory of late occupation in the Domestic Quarter.⁴⁰

Friezes and Abstract Decoration

Little has been said so far about the friezes and bands of abstract decoration that adorned large parts of the palace and were particularly prevalent in the Domestic Quarter. From the earlier houses at Thera there is good evidence for the imitation marbled dado (the West House), the running spiral band frieze (the Monkey fresco, Pl. 12), and the ivy chain frieze (the Antelope and Boxers fresco, Pl. VIII), as well as horizontal bands of assorted colors in many cases. There is even evidence for a more elaborate frieze consisting of rosettes enclosed in a quatrefoil net pattern of relief bands (*Thera* VII, 27, pl. 41a–b) from Xeste 3. Such friezes must have existed in similar or even more elaborate form, perhaps often in stucco relief, at the Palace at Knossos, but they are less well preserved in their architectural setting until the late Palace period, which provided the evidence for the restorations at the site. Of these, perhaps the most famous example is the running spiral band frieze with figure-eight shields of spotted oxhide which has been restored in the Hall of the Colonnades adjacent to the Grand Staircase (**Kn No. 33**; Fig. 39a and Pl. 49). The fragments had been burnt and must therefore have been in place at the time of destruction, presumably the conflagration in early LM IIIA, since this frieze seems to have been the inspiration for the Mycenaean examples from Tiryns and Mycenae. From these palaces the evidence for various elaborate friezes of spirals, rosettes, papyrus, etc., most of which can be traced back to Knossos, is so much greater that the full discussion of individual examples will be deferred to chapter 6.

III. Late Minoan III Paintings from Ayia Triadha

The only other Cretan site (with the possible exception of Chania) that has yielded paintings comparable to those from the LM II/IIIA palace at Knossos is Ayia Triadha near Phaistos, the site of the Royal Villa with the beautiful LM IA frescoes destroyed by a fire at the end of LM IB (see pages 49–50 above; Pls. 17–18). Curiously, although this site is located clear across the island from Knossos, it shows once again close ties with the Knossian school of painters, perhaps the result of an emigration of artists at the end of the Palace period. These late examples, which include the famous painted sarcophagus and a group of related frescoes, perhaps from the walls of a nearby tomb, date to the flourishing reoccupation period at the villa and its environs in LM IIIA.¹

The **sarcophagus (A.T. No. 2, Pls. 50–53)**, of limestone covered with stucco and painted in polychromy like a fresco, is our most complete painting of this period and furnished Evans with suggestions for the restoration of parts of the Procession fresco. As the only example in this technique, it must have been the final resting place for a person of importance, yet the tomb itself and the offerings preserved were hardly ostentatious.² Discovered by Parabeni in the early years of Cretan excavation (1904), its importance as a representation of Minoan religious and funerary rites has long been recognized, but it has only recently been cleaned and restored and made the subject of a detailed iconographic study.³ The paintings are virtually complete and covered both long sides and ends with friezes or panels of figures approximating the scale of those in the Campstool fresco. The figural zones are richly framed by elaborate borders which stress the architectural form of the sarcophagus, recalling its origin in a wooden chest. A running spiral band with rosette fillings like that from the Shield fresco (**Kn No. 33: Fig. 39a**) decorates the front of the “posts” that terminate in the legs, while their sides have the variegated stone pattern like the dado in the Throne Room. The friezes proper are framed by bands of rosettes between the tooth or “dentil” pattern. Although found in the later Knossian paintings, these patterns became especially characteristic of the mainland.⁴

There are two long friezes with shorter panels on the ends, presumably all interrelated iconographically and pertaining to the cult of the dead and religious ritual. Long, who has made the most detailed iconographic study of the sarcophagus, is probably right in regarding the better-preserved side with the presentation scene as the “front,” and in interpreting the armless figure who stands in front of a small building as the deceased, or his shade, in front of his tomb (Pl. 50). He is shown rising from the ground to receive the funerary gifts brought by three male figures wearing hide skirts. These gifts are models of a boat and two spotted bovines.⁵ The background behind the tomb is white with a sparse bluish tree and red masonry steps (possibly a dromos wall). These tend to isolate the deceased from the procession, which moves against a blue ground, but then the background changes again to white and the direction of the figures is toward the left, where there are two double-axe stands with birds perched atop. Between them, and quite skillfully shown with rudimentary perspective, a krater is suspended, into which the first figure, a female, is pouring from a bucket-shaped container.

She wears a hide skirt and short-sleeved jacket, and is followed by a second female in a long blue dress, who carries two buckets suspended from a pole and wears an elaborate headdress, somewhat like the crown worn by later Mycenaean sphinxes.⁶ Behind her a male figure in a similar yellow dress is playing a lyre. This combination of lyre-player and situla-bearer is repeated almost exactly and at almost the same scale, but with reversed direction, on a fragmentary fresco from the dump between the tomb and the villa (A.T. No. 3), which was probably painted by the same hand.

The other long side (Pl. 51) depicts the sacrifice of a bull in the center, but it begins at the left with a procession of five long-robed female figures, the first wearing a headdress like the situla-bearer's, and the other four figures coming two by two with only their lower parts preserved. The arrangement of these processional figures recalls those from the Corridor of the Procession at Knossos, especially Evans's Group A (cf. Pl. 40, left group), which, however, were male figures in long bordered robes. The center and right of this sarcophagus frieze provide us with our most detailed rendering of a Late Minoan ritual in an outdoor sanctuary. In the center a spotted, trussed bull lies upon a slaughtering table, his throat cut and the blood dripping into a conical rhyton embedded in the ground.⁷ Under the table lie two goats, perhaps next for sacrifice, while behind, a male flute player in short robe pipes on a double flute. This ceremony takes place against a white background, while that behind the procession was yellow; it changes then to blue and again to white at the extreme right, which must be the continuation of the same outdoor sanctuary. This consisted of a small building, or enclosure wall, with horns of consecration, beam-end frieze, and doorway (?) decorated with a running spiral, above which appears a spreading tree.⁸ Next to the building toward the left is a double-axe stand and an altar, also decorated with running spiral. Beside it a priestess in hide skirt and short jacket extends her hands over a low bowl on the altar, while a libation jug and a basket of fruit suspended against the background presumably indicate the nature of her offering.

Both ends (Pls. 52–53) are treated similarly with two female figures (goddesses?) riding in chariots of the new dual type of the Knossos fresco (Kn No. 25) and ideograms of the Linear B tablets, as well as mainland paintings.⁹ In one case the chariot is drawn by griffins and the background is red; in the other it is drawn by wild goats (not by horses as usually described) and the background is white. In this case the chariot scene was the lower panel of a two-tiered scene, of which the upper part is poorly preserved. This is important, however, in providing another link with the Knossos Procession fresco, for it preserves the lower part of two male figures in kilts like that of the Cupbearer moving to the left against a yellow ground.

Perhaps because of the iconographic interest of the scenes on the sarcophagus, few have stressed its art-historical significance.¹⁰ Yet it stands apart from earlier miniature painting and combines some aspects of their interest in spatial setting with an emphasis on the human figures. In comparison with the miniature friezes from the West House at Akrotiri, the figures here all stand on one groundline and basically occupy the entire height of the frieze, with occasional overlapping of the upper white fillet (headdresses, lyre, birds on double axes). They move against an essentially neutral background, with changes of color probably only for additional clarity. Space is thus more limited and yet more coherent. This is achieved essentially by the overlapping of figures and objects, but occasionally there is some realization of distant objects being smaller, as Robertson has pointed out for the two double-axe stands in

the pouring scene on the front. Whatever architecture or landscape is introduced is small in scale and essentially a prop or foil for human activities. In these respects the paintings seem closer to early Greek painting (for example, the Proto-Corinthian Chigi vase) than to earlier, more purely Minoan painting. May this not be a reflection of the mixed Minoan-Mycenaean character of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus? While the rites depicted seem basically Minoan (with the possible exception of the presentation scene),¹¹ the style has changed into a more formal, rational, and human-oriented one.

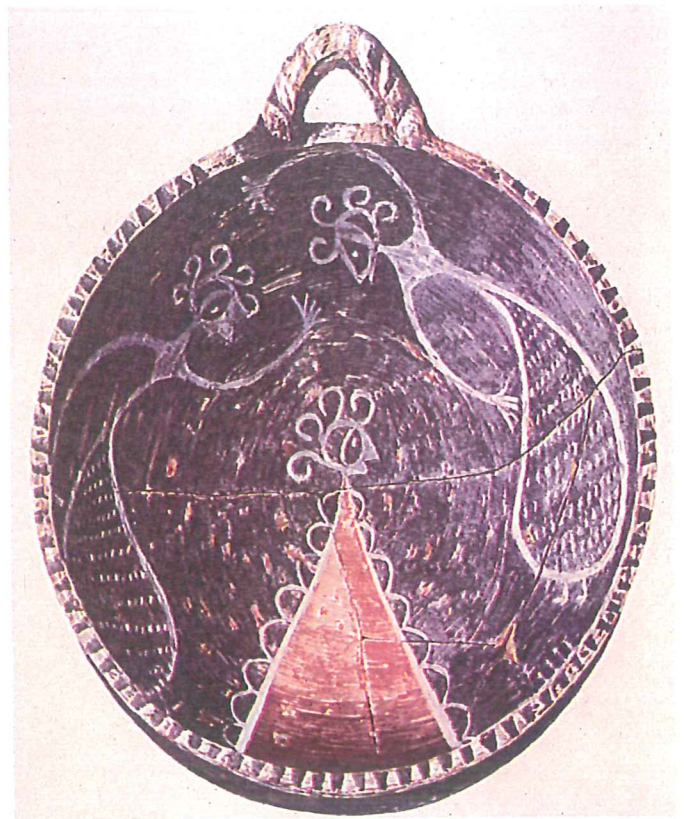
The paintings from a nearby deposit that are close in style to those on the sarcophagus are unfortunately poorly published. The processional painting with lyre-player and situla-bearer (A.T. No. 3) which is closest in style and scale of figures to the sarcophagus has already been mentioned. On a somewhat smaller scale, another painting (A.T. No. 4) shows a woman in a diagonally banded robe leading two deer toward an altar or shrine decorated with beam ends at the left. Here, as on the sarcophagus, the tooth and rosette border appears at the bottom of the picture, and the background changes vertically from yellow to blue. However, unlike the sarcophagus paintings, the feet are not firmly fixed on a groundline, but the deer have the conventionalized dappled markings characteristic of later Mycenaean frescoes and pictorial-style vases.¹²

The most interesting and finest painting from this fresco dump has never been illustrated (A.T. No. 5). It is in two registers with a molded cornice at the top with beam ends and horns of consecration that emphasize the religious character of the painting. In the upper register a procession of women (four preserved) moves toward the left, where there is a seated figure, perhaps the goddess. They carry offerings or libation vessels, and between each is a stylized palm tree resembling a motif on early Mycenaean pictorial vases.¹³ The iconography also is similar to that of Mycenaean processional frescoes (see pages 114–15). The lower register has a red ground, in contrast to the cream color of the upper zone; it shows six or seven women with their arms extended resting on the shoulders of the one in front. Perhaps they are engaged in a ritual dance?

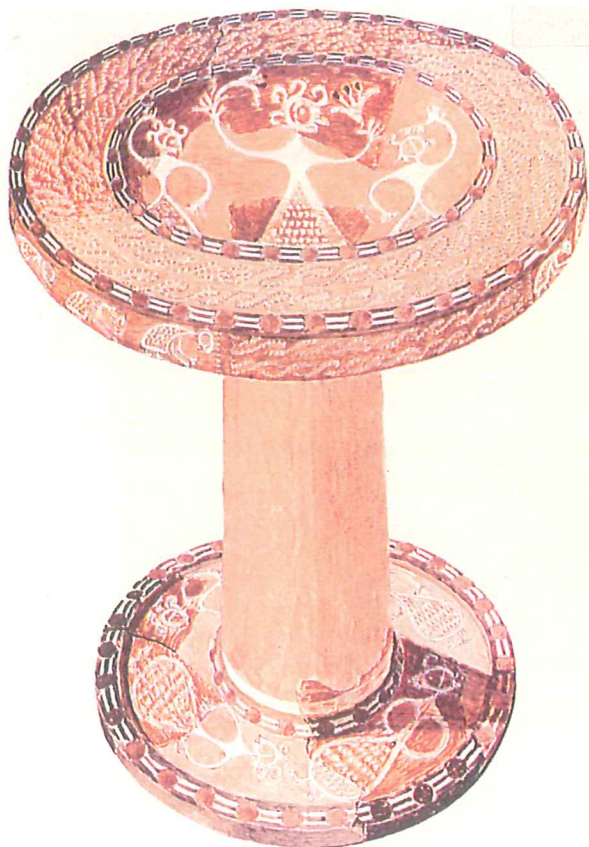
Still another connection between the later school of painting at Ayia Triadha and that on the Mycenaean mainland is suggested by the fragmentary painted floor from a small shrine building (H) to the southeast of the villa. This floor depicted a marine subject with at least one octopus, several dolphins, and smaller fish.¹⁴ Although the floor was apparently not laid out in squares with the rigid arrangement of motifs as found at Tiryns and Pylos (see pages 113 and 146), it shows a greater formality in the alignment of fish than was present in the Dolphin fresco from Knossos, which may also have been a floor.¹⁵ This painting (Kn No. 6) was restored by Evans on an inner wall of the Queen's Megaron and was dated by him to MM IIIB, but the fragments were found with late material in the east light area, and there are serious doubts as to its date and original location. Whatever its actual date, it presupposes an LM IA painting contemporary with the Flying Fish from Phylakopi (Pl. 16), which would have given rise to the popularity of the dolphin motif on the Theran tables of offering (Pl. V), Cycladic pottery like some of the *kymbai* (Thera VI, col. pl. 11), and the Cretan Marine style of LM IB. With the Ayia Triadha floor there has also been uncertainty as to its date, for it was the lowest of three successive floors of this detached shrine building. While originally dated to LM I and the period of the villa, more recent investigation puts the shrine in LM IIIA with



I. Pithoid jar with fish from Old Palace, Phaistos



II. Bowl with goddess and dancers from Old Palace, Phaistos



III. Fruitstand with goddess and votaries from Old Palace, Phaistos



IV. Hole-mouthed jar with appliqué of goat from Old Palace, Phaistos



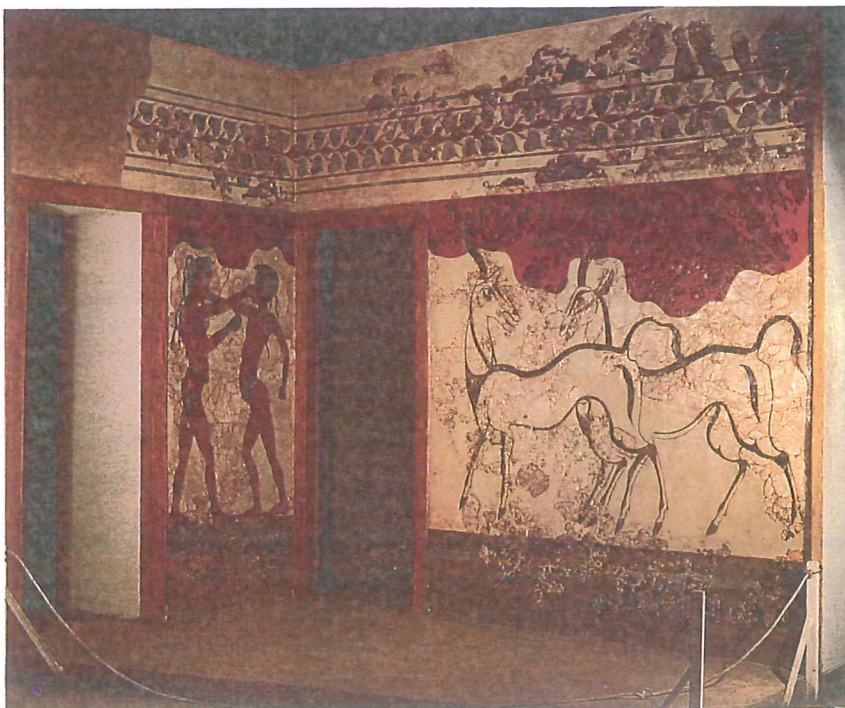
V. Table of offerings with dolphins from West House, Akrotiri



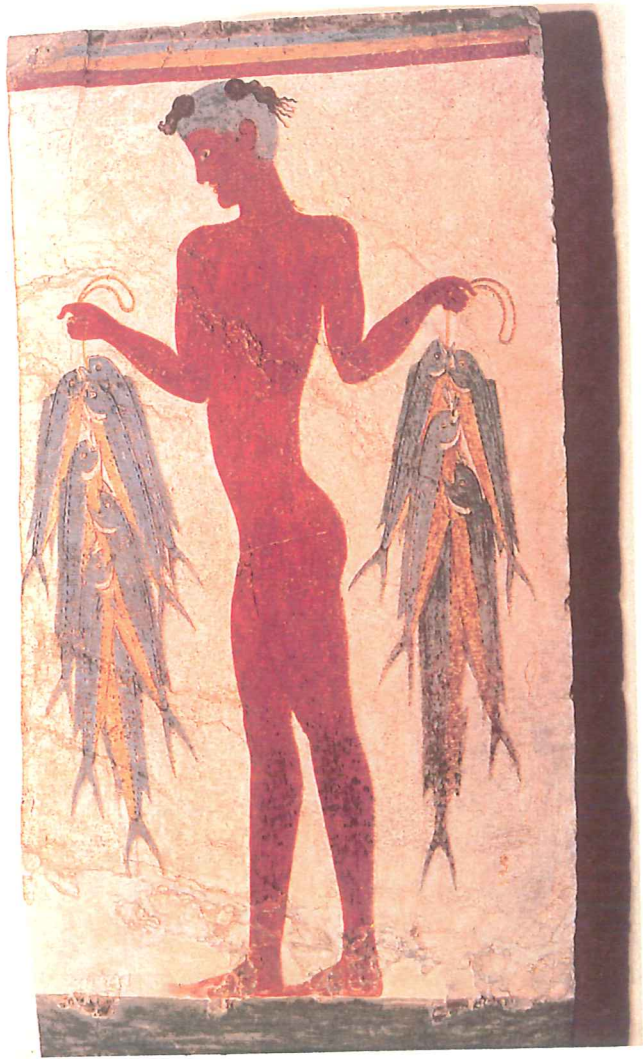
VI. Kymbe with ibexes from Akrotiri



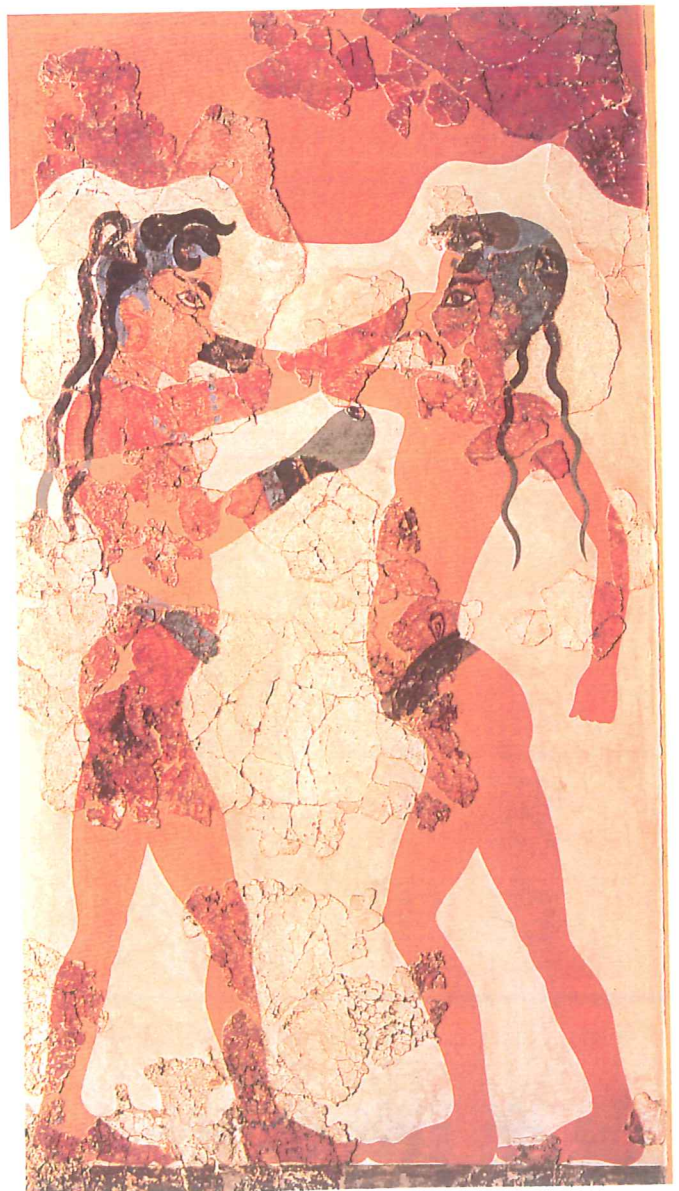
VII. Spring Fresco from Shrine Δ 2, Akrotiri, as restored in National Museum, Athens



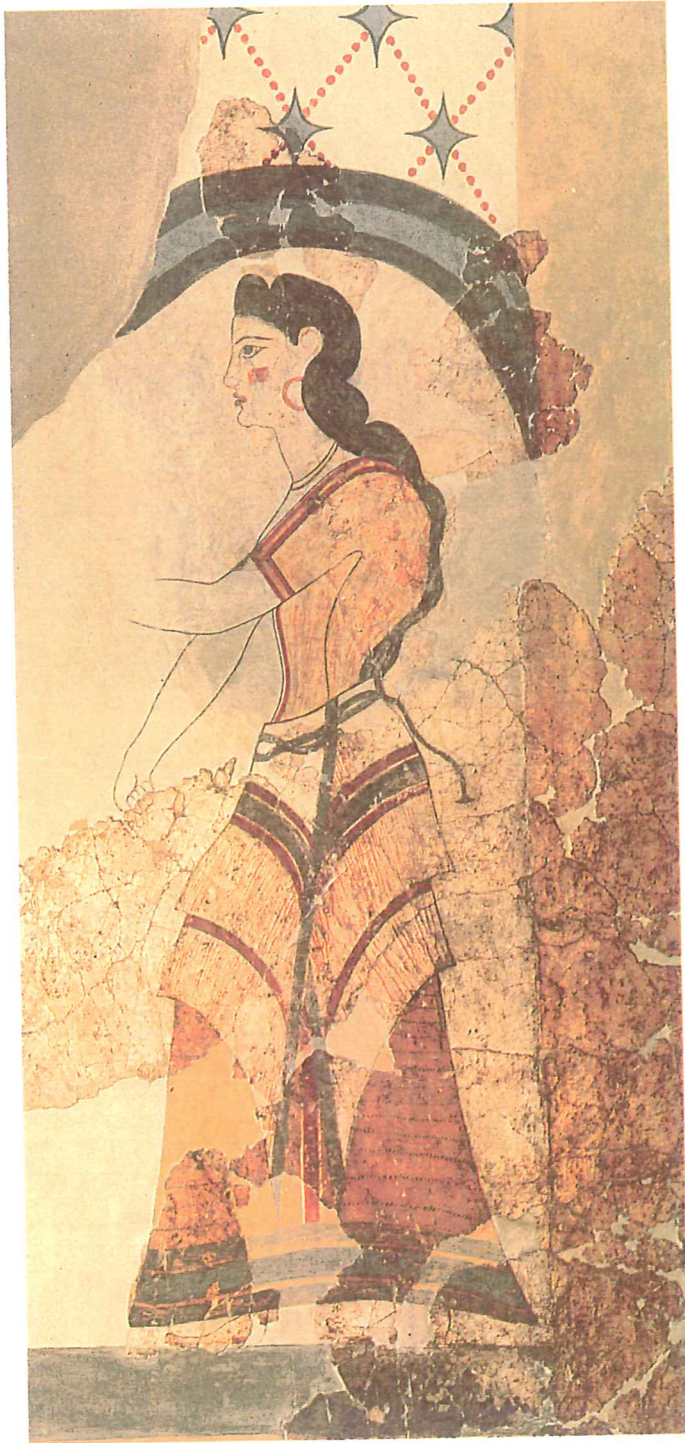
VIII. Boxers and Antelopes from Room B 1, Akrotiri, as restored in National Museum, Athens



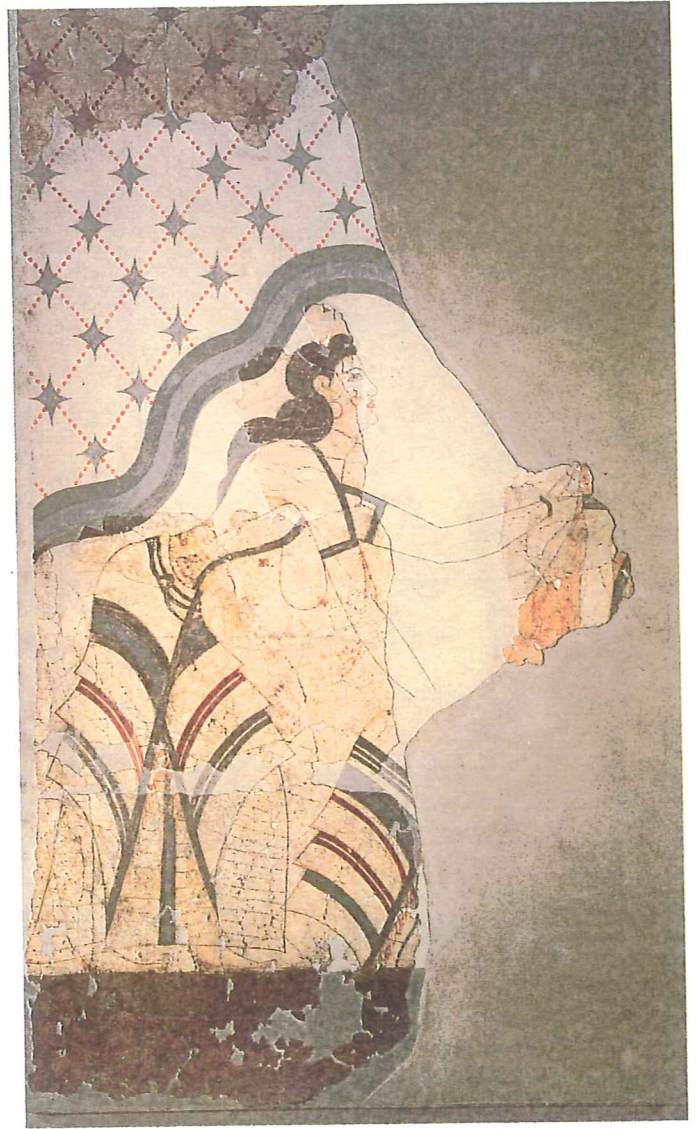
IX. Fisherman from Room 5, West House, Akrotiri



X. Boxing Boys from Room B 1, Akrotiri



XI. Lady from south wall, House of the Ladies, Akrotiri



XII. Two ladies from north wall, House of the Ladies, Akrotiri



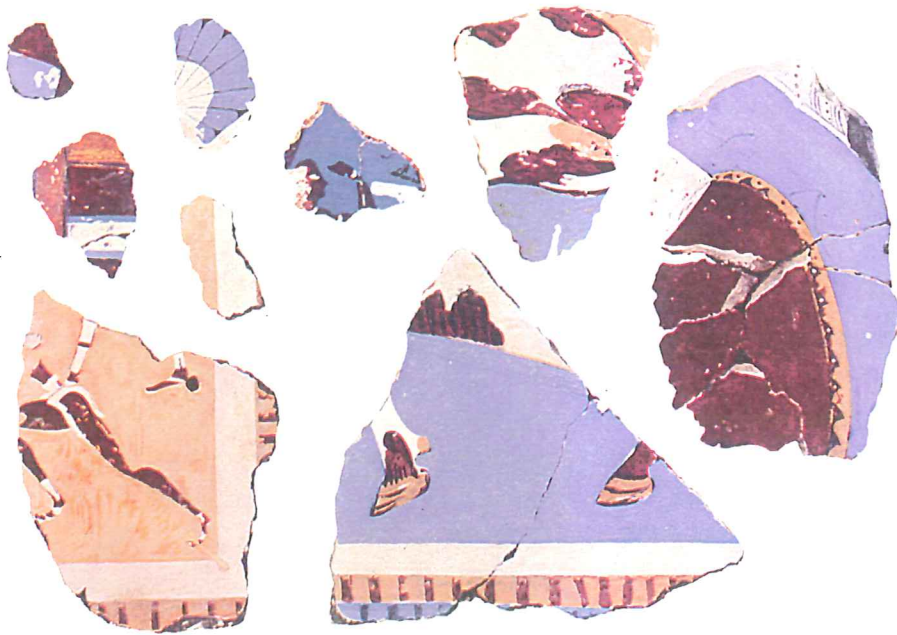
XIII. Papyrus from House of the Ladies, Akrotiri



XIV. Ship fresco from south wall of Room 5, West House, Akrotiri, and Tropical Landscape from east wall



XV. Ship's Cabin (*ikrion*) from Room 4, West House, Akrotiri



XVI. Fragments of Taureador panels from Ramp House deposit, Mycenae



XVII. Pylos Taureador (36 H 105)

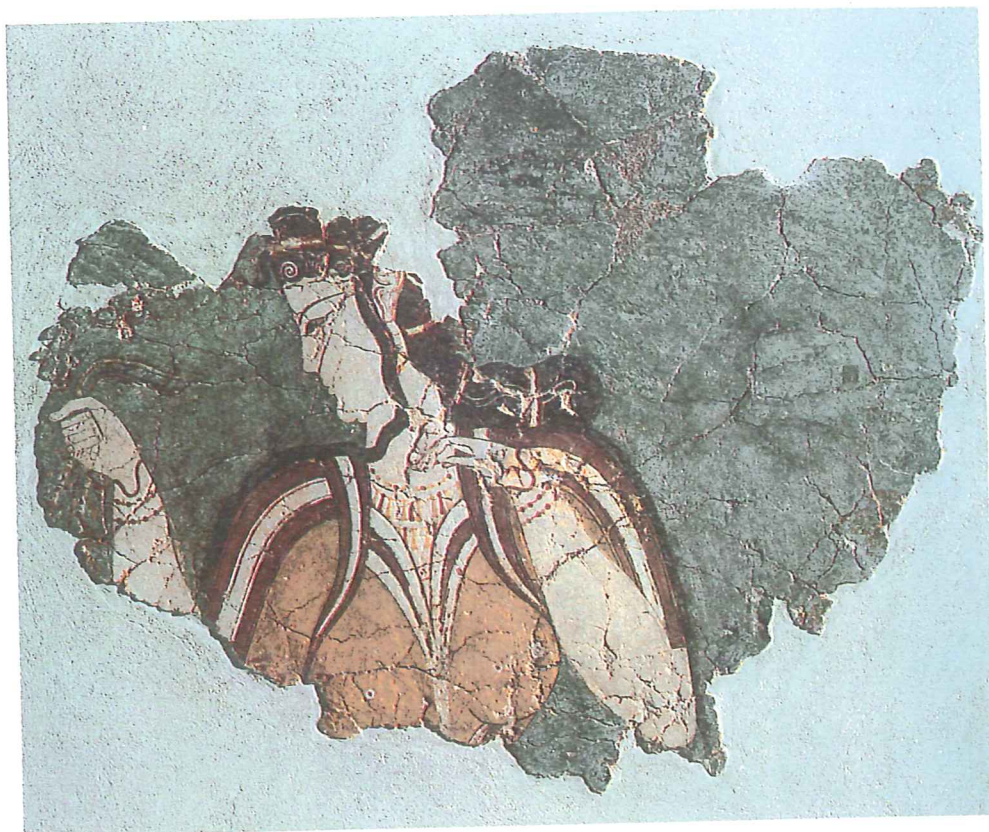


XVIII. The Lyre-Player from the Throne Room at Pylos as restored by P. de Jong

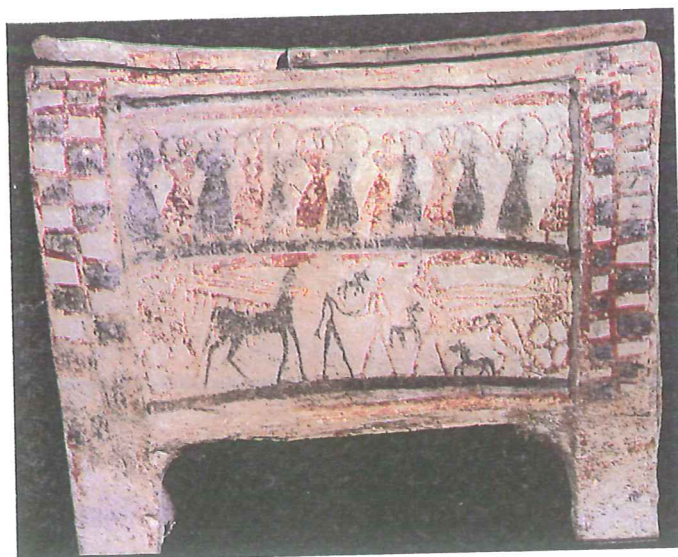


XIX. The Shield fresco from the Old Palace at Tiryns as restored

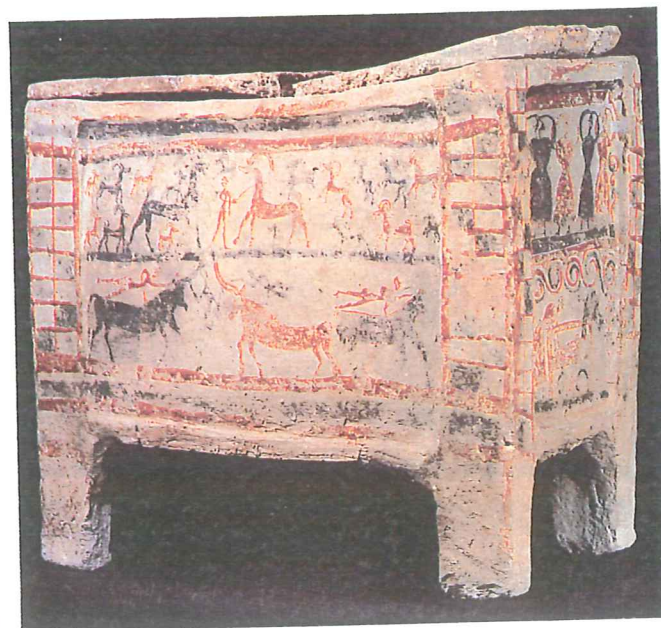
XX. The Mycenaean Lady or Goddess ("Mykenaiā") from the Cult Center, Mycenae



XXI. Women's frieze from Old Kadmeia, Thebes, as restored by H. Reusch



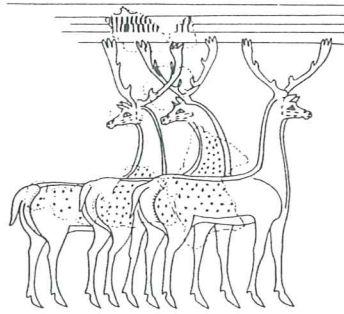
XXII. Larnax from Tomb 22, Tanagra. Side A: Mourning women and chariot groups



XXIII. Larnax from Tomb 22, Tanagra. Side B: Hunting scene and taureadors

the flourishing reoccupation of the site,¹⁶ making the floor contemporary with the sarcophagus and the other related paintings.

This period of a century or somewhat more saw profound changes in Aegean painting. At the beginning, soon after the eruption of Thera, the art continued much as before, with perhaps somewhat more emphasis on the purely decorative aspects (the Partridge frieze from the Caravanserai and the Bluebird frieze at Keos). Although new, and presumably mainland, iconographic features, such as the hunt and the horse-drawn chariot, were introduced in the miniature frescoes from Keos, the overall style remained Minoan. However, following the LM IB destructions in Crete, things changed. Power and an influential school of painting were concentrated at the Palace at Knossos. While many of the programs, such as the bull-grappling reliefs and the processional frescoes, continued or adapted earlier ones, others show a new format that was to influence the succeeding period. Paintings like the Taureador panels and the Campstool fresco with their smaller figures and neutral background already presage the Mycenaean style, although their subject matter remains Minoan. To what extent a Mycenaean presence at Knossos contributed to these stylistic changes is still debated, but clearly this is the formative stage for what is to come, rather than its derivation (as Palmer would have it). It was the style of the late Knossian school and its offshoot at Ayia Triadha that the Mycenaeans emulated when they decorated their mainland palaces, the subject of chapter 6.



6

MYCENAEAN WALL PAINTING

I. General Characteristics and the Early Style

Mycenaean fresco painting is primarily a continuation of Minoan, yet it raises many problems of its own. These are due not so much to a lack of material, for all the great Mycenaean palaces have produced quantities of painted stucco, as to the absence of a sure chronology and our inability to restore with certainty the decoration of a complete room, or even a single wall. Although the careful excavations of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos in the 1950s produced rooms full of the painted plaster that decorated its walls just before the final catastrophe, the fragments are badly burnt and there is nothing like the painted rooms at Thera to guide us in their restoration.¹ While many of the motifs recall those of earlier Minoan painting, for example, the seated women, grazing deer, and shrines from Room 2 (see Pls. 75–77), it is uncertain whether they had a meaningful connection or were arranged as colorful vignettes in an overall decorative scheme (Lang's "wallpaper frieze"). Clearly the Mycenaean were a different people from the Minoans and seem to have created their own imagery, which was partly meaningful and partly decorative.²

From the chronological standpoint there is the more or less fixed *terminal* point of about 1200 B.C. derived from the frescoes still on the walls at the time when Mycenaean palaces were destroyed in great conflagrations (see pages 147–48), a time that coincided with the change from the Late Helladic IIIB pottery style to IIIC. Those that show strong traces of burning should be assigned to this period, even if their execution may have been somewhat earlier in

the thirteenth century. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the art of fresco painting survived into the twelfth century, with the notable exception of the painted limestone stele from Mycenae, a work which bears such a remarkable resemblance to the Warrior Vase (Pls. 84–87) that it is likely both were painted by the same hand (see page 151). Although recent German excavations in the Lower Citadel (the *Unterburg*) at Tiryns have revealed a flourishing LH IIIC period, it is significant that no frescoed rooms have been reported.³ From present evidence we can conclude that wall painting was a palatial art which depended on the patronage of the palaces and died out when they ceased to exist as palaces.

While the greatest amount of Mycenaean wall painting belongs to this final phase of the palaces, it is possible to piece together evidence for earlier stages. The new excavations at Thebes in Boeotia have shown that there were two successive palaces with somewhat different orientations.⁴ From the earlier so-called Kadmeia of Keramopoullou's excavations came fragments of a procession of lifesize women in Minoan dress, which are not only stylistically earlier than the other Mycenaean female processions (see page 115 and Pl. XXI), but, from their context in the earlier palace, ought to be at least half a century earlier than the destruction of the second. This in turn seems to have been destroyed before the fall of the Mycenaean palaces in the Argolid or Messenian Pylos. Thus, the Women's frieze from the Kadmeia ought to be dated to the fourteenth century.⁵

Likewise the destruction of houses outside the citadel walls at Mycenae took place before the final destruction of the palace, and from their debris came a number of fragmentary frescoes which have not yet been published but which ought to be assigned to the mid-thirteenth century.⁶ Furthermore, the frescoes from the House of the Oil Merchant which predate the construction of the house might go back to the fourteenth century. Comparisons of these paintings from private houses (probably those of officials connected with the palace) may eventually help establish some sequence for frescoes found unburnt in deposits on the citadel.

These fresco dumps, such as those at Tiryns between the western citadel wall and the curved extension with the stairway to the postern (Fig. 28),⁷ on the northwest slope beyond the palace at Pylos (Fig. 29),⁸ and below the west retaining wall of the palace at Mycenae (Fig. 30: Pithos Area),⁹ all yielded impressive quantities of wall plaster that had been stripped off the walls and thrown away prior to the final destruction, and they mostly comprised unburnt fragments.¹⁰ While these deposits must be earlier than the final stage of palatial decoration, they have no intrinsic date other than what can be supplied stylistically by comparison with the final decoration. Lang surmised that at Pylos the interval may not have been great.

Thus, although some mainland material goes back into the mid-thirteenth century, and probably into the fourteenth century at Thebes and at Mycenae (as will be shown below for the Ramp House deposit), there is little evidence to suggest that the mainland was developing the art of wall painting concurrently with Crete, although from Late Helladic I on the Shaft Graves and earlier tholoi show close artistic connections with Crete. Is it altogether a matter of preservation, or were the earlier Mycenaean rulers more intent on furnishing their tombs than in decorating their palaces? At any rate, there is no mainland fresco that can be assigned to the period prior to the eruption of Thera, the period that saw the creation on Crete, with its spread to the Cyclades, of the naturalistic style of floral and animal painting, of large-scale

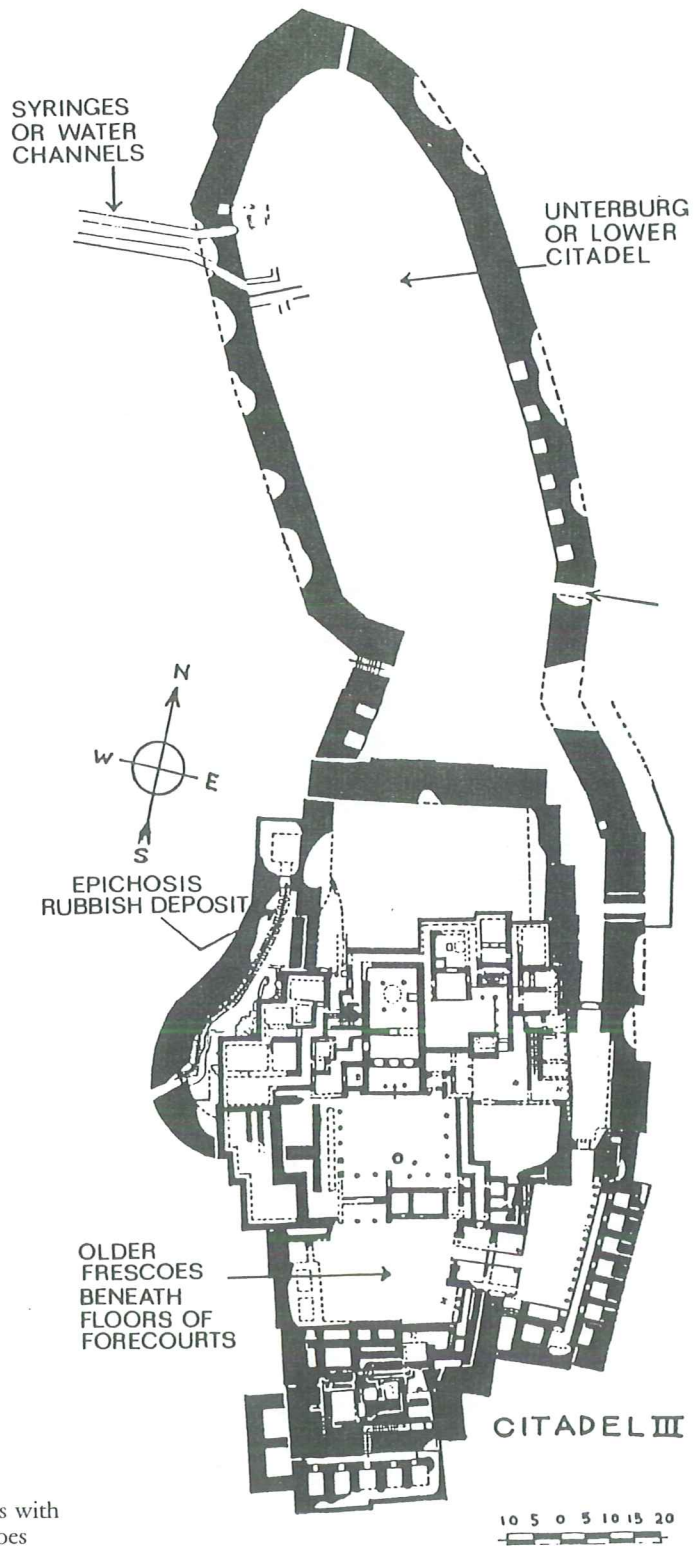


Fig. 28. Plan of Citadel at Tiryns with findspots of major frescoes

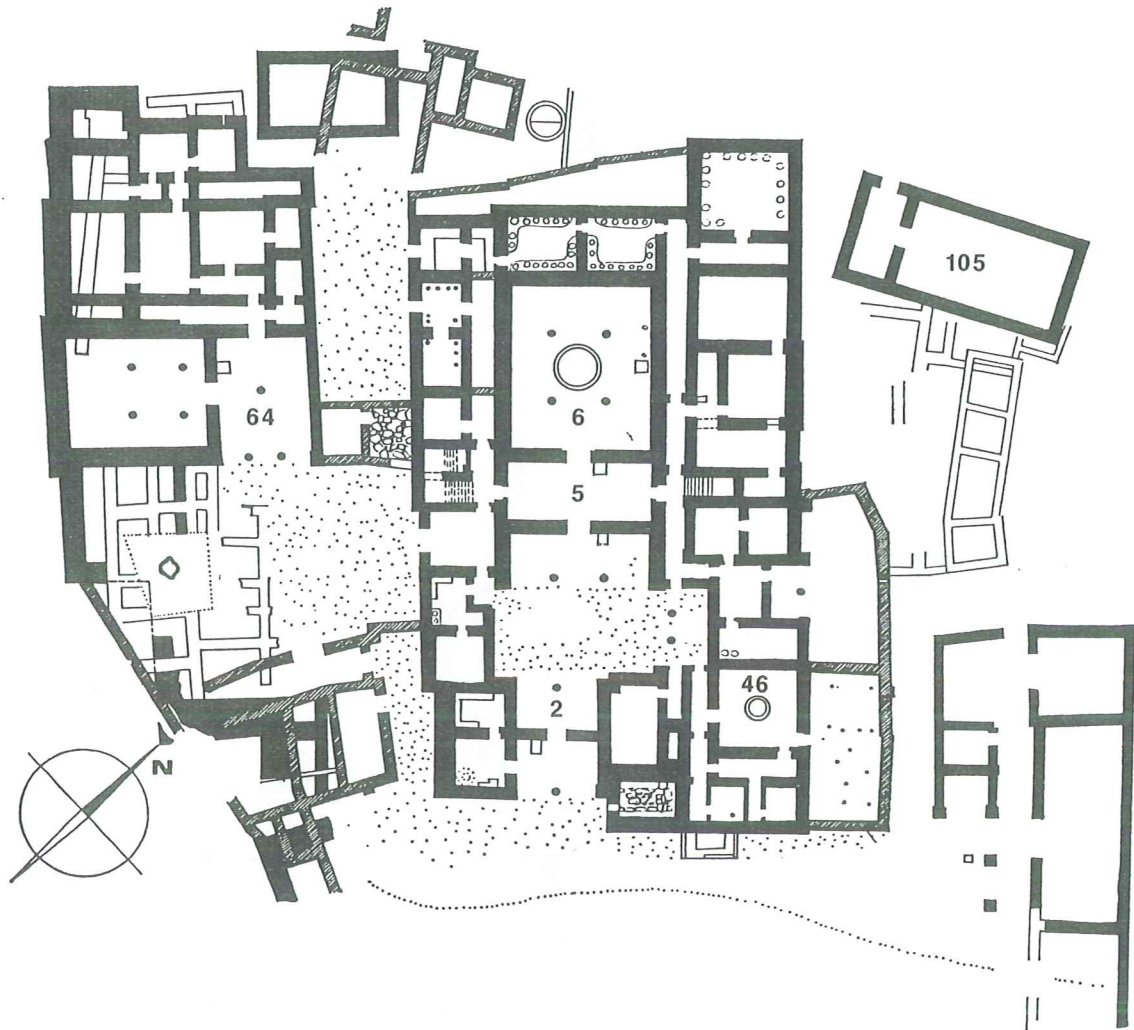


Fig. 29. Plan of Palace of Nestor at Pylos with location of major frescoes

- 2. Inner Propylon (Py No. 12)
- 5. Vestibule (Py Nos. 8, 15)
- 6. Throne Room (Py Nos. 14, 16, 18)
- 46. Small Megaron (Py No. 19; Py No. 11 fallen from above)
- 64. Forehall (Py Nos. 10, 20, 27)
- 105. Wine Magazine (Py No. 1; from drain)
- Northwest Slope Dump (Py Nos. 6, 7, 9, 21)

human figures, and of miniature painting with figures incorporated in a landscape or architectural setting. Is it not symptomatic of this gap that not a single blue monkey or flying swallow has been found in mainland frescoes? It may be, as Cameron suggested,¹¹ that the Mycenaean first came in contact with the art of wall painting in the Cyclades, where they were likely present in some number at Thera, and perhaps in an even greater quantity at Ayia Irini on Keos (see pages 75 and 83).

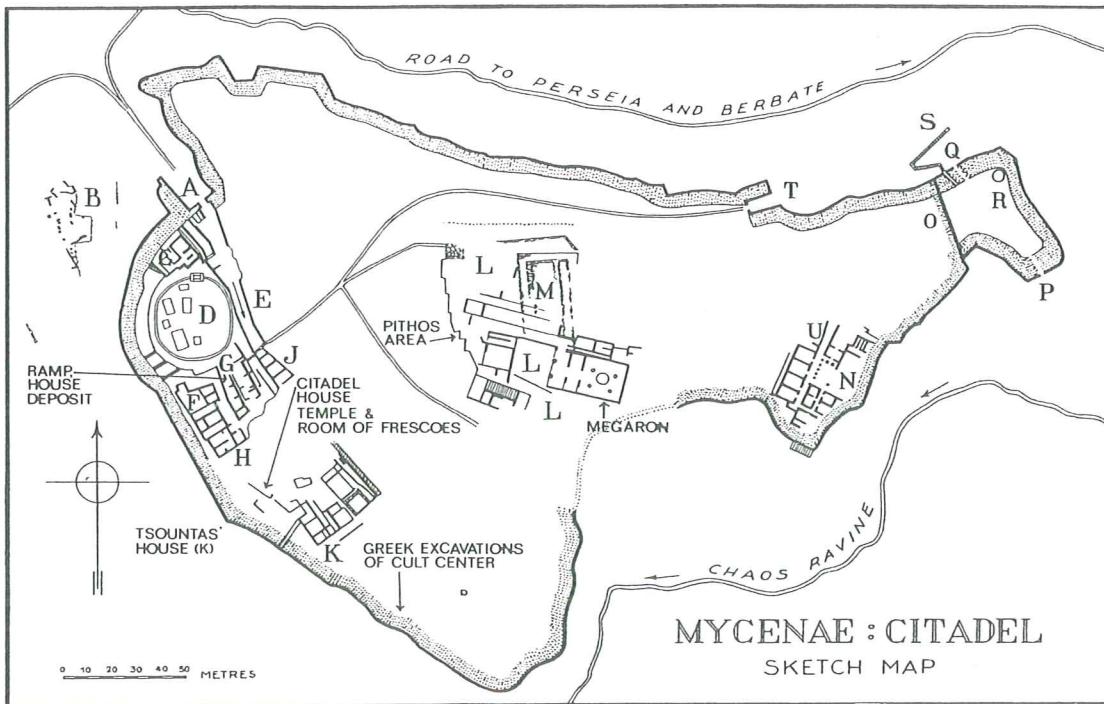


Fig. 30. Plan of Acropolis of Mycenae showing location of major frescoes

However, it is not until the following period, after the LM IB destructions in Crete, that the mainland style of wall painting seems to have been created. The strongest links of the earliest-preserved Mycenaean frescoes are with the later paintings at Knossos and Ayia Triadha, which must be regarded as formative rather than derivative. These paintings set the stamp on much of later Mycenaean painting and through repetition they remained influential on its development over the next century and a half. The continuity can be traced in the large-scale processional figures in Minoan dress, and in religious or symbolic representations like the friezes of figure-eight shields at Mycenae and Tiryns, the griffins guarding the throne at Pylos, and the shrines with beam ends and horns of consecration as in the Room of the Frescoes at Mycenae (see below).

The more secular iconography shows a greater divergence from Minoan, with greater emphasis on hunt and warfare than on religious ritual. However, the general arrangement with small figures of about 30 centimeters in height against a neutral background (usually blue, but sometimes yellow, white, or red, or changing from one color to another along wavy bands) is reminiscent of such Minoan works as the Taureador panels or the Campstool fresco (see pages 90–95 and Pls. 41–42), although the wavy bands were perhaps derived from larger paintings like the Knossian procession, where the divisions were horizontal rather than vertical; they originated perhaps as a technical aid.¹² The new iconography of chariots, hunting, and warfare is essentially mainland, for the chariots on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus and in the new fresco from Knossos were ceremonial (Fig. 27 and Pls. 52–53), whereas the theme of

the warrior in his chariot or engaged in the hunt can be traced back to the carved stelai from the Shaft Graves.¹³

Some Earlier Examples

It is indeed suggestive of the alien character of the Mycenaeans that there are hardly any representations of the popular Minoan ritual sport of bull-leaping in mainland wall painting except for two early examples, when the ties with Crete and Knossos were closest, and a careless and late fragment found by Schliemann at Tiryns.¹⁴ Furthermore, the bull itself is hardly represented except at Pylos, which seems to have had closer links with late palatial Knossos.¹⁵ The two earlier examples of bull-leaping (Pls. XVI and XVII) come from the Ramp House deposit at Mycenae (*My No. 1*) and from a pit below the Wine Magazine at Pylos (*Py No. 1*), thus antedating the construction of these two buildings. In both cases this earlier fresco material, while very fragmentary, helps to close the gap between Minoan and later Mycenaean painting.

1. The Ramp House Deposit

From the Ramp House (see Fig. 30), a building constructed in LH III between the Grave Circle and the great ramp leading up to the palace proper, came an important deposit of fresco material partially excavated by Schliemann but completed by the British in the 1920s. Although the Ramp House itself was not built as early as Wace thought, the frescoes came from a building destroyed before its construction and apparently go back to the fourteenth century.¹⁶ From this deposit came fragments showing taureadors and bulls, which although smaller (only about one-third the size) than the figures in the Knossian Taureador panels (Pls. 41–42) seem to reflect their influence in the neutral blue or ochre background, the surrounding frame of dentil pattern, and their basic iconography (Pl. XVI). While fragmentary, they represent two or three panels, probably arranged in a frieze, and they include both male and female acrobats as well as several red-spotted bulls, one of which was found by Schliemann.¹⁷ There were also several fragments of architecture, likewise in a small scale approaching the miniature. The most interesting is a fragment found by Schliemann, showing women looking out of a series of windows decorated with small white double axes and festoons (Pl. 54). Although the scale is about the same as the seated women in the Grandstand fresco from Knossos (Pl. 22) and the theme recalls the group of women in a casement from Knossos (*KFA*, pl. IV, 15), here the architecture has been simplified and seems more symbolic than the architecture represented in the true miniature style from Akrotiri or Knossos.

Other fragments from the Ramp House deposit are suggestive of earlier works but give little evidence as to how they should be restored, with the exception of fragments of lifesize women, probably arranged as a processional frieze. These include some textile patterns and parts of the background, changing along wavy black bands horizontally from blue to yellow and, in this respect, closer to the Theban frieze than to the later female processions from Tiryns and Pylos (see pages 114–18).¹⁸ Perhaps also coming from this deposit were one or more seated women in stucco relief, of which only two small fragments survived (and are now lost), valuable nonetheless in representing the only such work from the mainland.¹⁹ Other fragments coming from a colorful dado of speckled conglomerate and striped “Easter egg” rocks (*BSA* 24 [1919–21], pl. X, 26–27), as well as a few scraps of floral painting, dark red on a white ground (*ibid.*, pl. X, 29), indicate that naturalism was not completely dead at the outset of Mycenaean painting.

2. Earlier Material from Pylos

At Pylos too there is evidence from painted plaster fragments that antedate the construction of the thirteenth-century palace, a fact indicating earlier buildings on the site. While smaller in size than most of the fresco material, the colors are brighter, for they had escaped the final conflagration. They come in part from wall fill, from pockets of earth outside the palace (not to be confused with the great fresco dumps which are more nearly contemporary with the late palatial decoration), from drains and pits under the later palace, and they most probably represent remnants of the painted decoration of some earlier palace.²⁰

It is to such a period that the Pylos Taureador (*Py No. 1*, Pl. XVII) belongs, probably to the earlier fourteenth century, and thus not far removed from the Knossian Taureador panels. Against a deep blue ground a small dark red figure wearing the Minoan loincloth and belt moves left with arms bent and locks of hair streaming down as if he had just alighted from the back of a white bull, whose hindleg appears at the left of the fragment. Lang characterizes this small fragment as “the most nearly Cretan painting and subject matter of all the frescoes at Pylos.”²¹ The figure is only about one-third the height of the nearest comparable figure from the Knossian panels, the male acrobat now in the Ashmolean Museum (*KFA*, pl. A, fig. 1), yet he is larger by twice the scale of the figures in the true miniature frescoes of the earlier period. Like the “Women in a Loggia” (Pl. 54) from the Ramp House deposit, this seems to be a reduced version of the panel paintings with neutral background of the later Knossian school.

Evidence for other equally early material at Pylos is more uncertain. Two pieces, however, stand out by their unusual iconography which sets them apart from the regular palace themes. One is a small fragment of a figure who must be interpreted as a Minoan daimon to the left against a blue ground with paw raised to a sacral knot, or a flounced skirt (*Py No. 2*).²² Although the theme of the Minoan genius or daimon occurred at Mycenae in fragments from the Cult Center (see page 121), the drawing at Pylos seems finer and the iconography more

unusual, perhaps indicative of an earlier date. The second example from Pylos that is reminiscent of earlier painting, whatever its actual date, consists of two small fragments, now correctly recognized as part of the mast and rigging of a ship like the great ships on the Thera miniature frescoes (Py No. 3, Fig. 31a).²³ Although the dimensions and proportions seem to agree fairly closely with those of the best-preserved ship on the Thera frieze, there is nothing in the Pylos fragments to indicate the scenic quality of that painting; ships may have been repeated schematically against a blue ground as a kind of statement of naval power (cf. the *Ikria* frieze, Fig. 31b, discussed on page 141), and the checkerboard border suggests association with later Pylos frescoes, such as the battle scenes from Hall 64 (Py No. 10).

Fig. 31(a). Reconstruction of Pylos fragments
19 M ne as ship.

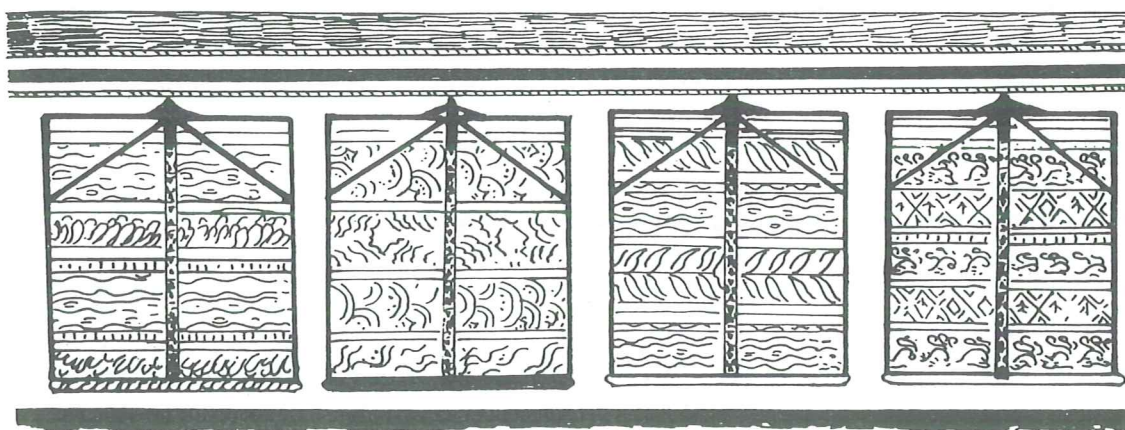
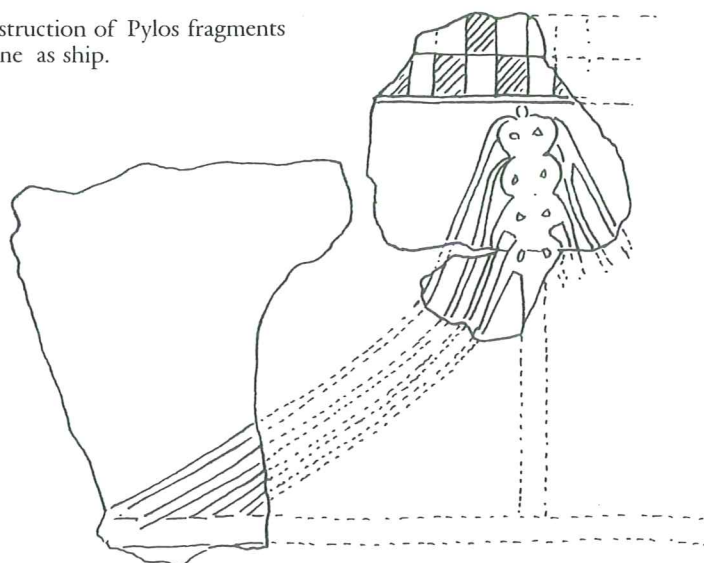


Fig. 31(b). Reconstruction of Mycenaean "hangings" as *ikria* frieze

A number of other fragments from Pylos may be earlier than the main palace decoration, but can be mentioned more briefly. Among them are the fragments with the heads of two warriors in boar's-tusk helmets (Py No. 4), the fine and unburnt fragment depicting a shrine facade from the palace (wall-fill?) (Py No. 5, Fig. 35c), which is much closer to Minoan examples than the shrines of the "wallpaper frieze," and several fragments with floral decoration in bright colors (*Pylos* II, 8 N 32, 14 N nw, 9 N 47, 15 N nw), which are tantalizingly suggestive of earlier work but were probably used in an ornamental context.

With the exception of the Procession of Women from the older palace at Thebes, to be discussed in more detail in the next section, and the fragments just described from Mycenae and Pylos, the other palaces have not provided sure evidence for paintings that may go back to the fourteenth century. Rodenwaldt attempted to divide the material from Tiryns into two groups, coming from his Older and his Newer Palaces, but it is not clear that he was guided altogether by stratigraphic arguments.²⁴ Although there is a stylistic difference among the Tiryns frescoes, nothing looks as early as the Ramp House material from Mycenae or the Pylos Taureador. The Schliemann fragment depicting a bull-leaper (Ti No. 1) is very different and must be late. It shows a red spotted bull to the right against a blue ground with a white acrobat suspended over the animal's back, the whole so carelessly drawn that the artist had to paint the tail of his bull three times!

The published material from Orchomenos connects more closely with the later paintings from Mycenae, and especially Tiryns, which may have furnished the painters responsible for the Boar Hunt paintings in both palaces (see below). Recent reports suggest that Argos produced some early frescoes that decorated buildings (or a palace?) on the Aspis, but these have not been published.²⁵ Scraps of wall painting have also been reported from Gla, but these would belong to the thirteenth century, when the site was developed as a defensive stronghold for the Copais.²⁶

From the evidence available at present it would seem that the leading mainland centers for the development of Mycenaean wall painting were Mycenae and Pylos, with Thebes a third center. Both Mycenae and Pylos were exposed early to influence from Crete, almost certainly with the arrival of Minoan artists at Mycenae at the time of the Shaft Graves, and very likely also at Pylos, although its relation to Crete and especially Knossos may have been somewhat different (see note 15). There is nothing, however, to suggest that this initial contact led to a mainland school of painting, which is first attested in the period following the destruction of the palace at Knossos.²⁷ For the later stages of Mycenaean painting in the thirteenth century for which there is more evidence, the interrelationship of the palaces is best seen by comparing paintings from all the centers according to the various types or genres—processional frescoes and those having primarily a religious or cultic significance, battle and hunting scenes, and finally those that seem to have been purely decorative. Although the sameness in floor decoration with squares filled with octopuses and addorsed dolphins at Tiryns, Pylos, and probably Mycenae and the uniform treatment of the rim of the hearth (with running spiral and flame pattern) in all Mycenaean megara are striking evidence for traveling artists and close communication among the palaces, there are also differences in emphasis on particular subject matter in the various palaces that are worth noting. The following sections will discuss the material according to these types.

II. Processional Frescoes and Other Religious Themes

One of the most frequent themes in Mycenaean wall painting is a procession of lifesize women in Minoan dress (tight bodice with exposed breasts and flounced skirt), each figure bearing an offering and proceeding either to the left or right toward an unspecified goal, which was very likely a seated representation of the goddess (see page 118). Fourteenth-century examples come from the Kadmeia at Thebes (*Th No. 1*), the Ramp House at Mycenae (*My No. 1*), and perhaps from the Aspis at Argos (I, note 25), but the theme persisted to the end of the palace era as proven by examples from Pylos (*Py No. 6*), Tiryns (*Ti No. 4*), and Mycenae (*My No. 2*), some of which were burnt in the final conflagrations.

Perhaps the most widely reproduced processional figure of this type is the Lady with a Pyxis from Tiryns (Pls. 55–56), which is actually a reconstruction on paper by Gilliéron of fragments coming from a number of different figures.¹ However, the general scheme of an elaborately dressed woman with highly stylized coiffure (chignon, ponytail, snailshell curls, and waist-length flowing tresses; see Fig. 26g), bare breast jutting out horizontally in front of her bordered jacket, cinched waist and flounced skirt descending in points between bare feet seems certain. The pyxis, a fair facsimile of a carved ivory example,² is held stiffly between extended hands with long tapering fingers and wrists jointed like those of a doll (see Fig. 32g). Other objects held by the Tirynthian ladies include a ritual vase (*Tiryns II*, pl. X, 2) and an object that may be the lower part of a terracotta figurine or idol (*Tiryns II*, pl. X, 7; here Fig. 33b).³

The Tiryns procession consisted of at least eight, and probably many more,⁴ lifesize women moving in both directions against a neutral blue background crowned by an elaborate border of rosettes framed by ivy leaves and dentils (cf. the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, Pl. 50). They are shown in exaggerated profile (with the exception of their skirts), walking in bare feet⁵ along a dado simulating a wooden beam. All bodices are red, and the designs of the flounced skirts are rather carelessly rendered in blue, yellow, red, black, and white. Since the frescoes had been stripped from the palace walls and thrown into the rubbish deposit on the west slope, the original location of the Tiryns procession is unknown, but from the extreme exaggeration of pose and stylization of body parts (Pl. 55), it should be dated among the latest of the Mycenaean examples.

Two recent studies⁶ deal with the processional theme in Aegean painting, which found its most monumental expression in the Corridor of the Procession at Knossos (see pages 88–90 and Pl. 40). There the majority of figures were male, either wearing kilts like the Cupbearer or a long bordered robe like the lyre-player on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus. Only a few figures, perhaps no more than two, in the Knossian procession were surely female, but the bottom of a flounced skirt and the white feet of a bordered robe suggest that Evans was probably correct in recognizing a representation of a priestess and perhaps a goddess. In the mainland processional paintings a notable change has taken place. Male figures occur only at Pylos (*Py Nos. 7* and *8*), which apparently had stronger contact with Late Minoan Knossos. Elsewhere the mainland processions are entirely female, and the flounced skirt, rather than the bordered

robe, is the characteristic dress. Yet the majority of the processional figures must have represented votaries rather than goddesses,⁷ and the objects they carry—flowers, necklaces or fillets, stone vases, ivory pyxides, wooden boxes, statuettes or idols—must have been intended as gifts for the goddess, who was doubtless represented as a seated figure (see pages 118–19).

This significant change in iconography ought to be a reflection of a change in religious emphasis among the Mycenaeans, who, while they took over the worship of the Minoan Goddess of Nature, imparted their own interpretation to her worship. About this we know all too little, but the new Cult Center at Mycenae with its shrine and statuettes, its painted Room of the Frescoes (Pls. 59–61), and the adjacent area with other important frescoes (see below) should do much to elucidate what is specifically Mycenaean.⁸ However, before this new evidence from Mycenae is considered, the processional theme of women should be examined further.

I. The Theban Procession

It is generally agreed that the earliest of the mainland processions is that from the Kadmeia at Thebes (**Th No. 1**: Pl. XXI), which was found early in the century by the Greek archaeologist Keramopoulos. Its fragments were carefully studied and made the subject of a monograph by Reusch, and the most informative pieces have recently been put on display in the Thebes Museum.⁹ At Thebes the drawing is finer than at Tiryns and the rendering of body parts more natural. The fingers and hands, while conventionalized, seem able to function in different positions—holding a nosegay of roses in a cupped hand (Reusch, Nos. 10 and 30: here Fig. 32e), grasping the handle of a variegated stone vase (No. 29: Fig. 32f), or extended to support from above and below a rectangular box (No. 18: Fig. 32d) in a far more convincing way than the pyxis was held by the lady at Tiryns (Pl. 55). Furthermore, the women are shown in a greater variety of poses with profile (Nos. 18 and 23) or frontal chests (Nos. 5, 10, 15–17), the latter pose perhaps preferred because it allowed for a better display of the many strands of necklaces. All waists, however, are shown in strict profile, whereas the skirts are rendered frontally with the flounces descending to a point in the middle as at Tiryns. But there is much greater variety in color and in details of the costumes: jackets pink or red with blue borders, or light blue with white or dark blue borders, and with differing border patterns (cable, opposed arcs, serpentine dotted loops, etc.) that match those of the girdle, while the skirts are uniformly light blue above the multicolored flounces. Necklaces and bracelets too are individualized: round, lentoid, or papyriform beads in several strands that suggest the glass-paste necklaces found in Mycenaean tombs. Although the color scheme of the figures was restricted to shades of reds and blues with white and black for flesh, hair, and details, another color note was added to the background in the wavy horizontal band of ochre-yellow at waist level, which was framed by white and sky blue without any heavy black lines of demarcation (Pl. XXI).

The women's flesh was reserved in the white plaster without sharp outlines, although red

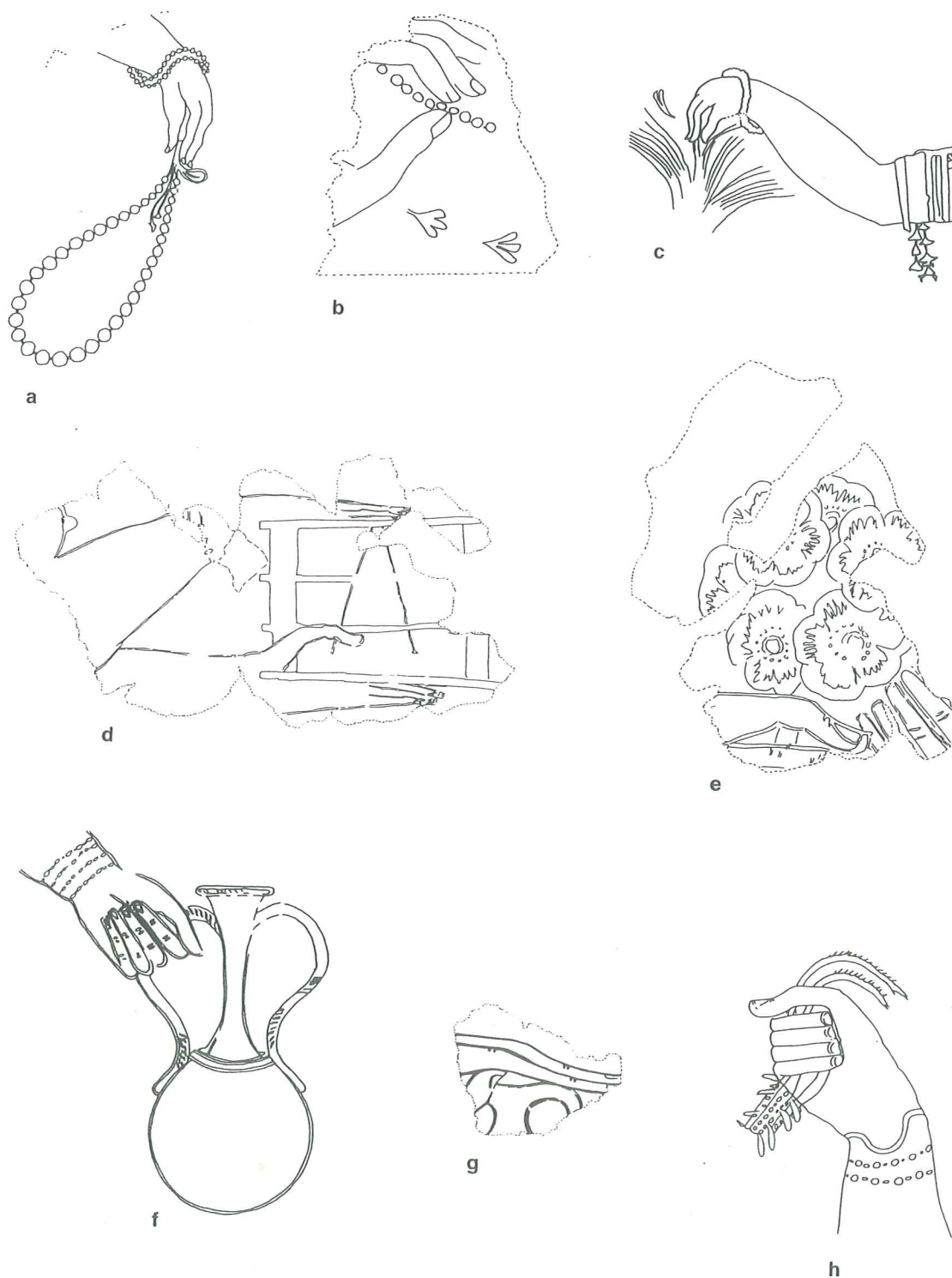


Fig. 32. Details of hands: a and c, Thera; b, Knossos; d–f, Thebes; g, Tiryns; h, Mycenae

sketch lines are sometimes discernible, and occasionally a thick white overpaint was used—for fingernails, bejeweled nets in black chignons, or to touch up a faulty outline. Anatomic details such as outlines of arms and hands, finger joints, lips, etc., were added in red, but no ears are preserved, so it is impossible to judge the degree of stylization in comparison with the Tirynthian. The hair arrangement seems the same as at Tiryns—spit curls across the forehead, short ponytail, twisted shoulder coils, held by fillets or beaded nets, flowing free to waist-length locks, an improbable amount of hair for an ordinary woman and uniform to an unnatural degree. The scheme derives from the later Knossian paintings, such as the female taureadors or the Dancing Lady (Pls. 42–43 and Fig. 26f, page 93). How very different from the variety of hairstyles found in the paintings at Thera (Fig. 26a–d), where blue shaved heads, heads with short curly hair, and others with ample flowing tresses, as well as a redhead, occurred in the paintings from the lustral basin of Xeste 3 (see pages 59–62).

Although Reusch thought that the Theban procession was earlier than the Knossian,¹⁰ this seems unlikely, for the procession at Knossos with its male offering-bearers had earlier precedents both in the Aegean and in Egypt, whereas the Theban is directly in line with other mainland processions which continue into the later thirteenth century.

2. Processions at Mycenae

At Mycenae there may have been as many as five female processions ranging from lifesize down to about one-third, but their original location is unknown (*My No. 2*), with the exception of the new fragments from the Cult Center (*My Nos. 3–5*). Of these, the earliest was doubtless that from the Ramp House deposit, which may have been as early as the procession from the Kadmeia. Although very fragmentary, the drawing of these pieces is fine, and the textile patterns elaborate; the background changes from blue to yellow along undulating horizontal bands. Several of the other friezes were burnt and should therefore come from a later phase of the palace, but they have been poorly published and have little to add. On the other hand, the new frescoes of women from the Citadel House area and Cult Center, some of which belong to the processional class, are of importance in suggesting the goal of the procession (see below).

3. Processions at Pylos

Pylos stands apart from the other mainland palaces in its evidence for male processional figures. From the Vestibule of the late palace came fragments of a procession of small offering-bearers (about 30 cm in height), mostly male but with at least one flounced skirt (*Py No. 8*). Some of the men wore kilts (or drawers?), but others wore long ceremonial bordered robes,

and they carried various objects, including a wicker tray. A shrine may have been represented at the end of the procession, restored as proceeding left on two levels with a lifesize bull in the middle (*Pylas* II, pl. 119). Although badly burnt and uncertain in details of restoration, this procession seems a late reminiscence of the Knossian offering-bearers.

From the somewhat earlier fresco dump on the northwest slope came fragments of lifesize males (*Py* No. 7), including at least one black (59 H nws, *Pylas* II, pl. 129) wearing the early form of Minoan kilt. Strangely, his red-skinned companions (54–8 H nws) wear lion skins, and all have peculiar snoodlike caps. Although no offerings are preserved, these men seem to be part of a procession to the left against a background that changes along wavy horizontal bands at waist level, as did the Knossian procession. Another fragmentary male head, also from the northwest slope dump (60 H nws) is more truly Minoan in style, but faces in the opposite direction.¹¹

The same fresco dump also provided evidence for a procession of lifesize women in Minoan costume, two of whom could be restored on paper (*Py* No. 6, Pl. 57). They carry nosegays of roses, as did some of the Theban ladies, and are shown in a curious compromise between the profile and frontal chest poses, with the leading breast in pure profile, the other omitted, but with the outline of both shoulders and both sleeves indicated. There was some overlapping in their arms and at the bottom of their skirts, for together they occupied a space of only one meter, framed by vertical beams, but other fragments indicate a more extensive procession, not necessarily connected with the lifesize male figures. However, it is tempting to see a connection with the “White Goddess” (Pl. 58) and her priestess (*Py* No. 9), as Lang does, although the differences in background color and in scale present difficulties.¹²

These last two figures (49–50 H nws) suggest the juxtaposition of a standing and a facing seated figure, and perhaps the exchange of an offering, an action which may explain the purpose and goal of the Mycenaean processional women, a goal now confirmed by the new fresco material from the Cult Center at Mycenae. With the “White Goddess” (Pl. 58), so identified by her larger scale and elaborate headdress, shown in profile to the left against a blue ground, is connected another fragment showing the lower part of a standing female in a bordered robe facing right, her feet overlapping a bolster-shaped object with the suggestion of carved decoration (*Pylas* II, 50 H nws, pls. D and N). Lang is probably right in interpreting this as a footstool and in connecting it with a seated figure facing left whom the priestess is approaching, but whether or not the “White Goddess” is that particular figure seems more problematic because of differences in scale and background color.

Frescoes from the Cult Center at Mycenae

Recent British and Greek excavations on the south slope of the citadel (Fig. 30), in the area formerly known as Tsountas’ House, have produced not only important new fresco material

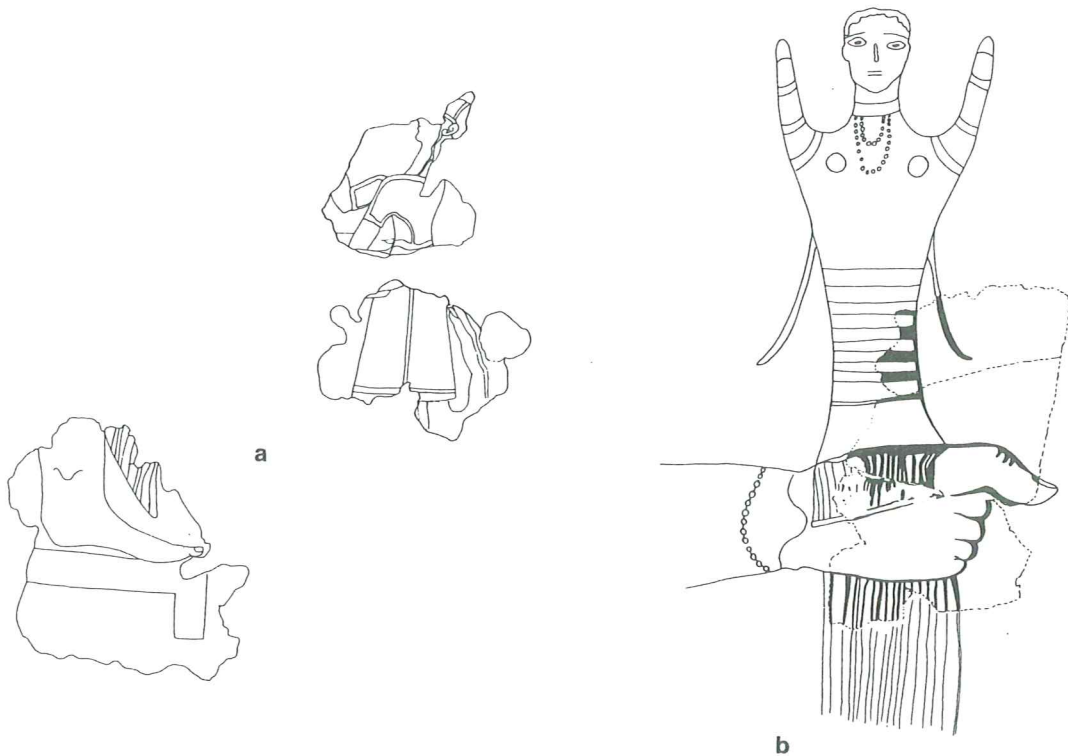
but also architectural evidence that will contribute immeasurably, when fully published, to our understanding of Mycenaean religion. The bulk of the architectural cultic material comes from Taylour's excavation with its "temple" or shrine building with terracotta idols, and the adjacent Room of the Frescoes with paintings still *in situ* when excavated. However, Mylonas's excavation slightly further to the east produced even more spectacular paintings, and undoubtedly the two areas were part of *one* cult center.¹³

We begin with the paintings from Mylonas's area, the Southwest Building, which he identifies as the House of the High Priest, for these have been fully published and connect more directly with the processional theme (My No. 3). Numerous fragments of female figures wearing flounced skirts occur in at least two different scales.¹⁴ Most fragments come from standing figures, but at least two seated figures were represented. The so-called "Mykenaia" or Mycenaean Lady (Pl. XX), who has been on display in recent years in the Mycenaean Room of the National Museum, was apparently a seated figure. This large fragment shows the upper part of a lifesize woman with frontal torso, who turns her head in profile to the left. In her clenched right hand (Fig. 32h) she holds a necklace of beads similar to the ones she is wearing. The background is blue, and she wears a short-sleeved bodice of saffron yellow with red and white borders cut so as to expose her bosom, but which is here covered with a diaphanous blouse of the same saffron hue. Although the thumb on the left hand, which is raised toward the necklace she wears, is shown incorrectly on the exposed side, most of the drawing is elegant, particularly the elongated almond-shaped eye and rather delicate profile. The hair is unusually detailed with fine white reserved, or applied, lines. From the context she must be dated to the LH IIIB period, but she has none of the coarseness of the Tirynthian ladies. Kritseli-Providi, who published the material, connects with the "Mykenaia"—this fragment could come from either a standing or a seated figure—some curious flounced skirt fragments (B-20 and 21) which can only come from a figure seated in profile to the left. She thus interprets the "Mykenaia" as a goddess who has just received the necklace from a procession of women moving toward the right against a blue ground (Kritseli-Providi, B-22-3, 50-51, pls. Γ and 10).

On another wall there may have been a second procession moving toward the left against a white ground (My No. 4). One fragment (B-3) showing a foot resting on a rectangular footstool clearly belongs to a seated figure facing right. The other fragment (B-2) shows a pair of female hands holding up a diminutive female—a doll or mannikin dressed in a sleeved dress of yellow fabric with red dots and borders (Kritseli-Providi, 41-42, pl. 6: here Fig. 33a). This is clearly not a terracotta figurine or idol like those from the neighboring temple or other Mycenaean sanctuaries¹⁵ but rather the facsimile of an actual female, perhaps conveying the idea of dedicating a child. What is puzzling is the relationship of the two hands who hold the "child." Do both hands belong to the goddess who examines the gift, or does the hand at the right belong to the giver, who would then be the lead figure of the procession?¹⁶ Thus, both the "Mykenaia" and the seated goddess represented by B-2 seem to show the culmination of the Mycenaean processional theme, that is, the receiving of offerings borne by priestesses or attendants as represented in the Theban, Pylian, and Tirynthian women processions.

According to Mylonas the cult use of this area continued right down to the final destruction of Mycenae in the twelfth century, for in the neighboring area in a rubbish deposit with LH

Fig. 33. (a) Presentation scene from Cult Center, Mycenae. (b) The figurine from the Tiryns Women's frieze



IIIC pottery was found the upper part of a lifesize female figure to the right holding in her left hand a single yellow lily blossom (My No. 5). She has been interpreted as a standing processional figure with her offering in the tradition of the other earlier females. Clearly the "Lady with the Lily" belongs to a later and more conventionalized phase than the "Mykenaiia," yet she has a certain delicate grace, and it seems questionable that the painting is as late as the pottery found with it.¹⁷

Not all paintings from the Cult Center were of the high quality of the fragments from the Southwest Building. The frescoes from the nearby Room of the Frescoes (My No. 6) were certainly by a different artist. Their significance depends primarily on their more complete preservation, their association with architecture, and especially on their iconography, which is unusual and cannot properly be called processional. Yet the associated architecture of the room and the motifs of the painted architectural framework leave no doubt about its religious character. Against the east wall of a small rectangular room was a projecting stuccoed bench, or altar, decorated with a painted beam-end frieze surmounted by horns of consecration (Pl. 59). Above this altar, in an architectural framework defined by two spirally fluted columns and a dado of ashlar masonry, stood two facing female figures of near lifesize with an enormous sword with midrib pointing downward between them (Pl. 60). Although

the upper part of both women and the top of the sword are missing, the main composition is clear: the figure on the left in a blue straight dress with tasseled and fringed borders, the one on the right in the Minoan flounced skirt. She holds a scepter, and between the sword and the scepter float two diminutive figures (the upper red, the lower black), poorly preserved, who seem not to be statuettes but symbolic *eidola* (see chapter 7). The scene clearly takes place in a shrine, but it is uncertain whether both women are to be construed as goddesses, or one a priestess.

To the left of the main scene and the projecting bench the wall is divided horizontally; in the lower panel the upper part of a seated (?) female figure is preserved. She wears a sleeved bodice under an animal skin fastened diagonally and a flat-topped headdress with plume like those worn by Mycenaean sphinxes, while she also holds aloft in each hand a sheaf of grain (Pl. 61).¹⁸ To her right is the red abacus block and yellow foliate capital of a column like those in the shrine, but shorter. All that remains of the upper panel is the start of the rosette frame on either side. These paintings suggest different types or aspects of the female divinity—a warlike goddess associated with the sword and a fertility goddess in the woman with the sheaves.¹⁹

In support of a Mycenaean warlike goddess prefiguring Pallas Athena, the small stucco plaque found by Tsountas in the neighboring area has been cited (*My No. 7*). Although the painted scene is poorly preserved, it shows two females in flounced skirts facing inward with their arms outstretched toward a large spotted figure-eight shield with a small altar at the right (Pls. 62–63). Is there a white head turned left associated with the shield (as Rodenwaldt thought), or is the shield on a standard—a palladion (as Mylonas believes)? Whichever interpretation is followed, it suggests the presence of a warlike goddess in the pantheon at Mycenae, to which the large frieze of figure-eight shields adds confirmation (see pages 138–40). This plaque, although in a miniature scale, should not be associated with Minoan miniature painting, but belongs to the more specific Mycenaean style and should probably not be dated earlier than the thirteenth century.

Tsountas also found in the same area a small fragment with blue ground showing three Minoan genii with donkey heads carrying a pole over their shoulders (*My No. 8*). This fragment can now be connected, iconographically at least, with new pieces found by Mylonas showing similar daimons and palm trees.²⁰

Perhaps the most interesting and enigmatic fragment found by Mylonas in the area shows a woman wearing a boar's-tusk helmet and carrying in her arms a winged griffin (*My No. 9*). The whole is reserved in white against a blue ground with details delicately painted in black with a yellowish wash for the griffin's wings. Mylonas interprets this figure as a woman because of the white skin and long hair, and thus makes an association with the Warrior Goddess, but he does not suggest the broader iconographic context of the small painting. Might it not represent an ivory figurine or group being borne as an offering by one of the processional figures from the nearby area?²¹

Thus, the new excavations in the Cult Area at Mycenae have vastly enlarged our knowledge of the religious iconography of Mycenaean painting and have shown that its high quality continued right down to the destruction of the Mycenaean palace.

III. Mycenaean Narrative Compositions

Characteristic of every Mycenaean site where frescoes have been found, this group of paintings reflects the true Mycenaean iconography without the strongly Minoanized features of the processional and religious paintings. Although the background of such narrative themes may lie in Minoan miniature painting, particularly as represented in the Cyclades at Akrotiri and Ayia Irini (see pages 70–75 and 82–83), the full exploitation of themes of warfare and hunting seems to have been specifically a mainland phenomenon whose roots can be traced back into the Shaft Grave era on the carved stone stelae, gold signet rings, and inlaid daggers. However, there is no sure evidence for their occurrence in mainland wall painting until the Late Helladic III period, when curiously the earliest material has a more strongly Minoan character, for example, the taureador scenes from the Ramp House at Mycenae and from Pylos (see pages 110–12).

Although there are iconographic and stylistic differences from site to site, certain general characteristics of Mycenaean narrative painting stand out. A neutral background, usually blue, but sometimes blue and yellow with vertical or wavy line divisions, was preferred. A minimal use of “prop” architecture or landscape contrasts with the more naturalistic settings of Cretan or Cycladic painting, but this change had also taken place in Crete in the latest paintings (see pages 90–96).

The human figures of about 20 to 25 centimeters (7 to 10 inches) are comparable in size to those of the later Minoan panels or friezes such as the Campstool (**Kn No. 26**) or “Palanquin” (**Kn No. 25**) frescoes. They seldom stand on any fixed groundline, and are often scattered on several levels, a practice also seen on the Thera miniature frieze, where the fuller topographic settings gave a more convincing rationale for their placement. Male figures predominate, usually dressed in a knee-length short-sleeved chiton, often with contrasting borders and showing underarm seaming. Greaves, or “leggings,” sometimes latticed strapwork boots, boar’s-tusk helmets, lances, and spears designate warriors but are also found in the hunting scenes (see below). Women appear only in a subsidiary role, as spectators watching from windows in the battle scene from the megaron at Mycenae (**My No. 11**) or riding to the hunt at Tiryns (**Ti No. 6**), where they wear the sleeved tunic of the charioteers on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (Pl. 52) and on Mycenaean pictorial vases (Pl. 46). Although the women in the Mycenae fresco (Pl. 65) are not very explicitly rendered, they should probably be thought of as wearing Minoan palatial dress, since the theme of women in windows goes back to Minoan miniature painting (see page 66).¹ The Lyre-Player of the Pylos Throne Room (**Py No. 14**) wears a long-sleeved garment with a diagonally wrapped skirt more like the dress of figures on the Campstool fresco.

The precise subject matter in this group of paintings is less easy to define than its general style. Clearly two themes predominate, the battle and the hunt, but they cannot always be distinguished, and they often seem to have a generic rather than a specific meaning. Although the same questions were raised in connection with the Ship fresco from Thera, there are fewer topographical clues in the later Mycenaean paintings, which have a much more formulaic

quality, as if the painters had been repeating a number of stock motifs for centuries. Another problem in interpretation results from the fragmentary nature of the material and from the fact that certain motifs are common to both themes, of warfare and hunt. Costumes are basically the same, except that helmets are restricted almost entirely to scenes of warfare, where, curiously, shields are almost never represented, although they had figured prominently in the Theran landing party (Fig. 38a) and in Shaft Grave art in general (see chapter 4, III). Spears, or lances, are the main weapons for both themes, although the short dagger with baldric occurs in the battle scenes from Pylos (see below). Horses and chariots are common to both, although probably in the role of conveyance to the battlefield or hunt. A palace facade, or a suggestion of architecture, implies a connection with a battle scene (the old theme of the defense or storming of a citadel as on the Mycenae Siege rhyton) and hand-to-hand combats with emphasis on different nationalities, as at Pylos, are proof of warfare. On the other hand, boars or stags, coupled with sparse landscape elements, clearly denote the hunt. But many individual figures are of themselves difficult to assign with certainty to one theme or the other.

Battle Scenes

I. The Mycenae Megaron Paintings

We begin with the most famous frescoes depicting scenes of battle (*My No. 11*), those found in the megaron at Mycenae, mostly by Tsountas in the 1880s, with additions by Rodenwaldt (1914) and by the British School in the 1920s. These paintings decorated the walls of the megaron (see plan, Fig. 30) at the time of its destruction at the end of the thirteenth century, and the colors are badly faded and smoked, with many details hardly legible today, including the fragment showing a hurtling warrior falling above a building with the heads of women in windows (Pl. 65).²

Rodenwaldt, who has made the fullest study of the Megaron paintings, interpreted them as a frieze that ran around all four walls of the inner room with the hearth, but, unfortunately, two walls of the room had already collapsed down the hillside by the time of excavation, restricting preservation to the west, or entrance, wall and the long north wall, where fragments were found on the floor near the northwest corner. The frieze was presumably at eye level and must have been from two to three feet in height to accommodate the various levels of figures represented in several fragments, as well as the architectural facades with figures above or below. The entrance wall may have represented preparations for battle with horses being led by grooms and an unyoked chariot.³

Iconographically, the preparations pieces resemble the somewhat earlier Groom fresco (*My*

No. 10), which was unburnt and may have come from a part of the clearly earlier palace higher up the acropolis. This painting (Pl. 64) is slightly smaller in scale than the Megaron paintings and shows less free placement of figures at various levels. The background changes vertically from blue to yellow along straight edges, as did the Megaron frieze, but it shows an upper zone of descending rockwork above the figures, a feature suggesting stylistic connection with some earlier Mycenaean pictorial kraters with chariot representations that can be dated to the early fourteenth century (Pl. 46).⁴ This need not, however, imply so early a date for the fresco, which may be part of a long tradition; the fragments as preserved look less early than the often-published reconstruction, and the drawing is rather careless. At any rate, it must precede the Megaron frieze, for it had been stripped from the wall before the burning of the palace. The parallels it furnishes for the preparations section are an unyoked chariot in each, single horses attended by grooms in short tunics without greaves or helmets, and a few fully armed warriors with pairs of horses ready for the chariots.⁵

At least two, and probably more, harnessed horse-drawn chariots were portrayed in the Megaron frieze. These belong to the well-known dual type for driver and attendant,⁶ a type introduced, or adapted, in the Aegean during the fifteenth century from Near Eastern prototypes. Although already met in the Late Minoan II to IIIA paintings in Crete, at Knossos (Kn No. 25) and on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (A.T. No. 2) (see pages 92–95 and 101), the chariot comes into its own on the Mycenaean mainland in wall paintings and on pictorial vases.

The Aegean chariot has lately been the subject of an exhaustive study by J. Crouwel, who notes that with the exception of the Shaft Grave era (when the chariot was first introduced from the Near East) chariots in the Aegean had a somewhat different use from their Near Eastern counterparts, for they are depicted not as fighting or shooting platforms but rather as *conveyances* to the battle or the hunt.⁷ They thus seem to have acquired special importance as status symbols for the warrior elite, and their usage agrees with the Homeric poems with their emphasis upon hand-to-hand combat between dismounted warriors who had driven to the battlefield in chariots. Surprising as this theory may seem at first, with the close association of chariots and military equipment in the Knossos tablets, it is supported by the absence of archers, the bow being the main weapon for chariotry, and by the slow gait of the horses, as if the chariots were almost stationary. Both of these characteristics set them apart from Near Eastern and Egyptian representations of chariots in battle, although the hurtling warrior from the Megaron frieze (Pl. 65) has been thought to derive from these (see III, note 2). The two best-preserved chariots from this painting were proceeding slowly, and of the “galloping” horses associated with the falling warrior only a sepia smudge remains at the top of the fragment. Furthermore, the only archer in the paintings is a restoration by Rodenwaldt.⁸

Clearly fighting scenes were a major part of the whole composition, but they seem to have been hand-to-hand combats between armed foot soldiers, such as were depicted on the fragmentary silver krater from the fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.⁹ Although several centuries separate the two works—the warriors on the vase are bare-legged and wear the divided kilt or drawers—the lunging poses of the spearmen and the bent legs with feet poised on uneven

terrain are similar (cf. Fig. 38b and c; and page 139). In both works the boar's-tusk helmet occurs, but the large body shields of the krater—figure-eight and rectangular to distinguish the two sides—are missing from the painting, which shows no protective armor other than the stiff chitons. Furthermore, there seems no attempt to separate defenders from adversaries, and all wear Mycenaean greaves.¹⁰ Our evidence comes, however, from woefully small and ill-preserved fragments; at Pylos the treatment of hand-to-hand combat is less ambiguous (see below).

Another feature of the battle scenes at Mycenae with a long tradition is the representation of a walled city before which the combat takes place, as on the silver Siege rhyton (see pages 70 and 123). On the Megaron frieze this motif occurs in two places: the architectural fragment with the falling warrior (Pl. 65), who, however we interpret his predicament, surely belongs with the battle, and the more extensive architecture depicted on a somewhat smaller scale in fragments found by the British School (Fig. 35a), where the imminence of battle is less clear. The heads of women and the semblance of landscape in the foreground suggest that it may belong with, or even precede, the preparations section.¹¹ Details of architecture are minimal, with the major emphasis placed upon broad rectangles of black and white checkerboard, perhaps to represent ashlar masonry, although in Cretan painting it had been used more sparsely and as a decorative feature (Fig. 34e); however, the wooden tie-beams and downward tapering columns are more strictly in the Minoan tradition.

A few fragments from the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae (*My No. 13*) show bits of architecture (ashlar with mortised piers, a window opening, a foot standing upon a wall), as well as women and horses, all on a somewhat smaller scale than the Megaron paintings but probably related iconographically.

2. The Orchomenos Battle Scenes

The paintings that have the closest affinities with the Mycenae Megaron frieze, particularly its architectural fragments, are those found years ago by Bulle at Boeotian Orchomenos in the Copais, where there must once have existed a splendid palace, for which the great tholos tomb known as the "Treasury of Minyas" was its funerary complement. This palace may have been located near the Byzantine church of the Skripou, where Bulle found some of his fragments and where recent Greek excavations have uncovered a megaron-type building and additional frescoes (see below). Unfortunately, these paintings (*Or No. 1*) are quite fragmentary, but some pieces show checkerboard masonry with feet and greaved legs, probably standing on several levels, with an altarlike structure glimpsed through an opening (Fig. 35b).¹² Is this not a schematic rendering of a Mycenaean citadel with sentries manning its walls and towers and with a vista into the courtyard? Other fragments depict horses, parts of chariots, some bent male limbs suitable for hand-to-hand combatants, as well as some

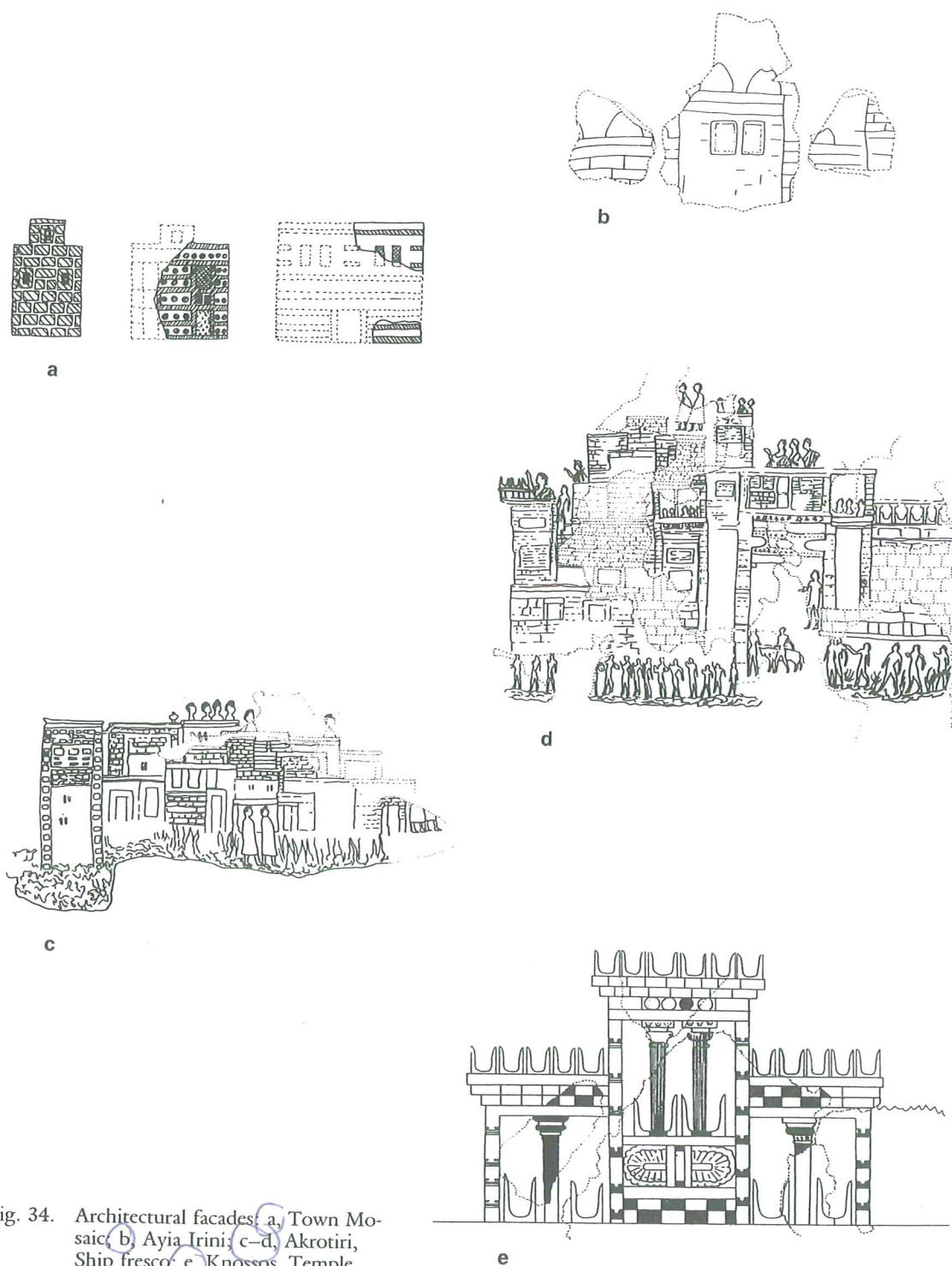
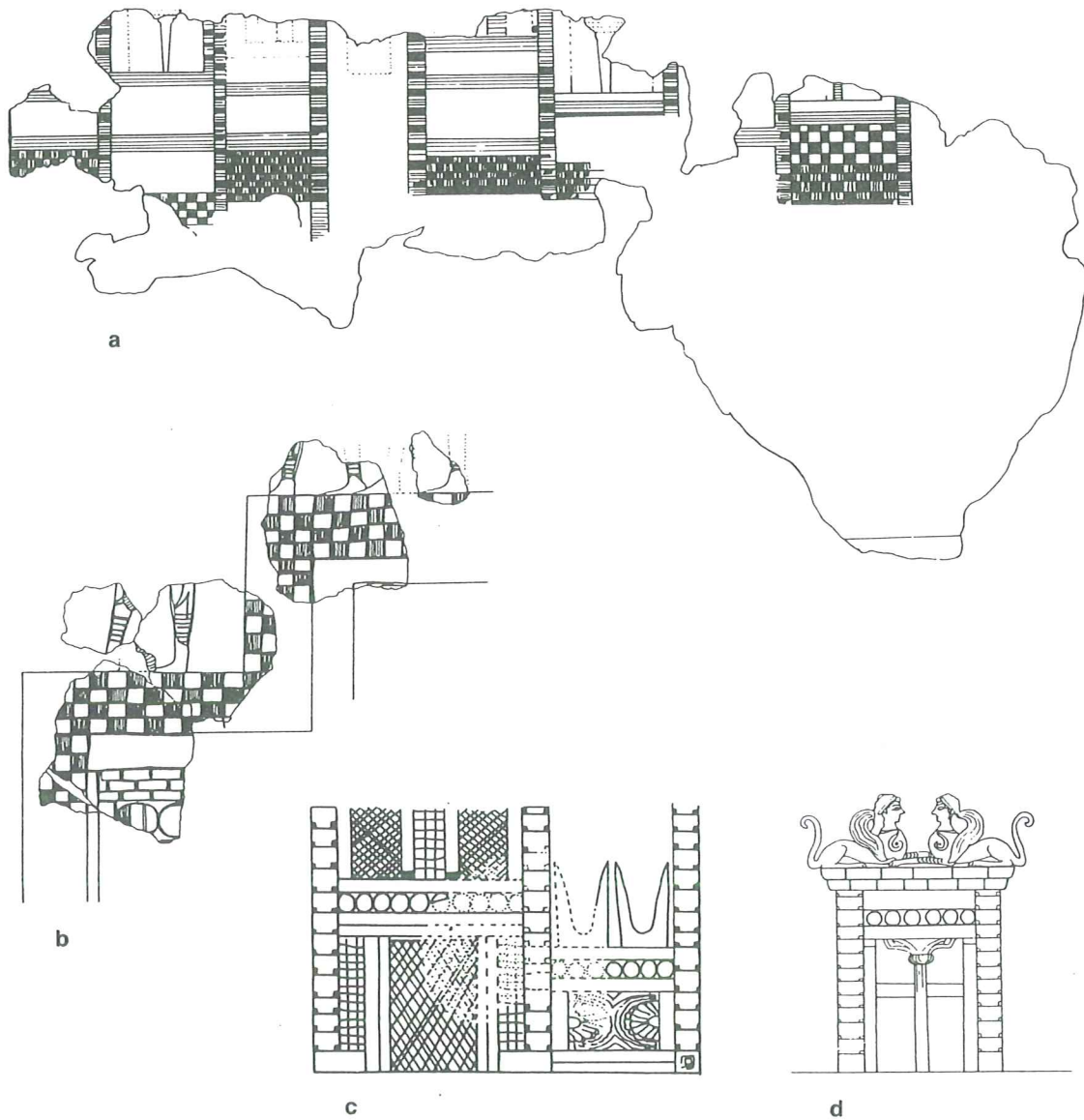


Fig. 34. Architectural facades: a, Town Mosaic; b, Ayia Irini; c-d, Akrotiri, Ship fresco; e, Knossos, Temple fresco

Fig. 35. Mycenaean architectural facades: a, Mycenae Megaron; b, Orchomenos; c-d, Pylos



mysterious figures in a horizontal position with extended arms (Or No. 2), which Bulle interpreted as bull-leapers, although without any trace of the animal. However, it is hard to imagine two figures somersaulting over the back of a bull at the same time, and a possible interpretation would see them as swimmers who should be connected with the attack of the citadel.¹³

3. The Pylos Battle Scenes

At Pylos the battle scenes seem to belong to a different tradition from those at Mycenae or Orchomenos. There is much more emphasis upon hand-to-hand combat, and on the foreign, even outlandish, character of the adversaries. Nonetheless, the broad bands of black and white checkerboard that frame the paintings from Hall 64 of the Southwestern Building (Py No. 10) may suggest a remote connection with the theme of the defense of a citadel, and the badly preserved fragments of a horse-drawn chariot with a tunic-clad driver wearing a boar's-tusk helmet are more in the traditional mode of Mycenae and Orchomenos (Pl. 67).¹⁴ However, most of the fragments, badly smoked and almost illegible, portrayed "duomachies," or duels, between contestants characterized by different costumes. The more civilized "Mycenaeans" were dressed in short skirts with black lappets, perhaps nude from the waist up with a baldric across the shoulder; they were equipped with short swords or daggers, and were protected by boar's-tusk helmets and greaves, but with no sign of shields (Fig. 38d). Their adversaries were distinguished by an animal skin knotted over the shoulder (cf. a fragment from the northwest slope, *Pylos* II, 74, pl. B, 31 H nws, the so-called "Tarzans"), and apparently they wore no helmets or greaves. The actions of these pairs of duelists are so violent and contorted that in some cases they have been turned ninety degrees from the upper border (Pl. 66), which leads to uncertainty as to how the action is to be interpreted. Nonetheless, the effect of violence through flailing limbs is achieved, even if the artist is working within a tradition he no longer fully understands; for many of the poses with their swordplay go back to the seals and gems of the Early Mycenaean period.¹⁵ The background changes along wavy vertical black lines enclosing a narrow white area, a system peculiar to Pylos.

4. Other Battle Scenes

None of the fresco fragments from Rodenwaldt's Old or New Palace at Tiryns can clearly be assigned to a battle scene. Helmets are lacking, as are any figures that might be construed as hand-to-hand combatants, and the tunic-clad men with lances, as well as the fragments of horses and chariots, are better connected with the hunt (see below). The few scraps of architectural representations¹⁶ are not sufficient to suggest a palace facade, and certainly not a citadel being defended.

At Thebes only the Women's frieze from the older Kadmeia has been fully published (see pages 115–17). Because of the difficulties of excavating under the present town, only scraps of wall painting have been recovered in recent years, and it is difficult to gain any coherent picture from them. One small fragment, however, is pertinent to the above discussion of battle scenes, for it shows the head of a warrior in boar's-tusk helmet within a rectangular opening (Th No. 2). Although the vertical panels to the right and left seem more decorative than architectural, it is just possible that this head should be interpreted as looking out from the aperture of an architectural facade or battlement.

Hunting Scenes

The other main theme for Mycenaean narrative friezes is the hunt, specifically the boar hunt, although deer and perhaps hare were also represented. Lions, or other more exotic creatures, were, however, not depicted in these scenes, although they had occurred in the Shaft Grave era in such works as the inlaid dagger and gold bead seal¹⁷ and continued to be used emblematically (see below). In the frescoes the emphasis was on what must really have taken place on the Greek mainland in pursuit of the wild boar, for which the number of specimens of actual tusks, plates from helmets, and their frequent representation in other works of art are proof of its popularity.¹⁸

1. The Tiryns Boar Hunt

The best-known and most extensive hunting scene is that from the later palace at Tiryns (Ti No. 6), well studied and published by Rodenwaldt. Fragments of a somewhat earlier hunting scene (Ti No. 2) were assigned by him to his older palace, but they contribute nothing different iconographically and are probably not so early as Rodenwaldt believed (see page 113). The later frieze, of which some two-hundred and fifty fragments were found, had been stripped from the walls of the palace and tossed over the west wall into the rubbish deposit (*epichosis*: plan, Fig. 28) which also yielded the Women's frieze, thus limiting our knowledge of its composition and location to a study of the extant fragments.

Three major themes are repeated a number of times, with variations in detail. The first consists of hunters proceeding on foot, often accompanied by large dogs of the greyhound type on leashes (Pl. 68). The hunters are bare-headed, dressed in short bordered tunics, and wear greaves or leggings and often high shoes of braided straps. They carry one or two spears over their shoulders. Because of the white footgear of certain fragments (which Rodenwaldt equated with white flesh showing through the straps), he postulated female participation in the hunt, a Mycenaean precedent for Atalanta in the Calydonian Boar Hunt of Classical times.¹⁹ Women certainly attended the hunt, as evidenced by the chariot groups, and the question thus involves their role, whether as spectators or participants.

In the chariot groups (Pl. 69), of which there may have been six or more, two women dressed in sleeved tunics stand side by side in a dual-type chariot, one figure holding the reins of a team of two horses, distinguished by their different colors and doubled outlines (as had been the Egyptian practice in representing teams of oxen or other animals).²⁰ The Tiryns frieze provides perhaps the fullest depiction of the harnessing of horses and the attachment of the chariot, and this has enabled scholars to attempt a reconstruction and assess the practicality of the Mycenaean chariot. As previously mentioned, it is Crowell's opinion that its function was limited to that of conveyance to the battlefield or the hunt; here at Tiryns the horses proceed at a sedate pace and their drivers appear uninvolved.²¹ No spears are represented, and

without more evidence the women should probably be regarded as spectators rather than potential participants. The chariots are shown proceeding in both directions, which led Rodenwaldt to place them at either end, followed by the hunters with greyhounds, as one fragment suggests (*Tiryns* II, pl. XI, 4). These figures and the chariots were aligned on the white base stripe, and the background contained stylized “lollipop” trees, which suggest the departure from the palace environs rather than a forest setting, for they derive from the earlier olive trees of Minoan painting (cf. with Pl. 23). Here they are treated altogether abstractly and decoratively: vertical knobby trunks like those of palm trees, racket-shaped crowns painted in different pastel shades with contrasting borders, inner drawing in black depicting leaves on twigs. The trees, which in some cases extend to the upper border, are important in giving the total height of the frieze (about 36 cm or 14 inches).

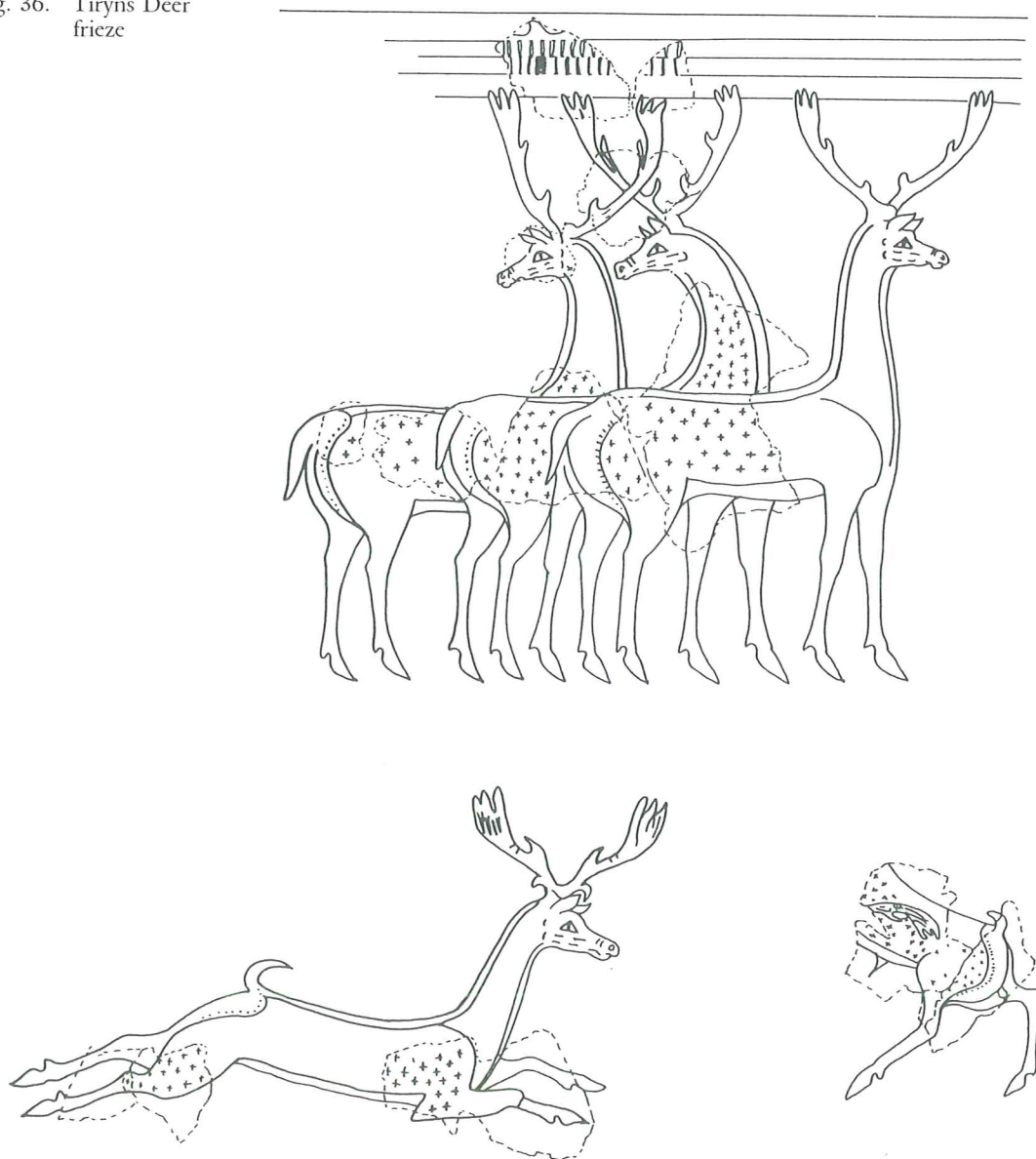
The third theme of the frieze, presumably in the middle, pictured the pursuit and killing of the boar (Pl. 70), a theme repeated several times with variations. The boar is depicted running free in a flying gallop, while pursued and bitten by hunting dogs who leap upon his back (*Tiryns* II, pls. XI, 3 and 7 and XIII), and trammelled in a net where he is stabbed between the eyes (pls. XI, 2, 8; XIV, 8; fig. 55). In this section a fixed groundline was avoided, and the background was filled with S-shaped white plants with red markings to suggest the marshy setting where the boar is finally run down by nets stretched across the entrance and exit of the swamp, a procedure similar to that of later boar hunts in myth and history. While noting these similarities, Rodenwaldt emphasized the differences in iconography: the generic cycle of events at Tiryns as contrasted with the individual, heroic exploits of Greek narrative. Nevertheless, the Tiryns Boar Hunt, as reconstructed from its fragments, remains the most completely understood example of Mycenaean narrative painting; it seems essentially a Mycenaean creation, based on actual customs of the Greek mainland.²²

2. The Tiryns Deer Frieze

A third group of fragments from the west slope rubbish deposit represented deer and stags against a blue ground (Ti No. 7; Fig. 36). Although the scale and decorative borders at top and bottom agree with those of the Boar Hunt, Rodenwaldt argued against associating these fragments in one composition. He stressed its more purely decorative character: the neutral blue background, the absence of human figures, and the unrealistic coloration of the deer, their dappled hides ranging from blue to rose to orange, with even a violet introduced. But is this coloring very different from the decorative hues of the olive trees and the spotted hunting dogs of the Boar Hunt? It would seem entirely appropriate to locate the Deer fresco on another wall of the same room to suggest the forest setting through which the hunters traversed.²³

Whatever its original location, the Deer frieze seems to have been a masterpiece of animal portrayal, with infinite variety in the poses and coloration of the deer. There were standing groups of waiting, and probably listening, animals with heads turned back (*Tiryns* II, 142, fig.

Fig. 36. Tiryns Deer frieze



60; pl. XV, 6, 8) and others standing singly; also running deer in flying gallop (145, fig. 61; pl. XV, 4) and others running two abreast (pl. XVI, 3), and at least one fighting group of two stags (147, fig. 62; pl. XV, 1). Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of the material defies its reconstruction except in general outlines, but many of the poses and even the varied and patterned coloration go back to earlier Mycenaean art of the Shaft Grave period as seen in the inlaid daggers.²⁴ There is no other wall painting to match the Tiryns Deer frieze, and this raises the possibility that it was fundamental in the creation of a raft of Mycenaean pictorial vases with representations of deer and stags. These too belong to the Late Helladic IIIB

period, show deer in varied poses, often with their bodies subdivided and marked by crosses or arrow-shaped dapples (Pls. 71–72). The earlier discoveries of these vases in Cypriote tombs have recently been augmented by fragmentary examples from the Argolid, especially from Tiryns.²⁵

3. The Orchomenos Boar Hunt

From Mycenae there are no recognizable fragments of hunting scenes, although this absence does not mean that they did not once exist. The closest parallel to the Tiryns Boar Hunt comes from Orchomenos (**Or No. 3**), where fragments recently found show a fleeing boar, a hunting dog in flying gallop, a dog biting a boar's underbelly, and perhaps to be associated with these, two hunters with lances, but unlike those at Tiryns, wearing boar's-tusk helmets. What makes the comparison with the Tiryns painting so compelling is the blue background with its overall decoration of vertical white S-shaped tendrils against which the figures are placed, as well as the general scale and type of hunting dog. This similarity raises the possibility of traveling artists going from palace to palace, and perhaps making use of some copybook tradition.²⁶

4. The Pylos Hunting Scenes

At Pylos the tradition for hunting scenes, like that for battle representations, was transformed in a more idiosyncratic way. A hunting frieze (**Py No. 11**) almost certainly decorated a large room above Hall 46 (the small megaron: plan, Fig. 29). Many features of this painting are reminiscent of the battle scenes from Hall 64, particularly the treatment of the background with vertical wavy bands of white outlined with black. However, as Lang points out, the drawing is more careless and the paintings seem later, perhaps having replaced an earlier hunting scene represented by fragments from the northwest slope.²⁷ In the later composition (at least in the restorations), a wooden quality belies any potential for action. Even the hunter with his spear pointed toward a deer in flying gallop seems frozen in the act, with the white ribbon between the two emphasizing the decorative quality (Pl. 73). Comparison with fragments of the Tiryns Boar Hunt shows the degeneration in style and loss of meaning. The big dogs of greyhound type associated with the hunters (Pl. 74) are not functionally related in scale, being as tall as the men; nor are they held on a leash as at Tiryns (cf. *Tiryns* II, 110, fig. 47 and pl. XIV, 6). They occur in pairs of alternating black and white (*Pylos* II, 21 H 48: pls. 15, 122; 12 C 43: pls. 50, 133) and are closer to the decorative paired animals from the so-called "wallpaper friezes" (see below). Undoubtedly, however, there was some memory of what the hunt was all about, for the composition of the hunter followed by his dogs (Pl. 74)

shows on a lower level two figures bearing large tripods, presumably for cooking the meat, a stylized reminiscence of the earlier iconography as depicted in the active tripod-tenders at Keos (see page 83). The placement of figures on two groundlines is almost in a register effect, although the heads and feet of the two rows are staggered.²⁸

Other Friezes with Human Figures

The habit of excerpting, and using decoratively, motifs that originally had a narrative meaning is nowhere better seen than in the fresco fragments from Pylos termed by Lang a “wallpaper frieze.” Here all connection with previous story-telling intention is lost and separate motifs are repeated as pure ornament. While this type of painting is attested only at Pylos, it may have existed in other Mycenaean palaces from which we have less complete evidence.

From the Inner Propylon (Py No. 12) and from a room probably above Room 20 (Py No. 13) came quantities of painted plaster representing friezes of nautili, paired animals, architectural facades or shrines, and from the Propylon paired groups of seated women (plan Fig. 29). For both rooms Lang has restored a scenic register about 28 centimeters in height framed above and below by a wide band of a decorative nautilus frieze, the whole placed at eye level above an arc dado imitating cut stone, which in the Propylon was partially *in situ* (Pylos II, pl. K, 7 D 2). The elements of the scenic register seem disconnected iconographically: animals appropriate to hunting scenes (deer, boars, and horses) tamely placed against a neutral background occasionally enlivened by jagged rocks (Pl. 76), seated women in Minoan costume facing each other in pairs (Pl. 75), and architectural facades (Pl. 77). The last are undoubtedly the most interesting feature of the “wallpaper friezes,” for, while related to Minoan architectural facades, several show striking differences. These shrines or gateways (Pl. 77 and Fig. 35d) have masonry piers at either side, central column, beam-end frieze, and a flat roof with projecting cornice crowned with antithetic animals, sphinxes (1 A 2) or lions (2 A 2 and 3 A 20). It is questionable whether these represent actual architecture, although they suggest a blend of Minoan architectural forms with the Mycenaean predilection for symbolic protective animals, such as those on the Lion Gate at Mycenae.²⁹

If the “wallpaper friezes” at Pylos show the breakdown of Mycenaean narrative into a series of unrelated elements, another painting that was also on the palace wall at the time of its destruction is of quite a different character. The Lyre-Player (Py No. 14; Pl. XVIII) from the Throne Room seems to cry out for an interpretation. Seated on a rocky eminence of striped “Easter egg” rocks against a red background (now unfortunately discolored by the fire) with a white upper border of descending rockwork, a fairly large man (about one-quarter lifesize) wearing a long wrapped garment holds a five-stringed lyre with a carved frame.³⁰ He is in profile to the left, where a large and unrealistic bird hovers in flight. With the possibility that a large bull was represented further to the left, one thinks of a Mycenaean Orpheus charming

the animal world with his music (although the animals are moving away from him). However, the overall composition of this important wall behind the throne raises many uncertainties in its restoration (cf. *Pylos* II, pl. 125).³¹ The abrupt changes in scale from the small lyre-player to the lifesize bull and monumental griffins and lions flanking the throne are disturbing and pose the question of how well the painters understood their traditional subject matter. The lyre-player with his animals may already have been an old theme,³² but his association at Pylos with the curious little figures of white-robed men at three-legged tables seems to introduce a more contemporary note (Pl. 78). Is he the bard or minstrel performing at the Mycenaean court, as described in the Homeric poems? However we interpret this enigmatic scene, it belongs with certain other Aegean iconographic motifs that seem to have been perpetuated in Dark Age and later Greek myth and legend, perhaps kept alive by oral tradition (see pages 150–51).

While the narrative compositions are the most interesting aspect of Mycenaean fresco painting, they represented only a small part of the overall wall decoration, other aspects of which are considered in the next section.

IV. Emblematic and Decorative Painting

Much of the fresco material from Tiryns, carefully studied and published by Rodenwaldt, consisted of elaborate decorative friezes, of which similar but less complete examples were found at Mycenae, Thebes, and Orchomenos. However, it was only at Pylos with the advantages of a single destruction and abandonment of the site, as well as Blegen's careful excavation, that it has been possible to assess the overall decoration of individual rooms.¹ Even so, the tumble of plaster from upper stories and the blackening of fragments from the fire made this a formidable task, and Lang notes that for only one wall is the reconstruction of the entire decoration reasonably certain.

The northeast wall of Hall 64 (the anteroom of the older megaron in the southwestern building; see plan, Fig. 29) fell inward, preserving the fragments in order. At the bottom was a dado imitating panels of cut stone, much of it still in place on the wall (I D 64); above that a frieze of lifesize hunting dogs (38–41 C 64) separated by a horizontal wooden beam from the Battle Scene (22–30 H 64; Pls. 66–67) discussed above; then another wooden beam, probably at door-lintel height, and at the top a nautilus frieze.²

This architectural division of the wall surface can be traced back into earlier Aegean painting and reflects the origins of wall painting as a means of covering a rubble and wooden architecture (see chapter 2, pages 11–13). At Knossos paintings imitating cut stone slabs go back to the Old Palace period (Fig. 6f), and the frieze of Partridges from the Caravanserai (Pl. 30) ran

above a painted yellow architrave undoubtedly covering the actual wooden beam that spanned the door openings. Knossos, however, provides little information about the appearance of entire walls, for only those paintings that were still in place at the time of destruction, such as those in the Corridor of the Procession and the Throne Room, give sure evidence of their original location. Little is known about the placement of the smaller friezes and panels, but with the excavations at Thera our knowledge for the earlier period has vastly increased. There two basic schemes are found: the overall “covering” decoration of the Spring fresco (Pl. VII) and the Monkey fresco (Pl. 12) or the panels with large figures framed by the architectural divisions of the wall, as in the Boxers (Pl. X) and the Fishermen (Pl. IX). Consistency of scale and simple borders were the rule. The West House, however, provides a more complicated scheme, combining different types of paintings and different scales: an imitation stone socle at the bottom repeated in the windowsills, panels by doorways with large figures of the Fishermen and Priestess, a frieze of lifesize ship’s cabins in Room 4, and the miniature frieze above the doors and windows of Room 5. Although at first this combination of different types of painting seems to look forward to that at Pylos, one should note the far greater emphasis upon unity of theme, all subjects related to the central idea of the miniature frieze, seafaring and a nautical festival (see pages 74–75). At Pylos (and presumably at the other Mycenaean palaces), while there is nothing particularly new in the architectural arrangement of paintings in a given room, there seems to be a less coherent plan and perhaps a diminution of taste, with a greater emphasis upon the purely ornamental.

The large mass of frescoes that are neither religious nor narrative will be discussed according to two types, the emblematic and the purely decorative. Of the former there are the lifesize animals, particularly the griffins and lions from the Throne Room at Pylos, but also inanimate objects such as shields and *ikria* (ship’s cabins) which had some kind of symbolic meaning.

Emblematic Animals

This term needs some definition, for not all representations of lifesize animals in wall painting can be considered emblematic. The few bulls that occur in Mycenaean painting, a head from Tiryns (Ti No. 8) and two fragments from Pylos (Py No. 15 and 16), are of unknown function or seem to have been part of a sacrificial procession.³ In Crete also the bull was not used emblematically but was involved with other figures in a religious tableau or depicted ritual, usually the bull games, of which there were a few representations on a small scale in Mycenaean painting (see pages 110–11). Other large animals that are not emblematic are extremely rare: a lifesize deer against papyrus from Pylos (Py No. 17) and a possible *agrими* from Mycenae,⁴ but these should probably be interpreted as the last vestiges of Minoan naturalism, perhaps with little more significance than the grazing deer in the “wallpaper frieze” from Pylos.

In the emblematic use of animals the intention is not so much a naturalistic presentation as the transfer of power or protection to the object they adorn or confront.⁵ There are basically two schemes for portraying emblematic animals, the repeated file and the antithetic or heraldic composition.

1. Griffins and Lions

Animals used emblematically in a repeated file excerpted from their natural surroundings certainly go back to the Shaft Grave period and seem more Mycenaean than Minoan.⁶ They figure prominently as blazons on the hulls in the Ship fresco from Akrotiri (Pl. XIV and pages 74–75) and lend support to a strong Cycladic-mainland connection. In Crete the scheme for protective beasts such as the lion or the griffin is usually the antithetic, as on seals or in the paintings from the Throne Room at Knossos, where they flanked the axial throne probably occupied by the priestess (see pages 96–98). Much the same scheme was adopted for the megaron at Pylos, where, however, the *wanax* or king occupied the throne, now of wood instead of carved gypsum. The parallelism of theme, known in no other Mycenaean palace, is strong enough to suggest some direct relationship between Knossos and Pylos, not contemporaneity or influence from the mainland to Crete, as was suggested by Blegen and Palmer, but rather continuity, or an evocation of the grandeur of the last days of the palace at Knossos, which the Pylians seem to have known.⁷ One regrets that more is not known about the decoration of the probable predecessor of the Palace of Nestor on the hill of Ano Englianos, which was scarpd away to make room for its successor in the thirteenth century.⁸

At any rate, wingless couchant griffins of Knossian type are found in two locations in the later palace, in the megaron or Throne Room proper (Py No. 18) and in the smaller hall, Room 46 (Py No. 19, Pl. 79). Both had central hearths and were clearly some sort of audience hall or gathering place. In each case the griffin was accompanied by another lifesize emblematic animal, the lion, whose vogue on the mainland can be traced back to the Shaft Grave period. Of the two, the Throne Room decoration is the earlier but is less well preserved. Indeed there are fragments only of the group to the left of the throne, but it would seem perverse not to restore another group to the right before the bull and lyre-player composition (cf. *Pylos* II, pl. 125), although this has been doubted by some.⁹ There is little evidence for additional griffins and lions in the Throne Room.

Room 46 presents a very different picture, with the remains of at least ten lions and three or four griffins. Here the composition was more that of a running frieze with a preponderance of lions, mostly proceeding to the left. A lion-griffin pair is attested for only one group of fragments (21 C 46, Pl. 79), which is also the basis for restoring a loose antithetic arrangement with this group balanced by a single lion facing a tree or column. That the original meaning of the animal's capacity as guardian of the throne (or divinity) has been lost, or diluted, seems clear from the fact that this group has been tucked away in one corner of the

room.¹⁰ Thus, the lion-griffin frieze of Room 46 was apparently more purely decorative than the antithetic lion-griffin composition of the Throne Room with its predecessor at Knossos.

The griffin had a long history in Crete, having been introduced from Syria or the Levant during the Old Palace period (see page 30 and Fig. 10a), and it is found on miniature paintings of the New Palace period (**Kn No. 14**) and on seals, where it frequently accompanied a human or divine figure, sometimes in antithetic arrangement with a central column.¹¹ The lion too has much the same history but occurs more frequently on the mainland, where it apparently became the heraldic device of the kings of Mycenae. Although the famed Lion Gate is of a fairly late date (the thirteenth century), the frequent occurrence of lions on objects from the Shaft Graves suggests an intimate connection of this animal with Mycenae from the very start of the dynasty.¹² Thus, the painted decoration of the Throne Room at Pylos and the derivative frieze in the smaller hall seem to pay tribute in inspiration to Mycenae as well as Knossos.

2. The Dog Frieze at Pylos

It is possible that Hall 65, the likely predecessor of the megaron, was originally decorated with lifesize lions, if one can judge from numerous fragments found in the northwest plaster dump.¹³ Its anteroom (Room 64), which has been described above as providing the best evidence for a complete wall decoration, was ornamented with a running frieze of lifesize hunting dogs (**Py No. 20**, Pl. 80) placed above the painted rock dado course. The dogs are based upon the type of hunting dog in scenes from Tiryns and Pylos, but here they are blown up to lifesize and recline in couchant, overlapping positions like the lions and griffins. They varied in color (red, white, and spotted in red or black) and apparently also in sex. This variety, combined with apparent differences in alertness of their pricked-up ears and open mouths,¹⁴ must have conveyed something of the impression of a real pack of hunting dogs. The effect was more purely representational than emblematic.

3. Sphinxes

Only Pylos has given such clear evidence for large-scale animals, either emblematic or more purely decorative, but they may have gone unrecognized elsewhere because of the condition of the fresco material and earlier methods of excavation. Nonetheless, Schliemann's excavations at Tiryns in the 1880s uncovered what he recognized as the wings of monumental sphinxes (**Ti No. 9**), confirmed by the discovery of additional fragments in the west slope rubbish deposit. Wings from at least four figures, possibly of two sizes, are characterized by incised lines for feathering and by the notched plume pattern, which could equally designate

the wings of griffins. However, the fragment showing a white neck adorned with a necklace proves that these can only have come from a hybrid with a human female head, probably similar to the type with displayed wings found on certain Mycenaean ivories (Fig. 37).¹⁵ Slighter traces for a comparable figure came from the early excavations at Thebes (**Th No. 3**), and further large wing fragments, not necessarily from a sphinx, were found in salvage excavations (**Th No. 4**). Rodenwaldt reported the existence of wing fragments from Knossos (**Kn No. 35**), similar to but finer than those from Tiryns, which he thought must also have belonged to sphinxes, since the Throne Room griffins were wingless. Thus, the inspiration for the Tirynthian sphinxes, as well as the griffins from Pylos, would seem to have come from Crete.

Other Emblematic Devices

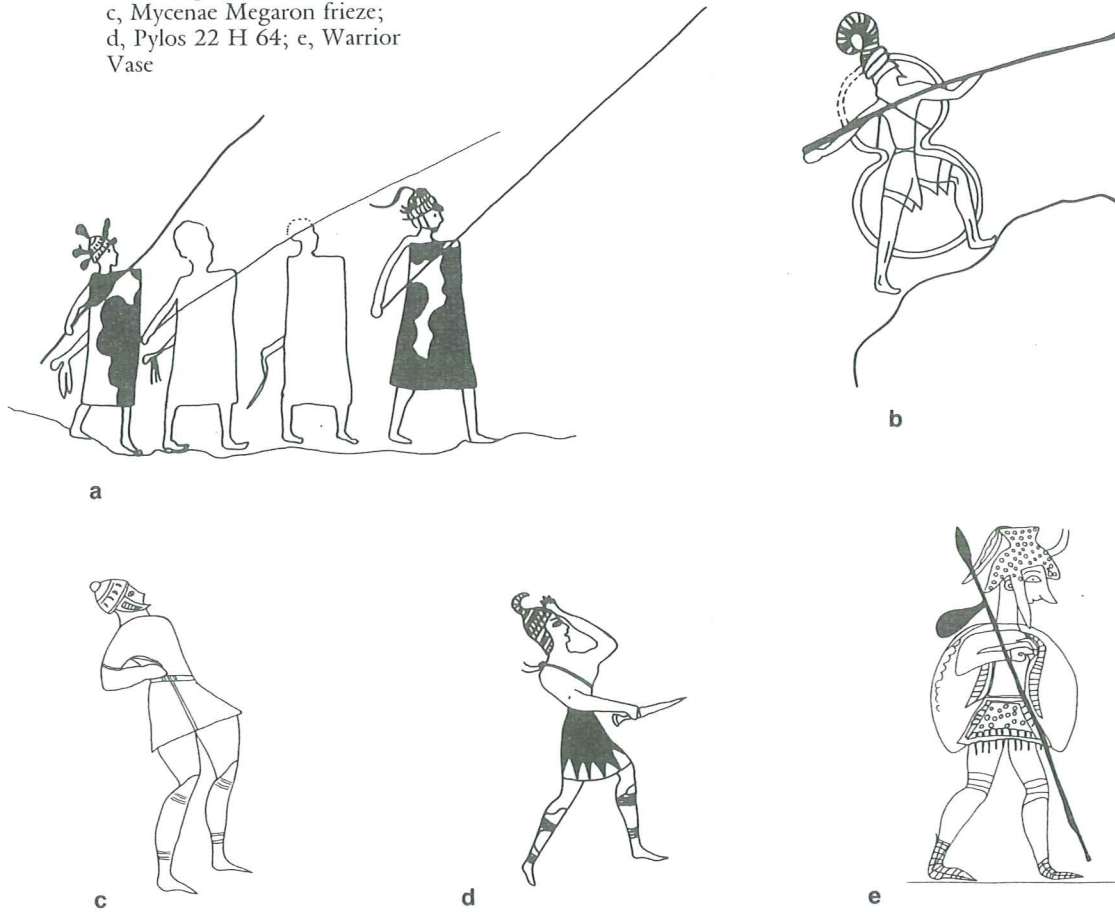
1. The Figure-Eight Shield

Certain inanimate objects seem to have been endowed with symbolic meaning. Foremost among these is the figure-eight shield covered with spotted oxhide. It was represented at Knossos, where Evans restored it in the Hall of the Colonnades with the shields depicted as if suspended from a spiral band frieze with interior rosettes (**Kn No. 33**: Fig. 39a and Pl. 49). The fragments come from lifesize examples (some 1.63 meters or over five feet in height) and represent the type of large body shield depicted on objects from the Shaft Graves (cf. the inlaid dagger with the lion hunt, M-H, *CM*, pl. XXXVI). The effect was one of verisimilitude: trefoil spots of the hides in various colors (gray, brown, or black), hatching of the central elongated bosses to give the impression of their projection, depiction of the stitching of the skin to the wooden frame. This emphasis on realism led Evans to restore actual shields of the same type in the Hall of the Double Axes, where there was a similar spiral band frieze, and he connected



Fig. 37. Mycenaean sphinx

Fig. 38. Mycenaean warriors: a, Thera;
 b, silver goblet Shaft Grave IV;
 c, Mycenae Megaron frieze;
 d, Pylos 22 H 64; e, Warrior
 Vase



this device with a new militarist dynasty, which many today would now recognize as Mycenaean, or under strong Mycenaean influence.¹⁶

Despite the prevalence of shields in the restored decoration of the Domestic Quarter at Knossos, there were only small fragments of shields preserved; they had been damaged by fire and must have been on the wall at the time of destruction. The better-preserved Shield fresco from Tiryns (*Ti No. 10*, Pl. XIX), of which over two hundred fragments were found in the Inner Forecourt, was an aid in the restoration of the Knossos frieze. Its intention, however, was somewhat different, more decorative than emblematic. The shields are much reduced in scale (about one-fifth lifesize), set much closer together, and are embedded in a highly ornamental composition with three spiral bands, numerous dentil courses, and a background with wavy bands of red, blue, and yellow. Unusual is the use of green in the outer spirals (see page 16), which seems to have been made from powdered malachite.

A small fragment of a shield from the older Kadmeia at Thebes was recognized by Rodenwaldt and published by Reusch (*Th No. 5*). It shows part of the gray spotted hide with

red stitching, and was apparently identical to the Knossian example in size. At Pylos, Lang disclaims the presence of any recognizable shield fragments, despite the abundance of frescoes depicting animal skins, many with the characteristic trefoil spots of bulls. These she assigned to the "rock-and-hide" dadoes (Py No. 29; see below). Recent excavations in the Cult Center at Mycenae have furnished the best examples of emblematic figure-eight shields in mainland wall painting (My No. 14). They are much larger than the shields at Tiryns, about one-half lifesize, and are spaced as if suspended from a spiral band rather than embedded in an ornamental scheme. The details of their rendering agree in most respects with the shields at Tiryns as to shape, oxhide covering (trefoil spots of black, red, and grayish blue), and elongated central boss, but they add a new feature, a rosette with bands attached to the frame at the top. According to Mylonas, this is not a functional detail, imitating the means of hanging for an actual shield, for which it would be insufficient, but rather it serves as a "head" and transforms the shield into a palladion.¹⁷ Thus, the shield becomes the symbol of the Warrior Goddess of the citadel of Mycenae, as she was also represented in the central figure on the stucco plaque from Tsountas' House nearby (My No. 7 and Pls. 62–63).

Whatever the interpretation of the Shield fresco from Mycenae, it surely must have had a religious significance because of its occurrence with other frescoes of a religious nature in the Cult Center. With its spiral band (lacking, however, the interior rosettes at Knossos) and wide spacing of the shields, it gives the best evidence for the appearance of the Shield fresco at Knossos, from which it must have derived. Furthermore, at Mycenae there is evidence for a second frieze of lifesize shields (My No. 15), where the height is almost equal to that at Knossos.

2. The *Ikrion*

In addition to the figure-eight shield another object with emblematic significance can be traced back into the earlier period. This is the *ikrion*, or portable ship's cabin, that was repeated with slight variations seven or eight times in Room 4 of the West House at Akrotiri (Ak No. 9). Like the shield, it consisted of a wooden frame covered with oxhide, but was rectangular in plan and had vertical posts embellished with papyrus blossoms, as well as horizontal strips with spiral or other ornaments (Pl. XV). Ornamental festoons gave the whole structure a festive appearance in the paintings, but these, like the dress lines of the admiral's ship in the miniature frieze, may connote a special occasion. The *ikrion*, however, had a functional purpose as shown in this fresco, where the captains and admiral of the big ships are shown seated within its protective walls at the stern (Pl. 26). The spotted oxhide of the large examples can be compared with that depicted on the shields. They show the same interest in variety: yellow-brown or gray-blue dappled spots on white, but also a vivid red background with black spots, related perhaps to the "mi-to-we-sa" or "dyed red" of some chariot bodies

enumerated in the Knossos tablets.¹⁸ Clearly the figure-eight shield, the *ikrion*, and the chariot body have much in common in their construction and use of materials.

Although the West House at Thera provided the fullest and first recognizable representation of the *ikrion*, the suggestion has recently been made that a series of enigmatic paintings found by Tsountas at Mycenae (**My No. 16**), which were formerly interpreted as “hangings” or “curtains,” likewise depicted lifesize *ikria*.¹⁹ A rectangular object similar in shape, scale, and construction to the *ikria* at Akrotiri, but covered with repeated patterns akin to those on Mycenaean textiles rather than with the dappled spots of oxhide, was depicted at least four times (Fig. 31b, page 112). M. Shaw argues that they were symbolic of Mycenaean naval power, and their repetition in a decorative frieze conveyed an emblematic significance comparable to that of the figure-eight shield.

Decorative Friezes

Not all friezes with repeated representational objects can be considered emblematic. We have noted that the Dog frieze from Hall 64 at Pylos (**Py No. 20**) was more decorative than symbolic, but because of its use of lifesize animals it was included with the others. The following two examples, however, are purely ornamental.

1. The Bluebird Frieze

Although most of the naturalism of Minoan art has been sacrificed, the Bluebird frieze at Pylos (**Py No. 21**, Pl. 81) recalls earlier work: the bluebird motif in the House of the Frescoes (**Kn No. 2**, Fig. 16), the more formal repetition of the partridges in a narrow frieze at the Caravanserai (**Kn No. 20**, Pl. 30), and especially the Bluebird frieze from House A at Ayia Irini (**A. I. No. 1**, Fig. 22). However, at Pylos, in contrast to the earlier variations in pose and direction, the birds were repeated in the same distorted flying position, profile view to left with near wing raised and far one lowered below the bird's belly. They were apparently evenly spaced with multicolored rocks and a suggestion of flowers resembling those on Mycenaean pottery (Furumark, *MP*, Mot. 18) between them, the whole effect decorative rather than natural. On the analogy of the Bluebird frieze from Keos, the Pylos frieze should have occupied a high position on the wall, but the fragments came from the northwest slope fresco heap, so its original location is unknown.

2. Nautilus Friezes

At Pylos another type of frieze based on the repetition of a natural living form, the nautilus or argonaut, is represented in a number of examples (Py No. 22, Pl. 82). Although the motif is extremely rare in fresco painting (see Kn No. 32; page 99), it made use of one of the most popular elements of Minoan marine life.²⁰ However, its decorative repetition as a frieze seems a Mycenaean phenomenon, with the closest parallels for the Pylos friezes occurring in ivory and gold work.²¹ For the painted examples, which are unique to Pylos, the artist added variety by alternating the colors of the shell and tentacles. In both the Inner Propylon (Room 2) and the room above Room 20, these friezes were apparently used as the upper and lower borders of a broad scenic register, the “wallpaper frieze.”²²

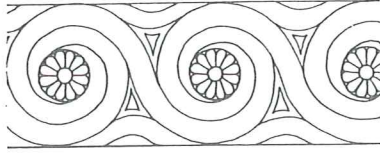
3. Spiral Band Friezes and Other Spiral Patterns

Tiryns, by virtue of the large amount of preserved painted plaster, provides the best record of purely ornamental friezes based largely upon earlier Minoan spiraliform ornaments. The spiral band frieze, with or without central rosettes, can be traced back in Crete to the Old Palace period (see page 22 and Fig. 6a). As a ubiquitous pattern in Late Minoan and especially Mycenaean pottery, the band spiral of fresco prototype is limited to the earlier phases.²³ It occurs in connection with the Shield frescoes from Knossos, Tiryns, and Mycenae (Fig. 39a) but also was used more simply in all the other palaces, sometimes in the more elaborate form with central rosettes and angle fillings as at Pylos (Py No. 23) and Orchomenos (Or No. 4).

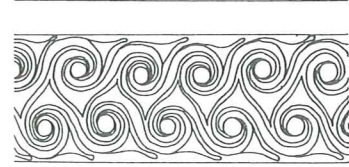
More complex types of spiral decoration were found at Knossos but do not survive in exactly the same form on the mainland. One of these was the interlaced double row of running spirals (Kn No. 36 from the East Hall; Fig. 39b), or with dotted inner coils (Kn No. 37). Another was the all-over pattern of connected spirals, which may have been the basis for the most popular Mycenaean decorative band frieze. The Minoan version was found in stucco relief in the area of the miniature frescoes, where it had probably fallen from an upper shrine (Kn No. 38; Fig. 39c; see pages 63–64). Evans restored it as the ceiling of this room, and indeed the spiral composition foreshadows that on the limestone ceiling of the side chamber in the “Treasury of Minyas” at Orchomenos (M-H, *CM*, pl. 161), where the rosette fillings have been replaced by fan-shaped papyrus blossoms with a projecting dagger-shaped bud.²⁴

This combination of up-and-down spiral and fan-shaped papyrus gave rise to the most popular ornate Mycenaean band frieze (Fig. 39d). This occurred at every Mycenaean palace site with the exception of Pylos: at Tiryns in fragments from the older and newer palaces (Ti Nos. 11 and 12; cf. *Tiryns* II, pl. VII, for a handsome color restoration), Mycenae (My No. 17), Orchomenos (Or No. 5), Thebes (Th No. 6), and Argos (Ar No. 2). Such a distribu-

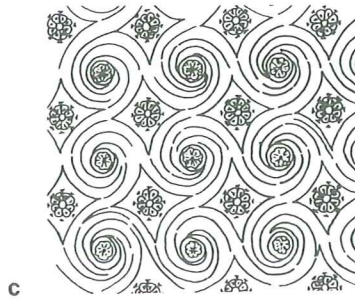
Fig. 39. Types of spiral frieze patterns: a–c, e, Knossos; d, Tiryns



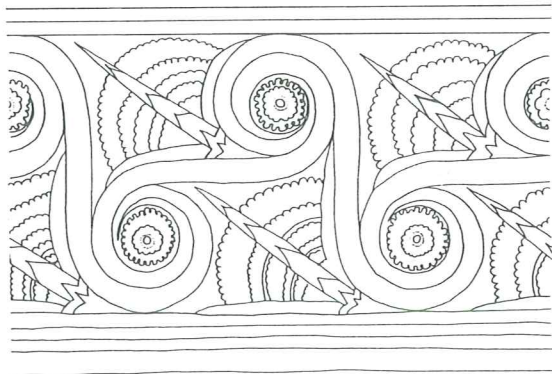
a



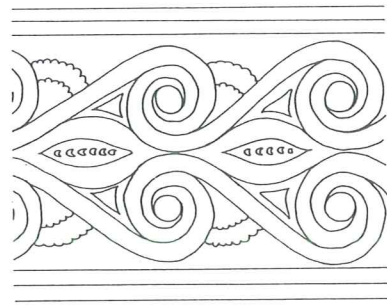
b



c



d



e

tion of a very complicated pattern—repeating interlocking S-spirals of alternating colors, rosette eyes, semicircular papyrus heads with projecting “bud” and framing calyx—suggests a traveling guild of artists, at least within the eastern half of the Mycenaean mainland (see chapter 8).

Another type of elaborate frieze was based on two rows of band spirals running horizontally but in reverse direction so as to create a kind of leaf-shaped enclosure (Fig. 39e). This type is found only at Tiryns (Ti No. 13) and at Knossos (Kn No. 40), where its connection with the “sacral ivy” chain is more evident. At Tiryns the pattern is dominated by the voluted papyrus blossoms set horizontally within the leaf-shaped enclosures (*Tiryns* II, 47, fig. 11).

4. Rosette Friezes

Other more unusual Mycenaean decorative friezes are the Rosettes on Stems from the Old Palace at Tiryns (**Ti No. 14**), a pattern repeated in a simplified version decorating the socle of the so-called Little Megaron, where the painted plaster was still in place at the time of excavation (**Ti No. 15**). Fragments of large rosettes were found at Mycenae (**My No. 18**) on plaster of such thickness that it suggested a dado. At Pylos a unique frieze made use of rosettes, combining them with streamers and large concentric semicircles (**Py No. 24**).

5. The Triglyph and Half-Rosette Frieze (Dado)

The half-rosette was common in the Triglyph and Half-Rosette frieze, which seems to have had a sacred architectural significance, at least in Minoan times. It occurred in painted versions of architecture (Figs. 34e and 35c), both on Crete (**Kn No. 15**) and the mainland (**Py No. 5**; **Or No. 6**), where its association with horns of consecration, beam-end friezes, and a tripartite structure leave little doubt about its original sacral function. Noteworthy is the fact that it was used on these examples as a dado, or on the lower part of the structure, rather than as a frieze. The full-size painted fragments from Pylos of the triglyph and half-rosette (**Py No. 25**) are ambiguous as to their original placement, having been found in fresco heaps, but at Mycenae the court outside the megaron still preserved a painted dado at the base of the wall representing a continuous triglyph and half-rosette "frieze" (**My No. 19**). Such painted examples seem to have been based on earlier sculptured examples of Cretan limestone, of which several fragments were found at Knossos, but not in an architectural context.²⁵ At Tiryns, however, the forehall of the megaron preserved parts of a socle frieze of Cretan alabaster carved with the triglyph and half-rosette motif, and with subsidiary rosettes inlaid with *kyanos* or blue glass.²⁶ From these examples it would seem that the Mycenaean had excerpted one part from an originally sacred Minoan structure and used it for secular ornamentation at the base of the wall.

6. Simpler Friezes and Borders

Such simple friezes or borders as the row of rosettes framed by the tooth or dentil pattern are ubiquitous in Mycenaean painting and go back at least to the LM II/IIIA period in Crete (cf. the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus and related paintings; Pls. 50–51). At Pylos the checkerboard was popular as a framing border for friezes, such as the Battle and Hunt, and it seems to be unique to this site for that usage. The simulated wooden beam with knotholes (**Ti No. 16**)

can be traced back in Crete at least to the LM I period (**Kn No. 20** and Room H of the House of the Frescoes), where it undoubtedly reflected the placement of a real wooden beam. The beam-end frieze, however, although widely depicted in miniature architectural representations in Crete, where it stood for actual wooden beam ends,²⁷ was not used as a painted decorative frieze of lifesize beam ends, such as are found at Pylos (**Py No. 26**), where it is even combined with the simulated wooden beam (*Pylos* II, pl. 137).

Dadoes

Architectural simulations are especially characteristic of the treatment of the dado or socle at the base of the wall, where the imitation of a stone revetment can be traced back into the Old Palace period (see chapter 3 and Fig. 6f), and by MM III had been regularized into a series of panels reproducing gypsum or alabaster slabs (**Kn No. 41**). In the LM IA House of the Frescoes, a corner of Room H (**Kn No. 43**), where the plaster was preserved to a height of one meter, revealed the architectural treatment of the wall: a black dado at the bottom, followed by three courses of simulated masonry separated by red bands (imitating mortar), then a yellow “wooden” beam with red graining, followed by a white band with black graining to suggest cut stone, and a white field above (see *PM* II, 2, 443, fig. 260). At Thera, Room 4 of the West House provides the best example of this kind of architectural simulation. Below the *ikria* and on the windowsill is found a type of painting that anticipates the “variegated” or “arc dado” of Mycenaean times (**Ak No. 13**). A series of broad rectangular panels separated by narrow red bands contains different filling patterns of red and sometimes gray lines, simulating the colored veined stones that were used in Minoan stone vases, and indeed the same treatment occurs in the two painted “stone” containers with lily sprays displayed on the window reveals (**Ak No. 10**).²⁸

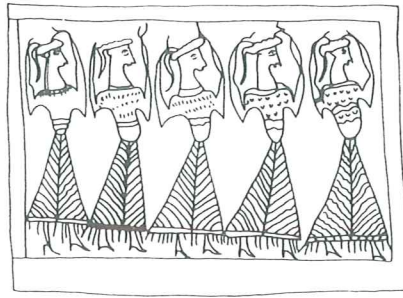
Although unknown at the time of Lang’s publication of the Pylos frescoes, this painted dado from the West House furnishes by far the best prototype for her “arc dado” pattern which occurs not only at Pylos (**Py No. 27**) but also at Tiryns (**Ti No. 17**), Mycenae (**My No. 20**), Thebes (**Th No. 8**), and probably elsewhere.

She distinguishes another type of dado at Pylos, the “variegated dado,” which also ultimately goes back to imitations of stone, but which is combined with other abstract patterns of more textile appearance, and with the panels separated by wavy lines (**Py No. 28**: Pl. 83). Although this particular form of dado has no exact counterparts elsewhere, some of its elements can be paralleled: the striped “Easter egg” pebbles and speckled conglomerates in fragments from the Ramp House (**My No. 1**) at Mycenae and the Older Palace at Tiryns (*Tiryns* II, pl. III, 17–18); the textile-like patterns in squares of the megaron pavement (*Pylos* I, figs. 56 and 73). Even more unusual is the “rock-and-hide” dado, in which trefoil-spotted skins such as usually characterize bulls or oxhide-covered objects like figure-

eight shields, *ikria*, or chariot bodies were apparently used as a dado at Pylos (Py No. 29).²⁹

Floors

In view of the fact that there has been a recent special study of painted floors,³⁰ it seems unnecessary to review the material. The practice of painting a floor is more characteristic of Mycenaean than Minoan buildings, with the possible exception of the much-disputed Dolphin fresco from Knossos (**Kn No. 6**; see pages 48 and 102). The floor of the shrine at Ayia Triadha has now been dated to the Postpalatial period, and provides a precedent for the octopuses and dolphins which were shown displayed and addorsed in the squares of the later megara floors at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos. There they alternated, or were interspersed, with squares filled with abstract motifs, some of textile derivation, others simulating veined stones. The similarity in the treatment of these floors, as well as the decoration of the fixed hearths with the running spiral band on the rim and the flame or adder's tooth on the curb, provides strong evidence for traveling artists going from one palace to another.³¹



7 EPILOGUE: NONPALATIAL PAINTING

Chapter 6 discussed the range of subject matter depicted on the walls of the great Mycenaean palaces, where our knowledge of these paintings is restricted very largely to the final century of the Mycenaean Empire, the thirteenth century B.C. Although each palace showed certain local idiosyncracies in its decoration, uniformity rather than inventiveness was the dominant characteristic, witnessed by the decorations of the megaron hearths and floors. Such uniformity favors the idea of traveling professional painters going from palace to palace and following standard “copybook” traditions. Clearly mainland wall painting was a palatial art dependent upon the type of society developed in the Mycenaean Empire, a society based upon local administration making use of Linear B bookkeeping, international trade, especially in the eastern Mediterranean, and relatively stable and peaceful conditions at home with a network of roads connecting one palace with another. Toward the end of the thirteenth century these conditions began to change.

Signs of instability are evidenced by strengthened fortifications, water-supply systems accessible from within the citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Athens, the falling off of trade with the East shown by the lesser export of Mycenaean pottery, preparations for defense suggested in some of the Pylos tablets written in the last year of the palace’s existence, and perhaps also in the unsettled conditions described by Homer in his accounts of the return of the heroes from the Trojan War.¹

More is known historically about the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt at this time than about Greece. Around 1200 B.C. the Hittite capital Hattusas (Boghazkeui) was destroyed and

its people dispersed from inner Anatolia to North Syria, and in the late thirteenth century and again in the early twelfth century, the Egyptian kings Merneptah and Rameses III boasted of the expulsion of the Sea Peoples from the Delta. The Mycenaean had been in diplomatic contact with the Hittite Empire before its destruction, and they may also have participated with other displaced peoples in the raids of the Sea Peoples.² But this would have been after their own citadels and palaces were visited with destructions at the end of the thirteenth century.

Chapter 6 made repeated allusions to such destructions. The megaron of the palace at Mycenae was burnt and its battle frescoes darkened by fire; at Tiryns paintings depicting the Women Procession, the Boar Hunt, and the Stags were stripped from the palace walls and tossed over the west citadel wall, where they were found with charred remains; the entire palace at Pylos went up in a great conflagration that darkened the paintings on its walls, vitrified the pottery in its pantries, and preserved in the archives room the bookkeeping records in Linear B. The destruction at Pylos was so thorough that the palace site was never again inhabited.³ The situation was different at Mycenae and Tiryns, and at some of the other Mycenaean sites, which resumed on a lower key the old way of life but with significant differences in this Late Helladic IIIC period, which covered most of the twelfth century. It is questionable whether the megara were rebuilt; probably they were not. There was no longer the bureaucratic necessity to continue the use of Linear B writing. Local styles of pottery decoration are more in evidence, and whatever contacts can be discerned within the old Mycenaean Empire were more the result of refugees or casual contacts by pirates and freebooters taking advantage of unstable conditions.⁴

Significant for the study of Aegean painting is the complete absence, or virtual absence, of wall painting in this Postpalatial period. Indeed it is questionable whether any redecoration of the palaces took place after their burning.⁵ Yet the survival of the fresco technique is proven by the painted stele with warriors (Pl. 84) from a tomb in the lower town at Mycenae, almost certainly a work by the same artist who painted the Warrior Vase (Pls. 85–87) found by Schliemann in a house within the citadel (see below). This coincidence of workmanship in two dissimilar techniques is symptomatic of the changed conditions of the twelfth century, with artists no longer employed to decorate palaces now shifting to the decoration of pottery, especially large kraters or open bowls with pictorial decoration. Vases like the Warrior Vase provided a field for figures approximating in scale those in wall paintings of the narrative class, and with the use of outline drawing, dilute washes producing a golden brown color, and added white details a polychromatic effect could be achieved (see chapter 2, pages 18–19). This nonpalatial art, which aimed at a truer picture of contemporary life, can be traced in the pictorial vases of the Late Helladic IIIC period and in the somewhat earlier larnakes from Tanagra; both classes demand our attention as a fitting epilogue to a study of Aegean painting.

I. Pictorial Vase Painting

This pictorial class of painted vases has recently received the attention it deserves through the publication of Vermeule and Karageorghis's *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (1982), which deals with the entire corpus of material chronologically and geographically (hereafter V-K, *MPVP*). This publication obviates a more detailed treatment here, where the emphasis will be placed on the Postpalatial or Late Helladic IIIC vases.

In previous chapters (see pages 95, 102, 124, and 131–32), earlier examples of the pictorial style have been cited as parallels to the general developments of Aegean painting, particularly in mural art. The style apparently had its origin in late Knossian frescoes, such as the “Palanquin”-Charioteer fresco (**Kn No. 25**; Fig. 27) or the Campstool (**Kn No. 26**). Likewise the amphoroid krater, the main shape used in the earlier vases, seems to have developed first in Crete,¹ from whence it passed to the mainland in the early fourteenth century after the destruction of the palace of Knossos. Few early examples of amphoroid kraters with chariot scenes have been found on the mainland in comparison with the dozens (or even hundreds) of examples from Cypriote tombs or sites in the Levant. The consensus is perhaps not yet final on their place of manufacture, but Argolid production as a *de luxe* export ware seems likely. This would explain their early dependence upon fresco inspiration and their gradual standardization as they were produced in a few ceramic centers, for example, Berbati, where a potter's kiln with wastrels was found.² During the course of the thirteenth century, the Late Helladic IIIB pottery development saw the replacement of the amphoroid krater by the open bowl or krater with loop handles, and the ubiquitous chariot scene by bulls, stags, and other animals rendered in a more decorative ceramic style. Recent finds from Tiryns,³ as well as Berbati and Argos, have shown that the same painters produced vases for local use as well as export, and mention has been made of possible inspiration from the Tiryns Deer fresco (**Ti No. 7**; Fig. 36) on kraters such as those illustrated in Plates 71–72.

However, it was after the destruction of the palaces that the inventiveness of the vase-painter came to the fore, and some of the finest and most imaginative pieces belong to this late period. This was recognized already by Furumark and is emphasized by the analysis of Vermeule in V-K, *MPVP*.⁴ Not only were the painters producing individual pieces for local use, but they were free to express themselves in a more contemporary idiom. It is to some of these examples that we now turn.

The Warrior Vase and Painted Stele

The Warrior Vase from Mycenae (Pls. 85–87) forms a fitting beginning because of its excellent preservation and the fact that it has a frescoed “doublet” in the painted stele with

warriors (Pl. 84), which might suggest an early date as the work of an artist who had at one time been active as a mural painter before the destruction of the palace. However, as will be shown below, this seems rather doubtful, for a number of details on both vase and stele place them not at the very beginning of LH IIIC but in its ripe or middle stage, about 1150 B.C.⁵

A capacious open krater with double loop handles terminating in plastic bull's heads, it was found by Schliemann in a private house within the citadel not far from the Lion Gate (south of A on plan, Fig. 30). As one of the largest examples of its class, it allowed for figures of about the same height as those used in frescoes of the narrative class and made use of polychromatic effects. The composition shows six foot-soldiers setting out for war on Side A with a female figure at the extreme left bidding them farewell (or in an attitude of mourning?) (Pl. 86), while Side B, which is less well preserved, has a looser arrangement of five foot-soldiers moving forward in battle formation with raised spears and shields held in front (Pl. 85). Both sides advance toward the right, and although there are slight differences in armor, particularly the helmets, there is no need to regard them as adversaries.

A comparison of these soldiers (Fig. 38e) with those on earlier wall paintings, particularly the Megaron frieze at Mycenae (My No. 11: Fig. 38c), is interesting. Perhaps the most noticeable difference is in the composition with the regular repetition of figures all facing in one direction on the vase, feet on the same groundline and heads extending to the top of the figural zone, in contrast to the free disposition of figures over the surface of the fresco (see pages 123–25). While it might be argued that this was the result of the vase-painter's respect for the zonal divisions of his pot, a more likely explanation sees a change in type of warfare from the hand-to-hand duels of the earlier frescoes, where the warriors were driven to the battlefield in chariots and then dismounted. Here they resemble more the later hoplite phalanx of foot-soldiers than the elite duelists of the wall paintings, and their costumes and armour also show changed conditions of warfare, more in keeping with the era of the Sea Peoples.

Much has been written about the armor of the warriors on the vase: helmets of two types, horned on Side A (Pl. 87), "hedgehog" or bristle-crested on Side B, round shields with handgrips and segmented lower edge, and cuirasses that cover the upper torso and project at the waist above tunics that are perhaps of leather and studded with metal.⁶ All these features contrast with the earlier Mycenaean fighting gear of large body shield slung from a telamon and conical helmet often covered with boar's-tusk plates, as exemplified in the Shaft Grave era and the miniature paintings from Thera (Fig. 38a–b) (see pages 74–75). The contemporary costume for warfare in the later Mycenaean palatial era is unknown, for shields are almost never represented, and the helmets, when shown, are usually of the boar's-tusk type, which may already have been an archaism. Cuirasses are never represented in the paintings, although the cuirass of bronze plates was known from the early fourteenth century.⁷ Most of the Mycenaean "warriors" of the frescoes look ill-equipped for fighting, wearing only a short-sleeved chiton (probably of linen), greaves or leggings of cloth or leather, sometimes shoes with braided straps, and occasionally a helmet (Fig. 38 c–d). As noted above (pages 122–23), they are little differentiated from hunters.

On the Warrior Vase there is no mistaking the martial intent of the figures, and the small knapsacks slung from the spears of the men on the departure side (A) suggest a military expedition (Pl. 87). While the date of the vase cannot be too distant from the traditional date

of the Trojan War,⁸ Homer chose to portray the more glamorous preceding palatial age, with perhaps contemporary embellishments from his own period, an argument for the heroic tradition having been kept alive during the Dark Age through oral poetry. The faces of the warriors (and of the woman) are strongly idiosyncratic and contrast markedly with heads in fresco painting, which are seldom bearded and often have long flowing locks in the Cretan style. Here the noses are exaggerated, the lips pronounced, and all men wear beards. Although some of these features are almost grotesque and might be attributed to the less skillful hand of the vase-painter, it looks as if the old aristocratic ideal had given way to a more contemporary and genuine depiction.

The polychromatic effect of the Warrior Vase suggests some influence from fresco painting, although nothing in this same style is known in wall painting. The background against which the warriors move is neutral, and there is little intrusion of the ceramic “fillers” which characterized earlier pictorial-style vases. Here there are only concentric circles between the warriors on Side B and pairs of dark birds under the handles.

The main interest of the stele (*My No. 21*: Pl. 84) is the repetition of the five warriors from the reverse of the vase in approximately the same scale, and its continuation of the fresco technique in a period in which monumental wall paintings were no longer being produced. Found in a chamber tomb in the lower city of Mycenae, the stele had had a long history, for the carved decoration under the stucco suggests that it had served as a marker during the Shaft Grave era, and perhaps again as a stele after it was stuccoed and painted.⁹ Most scholars agree that both vase and stele were painted by the same hand, but there is a difference of opinion as to which came first.¹⁰ I am inclined to agree with Rodenwaldt that the stele is the product of a vase-painter; the vase is the more harmonious work with its suggestion of narrative, whereas the stele seems to combine a number of different themes and styles. The ill-preserved top register contained a presentation scene with an enthroned goddess (?) at the left, toward which the red legs of a male figure (one of three?) are advancing; perhaps this scene was borrowed from earlier processional frescoes. Then, separated by a zone of overlapping arcs, used also to frame the sides of the registers, comes the procession of five warriors with raised spears advancing to the right, and in the bottom register four deer face right with a hedgehog in the upper field at left. The overlapping arc pattern is typical of LH IIIC Close-style pottery, and the deer and hedgehog have parallels in the Eastern pictorial style of LH IIIC; these features make it difficult to date the stele any earlier than the Warrior Vase.¹¹

Related Pictorial Vases

While the painted stele is a “sport,” the Warrior Vase has a number of relatives, unfortunately less well preserved. These have been well described by Vermeule, and little needs be added. Several fragments have the polychrome technique with yellow wash. Among them a fine

fragment from Mycenae shows a man standing behind a horse, perhaps preparing to yoke it to a chariot (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.7). Once again the man is a warrior wearing cuirass, greaves, and probably some type of helmet; he is also bearded. The closest parallels to the Mycenae Warrior Vase come, however, from the site of Lefkandi on the island of Euboea, a fact which suggests an exodus of some artists in the period following the destruction of the Argive palace sites.¹²

From Lefkandi, fragments of a large open krater with double loop handles ending in a plastic bull's head (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.59) show a kilted warrior with sword and greaves scurrying toward the right, while on the other side of the handle are traces of horses. There is also an example of the polychrome style (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.38), as well as more idiosyncratic pieces, for example, the remarkable pyxis with outline drawing in white on the dark glaze (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.91). It shows griffins feeding their babies in a nest (Pl. 88) and on the other side a sphinx, deer, and fawn, all drawn in a fine ceramic style that shows marked originality in iconography as well as sensitivity in animal portrayal. One could scarcely imagine any mural painting in this style.

Human figures, particularly warriors (there are no women except on the Mycenae Warrior Vase), were, however, the main stock-in-trade for the large open kraters that have been found at most mainland sites that flourished in Late Helladic IIIC. Volos in Thessaly produced fragments of at least two such vases coming from the palace site of Iolkos (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.57 and 58),¹³ and fragments of another were found at Kalapodi in Phocis.¹⁴ Tiryns, however, is the site (after Mycenae) with the greatest quantity of pictorial pottery on the mainland, much of which goes back into the LH IIIB period (see I, note 3). But the most interesting production of unique pieces took place after the destruction of the palace, when a flourishing settlement was located in the lower citadel, or *Unterburg*.¹⁵ To these we now turn.

LH IIIC Pictorial Vases from Tiryns

From the fill of the "syringes" or water-channels (Fig. 28) which correspond to the secret "fountain" on the Athenian Acropolis and the Perseia at Mycenae as sources of water in time of siege, a number of important fragments of LH IIIC pictorial pottery illustrate the new armor and type of warfare in vogue in the twelfth century. Among these a large and elaborate, but fragmentary, open krater was comparable in size to the Warrior Vase from Mycenae but was decorated quite differently with two, or perhaps three, chariot groups on each side, all proceeding to the right (Pl. 90; V-K, *MPVP*, XI.16).¹⁶ They are very different from the dual chariots with long-robed passengers of earlier pictorial vases (Pl. 46), which had a ceremonial rather than a military aspect, or even from the Megaron paintings, where the military intention was limited to hand-to-hand combats (see pages 124–25 above). Although the same method of driving to the battlefield and then dismounting doubtless persisted into the Post-palatial period (and even into Homer's own time, if one agrees with Crouwel), here on the

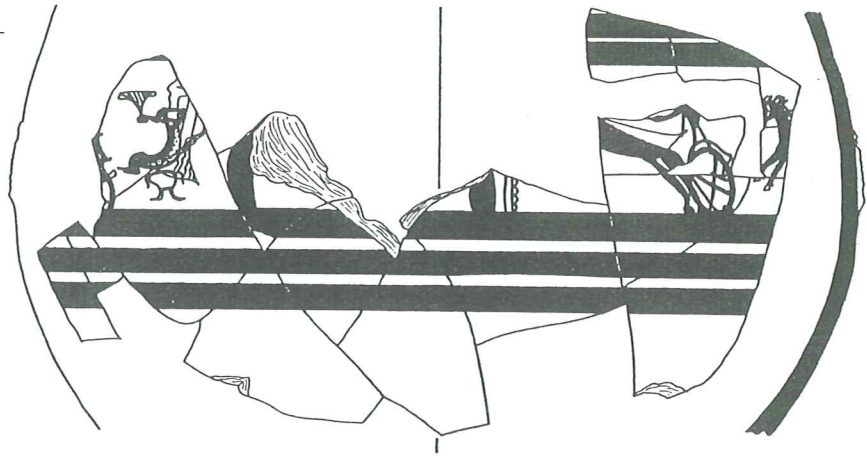
Tiryne krater, and on other fragmentary examples, speed was apparently given high priority, and the chariot has become a light-railed platform on which two figures stand, the driver and the warrior, both prepared for the fray. Each wears a cuirass (probably over a hip-length, sleeved tunic), greaves, and some kind of helmet, and the warrior carries a round shield and spear, while the driver attends the reins. The horses themselves look far more mobile than in previous examples; although not shown in a gallop, their hooves prance nicely in equine gait along the top encircling band, despite their bodies being subdivided and filled with patterns more appropriate to ceramic decoration. There are no filling ornaments in the background, but also no use of polychromy as on the Mycenae Warrior Vase. The painting depends entirely upon dark silhouette and outline drawing of a very high order.

Related, but by a different hand, another fragmentary krater from the *Unterburg* apparently depicted two chariots in antithetic arrangement separated by large decorative rosettes, the same composition on each side (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.28).¹⁷ Here the drawing is stiffer and more ornamental, but the warriors are better preserved, each wearing a helmet of “hedgehog” type, greaves, hip-length tunic, and carrying a small round shield and, in the case of the passenger, a pair of short spears. The chariot is an open platform without side rail but with a high breastwork in front; the horses’ legs are more decorative than natural. A fragment from a heavier and straighter object (pinax or larnax?), also from the *Unterburg*, depicted a splendid head of a warrior to the right, wearing a cuirass with neck guard and an unusual helmet descending in a kind of snood in back; he was probably the driver of a chariot (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.31: Pl. 91).

While constituting only a small part of the new LH IIIC pictorial pottery from Tiryns, these examples attest to the high level of drawing, as well as give insight into the armor and chariots reflected in the Homeric descriptions of the Trojan War. Hunting scenes are also represented, and show a fine sympathy and ability to draw animals; one new fragment shows a frightened deer pursued by a vicious hound (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.78: Pl. 89). In the hunting scenes the figures are usually scattered over the background, which suggested to Vermeule a connection with fresco painting, although she noted that it is no longer the aristocratic boar or stag hunt of the Tiryns frescoes, where the princes and their ladies drive out to a prearranged spot, but rather the actual experience of ordinary hunters, who are represented on some krater fragments from Mycenae and Pylos (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.70 and 80).¹⁸

The new Tiryns material, the Warrior Vase from Mycenae, the fragmentary pottery from Lefkandi, Iolkos, Kalapodi, and elsewhere all were found with settlement material of Late Helladic IIIC, most likely in its middle stage, about 1150 B.C. Except for the painted stele with the warriors from the reverse of the Warrior Vase, there is nothing to suggest a funerary significance for the scenes on this pottery, although Vermeule would like to connect the chariot iconography with the dead, largely on the basis of the chariot kraters found in Cypriote tombs.¹⁹ However, scenes of warfare and the hunt, as well as the battle chariots shown on the vases, seem much more a continuation of the narrative tendency seen in one class of Mycenaean mural painting (see pages 122–33), although there it was never so contemporary. Here it is freed from Minoan conventions and updated into the current idioms of dress and weaponry, and perhaps also endowed with a certain heroic quality like that transmitted to Homer.

Fig. 40. Racing chariots on LH IIIc amphora from Tiryns



One fragmentary vase from Tiryns has, however, been connected with funeral games by Kilian.²⁰ It is an unusual fragmentary amphora of the type with belly handles, which was to become popular in the Protogeometric period, and is decorated with a frieze around its widest circumference. This frieze apparently depicts a chariot race of three or four light chariots with *galloping* horses in the presence of a figure seated on a high-backed throne and holding aloft a stemmed kylix (Fig. 40). Kilian has rightly interpreted her as a goddess, and believes the chariot race represents funeral games like those described in Homer. Unfortunately the context of the vase is uncertain, since it came from old excavations but was only recently rediscovered. However, there seems to be no doubt that it is late Mycenaean, although in theme it looks toward the future Geometric.

The other class of pictorial material that is nonpalatial, or popular, art is clearly funerary and serves as an iconographic bridge to the great funerary amphoras of the Dipylon cemetery in Athens. This consists of dozens of terracotta larnakes from Tanagra.

II. The Tanagra Larnakes

Tanagra in Boeotia, a small village about twenty kilometers from Thebes, famous chiefly for the "Tanagra figurines" from its fourth-century and Hellenistic tombs, is now known to have had an important cemetery in the Mycenaean period with several hundred chamber tombs. Many of these contained terracotta burial chests, or "larnakes," and showed other unusual funerary practices. A dozen or more larnakes are on display in the Thebes Museum, and others

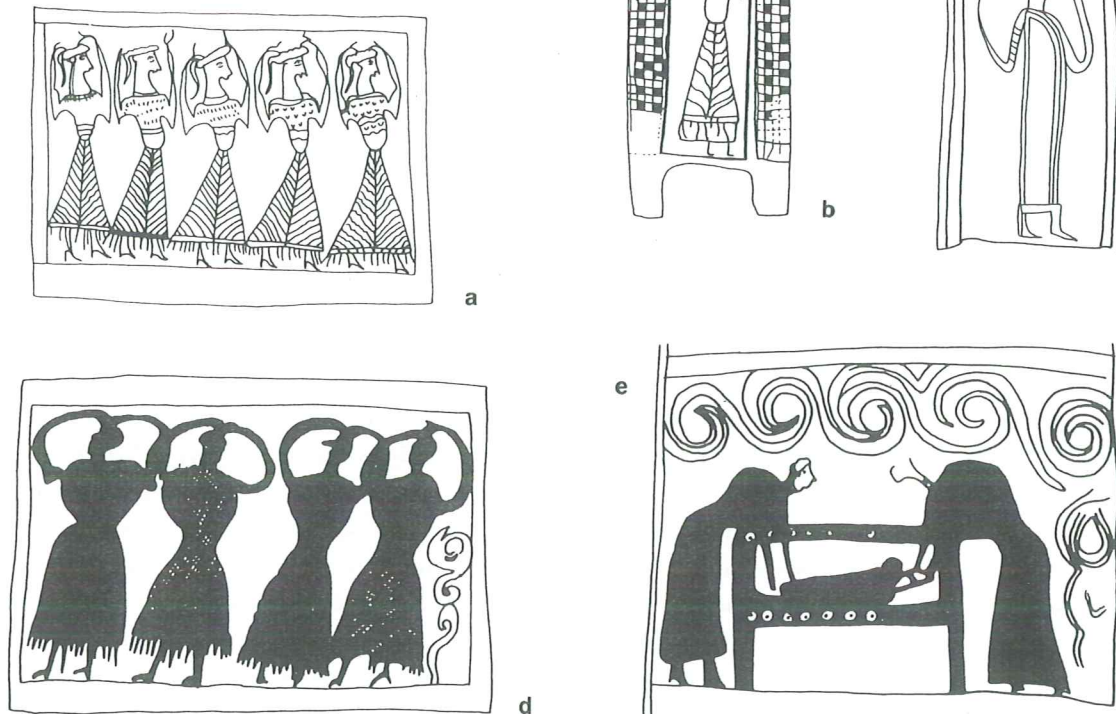
have been illustrated in preliminary reports but have not yet received a full publication; consequently, any conclusions as to their chronology and other details must remain tentative.¹

Fragments of such chests, and an occasional whole example, began to appear in the antiquities market from the mid-1950s and formed the basis for an important article by Vermeule.² However, it was not until the official Greek excavations by Th. Spyropoulos that the location of the cemetery at Tanagra was confirmed; dozens of examples, together with their archaeological context, were added to these scattered remains. In a gratifying way, the new examples strengthen and fill out the conclusions postulated by Vermeule. She noted two quite distinct styles, one dependent upon Aegean painting traditions as developed in fresco painting and the earlier pictorial vases, and the other more innovative, with emphasis upon the emotional impact of the figures, however clumsily they were drawn, and revealing contemporary funerary beliefs and practices. In addition to obviously grieving figures, who raise their hands to tear their hair in a gesture of mourning, she noted an unusual winged figure that appears to be rising upward and may represent the soul (*psyche*) of the deceased.

The new material enlarges this funerary iconography. Two larnakes (one from Tomb 22 to be discussed below; Pls. XXII–XXIII) show the *prothesis*, or placing of the body within the larnax, a theme well known in Attic Geometric painting but hitherto unattested in Mycenaean art (Fig. 41c). Another (from Tomb 36) shows a figure holding aloft a Mycenaean kylix, apparently illustrating the common Mycenaean funerary practice of pouring libations and shattering the drinking cups before the dromos of the tomb was closed.³ Another has an unusual scene of mourning women approaching a priest, who holds aloft on his outstretched hand a large statuette.⁴ Almost every larnax shows at least one group of mourners, usually women, but occasionally men. They occur in several different styles, which may be indicative of a chronological development and certainly show different “hands,” or traditions, at work.

The largest group seems based upon the female figure as represented in Mycenaean processional frescoes (see pages 114–18). The forms are relatively naturalistic with well-drawn if exaggerated profile, and the women move in a procession either toward the right or left, as on the large example from Tomb 6 on display in the Thebes Museum (Fig. 41a–b). They wear a modified Minoan costume, with flaring ankle-length skirt (with a reminiscence of flounces meeting in the middle), but with their breasts covered by a sleeved, high-necked blouse pulled out loosely at the waist. On this particular larnax five women move right on one long side, five left on the other, and a single figure stands more frontally in the narrow end panel. They walk along a groundline with somewhat mincing steps as if on tiptoe, and there are fringes at the bottom of their skirts. The processions are framed by a checkerboard pattern on the posts that gives a kind of architectural setting, perhaps recalling earlier frescoes. However, unlike the fresco females, these women are clearly shown as mourners, raising both arms to touch a flat cap with descending plume like that worn by Mycenaean sphinxes (Fig. 37, page 138). This particular type is represented on several other larnakes from the excavations, as well as on some fragmentary examples acquired earlier,⁵ and it naturally raises the question of a likely prototype in wall painting. While the nearby palace at Thebes comes to mind, it is perhaps unlikely that the famous Women Procession from the Kadmeia (Th No. 1; Pl. XXI) survived as late as the presumed date of these larnakes (late fourteenth and thirteenth century), so the means of transmission must remain elusive.

Fig. 41. Mourning figures and *prothesis* on Tanagra larnakes: a–b, Thebes No. 7; c, after *Prakt* 1979, pl. 21; d and e, Thebes No. 1



Two other quite distinct types of mourning women do not depend upon fresco prototypes and are presumably later. One depicts women in dark robes, silhouetted with curvilinear outlines as if swaying and bending in some keening funeral dance (Fig. 41c) (cf. the mourners on the larnax from Tomb 22, Pls. XXII–XXIII), while the other type is stringy, angular, drawn in outline, and almost frontal (Fig. 41d).⁶ The first type bears some relation to the woman in a dark, belted, and sleeved dress on Side A of the Warrior Vase (Pl. 86), and it may well depict the actual type of garment worn on the mainland at this time. The second type has no precedent in either fresco or vase decoration and seems to have been the product of one or more larnax painters striving for new emotional effect, according to Vermeule.

Male figures that occupy the position of the female mourners are seldom shown in the actual pose of mourning with arms raised to the head, but are more apt to be depicted as priests (or warriors, since at least one example seems to be wearing a helmet). They wear long tunics with a diagonal border, and have one arm raised, the other lowered, sometimes holding a short stick, but never the sword found with some of the long-robed male figures on pictorial kraters (V-K, *MPVP*, III.19, 29, etc.), from which they seem ultimately to have derived. Good examples of this type of male figure are found on larnakes from Tombs 51 and 60.⁷

The larnax from Tomb 51 (Pl. 92) shows an unusual iconography, making use of this type of male figure in a setting suggestive of myth. On one side, probably the reverse, two pairs of

such figures approach a column with base and impost-type capital, the leaders each touching the shaft. They are carefully drawn and wear low caps with scalloped crowns; while considered female by Demakopoulou (*Guide*, 84), male priests seem more likely because of the type of garment. A more elaborate version of the same form of column appears on the other side, where it separates a large sphinx on the left from the priestly figure who approaches from the right. Both touch the shaft, and both wear similar caps, the sphinx's with the traditional plume. She is wingless but is carefully drawn; small animals are used as fillers in the background. The meeting of man and sphinx in a Boeotian locale not far from Thebes is suggestive of later Greek myth, but this connection should not be stressed, since the sphinx occurs on several other Tanagra larnakes, where she is winged and should be taken in a funeral context (the symbol of death or the guardian of the grave, as she was used in later Athenian funerary art).⁸

The columns on this larnax are the most obvious architectural feature represented on the larnakes, but the checkerboard and grid patterns used to decorate the posts of many also lend a kind of architectural setting, recalling the later simplified palace renderings on frescoes from Mycenae and Orchomenos (see pages 125–26). The small larnax from Tomb 6 which depicts three profile heads of women to the left in square openings⁹ also illustrates the reuse of a traditional motif, of women in windows, a motif occurring in frescoes at Thera, Knossos, and Mycenae (Pls. 29, 54, and 65) and on the so-called “Window Krater” from Kourion in Cyprus (Pl. 45).¹⁰ Horns of consecration occur on several larnakes but should probably be regarded as a cult symbol borrowed from the Minoans rather than as defining any particular architecture.

The themes so far considered have obvious funeral or religious significance—mourners, priests, libation, the sphinx as guardian of the dead, the *prothesis*—but some of the larnakes are decorated with quite different scenes, which recall the decoration of Mycenaean pictorial vases, particularly the large amphoroid kraters, which Vermeule suggested could also have had a funerary significance (see note II, 2).

The larnax from Tomb 22 (Pls. XXII–XXIII) is a good example of the combination of elements that went into this curious late Mycenaean art. Of medium size and more elaborate than most, it is decorated in bichrome matt colors (red and grayish black). It is also one of only two so far illustrated with a double tier of decoration.¹¹ One long side shows in the upper zone a hunting scene with a man in the midst of a flock of long-horned goats with many young animals scattered about, as on some of the LH IIIC pictorial pottery (V-K, *MPVP*, XI.70, 80). The zone below depicts scenes of bull-vaulting (three bulls, each with an almost horizontal male figure suspended over its back, and another standing figure between the two confronted bulls). This theme of taureadors had never been popular in mainland painting (see pages 110–11 for two early examples: Pls. XVI–XVII), and it is doubtful that the sport was ever practiced there, so it is remarkable to find it on a thirteenth-century larnax from Tanagra.¹² The other long side shows in its upper register a troop of twelve mourning women, of the dark-robed swaying type; below are two facing chariots with grooms (or boxers?) between, themes clearly derived from pictorial vase painting. The end panels, also decorated in two zones, have four dark mourners above (Fig. 41c) and a *prothesis* below. This, perhaps the most poignant scene in all Aegean painting, shows two dark adult forms bending over a small larnax (on legs or a table) in which they place the

body of a child (shown in X-ray fashion within the larnax) (Fig. 41e). There is no precedent for such a scene in earlier Minoan or Mycenaean art, and when the theme of deposition is taken up again in Geometric art, the forms have been reduced to Geometric shapes, and thus lack the same immediacy and tenderness.¹³

A most unusual larnax from Tomb 47¹⁴ suggests some belief in a nether world to which the soul of the deceased journeyed by boat, as in later Classical mythology. In the published photograph, a ship in the lower right is shown amidst a scattering of strange plantlike forms, which on closer examination bear a remarkable resemblance to Mycenaean terracotta figurines of the *phi* and *psi*-types. The whole unstructured composition presents a completely different effect from the architectural setting of the mourning processions and other funerary scenes on the majority of larnakes, which concentrate on the effect of death on the living. If the above interpretation of "souls" in the underworld, which is offered here tentatively, is correct, it could find confirmation in the winged, floating figure (*psyche*) discussed by Vermeule, as well as in the curious terracotta objects which were hung or placed on the covers of some of the larnakes. These unusual finials, or akroteria, combine horns of consecration with a disc that supports a bird or batlike creature with wings and tail (see *Guide*, pl. 44). Surely these ought to be interpreted symbolically as representing the soul of the deceased.¹⁵

The Tanagra larnakes have raised a number of still-unanswered questions in respect to their iconography, derivation, and chronology, which only the full publication of the cemetery and its contents can attempt to answer. Their importance, however, for a study of Aegean painting in its more popular aspect cannot be minimized. Before their discovery such larnakes were considered characteristic of, and almost exclusive to, Crete, where the painted and stuccoed limestone sarcophagus from Ayia Triadha (Pls. 50–53) represented an exceptional example from the end of the Minoan palatial era when Mycenaeans were present on the island (see pages 100–102). Its processional figures, derived from the Knossian procession, are related to mainland processional themes, which in turn seem to have been the basis for one group of Tanagra mourners. However, the whole effect of the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus is purely Aegean and palatial, unlike many of the Tanagra larnakes with their more contemporary iconography. The bulk of the Cretan examples are terracotta, of either the bathtub or chest shape, and are decorated with Late Minoan designs, in which the human figure rarely appears. Birds, plant forms, bulls, and religious symbols such as horns of consecration and the double axe are the main motives. However, in recent years more exceptional larnakes have been found at Hierapetra and other cemeteries in East Crete, as well as at Armenoi near Rethymnon.¹⁶

Interesting as these Cretan larnakes are in their own right and as proof of the continuity of Minoan traditions into the Postpalatial period, they lack the power of the mainland larnakes from Tanagra in conveying the meaning of death. Their themes deal with the world of the living, especially the hunt, or with ritual, and they perpetuate, much more than the mainland examples, Minoan palatial art. Yet they must have been the inspiration for at least the earlier Tanagra larnakes, although by what means this Cretan type was introduced to Boeotia to flourish in such numerous and surprising examples from Tanagra remains unanswered. As an expression of popular art, they show the mainland Mycenaean artist endeavoring to free himself from the long-established Aegean, or Minoan, tradition that had held him in its spell from the Shaft Grave era, and beginning to assert his inherent Greekness.¹⁷



8 CONCLUSIONS

Some of the paintings considered in chapter 7 revealed a profound difference from the Minoan tradition that was dominant during the preceding half millennium of the palatial age and suggested at least a spiritual kinship with Greek art, particularly of the Geometric period. This is not really surprising, for Aegean art after all resulted from a fusion of two distinct peoples, the highly gifted and artistic Minoans and the more warlike mainlanders or Mycenaeans. The latter certainly comprised a strong Greek-speaking element as proven by the decipherment of the Linear B documents, and they are thus more easily understood not only linguistically but culturally. The Minoans, despite the great admiration one feels for their artistic accomplishments, have always remained something of a mystery behind their still-undeciphered Linear A inscriptions.¹ Scholars question whether they were really the peaceful “flower-lovers” Evans taught us to believe in and whether their thalassocracy was a cultural or political domination of the eastern Mediterranean, and especially when and how they relinquished power to the Greek mainland.² Some of these uncertainties are beginning to be resolved through recent excavations in the Cyclades at Akrotiri, Phylakopi, and Ayia Irini, and through reassessment of the excavations at Knossos.

It is clear, however, that Minoan culture must be seen in its Mediterranean context as one of the early urban civilizations to be compared with those of Egypt and Mesopotamia rather than with later Greek. Both regions were important to Crete, especially in the Old Palace period at the beginning of the second millennium. Contact with them either directly, or indirectly, through the east Mediterranean coastal cities, may well have stimulated the development of palaces, writing systems, and wall painting. Egypt seems to have been the more important artistic influence on Crete, with the Minoans very likely acquiring architectural and technical

skills, as well as the incentive for large-scale figure painting from firsthand acquaintance with Egyptian works during the Middle Kingdom, when Minoan traders and artisans may have been present in the Fayum area (see pages 35–37). On the other hand, there is little in the religion or thought of the Minoans, as far as can be discerned from their art, that was derived from Egypt. Apart from one Egyptian divinity, the hippopotamus goddess Taurt, who became the beneficent Minoan genius (Fig. 10b), there was little connection in their religions. Crete apparently showed little preoccupation with an afterlife, unlike the Mycenaean mainland, nor was there any emphasis on divine kingship or in imparting historic specificity to human representations. The so-called “Priest-King” (Pl. 19) is a misleading designation, for the relief may equally well have represented a victorious taureador, possibly female, or even a boxer (see pages 52–53). In many ways Minoan religion and its iconography seems closer to that of Mesopotamia and Anatolia, with emphasis there also upon a Mother Goddess, mountaintop sanctuaries, and the fertility of nature. This coincidence may be due to ethnic connections between the Minoans and the people of Anatolia (see note 1). On the other hand, except for certain seals and sealings, the introduction of the griffin, and perhaps also the flounced skirt and priestly robe, Mesopotamia seems to have had less to do with the development of Minoan art than did Egypt. Contact was probably indirect through the coastal cities, which were also important in transmitting Egyptian artifacts.³

Nonetheless, whatever Cretan art owed to foreign incentive or borrowings, it remained essentially a product of its own environment, the beautiful island of Crete with its mountains, fertile plains, temperate climate, and recurring cycles of bloom. Minoan art, more than that of any of its neighbors, is stamped with an appreciation of the beauty of nature in all its manifestations—veined rocks, growing plants, animals in motion, and the human body seen as a whole instead of a series of parts. While the rendering of nature was seldom exact, the Minoan artist had an intuitive ability to suggest motion and give a sense of life to his figures. Was it, as Snijder suggested, a kind of eidetic mentality, or acute type of vision, that allied him to more primitive hunters of the Stone Age?

Geographically, Crete was the hub from which Aegean pictorial art and painting emanated. The paintings of Thera and the other Cyclades, as well as the later ones of the Greek mainland could never have come into existence without the first steps having been taken in Crete. Although it can be debated whether the artists were Minoan, or locals trained by Cretans, the style of the earlier paintings is essentially Minoan. Knossos more than any other center was influential in the development and spread of this style.

Knossos, however, raises difficult problems of chronology, not only with respect to the date of its destruction but also regarding the earlier stages when figural frescoes must have begun. Our conclusion from present evidence, which future excavations may modify, is that the Old Palaces at Knossos and Phaistos had *no figural frescoes*. Although the techniques of fresco painting had been developed, the walls were painted only with abstract decorative motifs such as dadoes imitating cut stones and friezes of running spirals or other geometric motifs (see pages 22, 142, and Fig. 6). The background for the subsequent paintings, particularly those dealing with nature, is to be sought in miniature work, on seals and pottery decoration (Figs. 8–11; Pls. I–IV, 4, 8–9). Although Phaistos was especially important during this period, figural wall painting must have begun at Knossos. Surprisingly, the other palaces did not

follow suit. The rather meager paintings from the second palace at Phaistos, as well as those from Mallia and Zakros, show no interest in representing the human figure or miniature scenic friezes such as those from more minor villa sites (Amnisos, Tylissos, etc.) that may have been under more direct Knossian influence. The splendid nature paintings from the villa at Ayia Triadha (Pls. 17–18) are an exception and suggest a commissioned artist from Knossos.

The religious significance of these nature paintings, as well as the goddess reliefs from Pseira, the frescoes from Phylakopi and from Xeste 3 at Thera (see pages 59–62), may help to explain their common style and iconography as a by-product of the spread of Minoan religion, following in the wake of some sort of colonization.⁴ In any event, Knossos seems to have taken the lead in this artistic expansion, although certain specific Knossian themes such as the acrobatic bull games were more or less reserved for the Palace. Their rare appearance on the mainland is more an echo of the late Palace at Knossos than signifying a ritual still being performed (see pages 110–11).

The development and expansion of this early style of Aegean painting (discussed in chapter 4 according to its major genres) had already taken place before the Santorini eruption in the early fifteenth century B.C., a date that marks the end of the first clearly defined phase of Aegean figural painting. Its upper limit should fall somewhere after the destruction of the Old Palaces, dated through synchronisms to the Middle Kingdom (Twelfth Dynasty, 1991–1786 B.C.), allowing a century or more for such paintings to have developed at Knossos before their appearance at Thera in the sixteenth century. It is difficult to assign specific examples to this formative period.⁵ Possibly the “Jewel” fresco and some of the finer relief fragments from the East Hall represent an early stage, with the use of stucco relief and lifesize figures suggested by contact with Egypt, which may have been the source for certain color conventions and technical aids. Stucco reliefs confined almost entirely to Knossos,⁶ enabled the artist to achieve a more lifelike effect in rendering what would otherwise have seemed flat and two-dimensional, and experimentation in this medium may have made him more sensitive to overlapping planes, even when dealing with the contoured silhouette filled in with flat colors (cf. the Thera Boxers, Pl. X). Shading by cross-hatching appeared only exceptionally and late (the Throne Room Griffins, Pl. 47) and was misunderstood by the Mycenaeans as “ingrowing hairs” (see page 98).

The gradual transformation of this first phase of Aegean painting into Creto-Mycenaean or Mycenaean raises a host of problems connected with chronology and the interpretation of the evidence. It first appears at Knossos in the final phase of the palace and is continued on the mainland for the next two centuries. There are many theories, no one of which is completely satisfactory, concerning relations between Crete and the Greek mainland in the LM II/IIIA period. After the volcanic eruption of Thera, there are only two uncontested destruction dates with significant paintings, the first at the end of LM IB in the mid-fifteenth century, apparently by earthquake at Ayia Irini on Keos and by conflagration, perhaps by conquest, at most Cretan sites. The second is the widespread burning of Mycenaean palace sites at the end of the thirteenth century. Frescoes from the first destruction horizon are closely allied to the Theran paintings with a somewhat stronger affinity to Mycenaean at Keos, while those from the second represent the end product of the Mycenaean development. Between these two phases significant changes took place, which I think should be attributed to the increasing impor-

tance of Mycenaeans who had been part of the Aegean *koine*, especially in the Cyclades, from the mid-sixteenth century.⁷ However, the basic style of Aegean painting remained fundamentally Minoan down at least to the middle of the fifteenth century.

Questions relating to the place of origin and internal development of the specific Mycenaean style are complicated by uncertainties concerning the stratification and date of destruction of the Palace at Knossos. The position taken in this book follows the conservative opinion that Evans's great Late Minoan II palace was destroyed sometime in the first half of the fourteenth century (perhaps about 1375 B.C.), while admitting that there may have been more substantial reoccupation than allowed for by Evans (see pages 77–78 and 84–85). Although problems connected with the Linear B archives cannot be resolved here—whether they belong with the LM II palace or with a subsequent bureaucratic administration installed in a ruined and rebuilt Mycenaean palace—clearly most of the wall paintings belonged to, or antedated, the palace that was destroyed about 1375–50 B.C. The fact that some were found in deposits that also contained Linear B tablets and/or late pottery should not prejudice the date of *when* the frescoes were painted. It seems far safer to rely upon dates arrived at by external means than to rewrite the history of excavations done almost a century ago. The absurdity of dating the Saffron-Gatherer (Pl. 11) to LM IIIB (with Palmer) should be apparent after the Thera excavations, for it would represent the only blue monkey of the Mycenaean period. More recent excavation of fresco material outside the palace, such as the Royal Road and the Museum site, may help elucidate the complex history of the palatial decoration.

The New Palace (MM IIIB–LM II/IIIA) clearly had several periods of decoration. Some paintings were stripped from the walls early and were sealed into deposits or were found in rubbish dumps outside. This seems to have been the fate of the large-scale female figures (“Ladies in Blue,” “Lady in Red,” textile fragments; **Kn Nos. 11–14**), and fragments of miniature painting with representations of women in architectural settings (**Kn No. 17**), as well as those from the Thirteenth Magazine (**Kn No. 18**). As noted above, many of the stucco reliefs such as the “Jewel” fresco (**Kn No. 9**), and the low reliefs from the East Hall (**Kn No. 8**) should be placed here. The reliefs of the seated females from Pseira (**Ps No. 1**) have recently been proven to have come from the LM IB destruction level, and they imply the existence of Knossian precedents.

Other paintings, some of which may have had a long life, remained on the walls until the great fire. Among these were the Bull reliefs from the North Entrance (**Kn No. 21**), the frescoes from the Corridor of the Procession (**Kn No. 22**), and the Throne Room paintings (**Kn No. 28**). However, many frescoes which Evans had restored on the walls of the reconstructed palace are less certain as to date and location: for example, the Shield fresco in the Hall of the Colonnades (**Kn No. 33**), the Dolphin fresco in the Queen's Megaron (**Kn No. 6**), and the “Priest-King” relief in the South Propylaeum (**Kn No. 7**).

Still other paintings were most likely precipitated from above at the time of the great catastrophe, presumably the major destruction about 1375–50 B.C. These frescoes include the Taureador panels (**Kn No. 23**), the Campstool fresco found outside the west facade (**Kn No. 26**), and the “Palanquin”-Charioteer fresco (**Kn No. 25**), which was subsequently built into a late remodeling. Stratigraphic difficulties remain with certain paintings found in the northwest part of the palace (the area of the “Keep”), where the Saffron-Gatherer (**Kn No. 1**), and

the two miniature paintings, the Grandstand and the Sacred Grove (Kn Nos. 15–16), must also have fallen from above, either onto an earlier floor at some previous catastrophe as Evans thought, or at the time of the major destruction, in which case one would have to assume that they had remained on the walls for more than a century.

This last group, the “precipitated paintings,” raises the greatest doubt about chronology, for some, like the Saffron-Gatherer and the miniatures, are stylistically bound to those from Thera, whereas other paintings like the Taureadors, Campstool, and “Palanquin”-Charioteer anticipate the style of later Mycenaean paintings (or in the opinion of some even reflect their influence). But were there such paintings on the mainland before the fourteenth century? There is at present no evidence for their existence, but we have no remains of the palaces they would have decorated. On the other hand, the art of the Shaft Graves, particularly the inlaid daggers and silver relief vases, already exhibit traits that are not purely Minoan, but incorporate Mycenaean iconography into an Aegean *koine*. The same conclusion may be claimed for the miniature paintings from the West House (Ak No. 12) and the more fragmentary examples from Ayia Irini (A.I. No. 4). It seems likely that Mycenaean were present in the islands, along with Minoans and native islanders, and it has been suggested by Cameron that the Mycenaean style may have been forged in the Cyclades during this period, but in the absence of a discovery of earlier mainland painting to bridge the chronological gap, this must remain only a hypothesis.

A more likely occasion for the mainlanders to have acquired and developed their style of wall painting, in my opinion, was during their occupation of the Palace at Knossos in LM II/III A, when they saw on its walls many paintings already there, and perhaps contributed to some of its latest decoration. However, this explanation raises the question of *when* the Mycenaean arrived at Knossos. Was it about 1450 B.C. in the wake of widespread destruction of many Cretan sites, or not until 1375–50 B.C., when, according to another theory, they came as destroyers of the LM II/III A palace? The earlier date is preferable from the standpoint of fresco evolution, for it is paintings from the period 1450–1375 B.C. that are crucial for the mainland development and already show a transformation of the Minoan style along later Mycenaean lines. Among the themes that decorated this palace and were transferred to the mainland are the following: the female processional figures seen at Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos; friezes of figure-eight shields found at Mycenae, Tiryns, and also Thebes; small panels or friezes with taureador scenes as at Mycenae and Pylos; antithetic griffins guarding the throne found at Pylos (see chapter 6). It is impossible to credit the first appearance of such types to the mainland, and thus the theory of the importation of an already established mainland Mycenaean style to Knossos in the wake of the destruction of the LM II/III A Minoan palace (with Palmer and some others) is untenable. Much more likely is the conclusion that this late Minoan palace provided the environment that created the Mycenaean style of wall painting and was the example the mainland palaces endeavored to emulate.

Is it possible, however, that they knew this palace only as its destroyers, setting themselves up in its ruins as bureaucratic administrators? Chronological considerations oppose this view, for the earliest pictorial vases, which are Mycenaean (not Minoan), depend upon the fresco style of the late Knossian palace, and they can be dated independently through comparison with the fragments from Tell-el-Amarna to the period just before the brief reign of Akhenaten

(1379–62 B.C.) (see pages 9–10 and 94–95; also V-K, *MPVP*, 6–7). In other words, they begin too soon for the Mycenaeans not to have known the late palace before its destruction. Especially important comparisons with Knossian palatial frescoes are furnished by the female figures in an architectural setting (cf. Pl. 45), female heads with a reserved ear in a mass of curly hair, and the standard Aegean dual chariot (Pl. 46), the last a hallmark of these vases. According to Crowell, this type may well have had its origin in the Late Minoan (or Mycenaean?) palace at Knossos, for the chariot associated with the “Palanquin” fresco (Fig. 27) antedates the latest reconstruction of the palace and the same type appears on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (Pl. 53), whereas none of the mainland frescoes with chariot representations can be dated so early.⁸ Furthermore, the agreement of chariots depicted on the early pictorial kraters, the Knossos fresco fragments, and the sarcophagus, with the ideograms and descriptions on the Knossos chariot tablets, suggests that these too belong with the LM II/IIIA palace.

I find it difficult to remove Mycenaeans from this phase of the Knossian palace, and believe that it was fundamental in the creation of later Mycenaean palatial painting. If the Linear B archives belong to this period, Mycenaeans were in control of the administration, but they very likely made use of Minoan artists in any new decoration of the palace. Of this the paintings from the Corridor of the Procession and the Throne Room were major works, but smaller panels and friezes such as the Campstool, “Palanquin”-Charioteer, Taureadors, and the Shield fresco should also be assigned to this period. Some decoration that was still on the palace walls probably goes back to an earlier period of more purely Minoan work: the Bull reliefs of the North Entrance and the miniature frescoes (if they had not already fallen). There are, of course, still unanswered questions. We do not know who destroyed this palace about 1375 B.C. or whether this was the conflagration that baked the Linear B tablets. However, there is no reason to date any of the above frescoes to a later date, whatever echoes are found in the subsequent decoration of mainland palaces.

Although the majority of Mycenaean frescoes belong to the thirteenth century, some clearly precede the destructions at the end of LH IIIB, having been stripped from the walls before the final conflagration. Others apparently decorated buildings that preceded the final palatial phase of their site, such as the Ramp House deposit from Mycenae (Pls. XVI and 54) or the Women’s frieze from the older Kadmeia at Thebes (Pl. XXI), or from buildings that were destroyed before the final destruction, for example, the houses outside the citadel at Mycenae. While the conservative and repetitive character of Mycenaean painting must be acknowledged, an attempt at chronology is perhaps not so impossible as it seemed when Lang published the Pylos frescoes.⁹ The following tentative chronology, intended merely as a guide, is based partly on stratigraphic, partly on stylistic, observations and may need modifications with the full publication of the Mycenae material from the excavations of the British School,¹⁰ and, it is to be hoped, of the new material from Argos (see chapter 6, I, page 113 and note 25). Stylistic criteria follow from comparisons with the later paintings from Knossos on the one hand, and from the final Mycenaean palatial decoration on the other, thus covering a period of almost two centuries. It will be seen that the various types of painting, or genres, according to which the frescoes were presented in chapter 6, ran concurrently and are more an indication of their position on the wall and the function of the room (when possible to determine) than of their date.

Early (Late Helladic IIIA or soon after the destruction of Knossos):

1. Mycenae, Ramp House deposit: Taureador panels; Women in Windows; lifesize procession of women.
2. Thebes, Women's frieze from older Kadmeia.
3. Pylos, scraps from wall fabric, drains, dumps (*not* northwest slope): Taureador (Pl. XVII).
4. Argos, Aspis, frescoes from 1977 excavations of an LH IIIA2 building.

Middle (late fourteenth to first half of thirteenth century):

1. Mycenae, houses outside citadel (Houses of the Oil Merchant, Sphinxes, Shields, etc.). Fragments found beneath the first perhaps belong with earlier group.
2. Mycenae, fragments from "Pithos area," including Groom fresco, unburnt.
3. Tiryns, frescoes from under Courts 56 and 2 (from Rodenwaldt's "Older Palace"): Shield fresco and other ornamental friezes; earlier fragments of hunting frieze.
4. Pylos, material from northwest slope: large-scale processional figures, male and female.
5. Orchomenos, fresco fragments found by Bulle near Treasury of Minyas.

Late (mid- and second half of thirteenth century, including final decoration):

1. Mycenae, frescoes from Cult Center, including Room of Frescoes (went out of use before final destruction) and Southwest Building (the high quality of the "Mykenaiia" and other fragments is noteworthy and suggests perhaps a long existence on the walls).
2. Tiryns, west slope rubbish (*epichosis* after some partial burning of palace): Women's frieze, Boar Hunt, Deer frieze (parallels with LH IIIB pictorial vases).
3. Orchomenos, new material from megaron building near church: Boar Hunt (cf. with Tiryns).
4. Mycenae, Megaron frieze and "hangings" (*ikria*) on walls when palace was burnt at end of thirteenth century.
5. Pylos, decoration of the Palace of Nestor, *in situ* when palace was burnt. Some rooms perhaps decorated earlier (cf. griffins from Throne Room with those from Room 46, etc.).

With the above chronological framework, certain distinctions between Minoan and Mycenaean painting can be drawn. Two important omissions from the later repertoire are notable, *pure scenes of nature* and the *true miniature frieze* with small figures shown in a landscape or architectural setting, as in the Ship fresco from Akrotiri. The absence of the former has been generally recognized, but not, I think, the latter, where the term "miniature" has been more loosely applied. The former type is more easily distinguished: an overall scene of nature in which rocks, plants, animals, and sometimes large female figures are fused in a single harmonious composition, as in the Spring fresco from Akrotiri (Pl. VII) or the paintings from Room 14 at Ayia Triadha (Pls. 17–18). It might be noted that the blue monkey is completely unknown to Mycenaean artists, although there are other reminiscences, or excerpts, from this earlier Minoan style. A fundamental difference is that nature is not something to be enjoyed

(or worshipped) for its own sake, but is rather a foil for human action (as, for example, the olive trees and marsh tendrils of the Tiryns Boar Hunt: Pls. 69–70) or has become a purely decorative border (as in the Bluebird and Argonaut friezes from Pylos: Pls. 81–82). Although some Mycenaean paintings use small figures approaching in scale those of the true miniature class, they differ from earlier Minoan examples by placing the figures against a neutral background (blue or yellow) and often framing them with decorative borders (as in the Taureador panels from the Ramp House deposit: Pl. XVI). They are thus to be considered “reduced versions,” or reflections of the later Knossian paintings rather than a continuation of the earlier miniature style with small figures placed in a scenic setting.

It was from this late Knossian type of painting that the Mycenaeans developed their most innovative creations, the battle and hunting scenes in the palaces at Mycenae, Tiryns, Orchomenos, and Pylos. In these frescoes human *action* rather than the enactment of a recurring *ritual* is the dominant theme, a distinction that gives the Tiryns Boar Hunt a more immediate effect than the Knossos Taureador paintings (Pls. 41–42). At Tiryns one can almost speak of a narrative composition in which the action unfolds.

Closest to the Minoan idiom are the large-scale, or lifesize, figures which seem to have been reserved for religious representations. Of these, the female processions or votaries in Minoan dress bearing offerings, probably to a seated divinity, are most frequent (Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, possibly Argos). In contrast to the Minoan processions from Knossos and Ayia Triadha (the sarcophagus and the late paintings), these figures are exclusively female. Only at Pylos do male figures occur in the reduced procession from the Vestibule and in the lifesize figures from the northwest slope deposit. Although the extent of the difference between Minoan and Mycenaean religion is as yet unclear, it is somewhat surprising to find on the mainland such a multiplication of a Minoan type with religious connotation, the female in flounced skirt, and with a less clear distinction between votary and goddess (or her divine apparition). Is the “Mykeniaia” (Pl. XX) seated and therefore divine, having received the necklace, or is she merely the best preserved of a series of processional figures bearing offerings? In earlier Minoan art the distinction was preserved by having the votaries shown *performing* acts of reverence, as in the saffron-gathering girls at Akrotiri (Fig. 20) or the maidens dancing in a sacred grove (Pl. 23) (see pages 61 and 66: **Ak No. 6** and **Kn No. 16**). In the Mycenaean female processions there was apparently a greater emphasis on material offerings (Fig. 32d–h), and perhaps also an attempt to render a religious idea in explicit terms, although we do not fully comprehend the meaning of the small figure being exchanged by the female hands in the fragmentary fresco from the Cult Center (**My No. 4**, Fig. 33a). Whatever the idea behind the symbolic act (the granting of a child by goddess to votary or the dedication of one as priestess?), it seems doubtful that the Minoan artist would have attempted to represent such an idea in concrete terms. It is worth recalling, however, that Mycenae at this time knew some type of temple and cult images of a sort.¹¹

The decorative friezes and architectonic socles are perhaps the most conservative features in Aegean painting, with surprisingly little change from the dadoes and spiral friezes at Knossos and Akrotiri to the later examples (see pages 142–46), since their placement and some of the motifs were rooted in the actual architectural construction of the wall, for example, the “cut-stone” dado and the “wooden” beam. The running spiral band frieze (Fig. 6a), which was

known from the Old Palace period in fresco painting, gave rise to a number of complex elaborations found especially at Tiryns (Fig. 39d–e), but which can be paralleled at Knossos in the LM II/IIIA palace. The Triglyph and Half-Rosette frieze had its origin in Minoan religious structures or “shrines,” where it occupied a low position as indicated in miniature architectural representations (Fig. 34e). From this it developed into a continuous dado pattern in Mycenaean times. Decorative friezes of a repeated natural motif seem to have been a Pylian specialty (as in the Bluebird and Argonaut friezes). Likewise the “wallpaper frieze,” with its combination of different vignettes used decoratively and without iconographic significance, is known only from Pylos.

Emblematic art is more characteristic of Mycenaean, occurring on many of the sword and dagger blades from the Shaft Graves, but it is also found in the earlier phase of Aegean art in the Cyclades, both in the decoration of the hulls of the ships in the miniature frieze from the West House (Pl. XIV) and in the repeated lifesize *ikria* from the adjoining room (Pl. XV). Their usage in a symbolic manner as standing for the ships in the frieze may have a parallel in the later frieze of *ikria* (“hangings”) at Mycenae as a symbol of naval power (see page 141 and Fig. 31b). The Shield frieze at Knossos (Pl. 49) likewise may have symbolized the new militarist dynasty in control of Knossos from LM II, with the similar friezes at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Thebes its successors. However, the figure-eight shields in the Cult Center at Mycenae may have had a deeper meaning, the shield standing as symbol of the War Goddess, protectress of the citadel (see page 121 and Pls. 62–63).

The griffins guarding the throne of the goddess/priestess at Knossos are a Minoan conception, even if they were executed in the LM II/IIIA period, for griffins in antithetic arrangement occur on earlier Minoan seals, and the griffin (balanced by a blue monkey) attends the goddess on the upper wall of the lustral basin of Xeste 3 at Thera (Fig. 20). The transferral of this motif of flanking griffins to the Mycenaean megaron at Pylos, one of the still-unexplained reminiscences of the later palace at Knossos, entailed significant differences in meaning and style, its derivative character attested by the misunderstood shading as “ingrowing hairs.” At Pylos lions accompany the griffins, and the throne is now that of the *wanax* or king, the temporal ruler presiding over the palace economy. The original significance as guardian has lost some of its meaning through repetition as a running frieze (Pl. 79) in the smaller megaron (Room 46). The frieze of hunting dogs (Pl. 80) from Hall 64 is more decorative and suggestive of the function of the room as a gathering place than fraught with any deeper meaning.

Mycenaean painting, despite its indebtedness to earlier Minoan painting for its techniques and most of its motifs and conventions, was the product of a different people who were more concerned with human activities than with the all-pervasive divine presence in nature to be celebrated and called forth by accompanying rituals. In Mycenaean wall painting we have only occasional glimpses of the artist breaking free from the Minoan idiom, and these occur mostly in the narrative friezes depicting hunt and warfare. Once the palaces were destroyed at the end of the thirteenth century, Mycenaean painting could come into its own, but this was no longer wall painting, but painting on vases like the Warrior Vase from Mycenae and other large kraters of the LH IIIC period, and on some of the later larnakes from Tanagra. Although many of the larnakes use figures derived from Minoan-Mycenaean wall painting and pictorial

vases, others grope for a more expressive means to portray the anguish of death. Likewise the warriors on the Warrior Vase no longer assume the poses of the elite duelists of the Megaron frieze but march stolidly along in contemporary gear resembling that of the Sea Peoples. These works represent a break with the Minoan past, whose art had held the Mycenaeans in its spell for at least four centuries. It was an art they admired but never fully understood. Crete became part of the later Greek world, with remnants of the old Minoan stock continuing to live there and with some survivals of Minoan thought and religion. Certainly the legends connected with King Minos and his labyrinth and Minotaur are proof of some memory of its Aegean past, which had produced such a remarkable series of paintings.



CATALOGUE OF FRESCOES

The Catalogue is arranged in three parts: Crete, the Cyclades and Aegean Islands, and the Greek mainland. Within each section sites are given alphabetically, with the exception that the major site is given first: Knossos (**Kn**) for Crete, Akrotiri (**Ak**) for the Cyclades, and Mycenae (**My**) for the mainland. The following abbreviations for all sites are listed alphabetically.

A.I.:	Ayia Irini, Keos	Pa:	Palaikastro, Crete
Ak:	Akrotiri, Thera	Ph:	Phylakopi, Melos
Am:	Amnisos, Crete	Phs:	Phaistos, Crete
Ar:	Argos, Greece	Pr:	Prasa, Crete
A.T.:	Ayia Triadha, Crete	Ps:	Pseira, Crete
Ch:	Chania, Crete	Py:	Pylos, Greece
Ka:	Katsamba, Crete	Th:	Thebes, Greece
Kn:	Knossos, Crete	Ti:	Tiryns, Greece
Ma:	Mallia, Crete	Tr:	Trianda, Rhodes
My:	Mycenae, Greece	Ty:	Tylissos, Crete
N.C.:	Nirou Chani, Crete	Za:	Zakros, Crete
Or:	Orchomenos, Greece		

Location of frescoes, in museums or at site, is given where known, and in the case of Athens inventory numbers to the catalogue of the National Museum (here abbreviated N.M.). For the Herakleion Museum (H.M.) reference is given to the specific Gallery or Case. For Thera location may be provisional pending the opening of the new museum on the island.

Dimensions are given where available, or especially significant, but in view of the fragmentary nature of the material, *scale*, or the approximate height of the human figures, is more important than the actual dimension of the piece. Dimensions, where known, are given in the metric system. H. = height; P.H. = preserved height; L. = length; W. = width.

Only the most important bibliography is given, with reference to the original publication, significant new discussion, or new photographs. For short titles, see the Abbreviations and Bibliography.

Crete

Knossos

Kn No. 1: Saffron-Gatherer. H.M., Gallery XVI.

Found 1900 in area of Early Keep (Fig. 25, No. 8): *BSA* 1899–1900, 45; *PM* I, 265, pl. IV; *KFA*, pl. I. Dated by Evans to MM II and restored as a Blue Boy.

Early date doubted by Snijder (1936) 28. Interpreted as a monkey by Pendlebury (1939) 131 and restored by Platon (*KrChron* 1947, 505–24); second monkey now added (*KrChron* 1960, 504). See Smith, *Interconnections*, 75–76, figs. 101–2.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA (cf. with monkeys **Kn No. 2** and **Ak No. 1**). Date questioned by Palmer because of context (*OKT* xxiv, n. 2; *New Guide*, 73f., 79, 127). Cameron (1975) 460ff. dates LM II on basis of style.

Pls. 10–11; pages 21, 41–42, 162.

Kn No. 2: Monkeys and Bluebird frieze. H.M., Gallery XVI and storage.

Found 1923–26 in Room D (compartment E). House of the Frescoes (Fig. 15). Three panels restored by Gilliéron and other fragments in

storage : *PM* II, 2, 431ff., figs. 262, 264, 270, 272, 275, pls. X–XI; *PM* III, pl. XXII.

Additions and new restoration as frieze on three walls of upper room by Cameron (1967b) 46–65; (1968a) 1–31, pls. A–B, fig. 13. For technique, Cameron (1968b) 56ff.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA. 1580–30 B.C.: Cameron (1976a) 12–13.

Fig. 16; pages 42–46.

Kn No. 3: Crocuses and wild goats. H.M., Case 172.

Found 1923–26 in Rooms E–F of House of the Frescoes: *PM* II, 2, 459, fig. 271. Suggested reconstruction by Cameron (1968a) 25–26, figs. 4a–b, 6c–e, 12 above Room F.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Page 46.

Kn No. 4: Nature scenes. H.M., storage.

Found 1908 in South House (Fig. 15): *PM* II, 1, 378f., fig. 211. Bird; grasses.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Page 45.

Kn No. 5: Nature scenes. H.M., Case 173, Nos. 40–41.

Found 1901 in Southeast House (Fig. 15): *BSA* 1901–2, 92, 110; 1902–3, 5; *PM* I, 426, fig. 306; 536ff., figs. 389–90, pl. VI; *KFA*, pl. D, fig. 1. Madonna lilies; grasses and mice.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Pages 45 and 67.

Kn No. 6: Dolphin fresco. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Fragments found 1902 in late stratum along east border of east light area of Queen's Megaron (Fig. 25, No. 14): *BSA* 1901–2, 46f., 58–59; *PM* I, 542ff., figs. 394–95; III, 375–78, figs. 251–52. "Amplification of existing remains" restored by Gilliéron along upper part of north wall of inner room.

Date and original location controversial. Evans dated to MM IIIB (cf. with Flying Fish, **Ph No. 1**) and argued that fresco might have remained on walls to close of palatial age. Early date opposed on stratigraphic grounds: Palmer, *OKT*, xix–xx, 134f.; *New Guide*, 87.

Suggested restoration as a floor: Hood, *Arts*, 71, and Koehl 1986a, 407–17.

DATE: LM IA or later (?).

Pl. 31; pages 48, 92, 102, 146, 162.

Kn No. 7: "Priest-King" relief. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Fragments found 1901 in basement near surface on east side of North-South Corridor (Fig. 25): *BSA* 1900–1901, 15–16. Fragments from one or more figures (male?) restored by Evans and Gilliéron as a single figure: *PM* II, 774–95, figs. 504, 508, 510–11, pl. XIV; replica restored at site.

Doubts expressed about correctness of restoration: Cameron (1970) 164–65 (female taureador?); Waterhouse (*BICS* 1974, 153–54) (male, but not a priest-king); Coulomb (1979) 29–50 and (1981) 27–40 argues for a pair of boxers and dissociates lily crown. See also Hood, *Arts*, 75–76; Palmer, *OKT*, 152–53; *New Guide*, 111–12. Niemeier, "The 'Priest-King' Fresco from Knossos: A New Reconstruction and Interpretation," in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, 235–44.

DATE: LM IA (?). Earlier than LM IIIB context, but no certainty as to reconstruction. Kaiser (1976) 284 dates LM IB/II on basis of lilies of necklace.

Pl. 19; pages 52–53, 161, 162.

Kn No. 8: Stucco reliefs of athletes, etc. H.M., Gallery XV.

Found 1901 at basement level of East Corridor near School Room and Lapidary's Workshop (Fig. 25, No. 12) and restored by Evans as decoration of East Hall on upper level: *BSA* 1900–1901, 87–90; *PM* III, 495–518. See also Kaiser (1976) 278–82; Hood, *Arts*, 73–75.

Several subjects represented:

- a. Athletic males (pugilists?): *PM* III, figs. 342, 345, 348, 351–52; some reinterpreted by Kaiser.
- b. Male and female taureadors: *PM* III, fig. 350; thigh of female taureador (*PM* III, fig. 220) found further south (Kaiser, 283).
- c. Fragments of bulls: Kaiser (1976), figs. 430–35, 437.
- d. Female breasts (goddess?): *PM* III, fig. 354.
- e. Chained griffins: *PM* III, figs. 355–59.

DATE: MM IIIB to LM IB. According to Kaiser (1976) 287ff., several periods of decoration. Late precipitation of some fragments and confused stratigraphy led Palmer to LM IIIB date: *New Guide*, 92, 97.

Pages 52, 53, 85, 161, 162.

Kn No. 9: "Jewel" fresco" (stucco relief).
H.M., Case 173, No. 36.

Found 1901 in Magazine of the Vase Tablets (Fig. 25, No. 3), apparently decoration of upper hall: *BSA* 1900–1901, 26; *PM* I, 525–27, fig. 383; *KFA*, pl. B, fig. 2; Kaiser (1976) 265.

Damaged in 1926 earthquake, but restored.

DATE: stylistically MM IIIB. Context with Linear B tablets suggests that it remained on wall of upper room until final destruction.

Pages 50, 53, 161, 162.

Kn No. 10: Fragments of lifesize women.
H.M., various.

Date and exact findspots uncertain.

- a. Shoulder and bejeweled hair: *PM* II, 2, 681, fig. 431.
- b. Fragment with necklace: Cameron (1971) 38.
- c. Textile fragments: *PM* III, 37f., figs. 20–22; *KFA*, pl. E, figs. 1–2. Cameron (1970) 164 argues for codpiece of female taureador.

DATE: MM III/LM IA on stylistic evidence.

Kn No. 11: "Ladies in Blue." H.M., Gallery XIV.

From deposit outside north wall of Royal Magazines (Fig. 25, No. 10); *PM* I, 545–47, figs. 397–98; *KFA*, pl. XIIb.

Group of three women restored by Gilliéron on basis of other fragments of Minoan women: see Cameron (1971) 35ff.

Original location perhaps in East Hall.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Fig. 32b; pages 54, 58–59, 162.

Kn No. 12: "Lady in Red." H.M., Case 172, No. 60.

Exact provenance unknown.

Fragment reconstructed by Droop in 1914 and used by Gilliéron in reconstruction of "Ladies in Blue": Cameron (1971) 35ff. cover and photograph, p. 37.

DATE: LM IA.

Pages 54, 59, 162.

Kn No. 13: Skirt fragments of lifesize women.
H.M.

From earlier stratum under Corridor of Procession (Fig. 25): *PM* II, 2, 680ff., fig. 430.

Comparable in quality to "Ladies in Blue," restored as coming from seated ladies.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Pages 59 and 88.

Kn No. 14: Textile fragments (women's skirts?). H.M., Case 174, No. 51.

From northwest fresco heap (Fig. 25, No. 7): *PM* III, 38ff., fig. 25; *KFA*, pls. E and IV.

Various miniature representations:

- a. Bucrania and bull's horn: *KFA*, pl. E, figs. 3a–b = pl. IV, no. 11.
- b. Band with flutes or quivers (?): *KFA*, pl. E, fig. 3c–f.
- c. Winged griffins: *KFA*, pl. E, fig. 3c, h = pl. IV, no. 16.
- d. Winged sphinx, probably one of pair confronting bull's head: *KFA*, pl. E, fig. 3k = pl. IV, no. 17.
- e. Row of lilies: *KFA*, pl. IV, no. 12.

Curving band above a straight border suggested to Evans miniature skirt designs on analogy of decoration on skirt of seated woman from Phyla-

kopi (Ph No. 2). Question whether designs were embroidered or woven. See Wace (1948) 51–55 and E. Barber, *The Development of Textiles in the Neolithic and Bronze Age* (Princeton, in press).

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Pages 30 and 59.

Kn No. 15. “Grandstand” or “Temple” fresco. H.M., Gallery XV; Case 174, Nos. 66–67.

Found 1900 fallen on late basement floor of small room at north end of central court (Fig. 25, No. 9): *BSA* 1899–1900, 10, 46f.; *PM* III, 19f., fig. 9 and 32, fig. 12; Palmer, *OKT* 119, 125; *New Guide*, 75, 79, 126f.

Large panel with tripartite shrine restored by Gilliéron: *PM* III, 46ff., figs. 28–34, 36, pls. XVI–XVII; *KFA*, pls. B, fig. 1a–b, II, IIA.

Length of whole composition somewhat over 1.0m; H. 0.32m; Height of standing women 0.06m.

DATE: MM IIIB (Evans), but difficulties because of stratification with Linear B tablets (Palmer: LM IIIB); stylistically LM IA or MM IIIB/LM IA (Cameron 1975, 437f.).

Fig. 34e; Pl. 22; pages 14, 63–65, 71, 110, 163.

Kn No. 16. “Sacred Grove and Dance” fresco. H.M., Gallery XV.

Same context as **Kn No. 15**: *BSA* 1899–1900, 47–48; *PM* III, 66ff., pl. XVIII.

Additions made by Cameron suggest continuation of panel to left: Cameron (1967b) 65f., figs. 7A, 8, pl. IVc. Height of panel as restored by Gilliéron c. 0.40m.

For style of olive trees, see Cameron (1976a) 9ff.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Pl. 23; pages 33, 63, 65–66, 67, 71, 163.

Kn No. 17: Fragmentary miniature frescoes. H.M., Case 174.

Same general context as **Kn Nos. 15–16**.

- a. Woman behind balustrade: *PM* III, 59, fig. 35.
- b. Women looking out of casement: *PM* II, 2, 602, fig. 375; *KFA*, pl. IV, no. 15.
- c. Two women in architectural setting (found by Platon in restoration in room to west: *KrChron* 1955, 566); Cameron (1971), 38, drawing.
- d. Architectural fragment with horns of consecration: *PM* III, 84, fig. 47.
- e. “Warriors and Officer”: *BSA* 1899–1900, 48; *PM* III, 81–83, figs. 45–46; *KFA*, pl. IV, figs. 1–3. Cameron (1976b) 67, fig. 7B, C, pl. IVd, adds two joining pieces to men with javelins. Military aspect of scene now doubted.

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Page 66.

Kn No. 18: Fragments of miniature frescoes. H.M., Case 174.

Found 1904 in lower stratum of cists in Thirteenth Magazine (Fig. 25, No. 4): *BSA* 1903–4, 40f.; *PM* I, 442ff., 527ff.

- a. Crowd of spectators behind wall: *PM* I, 527, fig. 384; *KFA*, pl. VI, no. 12.
- b. Bull’s head with locks of hair of acrobat: *PM* I, 529, fig. 385; *KFA*, pl. VII, no. 1.
- c. Pillar shrine with double axes: *PM* I, 443, fig. 319; *KFA*, pl. V, no. 1.
- d. Pillar shrine with imitation stone revetment: *PM* I, 446, fig. 321; *KFA*, pl. V, no. 2.
- e. Other architectural scraps: *PM* I, 479, fig. 343; *PM* II, 2, 604, fig. 377.

Somewhat larger scale than **Kn Nos. 15–17** and dated earlier by Evans (preseismic MM IIIB), but doubts now expressed that sealing of lower cists took place before destruction of LM II/III A palace (Hallager [1977] 25ff.).

DATE: MM IIIB or later? Cameron (1975) 428ff. dissociates from true miniature style and dates them to LM II period of Mycenaean occupation.

Pages 64 and 162.

Kn No. 19: Boys playing game (?). H.M., Case 173.

Fragment from northwest fresco heap (Fig. 25, No. 7): *PM* III, 396, pl. XXVa; *KFA*, pl. C, fig. 4.

Height of figures c. 0.05m.

Doubts expressed about identification (Alexiou [1966] 116, n. 4), but cf. Cameron, *KFA*, 20. See also the similar figure style used in the miniature frieze from Akrotiri for the naked boys welcoming the return of the fleet (*Thera* VI, col. pl. 9, upper right).

DATE: MM IIIB/LM I.

Page 66.

Kn No. 20: Frieze of partridges and hoopoes. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1923–24 in stepped pavilion (dining room?) of Caravanserai (Fig. 15): *PM* II, 1, 109–16, figs. 49, 51–54, and frontispiece.

Architectural setting preserved with frieze at top of wall with simulated pilasters and architrave. Height of frieze 0.28m. Cf. Cameron (1976b) 33, fig. 1E.

DATE: LM IB.

Pl. 30; pages 34, 78–79, 103.

Kn No. 21: Stucco reliefs of charging bulls. H.M., Galleries XIV and XV.

Found 1900 in area of West Loggia of North Entrance (Fig. 25) at higher level than Linear B tablets and late pottery (0.70–0.90m below

surface): *BSA* 1899–1900, 51ff.; *PM* III, 160ff., 167–77, figs. 109B, 113, 115–20; *PM* IV, 1, 7ff., fig. 8; Kaiser (1976) 271ff., figs. 418–24, pl. 35; M-H, *CM*, pl. XIV (head of bull).

At least two bulls and a woman to left (leaper?), olive trees, rocky terrain. Surface burnt.

Evans dated to MM III (possibility that it remained *in situ* until Greek period). Kaiser (1976) 287ff. dates LM IB/II with bulls stylistically later than **Kn No. 8**. For explanation of stratigraphy and dissociation of reliefs from reoccupation pottery, see Boardman, *OKT*, 45ff., and Kaiser (1976) 273. For contrary view, Palmer, *OKT*, 115ff.; *New Guide*, 78, 126.

DATE: LM IB/II.

Pls. 36–37; pages 85–88, 162, 164.

Kn No. 22: “Cupbearer” and Procession fresco. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1900 partly adhering to east wall of Corridor of Procession (Fig. 25); “Cupbearer” fallen backwards from west wall of South Propylaeum: *BSA* 1899–1900, 12–16; *PM* II, 2, 682f., 704ff., 719ff., figs. 428, 450, and suppl. pls. XXV–XXVII.

“Cupbearer”: *PM* II, 2, pl. XII; M-H, *CM*, pl. XV.

Fragment of “stone” vase from fresco heap to north of palace: *PM* II, 2, 724, fig. 451.

Cameron proposes earlier processional frescoes. Cameron (1978) 587, fig. 4, for Grand Staircase (cf. *PM* II, 2, 751, fig. 485). Cameron (1970) 165 identifies *PM* I, 201, pl. 1k, as waistband and kilt of processional figure.

Later procession on walls of corridor at time of destruction by fire, presumably in LM II/IIIA destruction. Evans dated LM IA/B on basis of Egyptian comparisons, but should be *after* change to new type of kilt in Tomb of Rekhmire (Vercoutter [1956] pls. XVII–XIX) and progres-

sive Mycenaean influence (Kantor [1947] 41–49). Palmer unclear but apparently dates LM IIIB: *New Guide*, 43–44. Peterson (1981b) 138–47 dates LM II.

DATE: LM II/IIIA.

Pls. 38–40; pages 53, 84, 88–90, 109, 114, 118, 135, 162, 164, 166.

Kn No. 23: Taureador panels. H.M., Gallery XIV; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Found 1901 in Court of the Stone Spout, east wing (Fig. 25, No. 11): *BSA* 1900–1901, 94ff.; *PM* III, 209ff. Found 1.5m above terrace level with LM II pottery.

One restored panel in H.M. and parts of others in same series with figures c. 0.32m in height.

- a. Panel, H.M., Gallery XIV: *PM* III, figs. 144–45; *KFA*, pls. IX (2 versions), X, no. 8; M-H, *CM*, pl. XVII. Height of panel c. 0.80m. Blue ground.
- b. Female taureador, H.M., Case 174: *PM* III, 215, fig. 146; *KFA*, pls. XIIA and X, no. 6. Blue ground.
- c. Male taureador, Ashmolean AE 1707: *PM* III, 216, fig. 148; *KFA*, pl. A, fig. 1. Blue.
- d. Female taureador, Ashmolean AE 1708: *PM* III, pl. XXI; *KFA*, pl. A, fig. 2. Yellow ground.
- e. Head of female taureador, H.M.: *PM* III, 232, fig. 164B; *KFA*, pl. X, no. 1. Yellow.
- f–i. Fragments of female taureadors on yellow ground: *KFA*, pl. X, nos. 2, 3, 5, 7.

Evans dated these immediately before last palace (LM II): *PM* III, 210, n. 3. Palmer dates them to LM IIIB because of stratification *above* LM IIIB pottery: *OKT*, 180–82; *New Guide*, 96–97. But see explanation of stratigraphy in Boardman, *OKT*, 51–52.

DATE: LM II/IIIA.

Pls. 41–42; pages 66, 84, 90–92, 103, 109, 110, 111, 117, 162, 164, 166.

Kn No. 24: “Dancing Lady.” H.M., Gallery XVI.

Found 1902 in heap of detached plaster near north wall of east light area of Queen’s Megaron (Fig. 25, No. 14): *BSA* 1901–2, 55f., fig. 28; *PM* III, 70–71, fig. 40; 369–71, pl. XXVb; *KFA*, pls. F, fig. 2; VII, no. 2. Restoration on inner face of pillar: *PM* III, fig. 246.

Late reoccupation and confused stratigraphy: Palmer, *OKT*, 134ff., and Boardman, *OKT*, 56–57.

DATE: LM II (stylistically).

Fig. 26f; Pl. 43; pages 92 and 117.

Kn No. 25: “Palanquin”-Charioteer fresco. H.M., Cases 172 and 174.

“Palanquin” fresco found 1901 in Room of Clay Matrix (Fig. 25, No. 2) beneath uppermost floor: *BSA* 1900–1901, 19f.; *PM* II, 2, 770–72, figs. 502–3; *KFA*, pl. C, figs. 1, 3.

Charioteer (fragment I) found 1955 during consolidation of east wall of Lapidary’s Workshop and associated with fragments II–IV from northwest fresco heap: Alexiou (1964), 785–804, figs. 1–4. Cameron (1967) 330–44 added fragments V and VI and combined them in a single composition (fig. 12). Fragment V with head of bull behind chariot body (*KFA*, pl. C, fig. 6) had been recognized as chariot by Rodenwaldt but assigned to east Lapidary’s Workshop (Fig. 25, No. 12).

Date important in connection with Mycenaean chariot representations, but some confusion: LM I (Evans, *PM* II, 2, 770, for “Palanquin”; also Alexiou and Hood, *Arts*, 59–60); LM II/IIIA (Cameron [1967] 341f. and Crowel, *Chariots*, 66, 172, W70–74, pls. 104–7).

Second chariot composition from Knossos with dappled chariot body and female occupants: Cameron (1970) 165 and Crowel, *Chariots*, 172, W75.

DATE: LM II/IIIA.

Fig. 27; pages 84, 92–95, 124.

Kn No. 26: “Campstool” and “La Parisienne.” H.M., Gallery XV.

Found 1901 on both sides of west outside wall of palace between magazines 13 and 16 (Fig. 25, No. 5): *BSA* 1900–1901, 55–56; 1903–4, 39; *PM* iv, 2, 379–90, figs. 323–25, pl. XXXI; *KFA*, pls. C, fig. 5, F, fig. 1, V nos. 3–5.

New reconstructions of composition by Platon (*KrChron* 1959, 319–45), and Cameron (*KrChron* 1964, 38–53). New join at bottom of “La Parisienne” makes her too tall for register of 0.32m.

Further discussion of stratigraphy: Hallager (1977) 73.

DATE: LM II/IIIA.

Fig. 26e; Pl. 44; pages 84, 89, 95, 100, 103, 149, 162, 164.

Kn No. 27: “Captain of the Blacks.” H.M., Gallery XVI.

Found 1923 (?) in area of House of the Frescoes (Fig. 15) at a higher level than **Kn No. 2**: *PM* II, 2, 755–57, pl. XIII; *PM* IV, 2, 886, fig. 869.

DATE: LM II/IIIA (Evans: “latest Palatial Age”).

Page 96.

Kn No. 28: Throne Room griffins. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1900 in Throne Room (Fig. 25) partially attached to wall and blackened by fire (*Pl. 48*): *BSA* 1899–1900, 35–42, fig. 8; *PM* IV, 2, 905–13, figs. 884–86, pl. XXXII and frontispiece. Gilliéron reconstruction at site (fig. 895) reveals discrepancy with extant remains (fig. 889).

For more correct reconstruction, see Cameron (1970) 163 and (1976) 40 n. 58. See also Reusch (1958) 334–58 and Mirié (1979) 47ff. and 72ff.

Date controversial. Evans dated LM II at end of palatial age. Blegen (1958) 66 implied contemporaneity with LH IIIB Pylos Throne Room, a date supported by Palmer on basis of stratigraphy: *OKT*, xvi, xviii, 109–14, 205, 216–17. For contrary interpretation of evidence, see Boardman, *OKT*, 29–32.

DATE: LM II/IIIA.

Pls. 47–48; pages 84, 96–98, 135, 136, 161, 162, 164.

Kn No. 29: Bull-grappling scene. *In situ* (now lost).

Found 1900 adhering to east wall of West Porch (Fig. 25): *BSA* 1899–1900, 12; *PM* II, 2, 674f., figs. 428–29; IV, 2, 894, fig. 873.

Three layers of plaster, each showing a lifesize bull in violent action. Too decayed to be removed.

DATE: LM III (possibly late renewal).

Page 98.

Kn No. 30: Lifesize bull. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1900 in anteroom of Throne Room (adhering to wall?): *BSA* 1899–1900, 36; *PM* IV, 2, 893, fig. 872.

Only foot of bull and rock dado preserved.

DATE: LM II/III.

Page 98.

Kn No. 31: Tree and bull-grappling scene. H.M., Storeroom.

Found 1903 in superficial deposit between Northwest Treasury and Theatral Area (Fig. 25, No. 6):

BSA 1902-3, 117-18; *PM* II, 2, 620, fig. 389; *KFA*, pl. VIII, no. 2.

DATE: LM II/III.

Page 99.

Kn No. 32: Argonaut frieze (?). H.M., Storeroom.

Found 1902 "attached to wall" (or fallen on floor?) between upper Hall of the Double Axes and East-West Corridor: *PM* IV, 2, 888-91, figs. 870-71, suppl. pl. LXIV. Presumed height of frieze 1.15m.

DATE: Evans thought contemporary with Throne Room decoration, but probably LM III (Postpalatial?).

Pages 99 and 142.

Kn No. 33: Shield frieze. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1901-2 in area of Room of the Demon Seals (behind second flight of service stairs in Domestic Quarter) (Fig. 25): *BSA* 1900-1901, 108; *PM* III, 301-8, fig. 196 (restoration on middle loggia of Hall of the Colonnades), pl. XXIII.

Damaged by fire in destruction of palace. Fragment illustrated in Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, 37, fig. 10, with mention of many more burnt fragments and spiral band from "north threshing floor area."

DATE: LM II. Ruined in conflagration that destroyed LM II/IIIA palace. Palmer noted presence of LM IIIB pottery below deposit in area of Demon Seals: *OKT*, 132-33; *New Guide*, 81ff. Popham (Appendix A in Boardman, *OKT*, 92) notes "clear reoccupation deposits but a major destruction when Palace-style pottery was in use."

Pl. 49; pages 99, 138-140, 142, 162, 164, 167.

Kn No. 34: Stucco relief of lion's mane (or bull?). H.M., storage.

Found 1902 (?) in pocket under southeast staircase near late Shrine of Double Axes: *PM* II, 1, 332ff., fig. 188; Kaiser (1976) 284, fig. 461a-b.

DATE: MM III (Evans); no date given by Kaiser.

Page 219 note 12.

Kn No. 35: Large wings from griffin or sphinx. H.M., storage.

From north fresco heap: *PM* I, 549, fig. 399b; Fyfe (1902) 123, fig. 51, and 127, figs. 64-67.

Rodenwaldt (*Tiryns* II, 160) cites these fragments in connection with Schliemann's from Tiryns (**Ti No. 9**), which would suggest a sphinx, but see now the fragments from House A at Keos, which are clearly from griffins (kindness of E. Davis).

DATE: LM IB (?).

Page 138.

Kn No. 36: Double interlaced spiral band. H.M., storage.

Found 1901 in basement area west of high reliefs fallen from East Hall (**Kn No. 8**): *BSA* 1900-1901, 87ff.; *PM* I, 369ff., figs. 269-70.

DATE: MM III (?).

Fig. 39b; page 142.

Kn No. 37: Double interlaced spiral band. H.M., storage.

From north fresco heap: *PM* I, 374, fig. 272.

DATE: MM III (?).

Page 142.

Kn No. 38: Stucco relief of quadruple spirals. H.M., Gallery XV.

Found 1900 in same context as miniature frescoes (**Kn Nos. 15–17**) and restored as ceiling of small sanctuary room: *BSA* 1899–1900, 43–44; *PM* III, 30–31, pl. XV; Kaiser (1976) 270, fig. 417.

DATE: Probably MM IIIB/LM IA (see discussion under **Kn No. 15**).

Fig. 39c; pages 63 and 142.

Kn No. 39: Stucco relief of papyrus. H.M., Case 173.

Found 1902 in southwest corner of south light-well of Queen's Megaron (*Fig. 25, No. 14*): *BSA* 1901–2, 51ff., fig. 26 (where wrongly identified as tail of bird); *PM* III, 371–72, fig. 247; Kaiser (1976) 283.

DATE: Uncertain.

Page 219 note 24.

Kn No. 40: Frieze of sacral ivy and papyrus. H.M., storage.

Found 1902 (?) beneath surface layer in east light-well of Hall of Double axes: *PM* III, 294f., fig. 193 (restored drawing).

DATE: Redecoration in closing phase of LM IA (Evans).

Fig. 39e; page 143.

Kn No. 41: Imitation marble dado. H.M., storage (?).

Found 1902 in lower East-West Corridor a little east of Hall of Double Axes: *BSA* 1901–1902, 103; *PM* I, 355–56, fig. 255; Fyfe (1903) 112, fig. 13.

DATE: "Close of MM IIIA" (Evans).

Page 145.

Kn No. 42: Labyrinth fresco. H.M., Gallery XV.

Found 1902 in same context with **Kn No. 41**: *BSA* 1901–1902, 103–4, fig. 62; *PM* III, 356–58, fig. 256.

Incavo technique.

DATE: "Close of MM IIIA."

Kn No. 43: Architectural treatment of wall. *In situ* (?).

Found 1923–26 attached to wall at southwest corner of Room H, House of the Frescoes (*Fig. 15*) above **Kn Nos. 2–3**: *PM* II, 2, 443f., fig. 260 (drawing).

DATE: MM IIIB/LM IA.

Page 145.

Kn No. 44: "Fresco of the Garlands." H.M.

Found 1981 in excavations for addition to Stratigraphic Museum: *JHS-AR* 1980–81, 80; 1981–82, 52–53; Warren (1985) 187–207, fig. 1 (color).

Presumably a frieze at top of wall. Other fragments from same deposit include miniature buildings and river (unpublished).

DATE: LM IA/B.

The following fresco fragments from Knossos have not been included in the catalogue, but page references are given to those referred to in the text:

1. Fragments of painted plaster with Egyptian blue found with MM IIA pottery: *PM* III, 250, and Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis (1977) 158 n. 65. Not illustrated. *Page* 16.
 2. Fragments of painted plaster with orange sponge imprints on black ground found under threshold of Northwest Portico. MM IIA (?). *Fig. 6e; pages 22 and 48.*
 3. Dado with curving bands from Loom-weight Basement: *PM* I, 251, fig. 188a–b; Fyfe (1903) 109, figs. 1–2. MM IIB/IIIA. *Fig. 6f; pages 22 and 145.*
 4. Fragment ascribed by Evans to Old Palace with imitation of MM I–II barbotine: *PM* I, 533, pl. Ik; Smith, *Interconnections* 18, fig. 33. Now identified as coming from the waistband of a processional male figure: Cameron (1970) 165. MM IIIB (?). *Page 174 (Kn No. 22).*
 5. Embossed bands from female taureador in relief: *PM* III, 37, fig. 20; *KFA*, pl. E, fig. 2a–c; Kaiser (1976) 268; Cameron (1970) 164. From north dump.
 6. Fragment of seated female in relief from north threshing floor area: *PM* III, 45, fig. 27; Kaiser (1976) 268.
 7. Fragment of stucco relief of boar (?) from Queen's Megaron: Kaiser (1976) 283, fig. 460, pl. 28. Dated late.
 8. Stucco relief of hindquarters of animal (boar?): Kaiser (1976) 266, fig. 411 right, pl. 27. From East Hall?
 9. Small painting with female taureadors from Queen's Megaron (upper stratum): *PM* III, 208ff., fig. 193.
 10. Flowering olive spray from basement north of Stepped Portico: *PM* I, 536, fig. 389; *KFA*, pl. D, fig. 2. Now Ashmolean Museum, AE 1711. MM IIIB. *Page 64.*
 11. Naturalistic fragments: *KFA*, pl. D, figs. 3–5. Provenance uncertain; all unpublished elsewhere.
 12. Head of cat and bird's tail: *PM* I, 540, fig. 392; *KFA*, pl. D, fig. 6. Evans associates and compares with the painting from Ayia Triadha (A.T. No. 1), but Cameron (1976b) 37 n. 22 dissociates two fragments on basis of style. H.M., Case 173.
 13. Fragments of spiral friezes: *PM* III, 381–84, fig. 254; 388, fig. 259; 345, fig. 229. *Fig. 39a; page 142.*
 14. Miniature painting of charging bull on back of crystal plaque from Throne Room: *PM* III, 108ff., figs. 60–61, pl. XIX; iv, 2, 928, fig. 900d; Hood, *Arts*, 65. H. 0.055m by W. 0.035m. LM I (?). H.M., Case 52.
 15. Floral fresco from the Unexplored Mansion, fallen from above Room P: Popham (1984), 127–50. LM IA.
- Among the unpublished paintings from Knossos, the following were to have been published by M. A. S. Cameron:
1. The Royal Road excavations 1957–61 referred to by Hood, *Arts*, 51, 84, and forming an important basis for chronology in Cameron (1975). Now to be published by Lyvia Morgan.
 2. Additional private houses not included in *PM* (a joint publication by Cameron and M. C. Shaw).

Other Sites in Crete

Amnisos (north coast, east of Knossos)

Am No. 1: Lily fresco. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1932 in Room 7 of villa; near north wall (fallen from upper story?): *AA* 1933, 287 fig. 2; *PM* iv, 2, 1002, suppl. pl. LXVIIb (Gilliéron reconstruction); M-H, *CM*, pl. XXII.

Two frescoes of same scheme: white lilies inlaid (incavo technique) on red ground, green and tan border stripes; polished surface, H. c. 1.80m.

See Cameron (1978) 581ff., pl. I, for reconstruction of whole room with possible goddess depicted on south wall. Also Cameron (1975) 290f. for discussion of technique.

DATE: MM III/LM IA.

Pages 78 and 207 note 12.

Am No. 2: "Mint" and Iris fresco. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found along west wall of Room 7: *AA* 1933, 294, fig. 3; *PM* iv, 2, 1002, suppl. pl. LXVIIa (Gilliéron reconstruction).

Two flower containers with iris (Möbius [1933] 11, fig. 5F) and "mint" against a red and white background with marbled dado below.

Cf. Cameron (1978) 581–84, pl. IIB and C (additional flower containers).

DATE: Same as above.

Page 78.

Am No. 3: Dado with offering tables. H.M., storage.

Found near south wall of Room 7: *AA* 1933, 295, fig. 4.

Vine tendrils, clumps of crocus, and vertical band of papyrus blossoms and circles; recognized by Cameron as an "offering table" dado, and restored with hypothetical goddess along south wall: Cameron (1978) 581–84, pls. I and IIA.

DATE: Same as above.

Page 78.

Ayia Triadha (south coastal plain near Phaistos)

A.T. No. 1: Nature frescoes with goddess. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1903 in Room 14 of east wing of villa: *MonAnt* 1903, 5ff., pls. VII–X. Frescoes probably continuous on three walls of small room (shrine?). See Smith, *Interconnections*, 77–79, figs. 106–10 (Gilliéron copies).

- a. Kneeling female picking crocuses amid lilies, violets, and other plants: Smith, figs. 107–9. South wall (?).
- b. Female figure standing or seated by shrine (mountaintop sanctuary) still adhering in part to end (east) wall: *MonAnt* 1903, pl. X; Smith, fig. 106. *Here Pl. 18*.
- c. Cat and pheasant, leaping deer, and fragments of other cats: *MonAnt* 1903, pls. VIII–IX; Smith, fig. 110. *Here Pl. 17*. North wall (?).

For additional and related fragments in storage, see *ASAtene* 1977, 86ff., figs. 54–55 (Room 13); figs. 58–59 (Room 14); figs. 142–48 (Inner Court 10, dump from 1912 excavations?).

DATE: Frescoes burnt in destruction of villa in LM IB, but stylistically LM IA (see Cameron [1978] 588).

Pls. 17–18; pages 49–50, 54, 161, 165.

A.T. No. 2: Painted limestone sarcophagus. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1903 in small built tomb northeast of villa: *MonAnt* 1908, 6ff., pls. I–III; Levi (1956) 192–99; Long (1974); M-H, *CM*, pls. XXVII–XXX.

L. 1.375m by W. 0.45m.; height of figural zone c. 0.25m.

Four related scenes:

- a. Front: pouring scene and presentation at tomb. Long, figs. 17, 37, 52. *Here Pl. 50.*
- b. Back: sacrifice of bull in outdoor sanctuary. Long, figs. 86–87. *Here Pl. 51.*
- c. East end (as in tomb): griffin-drawn chariot. Long, figs. 18, 26. *Here Pl. 53.*
- d. West end: male procession and agrimi-drawn chariot. Long, figs. 73, 75. *Here Pl. 52.*

DATE: End of palatial age, soon after reoccupation of villa in early LM IIIA.

Pls. 50–53; pages 16, 18, 19, 89, 100–102, 109, 114, 122, 144, 158, 164.

A.T. No. 3: Ceremonial Procession with Lyre-Player. H.M., Gallery XIV.

Found 1904 in fresco dump between tomb with sarcophagus and villa: *MonAnt* 1908, 67f., figs. 21 and 23; Long (1974) 21, 36, fig. 43.

By same hand as **A.T. No. 2**, but in a larger scale. Height of lyre-player 0.435m (Cameron [1964] 47 n. 31).

DATE: early in LM IIIA.

Pages 101 and 102.

A.T. No. 4: Women and deer at altar. H.M., Gallery XIV.

From same dump as **A.T. No. 3**: *MonAnt* 1908, 71, fig. 22; Long (1974) 21, 61, fig. 85.

Height of figures c. 0.25m.

Same rosette border as on **A.T. Nos. 2 and 3**. Fragment of woman in Museo Pigorini, Rome, probably from this fresco (Borda [1946] 75, p. 55).

DATE: LM IIIA.

Page 102.

A.T. No. 5: Procession of women to shrine. H.M., Gallery XIV.

From same dump as **A.T. Nos. 3 and 4**: *MonAnt* 1908, 68 n. 1 (not illustrated); Long (1974) 67; Platon (1957) 134–35.

Unpublished, but finest of the three. Molded cornice above with horns of consecration in relief; upper register with cream background shows seated figure (goddess?) at left approached by four female figures between palm trees; lower register with red background shows six or more women with arms resting on each other's shoulders (dancing?). (Description based on my notes). Other fragments in storage.

Figures similar in size and style to those on sarcophagus.

Damaged by fire. Cameron (1975) 177 assigns to Shrine H with painted floor.

DATE: LM IIIA.

Page 102.

Chania (northwest coast)

Fresco fragments have been found at the Kastelli site in Chania, both during the earlier Greek excavations of the 1960s and during the current Swedish excavations, but these have not been published, with one exception:

Ch No. 1: Stucco relief of lifesize female. Chania Museum (?).

Found 1967 in Kastelli excavations: *ArchDelt* 22B (1967) 501f.; Kaiser (1976) 305, fig. 471, pl. 25 (only publication).

Hip fragment of seated female with blue dress with trefoil net pattern. P.H. 0.119m; W. 0.095m.

Found with other good fresco fragments and dated by Kaiser to LM I.

Page 205 note 6.

Katsamba (harbor area of Knossos)

Ka No. 1: Miniature fresco of flying birds. H.M., storage.

Found 1955 in Minoan building partially excavated: *Prakt* 1955, 318, fig. 2; Smith, *Interconnections*, 79, fig. 111; M. C. Shaw (1978) 27–34, figs. 1–2 (photo and drawing).

Shaw believes 'fragment represents an embroidered belt from lifesize female figure wearing red skirt with scale pattern (preserved at bottom of fragment).

DATE: Building dated MM IIIB/LM IA by pottery.

Page 67.

Kommos (port on Libyan Sea)

Decorative painted plaster has now been found in the important Ashlar Building T (Stoa) at the southern part of site: *Hesperia* 53 (1984), 268, pl. 54e–f; 55 (1986), 249, 253. Abstract designs (including conglomerate pebble patterns), but no figural frescoes found up to now.

Mallia (north coast, east of Knossos)

No pictorial fragments of any significance have been found in the palace. Mention of the following:

- a. Fragments of small male heads (?): *BCH* 1922, 526 n. 1.
- b. Gray and red stucco (chance resemblance to male heads?): *BCH* 1928, 358.
- c. Stucco painted in different colors, bands and marbling from Corridor XIX: *ÉtCrét* 12 (1962), 25.
- d. Stucco *in situ* in Room XXIV.1, red with banded decoration: *ÉtCrét* 4 (1936), 21–22, pl. IV, 2.

Ma No. 1: Decorative fresco from House E.

Found *in situ* in House E: *ÉtCrét* 11 (1959), 138–40, pls. LXXIII and LXXIVa.

Horizontal bands and metopes with stylized floral band (rosettes in wreaths?) above.

DATE: LM I.

Nirou Chani (north coast, east of Knossos)

N.C. No. 1: Sacral knot. H.M., Gallery XVI.

Found 1919 in Room 17 of villa: *ArchEph* 1922, 11, fig. 9.

Recognized by Evans as representation of "sacral knot": *PM* II, 1, 284, fig. 168. For other religious symbols from building, see Gesell (1985) 116, pls. 75, 84.

DATE: LM I.

Palaikastro (northeast coast)

Pa No. 1: Arm from stucco relief of female. H.M., storage.

Found in 1902–6 excavations of House E: Bosanquet and Dawkins (1923) 148; Kaiser

(1976) 303, fig. 470b; Cameron and Jones (1976) 15f.

The small fragment with crocus blossoms (Bosanquet and Dawkins [1932] 148, fig. 3) is perhaps to be associated with this as skirt decoration.

DATE: LM I.

Other fragments from the site are either plain or show a combination of stripes: *BSA* 1901–2, 313–15; 1902–3, 288, 291f.; 1965, 253, 256. This material is to be published by Lyvia Morgan.

Phaistos (Mesara plain)

Phs No. 1: Fragments of decorative frescoes. H.M., storage.

From MM house on south slope: Pernier, *Palazzo I*, 172f., pl. XL, 1 and 5.

Spiral band and foliate band.

DATE: Usually assigned to Old Palace period. Cameron, however, considers them MM IIIB in date (Cameron [1975] 590).

Fig. 6a–b; page 22.

Phs No. 2: Painted stucco floor and wall plaster. H.M., storage.

Floor from Room LIV of Protopalatial Palace, Phase I: Levi, *Festòs I*, 85, pls. XXIV and LXXXVa. Stucco pavement with brown rectangles and quatrefoils in incavo technique.

Allied in style, fragment of wall (?) plaster with repeated labyrinth design from unspecified room: Levi, *Festòs I*, pl. LXXXVb. Dated to Phase III of Old Palace.

Fig. 6c–d; pages 22 and 207 note 12.

Phs No. 3: Scraps of wall plaster from Old Palace (?).

From various contexts: Levi, *Festòs I*, 106f., fig. 142, pl. LXXXVIa.

Only No. 5 has a pictorial design: blue papyrus heads on a white ground, and for it the context in the South Chalara was mixed with Neopalatial pottery (*Festòs I*, 696).

DATE: uncertain.

Phs No. 4: Scraps of wall plaster from New Palace.

From Rooms 77–79 of North Domestic Quarter: Pernier, *Palazzo I*, pl. XL, 2–4, 6; *Palazzo II*, 284. Nos. 4 and 6 suggest some naturalistic painting. Scraps found elsewhere but not significant enough to be illustrated.

DATE: LM I.

Phs No. 5: Stuccoed niches at north end of central court. *In situ.*

Pattern of latticed diagonals within rectangle: Pernier and Banti, *Palazzo II*, 60ff., figs. 25–26; 444, fig. 277.

For significance of this pattern to theory locating bull games in central courts: Graham (1976) 78ff., figs. 53–54.

DATE: LM I. Possibility that pattern goes back to earlier period (Cameron [1975] 589).

Prasa (harbor area for Knossos)

Pr No. 1: Miniature cypress trees. H.M., storage.

Found 1951 in House A: *Prakt* 1951, 248; Cameron (1976a) 7, pl. 3c.

Frieze only 0.115m high with seven cypress trees depicted with chiaroscuro effect. Cameron attributes it to the same hand that painted House of the Frescoes (Kn Nos. 2 and 3).

DATE: LM IA.

Page 67.

Another fragment (woman's head) mentioned by Cameron (1971) 39.

Pseira (island in Mirabello Bay)

Ps No. 1: Stucco reliefs of two seated women. H.M., Gallery XVI.

Found 1906–7 in "shrine" of settlement: Seager (1910) 32ff., pl. V (where restored as one figure); Rodenwaldt (1923–24) 268ff., figs. 1–2 (recognized as two); *PM* III, 28, fig. 15A; Kaiser (1976) 299–302, figs. 469a–c; pl. 24A–B (where two facing seated figures are restored).

Goddess and votary (?).

DATE: LM IB destruction of site, but reliefs should be LM A.

Pages 54, 62, 78, 161, 162.

Tylissos (on slopes of Ida, west of Knossos)

Ty No. 1: Miniature frescoes. H.M., Gallery XV.

Found 1912 in House A, Room 17: *ArchEph* 1912, 224f., pls. 18–19; Hazzidakis (1921), pls. VII–VIII; M. C. Shaw (1972) 171–88, figs. 1–9, 13 (reconstruction).

Very incomplete frieze, but important in connection with miniatures from Akrotiri and Keos (Ak No. 12 and A.I. No. 4).

DATE: LM I (house destroyed at end of LM IB).
Pages 66–67, 71, 82.

Ty No. 2: "Fan" or triple palm. H.M., storage.

From same context as Ty No. 1: Hazzidakis (1921), pl. IX; M. C. Shaw (1972) 179ff., figs. 10–11, 14 (reconstruction).

Interpreted as "fan" by Hazzidakis; recognized as part of a triple palm by Shaw.

DATE: LM I.

Vathypetro (on Juktas, south of Knossos)

Multicolored border fragments reported: *Prakt* 1949, 103.

Zakros (east Crete)

The fresco material from this new palace site has not been published, but Platon notes that only decorative motives occurred, with no representational scenes (*Zakros* 83). Two important examples are described.

Za No. 1: Spiral relief frieze. H.M., Gallery VIII.

From Banqueting Hall: *Prakt* 1964, 142ff., pl. 147a–b; *Zakros*, 172.

Ran around all four walls of room; blue background with white spirals in relief, multicolored rosette centers.

DATE: LM I.

Za No. 2: Horns of consecration. *In situ*.

Found in lustral basin of domestic quarter, painted on rear walls of niches behind columns: *Zakros* 182.

DATE: LM I.

Frescoes from villa at Epáno Zakros mentioned (*Zakros*, 71, 251f.) but not published.

Cyclades and Aegean Islands

Akrotiri, Thera

Ak No. 1: Monkey fresco. Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1968–69 at B 6 (Fig. 14) at northwest corner of room, precipitated from upper floor: *Thera* II, 12, pl. B 1; III, 34ff., 63f., pls. 61–62; IV, 45f., pls. 113–15; V, 38, pls. D, 92–93.

Second stage of decoration (wall plaster turned over): *Thera* V, 37, pl. 91.

Difficulties in restoring composition: cf. *Thera* IV, pl. 114 with V, pl. D. Possibility that goats in mountainous setting (Ak No. 3) belong in same composition: see N. Marinatos (1984b) 113f. and fig. 83 (proposed reconstruction).

DATE: LM IA.

Pls. 12–13; pages 42, 99, 135.

Ak No. 2: “Spring” fresco. Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1970 still attached to walls of small ground-floor room Δ 2 (Fig. 14): *Thera* IV, 20 f., 49–53, pls. A–C, 33–35, 37–41, 121–26; VI, 11f.; AAA 1971, 66ff.; M-H, *KTM*, pls. XXXVI–XXXVII. See also N. Marinatos (1984b) 93f., fig. 62.

Most complete Aegean fresco in architectural setting.

DATE: LM IA.

Pls. VII, 14–15; pages 13, 46–48, 60, 78, 135, 165.

Ak No. 3: Mountaintop sanctuary (?). Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1968–69 in same general context as Ak No. 1: *Thera* IV, 46; V, 38; Iliakis (1978) 628, pl. 11 (technique). Possibly part of same composition as Ak No. 1.

DATE: LM IA.

Page 209 note 12.

Ak No. 4: Antelopes and Boxing Boys. Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1970 in Room B 1 (Fig. 14), antelopes partly attached to north wall, boxers on south wall of upper-story room: *Thera* IV, 28ff., 46f., pls. D–F, 51–61, 117–20; M-H, *KTM*, pls. XXXVIII, 149; Iliakis (1978) 626, pl. 10 (detail).

For earlier excavations of area, see *Thera* I, 38ff., figs. 57–58; III, 34, pl. 26, 1.

For interpretation, see Sp. Marinatos, *AAA* 1971, 407–12; N. Marinatos (1984b) 106ff.; E. Davis (1986) 399–406.

DATE: LM IA.

Pls. VIII, X; pages 13, 49, 51–52, 98, 99, 135, 161.

Ak No. 5: Room of the Ladies. Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1971 in Room 1 of separate building at north of site, fallen from upper room (shrine?) over repositories (*Fig. 14*): *Thera* v, 11ff., 38–41, figs. 3 and 5, pls. E–H, 9–12, 94, 96–97; vi, 8ff., pl. 5; M–H, *KTM*, pls. 150–52, XXXIX; Iliakis (1978) 625, pl. 9 (technique).

For arrangement of frescoes in room, see Doumas (1983) 81ff., fig. 11, pls. VI–VII; N. Marinatos (1984a) 171f., fig. 6; N. Marinatos (1984b) 97ff., fig. 69.

For interpretation as a robing scene: S. Peterson (1981a) 211. For identification of papyrus: Warren (1976) 89–95.

DATE: LM IA.

Fig. 17; Pls. XI, XII, XIII, pages 46, 49, 54–58, 61.

Ak No. 6: Frescoes from lustral basin, Xeste 3. Thera, Museum.

Found 1973 fallen in lustral basin off polythyron (Room 3) of Xeste 3 (*Figs. 14, 19*): *Thera* vii, 32ff., pls. A–K, 58–66.

Paintings restored in four panels on two levels of north and east walls (floor between?): see *Prakt* 1980 (1982) 295, for reconstruction; Doumas (1983) 106ff., fig. 7, pls. 30–32; N. Marinatos (1984b) 61–84, figs. 40–44, 49, 52–53, 55–57. *Here Fig. 20.*

See also Cameron (1978) 580–82 for interpretation as a ritual connected with young women, now developed further by N. Marinatos (1984b) and E. N. Davis (1986).

DATE: LM IA.

Figs. 20, 26a–c, 32a and c; pages 34, 41, 59–62, 117, 161, 166.

Ak No. 7: Three lifesize standing women. Thera (?).

Found 1973 in west part of polythyron (Room 3) of Xeste 3 (*Fig. 19*): *Thera* vii, 36–37, pls. 65–66; N. Marinatos (1984b) 64f., figs. 44–46.

Associated also with paintings of reeds and Madonna lilies: *Thera* vi, pl. 24b–c.

DATE: LM IA.

Fig. 26d; page 62.

Ak No. 8: Priestess with Incense Burner. Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1971 fallen between Rooms 4 and 5 of West House (*Figs. 14 and 18*), presumably attached to door reveal: *Thera* v, 19, 41f., pls. J–K, 100–101; vi, 20, 26, col. pl. 5b.

See also Iliakis (1978) 624, pl. 8 (technique); L. Morgan-Brown (1978) 640 (iconography); N. Marinatos (1984b) 45f., fig. 26.

DATE: LM IA.

Pl. 21, pages 13, 54, 63, 74, 135.

Ak No. 9: *Ikria* or portable ship's cabins. Athens, N.M., one on display.

Found 1971 on all four walls of Room 4 of West House (*Fig. 18*), seven or eight in all: *Thera* v, 19, 41–42, fig. 6, pls. I, 26, 98; vi, 20, 25, 35, pls. 52, 54–57, col. pl. 4 (three examples).

As reconstructed: H. 1.83m; W. 1.01m (i.e., lifesize).

See also M. C. Shaw (1980) 167ff.

DATE: LM IA.

Pl. XV; pages 13, 54, 63, 135, 140–41, 167.

Ak No. 10: Red lilies in "stone" vases. Thera (?).

Found 1971 or 1972 on window reveals of Room 4 of West House (*Fig. 18*): *Thera* VI, 20, 25, pls. 48–51, col. pls. 3, 5a.

DATE: LM IA.

Pages 47, 63, 145.

Ak No. 11: Two Fishermen. Athens, N.M., one on display.

Found 1972 at northeast and southwest corners of Room 5 of West House (*Fig. 18*), that at northeast intact and *in situ*, the other much damaged: *Thera* VI, 22, 35–38, pls. 38b, 42b, 85–88, 90, col. pl. 6; M-H, *KTM*, pl. XXXIV.

About two-thirds lifesize.

See also Doumas (1983) 84f., fig. 12, pl. XII; N. Marinatos (1983) 1ff.; (1984b), 35ff., fig. 18.

DATE: LM IA.

Pl. IX; pages 13, 18, 50–51, 63, 74, 88, 90, 135.

Ak No. 12: The Miniature frieze. Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1971 and 1972 in Room 5 of West House (*Fig. 18*) fallen from north, east, and south walls, originally located above level of windows and doors; west wall presumably obliterated by force of explosion: *Thera* VI, 38ff., pls. 91–94, 96–108, 110, col. pls. 7–9; M-H, *KTM*, pls. XL–XLII.

Dimensions of room 3.80m by 4.03m.

North wall: two fragments each c. 1.0m long (H. 0.40–0.43m). "Meeting on the Hill" and "Shipwreck and Landing Party" with "First Town." *Fig. 38a; Pl. 27.*

East wall: c. 1.80m preserved (H. 0.20m). "Nilotic" or tropical landscape. *Pl. XIV below.*

South wall: virtually complete (H. 0.40m). "Return of the Fleet" with "Second" and "Third Towns." *Fig. 34c–d; Pls. XIV above, 25–26, 28–29.*

For further bibliography, see also Sp. Marinatos (1974b) 140–51; Stucchi (1976) 19–73; Immerwahr (1977) 173–91; Negbi (1978) 645–56; Morgan-Brown (1978) 629–44; Warren (1979) 115–29; Gesell (1980) 197–204; Sapouna-Sakellarakis (1981) 479–509; E. Davis (1983) 3–14; Morgan (1983) 85–105; N. Marinatos (1984b) 38ff. See also the new book by Lyvia Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography* (Cambridge, 1988).

DATE: LM IA.

Figs. 34c–d, 38a; Pls. XIV, 25–29; pages 13, 17, 63, 70–75, 140, 163, 167.

Ak No. 13: Simulated marble dado. Thera (?).

Preserved beneath sills of all four windows of north and west walls of Room 5 and under *ikria* and Priestess of Room 4 of West House (*Fig. 18*): *Thera* VI, 22, pl. 38a, col. pls. 3–5.

DATE: LM IA.

Pages 63, 97, 99, 135, 145.

The following frescoes, which are less completely published, are not included in the Catalogue:

1. Fragments of red lilies from early French excavations from house in ravine south of Akrotiri: Perrot-Chipiez VI, 537f., figs. 211–12.
2. Swallow from B 6: *Thera* III, 64, pls. B 1 and 62, 2. Perhaps from Monkey fresco (**Ak No. 1**): cf. N. Marinatos (1984b), fig. 83.
3. Swallow from "Arvaniti" (northern area): *Thera* II, 28f., pl. B 2.
4. Rockwork from B 1: *Thera* I, 42f., fig. 66; rv, 28ff. and 46ff. (associated with Antelopes?).

5. Reeds from B 7: *Thera* II, 12, pl. 5, 2; III, 64 (associated with Monkey fresco).
6. Myrtle from B 7: *Thera* II, 12, pl. 6, 1–2; III, 64 (associated with Monkey fresco).
7. “Osier” or olive branches from Δ 17: *Thera* VII, 14, pl. 15a.
8. Lotus (?) from Xeste 4: *Thera* VII, 21f., pl. 31a–b.
9. Palm tree and “African” from ravine (“Arvaniti P”): *Thera* II, 28, 54, pl. B, 3–4; AAA 1969, 374–75; *Thera* VI, 55. See also the monkey before an altar with horns of consecration: *Thera* II, 53f., fig. 43. Both small-scale paintings have been associated and thought to have a religious significance: N. Marinatos (1984b) 112f., fig. 79.
10. Lifesize male processional figures from Room 3b, Xeste 3: N. Marinatos (1984b) 64, 76, fig. 54.
11. Lifesize male figure wearing kilt and holding cord (?) from Room 5, Xeste 3: *Thera* VII, 25, Associated with mountain peaks on either side of staircase: *Thera* VI, pl. 23a–b; VII, 23.
12. Thicket of reeds with net and aquatic birds from west wall of Room 3, Xeste 3: *Thera* VI, 17, pl. 24b; VII, 27, pls. L and 42; *Prakt* 1973 (1975), pl. 144b; N. Marinatos (1984b) 68, fig. 44.
13. Miniature frieze with monkeys engaged in human activities (musician and swordsman) fallen from above Room 2, Xeste 3: *Thera* VII, 25f.; *Prakt* 1975 (1977) 215, pl. 186b; N. Marinatos (1984b) 113, fig. 80.
14. Miniature frieze with rocks and swallow’s nests fallen from above Room 2, Xeste 3: *Thera* VII, 25f.; N. Marinatos (1984b) 65, fig. 47.
15. Small-scale painting of woman holding lilies from Xeste 3: *ArchDelt* 29B (1973–74), pl. 31.
16. Frieze of rosettes with relief borders in net pattern fallen from above Room 9, Xeste 3: *Thera* VII, 27, pl. 41a–b. See also frieze from Γ 10: *Thera* III, 51, 63, pls. 59, 2 and 60.
17. Nautilus frieze from B 1: *Thera* III, 39, 63, figs. 24–25, pls. B 2 and 59, 1.
18. Spiral dado from A 2, Magazine 2: *Thera* II, 21, fig. 11.
19. Rosette frieze from upper story of pylon at Δ 9: *Thera* VI, 18; VII, 16.

Ayia Irini, Keos

A.I. No. 1: Bluebird frieze. Chora Museum, Keos.

From Rooms 30 and 31, House A (*Fig. 24*), fallen from above: Coleman (1970) 21–32, 155–58; (1973) 286–93, fig. 1, pls. 54–56; *Keos* III, passim and 140–44 (chronology of House A).

DATE: LM IB.

Fig. 22; pages 79 and 141.

A.I. No. 2: Dolphin fresco. Chora Museum, Keos.

From Room 7, Area J (*Fig. 24*): Coleman (1970) 53–54, 160–61; (1973) 293–96, fig. 2, pl. 56b.

DATE: LM IB.

Fig. 23; pages 79–80.

A.I. No. 3: Floral (Myrtle Shoots and “Brambles”). Chora Museum.

From Area M, Rooms I and II (*Fig. 24*): Coleman (1970) 56ff., 161–63; Abramovitz (1980) 71–76, pls. 8–9.

DATE: LM IB.

Pages 81–82.

**A.I. No. 4:** Miniature frieze. Chora Museum.

From Area M, Rooms I and II (*Fig. 24*): Coleman (1970) 69ff., 92–116, 163–73; Abramovitz (1980) 57–71, pls. 3–7.

DATE: LM IB.

Fig. 34b; Pls. 32–33, 35; pages 82–83, 122, 132, 163.

Other frescoes from House A include fragments of lifesize griffins with displayed wings, imitation breccia, “splash” pattern, and parallel bands. The material from Ayia Irini is currently being prepared for the final publication by E. N. Davis and Lyvia Morgan.

Phylakopi, Melos

Ph No. 1: Flying Fish fresco. Athens, N.M. 5844 (three fragments on display).

Found 1896 in Rooms 6–7 of large building at G 3, probably decorating more than one wall (difference in height of fragments with preserved borders: 0.22m and 0.31m): *Phylakopi*, 70–72, pl. III; R. Barber, *BSA*, 1974, 5; Cameron (1976b) 38–39 nn. 42–44. Also Swindler (1929) 76f., pl. V; *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands* (New York, 1979), 70–71.

DATE: Originally dated to Second City (MM III), but now redated to early phase of Third City: Renfrew, (1978) 411.

Pl. 16; pages 13, 33, 47–48, 80, 102.

Ph No. 2: Seated woman drawing a net (?). Athens, N.M. 5843, display.

From same location as **Ph No. 1**: *Phylakopi*, 72f., figs. 60–61; *PM III*, 40f., fig. 26.

Underlifesize figure, originally thought to be male, but clearly a seated woman wearing a

robe decorated with swallows (or more likely griffins: Cameron [1975] 391ff.). The “net” may be a sacral knot. Other fragments supply marine setting.

DATE: LM IA.

Pages 54 and 62.

Ph No. 3: Stooping female figure. Athens, N.M. 5843, display.

From same location as Nos. 1 and 2. Same scale as above (about one-third lifesize): *Phylakopi*, 74, fig. 62; *PM I*, 544ff., fig. 396.

DATE: LM IA.

Pages 54 and 62.

Ph No. 4: White lilies on red ground. Athens, N.M. 5843, display.

From Room 11 of building at G 3, fallen and much pulverized: *Phylakopi*, 75f., fig. 64; *PM III*, 130, fig. 87.

Composition erroneously restored in first publication and now arranged differently in display: Cameron (1976b) 35 n 4.

DATE: LM IA.

Page 4.

Ph No. 5: Swallow.

From J 3: *Phylakopi*, 77, fig. 65.

DATE: LM IA.

Ph No. 6: Rosette band.

From Room 14 of building at G 3: *Phylakopi*, 78, fig. 66.

DATE: LM IA.

The new fresco material (some of which joins the old) from the recent excavations of the British School under Colin Renfrew is being prepared for the final publication by Lyvia Morgan.

Trianda, Rhodes

Tr No. 1: Red lilies on white ground. Rhodes Museum.

From lowest stratum of House I, Area 7: Monaco (1941) 68–72, pl. VII; Furumark (1950) 177; Mee (1982) 4.

DATE: LM IA.

Pages 4 and 47.

Tr No. 2: Yellow lotus (?) on red ground. Rhodes Museum.

From Stratum IIA of House 1, area 11: Monaco (1941) 88–89, pl. IX; Mee (1982) 5–6.

DATE: LM IA/B.

Page 4.

Tr No. 3: Other floral frescoes. Rhodes Museum.

From uppermost stratum, House I, area 8: Monaco (1941) 128, pl. XI; Mee (1982) 6–7.

DATE: LM IB/II or III A1. Cameron (1975) 776 believes lily is contemporary with Tr No. 1.

Page 47.

Greek Mainland (Major Sites)

Mycenae

My No. 1: Ramp House deposit. Athens, N.M. 1015 and storage.

Fragments of various compositions found partly by Schliemann and partly by the British School beneath the Ramp House (*Fig. 30*):

- a. Women in a loggia: Rodenwaldt (1911) 222f., pl. 9, 2; Lamb (1919–21) 191–92, pl. VII, 1–3; M-H, *CM*, pl. XLIII above. *Here Pl. 54.*
- b. Taureador scenes: Rodenwaldt (1911) 230f.,

pl. 9, 1; Lamb (1919–21) 192–94, pl. VII, 4–6. *Here Pl. XVI.*

- c. Lifesize processional women: Lamb (1919–21) 194–95, pl. VIII, 8–10, 23–25; Reusch (1953) 34–38, figs. 4–6.
- d. Dado imitating cut stone: Lamb (1919–21) 197–98, pl. X, 26–28: *Tiryns* II, 26, figs. 4–5 (from Schliemann's excavations).
- e. Papyrus (?) on white ground: Lamb (1919–21) 195, pl. IX, 11–13.

DATE: LH II/IIIA. From a context beneath the Ramp House containing LH IIIA1 pottery (cf. Wace [1949] 65).

Pls. XVI and 54; pages 106, 110–11, 114, 117, 122, 145, 164, 165, 166.

My No. 2: Fragments of women (several sizes). Athens, N.M., storage.

Found 1886 by Tsountas outside West Portal ("Pithos Area," *Fig. 30*): Lamb (1921–23) 166, nos. 6–8, pl. XXVIII; Rodenwaldt (1921) 50, fig. 26; 69 n 154, A8 and 11; *Tiryns* II, 84f., figs. 35–36.

Fragments from at least two processions, one lifesize, the other about one-half lifesize (unburnt).

See also Peterson (1981b) 58–68, 190–205.

DATE: Probably middle phase of decoration of palace, LH IIIA/B1.

Page 117.

My No. 3: "Mykenaiia" and other fragments of women. Athens, N.M., and storage.

Found 1970 in Southwest Building of sanctuary area (*Fig. 30*): *Prakt* 1970 (1972) 123, pl. 171; M-H, *KTM*, pl. LV; Kritseli-Providi (1982) B-1: 37–40, pls. Γ, 4–5 ("Mykenaiia").

Other fragments of women's garments against a blue ground in several scales: Kritseli-Providi (1982) β–20 to 24: 44ff., pls. Δ, 9–10. Fragments β–20 and 21 associated by K.-P. with "Mykenaiia."

DATE: LH IIIB (context).

Fig. 32h; Pl. XX; pages 119–20, 165, 166.

My No. 4: Presentation of statuette (two fragments). Athens, N.M., storage.

From Southwest Building of Cult Center (*Fig. 30*): Mylonas (1972) 39–40, pl. XIV; Kritseli-Providi (1982) B-2 and 3, 41–43, pl. 6.

Two fragments: hands with statuette and feet on footstool from seated figure, both on white ground.

DATE: LH IIIB (context).

Fig. 33a; pages 119 and 166.

My No. 5: Woman with lily. Athens, N.M., display.

Found 1971 in topmost layer of filling of Southwest Building of Cult Center (*Fig. 30*): *Prakt* 1971 (1973) 147f., pl. 180; Mylonas (1972) 38; Kritseli-Providi (1982) Γ-1; 73–76, fig. 8, pls. B and 24.

DATE: LH IIIC (?)

Page 120.

My No. 6: Frescoes from Room of the Frescoes. Nauplion Museum, display.

Found 1969 in joint Helleno-British excavation of Citadel House area, along east wall of room with platform (Room 31), west of Temple: Taylour (1969) 96–97, fig. 2, pl. Xa; (1970) 276–77; E. French (1981) 47, figs. 12–14.

N. Marinatos will publish this fresco in forthcoming fascicule of *Well Built Mycenae* (eds. E. French and W. Taylour). See now N. Marinatos, "The Fresco from Room 31 at Mycenae: Problems of Method and Interpretation," in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, 245–51.

DATE: Mid-LH IIIB.

Pls. 59–61; pages 109, 115, 119, 120–21, 165.

My No. 7: Stucco pinax with Warrior Goddess. Athens, N.M. 2666, display.

Found 1886 by Tsountas in rear room of "Tsountas' House" in Cult Center area (*Fig. 30*): *ArchEph* 1887, 162–64, pl. 10, 2; Rodenwaldt (1912) 129–40, pl. VIII; Mylonas, *MMA*, 156–57, fig. 131; P. Rehak (1984) 535ff.

Small scale with miniature figures not well preserved. The photograph (*Pl. 62*) is of a watercolor commissioned by Rodenwaldt, since the object itself is very poorly preserved. Plate 63 is a simplified drawing of the scene by Margaret M. Reid.

H. 0.119m by W. 0.19m.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Pls. 62–63; pages 121 and 140.

My No. 8: Fresco with Mycenaean genii.
Athens, N.M. 1665, display.

Found 1886 by Tsountas near "Tsountas' House": *ArchEph* 1887, 160–62, pl. 10, 1; Mylonas, *MMA*, 167, fig. 124, no. 50: M. Gill (1964) 1–21, no. 25.

Small scale on blue ground. H. 0.085m by W. 0.12m.

Cf. fragments showing genii with palm trees from new excavations of Cult Center: Kritseli-Providi (1982) A-1 to 5: 21ff., figs. 2–3, pl. 1.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Page 121.

My No. 9: Miniature helmeted female figure.
Athens, N.M., storage.

Found 1971 in South Building of Cult Center: *Prakt* 1971 (1973) 150, pl. 184b; Mylonas (1972) 39, pl. XIIIa; Kritseli-Providi (1982) A-6: 28–33, pls. B and 2a.

Upper part of white figure (H. 0.10m by W. 0.07m) wearing boar's-tusk helmet and carrying griffin; blue ground. Could it represent an ivory statuette as a processional offering?

DATE: LH IIIB.

Page 121.

My No. 10: Groom fresco. Athens, N.M.
2915, display.

Found 1886 by Tsountas outside West Portal ("Pithos Area," *Fig. 30*) and attributed by Lamb to "vestibule" or "Little Megaron": Rodenwaldt (1911) 239f., pl. 10; Lamb (1921–23) 164–65, pls. XXVIb and XXVII.

Length of panel c. 0.60m. Reconstruction largely conjectural.

DATE: Middle phase of palace decoration (?), LH IIIA/B1 (unburnt).

Pl. 64; pages 123–24 and 165.

My No. 11: Megaron frieze. Athens, N.M.
7283, display; other fragments in storage.

Found 1886 by Tsountas on floor of megaron (*Fig. 30*); other fragments found later by Rodenwaldt and British excavators: *ArchEph* 1887, 164–88, pl. 11; Rodenwaldt (1911) 231f., pls. 11–12; Rodenwaldt (1921) 21–45, Beilagen I–IV and col. pl.; Lamb (1921–23) 249ff., pls. XLII–XLIII; Smith, *Interconnections*, 81ff., figs. 118–19; Crowel, *Chariots*, 129ff., 170f., W1–12.

Two large disconnected parts of frieze with estimated height c. 1.0m, and other associated fragments from north and perhaps east wall of main room of Megaron:

- a. Battle scene with hurtling warrior from northwest corner (*here Pl. 65*). Another warrior (*Fig. 38c*).
- b. Women standing before facade of palace from northeast part (*here Fig. 35a*).

All four walls may have been decorated.

DATE: LH IIIB (burnt in final destruction of palace).

Figs. 35a and 38c; Pl. 65; pages 122–25, 146, and 165.

My No. 12: Man carrying a palanquin (?).
Nauplion Museum, display.

Found 1950 beneath floor of main corridor of House of the Oil Merchant: *BSA* 1953, 14–15, pl. 9a.

Other fragments: women's dresses, charging bull, white-gaitered legs of man, decorative fragments, all in small but not miniature scale.

DATE: LH IIIA (?), i.e., preceding construction of house.

Pages 5, 106, and 165.

My No. 13: Women, horses, architecture.
Nauplion Museum, storage.

Found 1950 in debris above Room 2 of House of Oil Merchant: *MT* II, 8–9, figs. 42–43.

Much burnt and probably had decorated one of upper rooms.

DATE: Mid-LH IIIB (date of destruction of house).

These and fragments from other houses to be published in forthcoming fascicule of *Well Built Mycenae*.

Pages 5, 106, 125, and 165.

My No. 14: Shield fresco. Athens, N.M., two examples on display.

Found 1970–71 in Southwest Building of Cult Center (*Fig. 30*): *Prakt* 1970 (1972) 122, pl. 170a; *AAA* 1973, 176–81, fig. 1; Mylonas (1972) 39, pl. XII; Kritseli-Providi (1982) B–32 to 46; 54ff., pls. E, ΣT, 12–17.

Three fairly complete shields, H.c. 0.72m; fragments of others and connecting spiral band frieze.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Pages 99, 121, and 140.

My No. 15: Larger shield fresco. Mycenae (?).

From same location as above: Kritseli-Providi (1982) B–47; 62f., pl. 18.

H. 1.41m (i.e., lifesize).

DATE: LH IIIB.

Pages 99, 121, and 140.

My No. 16: "Hangings" or frieze of *Ikria*.
Athens, N.M. 2786–89, storage.

Found 1886 by Tsountas in antechamber (Room 33) of domestic quarter near megaron (*Fig. 30*): *ArchEph* 1887, 168–69, pl. 12; M. C. Shaw (1980) 167–79, pl. 26, fig. 1.

Four groups of fragments made up into four panels (H. c. 0.85m); probably formed a frieze. Tsountas considered them "hangings" or "curtains"; M. Shaw believes they represent *ikria* (cf. *Ak* No. 9).

DATE: LH IIIB (burnt in final destruction).

Fig. 31b; pages 141, 165, and 167.

My No. 17: Spiral band with papyrus filling.
Athens, N.M., storage.

Found 1886 by Tsountas outside West Portal ("Pithos Area," *Fig. 30*): Lamb (1921–23) 169f., pl. XXIX.

DATE: Probably middle phase of decoration (LH IIIA/B).

Pages 142–43.

My No. 18: Rosette dado. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found 1886 by Tsountas outside West Portal (*Fig. 30*) with additional fragments found by British: Lamb (1921–23) 163, pl. XXVIa.

DATE: LH IIIA/B.

Page 144.

My No. 19: Triglyph and half-rosette dado.
Mycenae (*in situ*).

Found preserved at base of wall in Megaron Court: Lamb (1921–23) 191, fig. 37; 235ff., pl. 35a.

DATE: End of LH IIIB (burnt in final destruction).

Page 144.

My No. 20: Arc dado. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found 1970 or 1971 in Southwest Building of Cult Center: Kritseli-Providi (1982) B–56 to 59: 71–72, pls. Zβ, 22β–13.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Page 145.

My No. 21: Painted stele with warriors.
Athens, N.M. 3256, display.

Found 1888 by Tsountas in chamber tomb of lower city: *ArchEph* 1896, 1–22, pl. I; V-K, *MPVP*, XI.43, 222 (full bibliography).

Reused sandstone sculptured stele stuccoed and painted. P.H. 0.91 by 0.42m wide.

DATE: LH IIIC (contemporary with Warrior Vase).

Pl. 84, pages 18, 106, 148, 149, 151.

Of the additional fresco material from Mycenae, the following may be noted:

1. Relief fragments of a seated woman (or women?) noted by Rodenwaldt among the Schliemann finds in the Nauplion Museum:

AA 1923–24, 275–76, fig. 3. Cf. Kaiser (1976) 306, fig. 473. Now lost, and some uncertainty as to whether from Mycenae or Tiryns (cf. *Führer durch Tiryns* [1975] 126, figs. 35–36). Should be early.

2. Fragment of processional male figure from area of megaron, Bucharest Museum. Noted by Evans, *PM* II, 2, 750, fig. 484, in connection with “Cupbearer.” No scale given and not seen.
3. Fragments of small female charioteers from area of West Portal: Lamb (1921–23) 166, nos. 4–5 (*Tiryns* II, 108, figs. 45–46; Reusch [1953] 30, fig. 1). N.M., storage. LH IIIA (?).
4. Frieze of chariots found 1970 or 1971 in vestibule leading into Cult Area: Mylonas (1972) 36; Kritseli-Providi (1982) Δ–1: 90–91, pl. 27; Crowel, *Chariots*, 171, W24–25. Athens, N.M., storage. LH IIIB (burnt).
5. Miniature fragment, perhaps woman in architectural setting. Found by Tsountas in 1886 but unpublished. Athens, N.M. 2784, storage. Date uncertain, but style looks early; burnt.
6. Fragments of spiral band with papyrus filling from Southwest Building: Kritseli-Providi (1982) A–19: 34–35, fig. 5, pl. 3. Athens, N.M., storage. Cf. My No. 17. LH IIIB.
7. Papyrus blossoms or rosettes from Southwest Building: Kritseli-Providi (1982) Γ–3: 77, pl. 26a. Athens, N.M., storage. LH IIIB.

Argos

Ar No. 1: Frescoes with large human and animal figures. Argos Museum, storage.

Found 1978 in large megaron-like building on east slope of Aspis: *BCH* 102 (1978) 664; *JHS-AR* 1978–79, 13, fig. 14.

DATE: From context LH IIIA2. Unpublished and not seen.

Pages 113, 114, and 165.

Ar No. 2: Frescoed doorway of chamber tomb. *In situ* (?).

Early discovery: *BCH* 1904, 369, fig. 1. Cf. *Tiryns* II, 184.

Spiral band of same type as Tiryns spiral frieze (cf. *Fig. 39d*).

DATE: LH IIIA/B (?).

Pages 5, 142.

Orchomenos

Or No. 1: Architectural fragments with warriors. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found 1904 by Bulle in Area T (near church): *Orchomenos* I, 74–81, pl. XXVIII, 2–6, 9–17; Rodenwaldt (1921) 37, fig. 19; Smith, *Interconnections*, 71, figs. 95–96 (new reconstruction: *here Fig. 35b*); Crowel, *Chariots*, 171, W31–32.

Suggested representation: outer wall of palace with view through gate.

DATE: End of LH IIIB (deposit found with burnt bricks).

Fig. 35b; pages 125, 157, and 165.

Or No. 2: Bull-leapers (?) or swimmers (?). Athens, N.M., storage.

Found 1904 by Bulle in area T with above fragments: *Orchomenos* I, 80, pl. XXVIII, 8.

Bulle compared with female taureador from Queen's Megaron at Knossos (128, fig. 84 = PM III, 209, fig. 143), but difficult to restore

two figures above back of bull, now missing, and swimmers seem a possibility.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Pages 127 and 165.

Or No. 3: Boar hunt. Chaironeia Museum, display.

Found 1974 by Spyropoulos in area near church with remains of megaron building (extension of Bulle's Area T?): *AAA* 1974, 313–25, figs. 7–10, pl. II, c–d; *BCH* 1975, 641–42, figs. 112–13.

Boars and dogs similar to those at Tiryns (**Ti No. 6**); hunters with and without boar's-tusk helmets; fragments of "bitted horse team" (Crowel, *Chariots*, 171, W33).

DATE: LH IIIB.

Pages 132 and 165.

Or No. 4: Ornamental friezes. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found by Bulle in area T: *Orchomenos* I, 81–83, pls. XXIX, 1–2; XXX, 1–2.

Frieze with rosettes and wavy bands, spiral frieze with rosettes, imitation wooden beam with graining.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Page 142.

Or No. 5: Spiral pattern with papyrus filling. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found by Bulle in area G near tholos tomb: *Orchomenos* I, 83, pl. XXX, 3–5.

Cf. with ceiling pattern of Treasury of Minyas.

DATE: LH IIIA/B (?).

Page 142.

Or No. 6: Architectural fragment. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found by Bulle in fresco dump at K 121 (northwest of tholos tomb): *Orchomenos* I, 72–74, pl. XXVIII, 1.

Building with triglyph and half-rossette frieze on a larger scale than **Or No. 1**.

DATE: LH IIIA/B (?).

Additional fragments found by Spyropoulos near church:

1. "Offering-bearer": AAA 1974, pl. IIa. Resembles "swimmers."
2. Miniature male figures with belts and loin-cloths: AAA 1974, pl. IIb.

Pylos

Py No. 1: Taureador. Chora Museum, display.

Found in drain beneath Wine Magazine 105 (*Fig. 29*): *Pylos* II, 36 H 105: 49–50, 77, pls. 24, 116, 124, C.

Restored height of figure c. 0.13m.

DATE: LH IIIA (?). Precedes construction of Wine Magazine and compares with Ramp House taureadors (**My No. 1**).

Pl. XVII; pages 110–11, 122, 163, 165.

Py No. 2: "Minoan genius" with sacral knot. Chora Museum.

Found in dump outside palace to northeast: *Pylos* II, 40 H ne: 79, pls. 26, C.

For identification as Minoan genius: M. Gill (1970) 404–6.

DATE: LH III A/B (?).

Pages 111–12.

Py No. 3: Fragments of ship. Chora Museum.

Found in dump outside palace to northeast: *Pylos* II, 19 M ne: 186, pls. 113, L.

Correct identification: M. C. Shaw (1980) 178, ill. 12.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Fig. 31a; page 112.

Py No. 4: Fragments of earlier battle scene. Chora Museum.

Found in pocket of earth to southwest of palace: *Pylos* II, 32 H sw: 75f., pls. 24, C.

Male heads with boar's-tusk helmets, and other pieces suggest scene like Groom fresco (**My No. 10**).

DATE: LH IIIA/B.

Page 113.

Py No. 5: Architectural facade. Chora Museum, display.

Found in Forecourt 3 (*Fig. 29*): *Pylos* II, 8 A 3: 133, 139f., pls. 78, I, R.

Unburnt; comparisons with earlier material suggest that it was embedded in rubble of court walls.

DATE: LH IIIA/B.

Fig. 35c; pages 113 and 144.

Py No. 6: Lifesize female processional figures. Chora Museum.

From plaster dump on northwest slope: *Pylos* II, 51 H nws: 52f., 86ff., pls. 34–38, E, O.

More than 100 joining and nonjoining fragments make up two lifesize women (H. 1.53m). 52 and 53 H nws belong perhaps to a second pair.

Pl. 57; pages 114, 118, and 165.

Py No. 7: Lifesize male processional figures. Chora Museum.

From plaster dump on northwest slope: *Pylos* II, 54–59 H nws: 60–62, 91–95, pls. 41–44, 117, 129–30, D.

Fragments consist of at least four lifesize red-skinned men wearing beastskins and one black man wearing kilt.

60 H nws: male head, “Cupbearer” (*Pylos* II, 95, pls. 43, D) not part of same procession but also lifesize.

DATE: LH IIIB, earlier than final destruction.

Pages 114, 118, and 165.

Py No. 8: Small procession of offering-bearers. Chora Museum, display.

Found partially *in situ* against northeast wall of Vestibule 5 (*Fig. 29*): *Pylos* II, 5–15 H 5: 38f., 64ff., pls. 3–11, 119–20, N.

Badly burnt procession of figures about one-quarter lifesize (0.30 to 0.40m high) bearing offerings (trays, etc.) and moving left in two registers toward shrine (?), possibly accompanied by large bull. Male figures wear either kilts or long tunics; at least one female in flounced skirt.

DATE: Final LH IIIB decoration.

Pages 114, 117–18.

Py No. 9: Goddess (?) and Priestess (?). Chora Museum, display.

From plaster dump on northwest slope: *Pylos* II, 49 and 50 nws: 83–85, pls. 31, 33, 116, 127–28, D, N.

“White Goddess” in profile to left against a blue ground about twice the scale of the feet of figure on second fragment where they approach footstool against a red ground; association of two uncertain.

DATE: LH IIIB, earlier than final destruction.

Pl. 58; page 118.

Py No. 10: Battle scene. Chora Museum, display.

Found in Hall 64 in front of northeast wall: *Pylos* II, 22–30 H 64: 43f., 71–74, pls. 16–21, 117, 123–24, A, M.

Figures c. 0.23–0.25m high in active poses against blue and white ground. One side wears helmets, greaves, and body armor, the other side beastskins. 26–27 H 64 shows chariot and charioteer: Crouwel, *Chariots*, 132, W35.

DATE: LH IIIB. On walls at time of destruction, but stylistically earlier than Hunting Scene (**Py No. 11**).

Fig. 38d; Pls. 66–67; pages 128, 132, and 134.

Py No. 11: Hunting scene. Chora Museum, display.

Found in Rooms 43 and 48, fallen from room above Hall 46 (*Fig. 29*): *Pylos* II, 16–20 H 43, 21 H 48, 12–14 C 43: 40 ff., 68–71, 97–98, 107–8, 205f., pls. 12–15, 50–51, 116, 121–22, 133, B, M.

Men about 0.20m high, small in comparison with dogs; frieze about 0.52m high. Probability that northwest side of room depicted actual hunt, while southeast side depicted return with tripods for feast.

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Pls. 73–74; pages 132–33.

Py No. 12: "Wallpaper frieze." Chora Museum, display.

From Inner Propylon (*Fig. 29*, Room 2) miniature seated women, feeding deer, "shrine" or gate facades, nautilus frieze: *Pyllos* II, 1-2 H 2, 1 C 2, 1-2 A 2, 1 F 2: 36f., 62-63, 96, 131ff., 141-43, 191, pls. 1-2, 45-46, 75-76, 78-81, 131, 136, E, I, J, M, R.

Separate motifs combined by Lang into a frieze with repeating vignettes, framed by bands of nautili above and below.

DATE: LH IIIB2 (burnt in destruction).

Pls. 75-77; pages 105, 113, 133, 142, 167.

Py No. 13: "Wallpaper frieze." Chora Museum.

From Rooms 20 and 23 (fallen from above) (*Fig. 29*): *Pyllos* II, 3 H 23, 4 H nws, 3, 7-9 C 20, 8 C 21, 10-11 C 27, 3-5 A 20, 3 F 20: 96f., 106f., pls. 2, 46, 48-49, 77, 81, 121, 132-33, 136, B, E.

Similar to **Py No. 12** but with additional animals (horses and boars); coarser and perhaps a copy.

DATE: LH IIIB2 (burnt in destruction).

Pages 133 and 167.

Py No. 14: Lyre-Player and Men at Table. Chora Museum, display.

Found in southeast part fallen from northeast wall of Throne Room (*Fig. 29*, Room 6): *Pyllos* II, 43-44 H 6: 51, 79-81, 194, pls. 27-28, 125-26, A.

Lyre-Player fragment: H. 0.61m by W. 0.71m. Men at table considerably smaller in scale.

Badly burnt. For reconstruction of original color (*Pl. XVIII*).

DATE: LH IIIB2 (burnt in final destruction).

Pls. XVIII, 78; pages 122, 133-34, 136.

Py No. 15: Head of bull. Chora Museum.

Found in Vestibule 5 at northeast (*Fig. 29*): *Pyllos* II, 18 C 5: 38-40, 99, 109, 193, pls. 52, 119, 135.

Almost lifesize; possibly to be associated with procession of small offering-bearers to shrine (**Py No. 8**).

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Pages 118 and 135.

Py No. 16: Fragment of lifesize bull. Chora Museum.

Found at base of northeast wall of Throne Room (*Fig. 29*): *Pyllos* II, 19 C 6: 99, 109f., pls. 53, 125.

Much larger in scale than Lyre-Player.

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Pages 133 and 135.

Py No. 17: Lifesize deer and papyrus. Chora Museum.

Found in Room 17, but probably fallen from above, or possibly from southwest wall of Throne Room: *Pyllos* II, 36 C 17: 103, 118f., pls. 61-62, 136, G.

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Page 135.

Py No. 18: Lifesize heraldic (?) griffins and lions. Chora Museum.

Fragments of lion/griffin complex found in front of wall to left of throne in Room 6 (*Fig. 29*): *Pyllos II*, 20 C 6: 99–100, 110–11, 194–95, pls. 53–54, 125, 134, F.

Second pair restored to right of throne on analogy of Knossos Throne Room (**Kn No. 28**); doubted by some: Reusch (1978) 338f. For preliminary restorations: *AJA* 1956, 95, pl. 40, fig. 2; *Archeology* 13 (1960) 55f.; *Pyllos I*, 79, fig. 74. See now new reconstruction by L. R. McCallum: *AJA* 1987, 296.

DATE: On wall at time of final LH IIIB2 destruction, but stylistically earlier than **Py No. 19**.

Pages 96–98, 110, 136, 163, 167.

Py No. 19: Frieze of lifesize griffins and lions. Chora Museum.

Found in Hall 46 and adjacent Room 43 (*Fig. 29*): *Pyllos II*, 21–27 C 46, 28–34 C 43: 99–102, 111–18, 209–11, pls. 54–60, F, P.

Running frieze of lions with possible antithetic group of lion/griffin in corner.

DATE: LH IIIB2; later than **Py No. 18**.

Pl. 79; pages 136–37.

Py No. 20: Frieze of lifesize hunting dogs. Chora Museum.

Found fallen near base of northeast wall of Hall 64 (*Fig. 29*): *Pyllos II*, 38–41 C 64: 103–4, 119–22, pls. 62–67, 137, G, P.

Frieze of overlapping couchant dogs to left. On wall at time of destruction. Wall fell inward, preserving entire scheme of decoration: at bottom arc dado (**Py No. 27**), dog frieze (**Py No. 20**), “wooden” beam, battle scene (**Py No. 10**),

“wooden” beam, nautilus frieze (**Py No. 22**) at top.

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Pl. 80; pages 134, 137, 141, 167.

Py No. 21: Bluebird frieze. Chora Museum, display.

From fresco dump on northwest slope: *Pyllos II*, 9 F nws: 151–52, pls. 83, 117, J, R.

DATE: LH IIIB (earlier than final destruction).

Pl. 81; pages 72, 141, 166, 167.

Py No. 22: Nautilus frieze. Chora Museum, display.

From various locations: *Pyllos II*, 2 F 16, 4 F nws, 5 F nw, 6 F sw: 141–43, 149–50, pls. 79, 82–85, J, R.

Often used at top and bottom of “Wallpaper frieze” (see **Py Nos. 12–13**).

DATE: LH IIIB (both pre- and final phase of decoration).

Pl. 82; pages 142, 166, and 167.

Py No. 23: Running spiral band frieze. Chora Museum.

From various locations: *Pyllos II*, 16 F 60, 17 F nws, 18 F nw, 19 F nws: 145–46, 154f., pls. 88–89, J, Q.

DATE: LH IIIB or earlier for some examples.

Cf. Fig. 39a; page 142.

Py No. 24: Frieze of rosettes with streamers. Chora Museum.

From stairway 54 (*Fig. 29*): *Pyllos II*, 13 F 54: 145, 153, pls. 86, Q.

Unique to Pylos.

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Page 144.

Py No. 25: Triglyph and half-rosette frieze.
Chora Museum.

From fresco dumps: *Pylos* II, 20 F nws, 21 F
sww: 146–47, 156, pls. 90–91, 139, J.

DATE: LH IIIB (pre-final phase of decoration).

Page 144.

Py No. 26: Beam-end frieze. Chora Museum.

From various locations: *Pylos* II, 14 F 45: 145,
153f., pls. 89, 137, J.

Examples from Room 11, Stoa 44, Hall 46 (*Fig.*
29).

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Page 145.

Py No. 27: Arc dado. Chora Museum.

From bottom of northeast wall of Hall 64,
partially *in situ* (*Fig.* 29): *Pylos* II, 1 D 64: 164,
169f., pls. 93, 140, K.

Other examples from various locations (e.g.,
Outer Propylon).

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Page 145.

Py No. 28: Variegated dado. Chora Museum.

From Stoa 44 and elsewhere: *Pylos* II, 13 D 44
and 14 D nws: 165f., 173f., pls. 98–100, K, Q.

No exact parallels as dado pattern from other
sites, but related to floor patterns and to “cur-
tains” or *ikria* from Mycenae (**My No. 16**).

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Pl. 83; page 145.

Py No. 29: “Hide” dado. Chora Museum.

In situ in Hall 46 (*Fig.* 29): *Pylos* II, 16–24 D
46: 167f., 174f., pls. 102, 141.

No examples from elsewhere, but related to
hide-covered shields and *ikria* (see **Kn No. 33**,
My Nos. 14–15, **Ti No. 10**, and **Ak No. 9**).

Several superimposed layers.

DATE: LH IIIB2.

Pages 140, 145–46.

The above constitute only a partial listing of the
abundant fresco material from Pylos (see *Pylos*
II).

Thebes

Th No. 1: Women’s frieze. Thebes Museum,
display and storage.

Found by Keramopoulos in 1909 in Room N of
Kadmeia: *ArchEph* 1909, 90ff., pls. I–III, 2–3;
Symeonoglou (1973) *passim* and (1985) 40f.
Fragments studied and composition restored by
Reusch (1948–49) 240ff. and *Frauenfries*.

Nine to twelve lifesize women (1.59m high)
with at least seven facing right and one left. Both
frontal and profile bodies represented. Offer-
ings: “stone” vase (*Fig.* 32f), “wooden” box (*Fig.*
32d), flowers (*Fig.* 32e). Background with hori-
zontal undulating bands of blue, yellow, and
white.

See also *PM* II, 2, 749f.; Demakopoulou, *Guide*,
50–51, pl. 21; Boulotis (1979) 59f.; Peterson
(1981b) 46–58, 180–90.

DATE: LH II (Reusch), but more likely LH IIIA.
Fig. 32d-f; Pl. XXI; pages 106, 111, 115-17, 155, 164, 165.

Th No. 2: Head of a warrior. Thebes Museum (?).

Found 1971 in salvage excavation on lot c. 250m south of Kadmeia: *ArchDelt* 26A (1971) 104ff., pl. 25a; *BCH* 1972, 698, fig. 263; Symeonoglou (1985) 290, site 192.

Small head in profile to left of warrior in boar's-tusk helmet: seen in window opening (?). H. 0.058 by 0.064m.

DATE: LH IIIB (?).
Page 128.

Th No. 3: Wing fragments from large griffin or sphinx. Thebes Museum.

Found 1909 by Keramopoulos in Kadmeia: *ArchEph* 1909, 94, pl. II, 6. Cf. wings from Tiryns (**Ti No. 9**) and griffin wings from House A at Keos.

DATE: LH IIIA (?).
Page 138.

Th No. 4: Wing fragments. Thebes Museum (?).

From 1971 salvage excavations on lot c. 150m northwest of Kadmeia: *ArchDelt* 26A (1971) 104f., pl. 23a; Symeonoglou (1985) 272f., site 120.

Cf. other fragments, possibly from wings: *ArchDelt* 21B (1966) 183f., pl. 195c; Symeonoglou (1985) 243, site 17.

DATE: LH IIIA/B.
Page 138.

Th No. 5: Fragment from figure-eight shield. Thebes Museum.

From Keramopoulos's excavations of Kadmeia: Reusch (1953) 16-25, fig. 1.

Recognized by Rodenwaldt as identical in size and shape to Knossos example (**Kn No. 33**).

DATE: LH IIIA.
Pages 139-40.

Th No. 6: Spiral band with papyrus filling. *In situ* (?).

Found 1971 on south bench of chamber of painted rock-cut tomb (see **Th No. 7**): *ArchDelt* 27B (1972), pl. 254b.

DATE: LH IIIA (?).
Pages 5 and 142.

Th No. 7: Frescoed stomion of chamber tomb. *In situ* (?).

Found 1971 in Kolonaki cemetery area: *AAA* 1971, 161-64; *ArchDelt* 27B (1972) 310f., pls. 254-55. No detailed photos of frescoes. Tomb presently closed to public, but frescoes said to have been removed to Athens for conservation.

Elaborate tomb with two dromoi; one stomion painted with two female figures of processional type on jambs.

DATE: LH IIIA (?).
Page 5 and 205 note 9.

Th No. 8: Arc dado. Thebes Museum.

Found 1909 in connection with Women's Frieze (**Th No. 1**): see Reusch (1953) 12, no. 42.

DATE: LH IIIA.

Tiryns

Ti No. 1: Taureador fresco. Athens, N.M. 1595, display.

Found by Schliemann in small court northeast of bathroom (*Fig. 28*): Schliemann (1886) 303–7, pl. XIII; Reichel, *AthMitt* 1909, 85ff.; *Tiryns* II, 162–65, pl. XVIII; *PM* II, 2, 650, fig. 415.

H. 0.29 by 0.47m. Not a panel; probably part of a frieze (Rodenwaldt).

Knossian inspiration, but careless workmanship, with several corrections (three tails).

DATE: LH IIIB (?).

Pages 110 and 113.

Ti No. 2: Earlier hunting scene. Athens, N.M. 5878, and storage.

Found in Outer and Inner Forecourts (*Fig. 28*): *Tiryns* II, 5ff., nos. 1–14. See Crouwel, *Chariots*, 132, 172, W38–45.

- a. Hunters with lances: *Tiryns* II, pl. I, 6.
- b. Fragments of horses: pl. II, 1, 4, 6.
- c. Charioteers: pl. I, 3–4.

DATE: Assigned by Rodenwaldt to Older Palace. LH IIIA/B.

Pages 129 and 165.

Ti No. 3: Floral fragments. Athens, N.M., storage.

From Inner Forecourt: *Tiryns* II, 20ff., nos. 27–31, pl. III, 1–5.

DATE: Older Palace. LH IIIA/B.

Ti No. 4: Frieze of lifesize women. Athens, N.M. 5883; other fragments in storage.

Found in west slope rubbish deposit (*epichosis*, *Fig. 28*) by Germans from 1909 on, with addi-

tional fragments found by Verdelis in 1956: *Tiryns* II, nos. 71–111: 69ff., figs. 27–34, 37, pls. VIII–X.

At least eight women (probably many more), H. 1.49m, facing both left and right against plain blue ground.

- a. Heads: *Tiryns* II, nos. 89–99: figs. 3–4, pl. IX; M-H, *CM*, pls. XL, 226. *Here Fig. 26g*, *Pl. 56*.
- b. Dress fragments, nos. 74–88: figs. 27–31.
- c. Offerings: ivory pyxis (nos. 105–7, pl. X, 1, 3–4); vase (no. 101, pl. X, 2; *here Fig. 32g*); idol (no. 103, pl. X; 7; *here Fig. 33b*).

See also Boulotis (1979) 59–67; Peterson (1981b) 69–77, 206–18.

DATE: LH IIIB, but earlier than final destruction. *Figs. 26g, 32g, 33b; Pls. 55–56; pages 114–17, 129, 148, 165.*

Ti No. 5: Frieze of smaller women. Athens, N.M., storage.

From Inner Forecourt: *Tiryns* II, no. 23, 18, pl. II, 10.

DATE: LH IIIA/B (Older Palace).

Ti No. 6: Boar Hunt. Athens, N.M. 5878–5882, and storage.

From west slope rubbish deposit (*epichosis*): *Tiryns* II, nos. 113–93: 96ff.

- a. Series of chariot groups with women moving both right and left: nos. 113–39, fig. 40, pls. XI, 11, XII, XIV, 3, 9, XVII, 3; Crouwel, *Chariots*, 172, W46–68. *Here Pl. 69*.
- b. Hunters and dogs: nos. 140–64, figs. 47–50, 52, 54, pls. XI, 4–5, XIV, 2, 5–6, 10–12. *Here Pl. 68*.
- c. Boar and dogs: nos. 165–88, figs. 55, 57, pls. XI, 2–3, 7–8, XIV, 8, XVII, 6–7. *Here Pl. 70*.
- d. Possibly miniature stag, hare, plants: nos. 189–93, pl. XI, 1, 10.

More than 250 fragments of a frieze with estimated height 0.355m.

DATE: LH IIIB (earlier than final destruction).

Pls. 68–70; pages 129–30, 148, 153, 166.

Ti No. 7: Deer frieze. Athens, N.M., storage.

From west slope rubbish deposit (*epichosis*) found with fragments of Women's frieze and Boar Hunt: *Tiryns* II, nos. 199–222: 140–54, figs. 60–62, pls. XV, XVI, 2–3, XVII, 8.

Possibly to be associated with Boar Hunt (**Ti No. 6**) as decoration on another wall of same room.

See also Åkerström (1953) 9ff.; Schliemann (1886), pl. IXa (from same frieze?).

DATE: LH IIIB (earlier than final destruction).

Fig. 36; pages 130–32, 148, 149, 165.

Ti No. 8: Head of lifesize bull. Nauplion (?).

Found 1909 in area of Byzantine church, without context: *Tiryns* II, no. 224: 155–56, fig. 65.

H. 0.225 by 0.12m.

DATE: ? (no context).

Page 135.

Ti No. 9: Wings from large sphinxes. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found by Schliemann on west slope, with further fragments found later in *epichosis*: Schliemann (1886) 299–300, pls. VI–VII; *Tiryns* II, 160–61.

Large wings with notched plume comparable to those from House A at Ayia Irini, Keos. Here, however, white neck and necklace (Schliemann, pls. VIc, e, XII) denote sphinxes rather than

griffins. At least four figures, probably of two sizes.

DATE: LH IIIB (or earlier?).

Pages 137–38.

Ti No. 10: Shield frieze. Athens, N.M., storage.

From Inner Forecourt: *Tiryns* II, no. 44: 34–40, pl. V (Gilliéron reconstruction). See also *PM* III, 304ff., fig. 197.

c. 275 fragments. Height of frieze 0.645m; height of shields 0.31–0.35m.

DATE: LH IIIA/B (Older Palace).

Pl. XIX; pages 16, 139, and 165.

Ti No. 11: Great S-spiral frieze, papyrus filling. Athens, N.M., storage.

Found west of Great Forecourt: *Tiryns* II, nos. 52–55: 47–51, pls. VI, 2, and VII (reconstruction).

c. 250 fragments allow reconstruction on paper. Height of frieze 0.39m. Colors bright: blue, yellow, red, white, and black with applied white dots (autopsy).

DATE: LH IIIA/B (Older Palace).

Fig. 39d; pages 142–43.

Ti No. 12: Great S-spiral band frieze. Athens, N.M., storage.

From Outer Forecourt: Schliemann (1886) 298–99, pls. V, IXc; *Tiryns* II, nos. 241–53: 175–79, figs. 74–75.

Similar to **Ti No. 11** but less colorful and without white applied dots.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Pages 142–43.

Ti No. 13: Frieze of voluted papyrus. Athens, N.M., storage.

From Outer Forecourt and west of Great Court and Megaron: *Tiryms* II, nos. 46–51: 40ff., fig. 11, pl. VI, 1, 6–8.

At least four, possibly six, examples of same ornament. Cf. **Kn No. 40**.

DATE: LH IIIA/B (Older Palace).

Page 143.

Ti No. 14: Frieze of stemmed rosettes. Athens, N.M., storage.

From west part of palace 1.25m below floor of room bordered by Corridor XII: *Tiryms* II, no. 43: 31–34, figs. 6–7, pl. IV (reconstruction).

c. 90 fragments. Height with bands 0.26m.

DATE: LH IIIA/B (Older Palace).

Page 144.

Ti No. 15: Frieze of stemmed rosettes. *In situ* (?).

Found at base of wall of Small Megaron (*Fig. 28*): *Tiryms* II, no. 233: 167, fig. 72.

Irregular workmanship. Rodenwaldt thought imitation of **Ti No. 14**, which he believed was used as frieze at top of wall.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Page 144.

Ti No. 16: Imitation wooden beam with knotholes. Athens, N.M., storage.

From beneath Women's frieze (**Ti No. 4**): *Tiryms* II, no. 72: 72, pl. VIII.

DATE: LH IIIB.

Pl. 55; pages 144–45.

Ti No. 17: Imitation veined rock dado. Athens, N.M., storage.

From Inner Forecourt: *Tiryms* II, nos. 32–40: 23ff., figs. 2–3, 24, pl. III, 11–19.

Various imitation stone patterns, including breccia (cf. similar fragments from Ramp House deposit, Mycenae, **My No. 1**).

DATE: LH IIIA (Older Palace).

Page 145.

The following fragments, some unusual, have not been included in the Catalogue:

1. Miniature architectural representations: *Tiryms* II, nos. 194–97: 137–38, fig. 58, pls. XI, 9 and XVI, 5 (West Slope).
2. Tripartite shrine: *Tiryms* II, no. 24: 18–19, pl. I, 1 (Outer Forecourt).
3. Olive trees: Schliemann (1886) 342, nos. 139–40; *Tiryms* II, nos. 27–28 and 230: 20f., 159–60, pl. III, 4–6. Cf. trees in Boar Hunt (**Ti No. 6**).
4. Papyrus and duck: *Tiryms* II, no. 26: 19–20, pl. I, 5 (Outer Forecourt).
5. Cattle-herder (?): *Tiryms* II, no. 16: 13–15, pl. I, 2 (Inner Forecourt).
6. Crested bird: *Tiryms* II, no. 198: 139, pl. XVI, 1 (West Slope).
7. Head of animal drinking from rhyton: *Tiryms* II, no. 226: 157, pl. XVI, 4. Cf. *PM* II, 2, 769, fig. 501 (Middle Citadel).
8. Cult scene with double axe: *Tiryms* II, no. 227: 157–58, pl. XVI, 6 (Middle Citadel).
9. Cult scene (?): *Tiryms* II, no. 22: 16–18, pl. II, 7 (northeast of Byzantine Church).



NOTES

Chapter 1: Orientation: Geography and Chronology

1. The term "prehistoric," while not, strictly speaking, accurate in the light of the Linear B tablets found on Crete and the mainland (see V-C, *Documents*), is preferable to "pre-Greek," and is correct in the sense that the tablets are records of palatial book-keeping, not to be compared to the literary and historical records of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

2. See the *Hesperia* articles by J. W. Shaw from 1977ff. Especially important, the paved road and ashlar building by the sea, *Hesperia* 53 (1984), 255f. Also J. W. and M. C. Shaw, eds., 1985.

3. See, for example, the papers and discussion in *Minoan Society*.

4. A distinction between palace and villa decoration in Crete is made by Cameron 1978, 578–92, especially 588.

5. Immerwahr 1983, 143–53, especially 148.

6. These fragments, not yet published, come from a joint Swedish-Greek excavation in the Kastelli region of the old town. For excavations, see Hallager 1985.

7. See the papers and discussion in *Minoan Thalassocracy*.

8. *Tr Nos. 1–3*: Monaco 1941, 68–72, pls. VII–IX, and Mee 1982, 4–7. For fragments from Miletus: *IstMitt* 7 (1957), 109–10, fig. 4.

9. The recently discovered large, and possibly royal, tomb at Thebes (*Th Nos. 6–7*) is the most

elaborate, but simpler ornamental frescoed decoration occurred in some of the chamber tombs at Mycenae, Argos, the Argive Heraion (Blegen 1937, I, 174, and II, plan 39), and in a new and wealthy tomb at Kokkila in the western Argolid. See also *Ar No. 2*.

10. For the relationship of the early amphoroid kraters of the pictorial style to fresco paintings see chapters 5 and 7. Also V-K, *MPVP*.

11. Further subdivisions of Late Helladic proposed by Furumark, *CMP*, introduced subphases designated 1 and 2, with some divided into early and late. Other scholars have further refined this basic scheme.

12. Furumark's classification (*MP* 1940, reprinted 1972) set the format for later studies (e.g., E. French's articles in *BSA* from 1964ff.). See the similar classification of Kamares pottery by G. Walberg (1976).

13. See Åström, Pomerance, Palmer 1984. While it is possible to question almost every *single* archaeological synchronism, the *cumulative* evidence for the traditional dates cannot be discounted.

14. Platon 1970, 80–100.

15. The correlation between the phases of the Old Palace at Phaistos with Knossos is difficult (see Levi 1964 and Walberg 1976, 96ff.).

16. According to Evans's classification, the earlier palace at Phaistos had pottery of MM IIIA type, whereas the New Palace at Knossos began at this stage. However, Walberg (1976, 104–9) doubts the

existence of this phase and believes that the New Palaces did not begin until MM IIIB.

17. See Kemp and Merrillees 1980, who point out that allowance must be made for the rubbish heaps and tombs not being “closed” contexts, i.e., remaining in use after the death of the Pharaohs whose dates were used for the chronology, and also for the fact that the Minoan imported pottery may have been around some little time before being deposited.

18. For a complete restudy of the Knossos fresco material, see M. A. S. Cameron 1975. This dissertation remained unpublished at the time of his death in 1984 and has not been generally available. A synopsis is being prepared by Lyvia Morgan, and Cameron’s four-volume manuscript has now been deposited in the library of the British School at Athens.

19. Kantor 1947, 44–48

20. See Page 1970.

21. For the most recent discussion of the scientific evidence, see *TAW* I, 21–361, and II *passim*. For Mount St. Helens volcano, see *National Geographic*, January 1981, 3–65. Attempts to date the Santorini eruption without recourse to ceramic evidence from established Aegean dates based on Egyptian synchronisms yield conflicting results, which at present cannot be reconciled. Carbon 14 dates of wood and

charcoal samples from Akrotiri calibrated with dendrochronology yield dates of a century or more too early (mid-17th Century B.C.). Likewise a study of ice cores from the Greenland ice cap suggests an earlier date (*TAW* II, 351–55). The most telling evidence for separating the volcanic eruption from the LM IB destructions in Crete is archaeological: tephra (volcanic glass), with the same refraction index as Santorini tephra, has been discovered in sealed LM IA deposits at Kato Zakro, Phylakopi, and more recently at Kommos (see D. Viteliano, *TAW* I, 217–19, and II, 330–32).

22. Palmer 1962 and more recent bibliography cited in chapter 5.

23. For pottery of the late palace at Knossos, see Popham, *DPK*. For Tell el-Amarna pottery, see Hankey 1973, 128–36.

24. For the Sea Peoples and this period in the Near East as well as the Aegean, Sandars 1978. The date for the Dorian Invasion according to Greek tradition (approximately 1100 B.C.) is about a century later than the burning of Mycenaean palace sites, but this invasion may well have marked a long period of infiltration of barbarian tribes from the north, whose pottery is now being recognized at a number of sites (Rutter 1975, 17–32; Bouzek 1985, 183ff.).

Chapter 2: Techniques of Painting

1. For Minoan building techniques, see J. W. Shaw 1971, 77–83, “rubble walls”; 92–109, “coursed ashlar masonry”; 214–16, “application of stucco to wall.” For a brief but excellent account of the technique of Aegean wall painting, see Hood, *Arts*, 83–87.

2. Cameron 1972, 305–14 and especially 310–12 for relation of Minoan to the mural decoration of the ancient Near East.

3. Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977, 121–84.

4. Bosanquet in *Phylakopi*, 70–79, suggested an imported panel painting; for arguments against, see Cameron 1976b, 20–32, especially notes 42–44. Recent discoveries of the same fresco in House G3 at Phylakopi suggest that the composition covered more than one wall with different depths of field.

5. No such reuse of old plaster has been recorded at Knossos. The repainting of the bull-grappling scenes from the West Porch (*Kn No.* 29) is more akin to the renewal of hearth decoration in Mycenaean megara (see Chapter 6). In most cases at Knossos the older plaster was stripped from the walls and found in

“fresco heaps” outside the palace, as also at Pylos.

6. Many of these fragments (examined in May 1982) had been mended with plaster of paris, making it impossible to study the back surface, but it was my impression that some had the normal coarse stucco backing. See *PM* II, 2, 431–67, for Evans’s account and Cameron 1968a, 1–31, for his restudy of the fragments.

7. Heaton 1911, 697–710, and *Tiryns* II, 210–16; *PM* I, 528ff. and *passim*; Fyfe 1903, 107–31.

8. Snijder 1936, *passim*.

9. Swindler 1929, 39–43, 73ff.

10. Lang in *Pylos* II, 10–25 and 229–30; Asimenos in *TAW* I, 571–78.

11. For earlier doubts about the fresco technique used in Minoan painting, see J. A. Schneider-Franken, *AthMitt* 38 (1913), 187–90; Eibner 1936, 59ff.; Duell and Gettens 1942, 179–223. In support of the fresco technique used at Aya Irini, Keos, see L. J. Majewski and M. Reich in *Hesperia* 42 (1973), 297–300.

12. Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977, 160ff.

Mention should also be made of the incavo technique, in which the surface of the still-damp plaster was cut away and another color inlaid. This technique, which was laborious, seems to have been early, to judge from an MM IIIA example from the Royal Road excavations at Knossos (see Cameron 1975, 214) and may reflect Egyptian influence. It was used especially for floors (Phs No. 2) or when there was fear that white would not adhere to a dark background color, e.g., in the lilies in the Amnisos fresco (Am No. 1).

13. Woolley 1955, 228ff., pls. XXVI–XXIX. Concerning problems with the chronology of Alalakh, see Smith, *Interconnections*, 19–20, 75, 102–4.

14. Lucas and Harris 1962, 338–61; Forbes 1965, 210–57.

15. *PM* III, 150. See chapter 1 above and Smith, *Interconnections*, 41–43.

16. For the use of riebeckite (glaukophane), see Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977, 158f., and *TAW* I, 599–604. For the use of lapis lazuli on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, see *Archaeology* 9 (1956), 196; for powdered malachite at Tiryns, see *Tiryns* II, 216.

17. Lucas and Harris 1962, 133–34, and Forbes 1965, 244–45.

18. Athens, N.M., Cycladic Room, Case 70, No. 4778, 3 (Paros). Cf. E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Cycladic*

Civilization and the Cycladic Collection, pl. 25b.

19. *Thera* v, 18, pls. 24b–25; vi, 27, pl. 59.

20. For Egyptian artisans at work, see H. Schäfer 1974, 64, fig. 25; 305, fig. 314 (sculptors); pl. 23 (scribe).

21. But see Cameron for different “hands” in the miniature paintings at Knossos (Pls. 22–23) (1975, 269ff.) and Mary B. Hollinshead for the collaboration of two artists in the “Spring” fresco (Pl. VII) from Akrotiri (*AJA* 92 [1988] 253–54).

22. Cameron refers to both types in Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977, 153–54. At Thera both incised (perhaps on a dry surface) and painted outlines have been recognized on the same figure, the so-called Priestess from the West House (Ak No. 8), the latter correcting the somewhat clumsy incisions (see Asimenos 1978, 575, and Iliakis 1978, 621, pl. 8). For the possibility of red preliminary sketches comparable to Renaissance “sinopie” sketches, see Cameron 1968b, 45–64.

23. *Pylas* II, 10–25.

24. V-K, *MPVP*:III.26, VII.H (stippling); III.2, 5, 16, IV.12, 38, 52, 69, V.27, 74, VIII.33, IX.2, X.1–16, XI.42, 65, 74, 91 (added white). For fuller discussion of this pictorial pottery, see chapters 5–7.

25. For Ayia Triadha sarcophagus and relation to other Cretan larnakes, see Long 1974. For Tanagra larnakes, see chapter 7.

Chapter 3: The Beginnings: Minoan Pictorial Art Before the Frescoes

1. See bibliography under Kn No. 1 and discussion in Chapter 4.

2. Phs Nos. 1 and 2.

3. *PM* I, 251, fig. 188a–b; iv, 108, fig. 75. For shell reliefs, see *PM* I, 239–40, 522–23; iv, 103–20. Snijder 1936, 45–48, sees this use of natural objects to reproduce nature as a primitive trait.

4. Snijder 1936 passim; Matz 1964 and Walberg 1986, 57ff., among others.

5. H. Schäfer 1974, especially chap. IV, “Basic Principles of the Rendering of Nature in Two Dimensions,” 80ff.

6. Snijder 1936, 55f.

7. Mellaart 1967, pls. 54–57, 61–64; rock poundings from Naxos: *ArchDelt* 20A (1965), 41ff., and *BCH* 89 (1965), 864, figs. 1–2; rock engravings from caves on Pelion: *AA* 86 (1965), 364–65, fig. 64a–b. Predynastic Egyptian paintings seem to lead more directly into the more formalized Egyptian art

of the Early Dynastic period: M. Mellink and J. Filip, *Frühe Stufen (Propylean Kunstgeschichte* 13, 1974), pls. XXXII–XXXIII.

8. Thimme 1977, 110–45, pls. 369–424.

9. Dog from Raphina: *ArchEph* 1953–54, III (1961), 72, fig. 19b; ship: E. Kunze, *Die Keramik der frühen Bronzezeit (Orchomenos III)* (1934), 87, pl. XXIX, 3.

10. Heath 1958, 81–121, and articles by J. L. Caskey on the site: *Hesperia* 24–29 (1955–60).

11. Caskey 1960, 285–303.

12. For Middle Helladic Bird vases, see E. Andreou, *AAA* 7 (1974), 416–22; J. L. Davis, *AAA* 9 (1976), 81–83. For ships, see *Archaeology* 11 (1958), 15 (possible ship from Volos); R. Wünsche, *MüJb* 28 (1977), 11, fig. 8, and Hiller 1984, 27–30, figs. 1–2 (from Aegina). For the man on a fish or ship from the Kolonna site, see G. Welter, *Aigina* (1938), 19, fig. 22.

13. For Minoan seals, see especially Matz 1928, Kenna 1960, Yule 1980, Wiencke 1981, and the separate volumes of the *CMS*. Ingo Pini is now in charge of this project, based in Marburg, from which well over a dozen volumes have been published; the reproductions in Figures 8–10 have been published with his kind permission.

14. For the importation of ivory, see Krzyszkowska 1983, 163–69.

15. For date of Tholos B at Platanos, there is no real consensus: see summary of opinions in Walberg 1983, 138–49.

16. Levi 1957–58, 7–192; Pini, *CMS* II, 5; Walberg 1981, 241–49.

17. Alp 1968, 158ff. It seems likely that both regions were being enriched simultaneously from a common area, probably Syria, and that they represent independent developments. See also Walberg 1986, 55f.

18. Frankfort 1936–37, 106–22. Although this article precedes the discovery of the Phaistos archive, Frankfort's arguments are still valid.

19. Gill 1964, 1–21, and 1970, 404–6; for the new stone rhyton from Mallia, see *BCH* 107 (1983), 3–73, and Baurain 1985, 95–118 (for a different interpretation).

20. See bibliography in Kantor 1947, 63ff., 92f., and 106–7, who favors an Aegean origin. Also Walberg 1986, 105ff.

21. Not yet published in the *CMS*. See *PM* I, 217–85; Kenna 1960, 37–41; Yule 1978, 1–7

22. *PM* I, 272, fig. 201.

23. Hall 1905, 191–205; Betancourt 1984, 55ff.; Walberg 1986, 24ff.

24. A term first applied to Minoan art by Matz 1928 to distinguish its all-over surface decoration

from the more tectonic zonal decoration of Mycenaean and later Greek art.

25. Levi, *Festòs* I (1976) in four parts (color plates in Part 4).

26. Walberg 1976 and 1978. For explanation of distinction between “pictorial” and “pictorialized,” see 1976, 65–66, and Walberg 1986, 6ff.

27. For native Cretan palm trees, see *BSA* 61 (1966), 181, pl. 39a–b; Rackham 1978, 755–64. The Knossos jar is now dated by Betancourt to MM IIIA (1985, 104). For the relation of palms to abstract motifs, see now Walberg 1986, 77ff. Also 85ff. for the independent origin of marine decoration on Kamares vases.

28. Gesell 1985, 11–12, and Cat. 103, 124–27.

29. Levi, *Festòs*, I, pt. 4, pls. LXXVIII and LXXXI; also Kaiser 1976, 251 n. 887.

30. I. Sakellarakis and E. Sakellarakis 1976, 369ff., figs. 4–5, pl. 181.

31. For the best discussion of the foreign contacts of Crete with Near Eastern palace sites, see Smith, *Interconnections*, 98–103 (Mari paintings); 102–4 (Alalakh).

32. W. F. Petrie, *Ilahun, Kabun, and Gurob* (1891), and *JHS* 11 (1890), 275–76; *PM* I, 266–67, and II, 210–14. For a recent assessment of the Minoan contact, see Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 268–86.

33. Poursat 1980, 116–32, and Immerwahr 1985, 41–50.

34. For separate studies of these two techniques, see Foster 1979 and 1982. She emphasizes Minoan originality and sees less influence from Egypt than seems likely to me.

35. *PM* I, 271–85. For dating of this deposit, see Yule 1978 and Reich 1970, 406–8.

36. Poursat 1978, 111–14.

Chapter 4: The First Phase of Aegean Wall Painting

I Nature Paintings and Naturalism

1. This opinion, although long ago espoused by Snijder 1937 and Matz 1962, may seem surprising, for we are not accustomed to see influence, or priority of invention, in minor arts on a major art such as wall painting. Cf. chapter 3 and Walberg 1986, who independently reached conclusions similar to mine. I wish to thank her for sharing her manuscript with me in 1984.

2. See the Catalogue arranged according to sites for this and subsequent paintings. Here *Kn* No. 1.

3. *Cercopithecus callitrichus* from Ethiopia or south of the Sahara (Cameron 1968a, 5, 19–22). Cf. the green monkeys or baboons in a fig tree from Tomb 3 at Beni Hasan (Davies 1936, pl. VII).

4. See chapter 5, pages 84–85, for Palmer's late dating to LM IIIB on basis of stratigraphy. Cameron (1975, 460ff.) dates painting to LM II on basis of style, an opinion I find hard to follow.

5. Smith, *Interconnections*, 75–77.
6. As once suggested by A. G. Galanopoulos and E. Bacon, *Atlantis, the Truth behind the Legend*, 1969, 153–54, but apparently now doubted.
7. Cf. *Thera* iv, pls. 114–15, with *Thera* v, pl. D.
8. Evans, *PM* II, 2, 461, fig. 272, referred to them as *jets d'eau*, but they have now been recognized as natural waterfalls.
9. Now enlarged to include a second monkey: Cameron 1967b, 46–47, pl. IIa.
10. These fragments were examined in May 1982 through the kindness of Dr. Sakellarakis, Director of the Museum. For technical observations, see Cameron 1968b, 45–64.
11. Cameron 1968a, 1–31, and fig. 13 for reconstruction (part of which is reproduced in my Figure 16).
12. As on the Sanctuary rhyton from the Zakros palace, cf. M-H, *KTM*, pls. 108–10. Cf. also the rather similar composition in a small fresco from Thera (Ak No. 3), which N. Marinatos 1984b restores with the monkey fresco in her fig. 83.
13. Swindler 1929, 73. But against the theory of mere decoration, see Hägg 1985, 209–17.
14. See especially N. Marinatos 1984b and 1985, 209–17.
15. E.g., *Pylos* II, pls. Q (3, 10 N nws) and R (9 F nws). The Thera paintings, and of course the rocks that may have inspired them, would have been unknown to the Mycenaean artist, so it is difficult to establish a direct connection.
16. A. Huxley and W. Taylor, *Flowers of Greece and the Aegean*, London, 1977, 146, figs. 336–38.
17. *Thera* II, 14, fig. 5 and pls. A and C8; VI, pl. 74a; VII, pl. 47c. For the example from Mycenae, see Mylonas 1973, 57, F-27, pl. A.
18. Cf. the perceptive article by Jörg Schäfer 1977, 1–23.
19. E.g., the nipples ewer (*Thera* iv, pl. 71), a type which seems to have derived from the EM anthropomorphic rhyton with pierced breasts or other pouring mechanism (Warren 1972, pl. 70).
20. Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 104b–c (from Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de Part* VI, Paris, 1894, 537–38, figs. 211–12).
21. For the likelihood of a Minoan colony on Rhodes, see *Minoan Thalassocracy*, especially 93–105.
22. The term used by Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951, 195ff., to describe Minoan art.
23. Temple Respository shrine: *PM* I, 517ff., figs. 378–79; sponge impressions on wall paintings: *PM* III, 362, fig. 238 (see my Figure 6e); molded shell appliques: *PM* I, 521, fig. 380, and Foster 1982, 101–3, pl. 40.

24. Since a related diaper-net pattern occurs frequently as a textile pattern for women's garments at Thera (see *Thera* VII, pls. 59–62), it seems preferable to view the background here as a curtain, or pure decoration, rather than a stylized rendition of the star-studded sky. The wavy bands of black and blue are then merely a convenient way of framing the figures.

25. Correctly recognized as papyrus by Warren 1976, 89–95, against Marinatos's "sea daffodils" (*pancratium lily*) in *Thera* v, 38, pl. 95b.

26. Smith, *Interconnections*, 77–79, figs. 106–10.

II The Human Figure

1. The more strongly Minoanized female figures in Mycenaean painting must reflect the greater conservatism in religious iconography, whereas the male figures show the changing life-style of the Mycenaean princes with emphasis on hunting and warfare (see chapter 6).

2. See Snijder 1936, 42ff.

3. For example, in the tombs at Meir (A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs at Meir* I–III, London, 1914–15).

4. *Contra* Marinatos (*Thera* VI, 36, pl. 87a), the fishermen do not appear to have been circumcized.

5. Such momentary impressions recorded from a highly developed visual perception are fundamental to Snijder's thesis of the Minoans being akin to a class of individuals known as "eidetics." Though marred by genetic and racial considerations, Snijder's book has much to recommend it in its appreciation of the unusual characteristics of Minoan art.

6. H. Schäfer 1974, especially chap. VI, 277–309.

7. Cf. the attachment of the arms with examples of Egyptian painting (Schäfer, figs. 148, 162). Even in the more successful Eighteenth Dynasty examples (Mekhitarian 1954), the basic problem of assembling a figure from its parts, each viewed analytically, remains.

8. Schäfer 1974, 295f.

9. Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951, 185ff.

10. M-H, *CM*, pls. 106–7, the two lower registers.

11. *Thera* IV, 28–33, and N. Marinatos 1984a, 167–76, and 1984b, 106–12.

12. Marinatos's suggestion that a girl is represented (*Thera* IV, 49) cannot be taken seriously because of the basic male color tone.

13. Coulomb 1981, 27–40.

14. Iliakis 1978, 626.

15. An interesting parallel has been drawn by

Lyvia Morgan between the sparring among young male antelopes of the African species (*oryx beissa*) and the boxing boys. For their shaved heads, see now E. Davis 1986, 399ff.

16. Coulomb 1979, 29–50. For a dominant male figure (ruler or god?) in a commanding position not dissimilar to Evans's Priest-King, see now the seal impression from Chania (Hallager 1985, 22f.). See also Niemeier in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, 235–44.

17. Cf. note 2 above.

18. Kaiser 1976, an important dissertation published posthumously.

19. Cameron 1978, 587, fig. 4, and *PM* II, 2, fig. 485. For Harvester Vase, M-H, *CM*, pls. 103–5.

20. Information from N. Marinatos. One figure is nude with a shaved head; two wear kilts and bear offerings, including a big vessel.

21. Cf. the figurines from Petsofa and elsewhere: M-H, *CM*, pls. 15–17.

22. Cf. the women in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb paintings in Mekhitarian 1954.

23. Peterson 1981a, 211.

24. *PM* I, 506f. and fig. 364; the separate girdles (fig. 364c–d) might suggest that the “robes” in fig. 364a–b have been assembled from parts. The evidence is therefore not conclusive. Cf. N. Marinatos's reconstruction (1984b, 102, fig. 70). Chr. Televantou, *ArchEph* (1984), 113–35, in discussing the Theran women's costumes, gives sketches of suggested patterns for their cut. She favors a one-piece undergarment.

25. E.g., on the seal from a tholos tomb at Rutsi (M-H, *CM*, pl. 208, 4).

26. Iakovidis 1977, 113–19.

27. The Keftiu fabrics were renowned, and the Egyptians took great pains in depicting them in their Eighteenth Dynasty tomb paintings showing emissaries from the Aegean lands (see chapter 5).

28. M-H, *CM*, pl. 201, and other examples in Karo, *SG*, pl. XX.

29. *PM* II, 2, 681, fig. 431 (here *Kn* No. 10).

30. Information from Dr. Elizabeth Barber, who is the author of a forthcoming book, *The Development of Textiles in the Neolithic and Bronze Age with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton).

31. *Prakt* 1980 (1982), 295, fig. 4 (architect's reconstruction of the probable arrangement of the paintings in the lustral basin or “adyton”). Professor Dumas kindly allowed me to see the work of restoration in progress. The paintings have now been transferred to the new museum on Thera, where they are not yet on display. See the additional reconstructions in N. Marinatos 1984b, 61–84, figs. 44, 52–53, 57. She will be publishing these paintings.

32. See Graham 1969, 99–108, who argues that the lustral basin had both a practical and a ritual function.

33. For the saffron crocus in the Xeste 3 paintings, see O. Höckmann, *TAW* I, 607–8, and for its medicinal use by women, Cameron 1978, 582.

34. Cf. earrings referred to above (note 28). The silver pin with gold goddess terminal from Shaft Grave III (M-H, *CM*, pl. 200 left) suggests a parallel for the hair ornament of the girl with the wounded foot (*Thera* VII, pl. J).

35. This idea was first developed by Dumas in a series of lectures: see Dumas 1983, 78, and E. Davis 1986, 399–406.

36. While ritual bathing in connection with a female cult is well attested in Classical Greek times (for example, that of Argive Hera), Minoan lustral basins were not filled with water. N. Marinatos 1984b, 73ff., prefers the term “adyton,” and believes the ritual involved the initiation of young girls to an association with blood (menstruation, childbirth). See E. Davis 1986, some preparation for marriage.

37. *Thera* VII, 33–34, for the discovery of the fragments of the upper scene and the realization of the general outline of its composition. Cf. the reconstructions in N. Marinatos 1984b, figs. 40, 44, 49.

38. In a 1967 doctoral dissertation at Bryn Mawr College, Maria C. Shaw examined the possibilities of Egyptian influence on Minoan painting in its formative stage (“An Evaluation of Possible Affinities between Egyptian and Minoan Wall Paintings before the New Kingdom”). I have read this with profit.

III The Miniature Style

1. *PM* III, 29–146, for the miniature class and especially 31–35, for chronology.

2. Dimensions given below, note 31.

3. For the assumed pictorial background of the Mycenaean rhyton, see *PM* III, 89–106; developed further by Smith, *Interconnections*, 65–70.

4. Palmer, *New Guide*, 79, dates them to the LM IIIB period (thirteenth century) but fails to take into account that they have most likely fallen from above.

5. Hallager 1977, 25–26, dates the fill of the cists in the Thirteenth Magazine to a reconstruction following the destruction of the “penultimate” palace in the early fourteenth century, but this would merely give the *terminus ante quem* for the mixed material in the fill, the fresco fragments having presumably fallen from some destroyed upper room. However, Cameron (1975, 428ff.) dissociates these paintings from

- the true miniature style of the “Grandstand” and “Sacred Grove” paintings (Pls. 22–23), placing them in the period of Mycenaean occupation of the palace, and I think he may well be right.
6. H.M., Case 174, nos. 65–67, where, although the colors are not well preserved, the fine outline drawing in black is more apparent than in the restoration.
 7. As on the Boxer Vase (M-H, *CM*, pls. 106–7); Graham, *AJA* 74 (1970), 231–34.
 8. *PM* II, 2, 796–810; Graham 1969, 140–41; J. Shaw 1978b, 429–48; Gesell 1985, 29, and Cat. 33, 85–88.
 9. *AJA* 61 (1957), 255–62, and Graham 1969, 73–83.
 10. Cameron 1967b, 65–67.
 11. *PM* III, 68, fig. 38, and John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger-rings*, 1970, color pl. facing 48.
 12. Evans considered them “isodomic temenos walls” (*PM* III, 66), but causeways leading across the West Court seem more likely (also suggested by N. Platon, *KrChron* 13, 1959, 239).
 13. Graham 1969, 178 and fig. 136c.
 14. Koehl 1986b, 99–110, for a new interpretation.
 15. S. Alexiou in *Charisterion Orlandou* II (1967), 116, n. 4.
 16. M. C. Shaw 1972, 171–88.
 17. For the excavation, see Hazzidakis 1934. The destruction by fire has been connected with the general LM IB destructions in Crete (see Page 1970, 3).
 18. Cameron 1976a, 1–13.
 19. M. C. Shaw 1978, 27–34.
 20. But see also the rendering of isodomic masonry by a monochrome background crossed by parallel horizontal and vertical lines to indicate the mortar between, as on the house plaques of the Town Mosaic (see below and Fig. 34a), a practice that seems to have continued especially for exterior facades. For renderings of architecture, see J. W. Shaw 1978b, 429ff.
 21. See detail *PM* III, 63, fig. 36.
 22. *PM* III, 108–11. Although found in the lustral basin of the Throne Room, it was presumably an heirloom (cf. Mirié 1979, 44).
 23. This convention for rendering water is found from the Old Kingdom on. The Middle Kingdom examples from the tombs at el-Bersheh (F. L. Griffith and P. E. Newberry, *El-Bersheh* I, London, 1895, pls. XVIII, XXI–XXII) should be roughly contemporary with the Town Mosaic.
 24. For the donkey plaques, Foster 1979, 104–5, figs. 46–47. Donkeys or asses are common in Egypt from the Old Kingdom on in agricultural scenes showing harvesting. For Middle Kingdom examples, cf. the asses from el-Bersheh (*ibid.* I, pl. XXXI).
 25. *PM* I, 301–2. House plaques: figs. 223–24, 226; animals, humans, and nature: figs. 228–30. The most recent and fullest study in Foster 1979, 99–115.
 26. Foster 1979, 110–11, fig. 68.
 27. *PM* I, 221–24, fig. 166, and 306, fig. 225.
 28. Foster 1979, 103, fig. 41. For Mycenaean rhyton, see references below, note 42.
 29. *PM* I, 510–12, figs. 366–67. For the early style of relief in the Town Mosaic plaques, see Kaiser 1976, 211–14.
 30. *PM* I, 310, figs. 229b and c (for a different interpretation, Foster 1979, 103, figs. 39–40). For historical narration, see now E. N. Davis 1983, 3–14.
 31. Dimensions of Room 5: 3.80 by 4.03 m. Marinatos (*Thera* VI, 40–42) gives dimensions of preserved parts: West, “nothing”; North, “little more than 1 m”; East, “1.80 m against 2.20 m lost”; South, “practically well preserved,” i.e., virtually complete.
 32. For specialized studies of these ships, see Sp. Marinatos 1974b, 140–51; Casson 1975, 3–10; Tilley and Johnstone 1976, 286–92; Giesecke 1983, 123–43; Ernston 1985, 315–20.
 33. Suggested by Warren 1979, 115–29; also by Gesell 1980, 198–99, and Morgan 1983, 88ff.
 34. Nilotic aspects of dagger discussed by Evans, *PM* III, 113–15. *Contra* the Nile as the river depicted in the fresco, see Warren 1979.
 35. For recent arguments in favor of connecting these two fragments, see Morgan 1983, 88ff., and E. N. Davis 1983, 9ff.
 36. This part is reminiscent of Egyptian agricultural scenes in tomb paintings, particularly those from the Old Kingdom: see the cattle-herders from the Tomb of Ti at Sakkara (Mekhitarian 1954, 11); Tomb of Ptahhotep (K. Lange, *Egypt*, London, 1968, pl. 71); also cf. the long-horned sheep and goats from the Sun Temple of Niuserre at Abusir (Schäfer-Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 244).
 37. Warren stresses the Aegean character of even this part of the frieze, with the existence of native papyrus and palms: Warren 1976, 89–95, and *BSA* 61 (1966), 181, pl. 39a–b. Also see Morgan 1983, 95–97.
 38. Cf. the bastion of the Mycenaean silver Siege rhyton. For discussion of hilly landscape setting, see Smith, *Interconnections*, 65–73, and Hallager 1985 on the new Chania sealing. Facades with long stretches of ashlar masonry are characteristic of some of the more monumental buildings at Akrotiri (see *Thera* VI, pl. 21 [north wall of Xeste 4]).
 39. But see now the study of the Minoan incurved altar and its occurrence above the gate of Town 3: M. C. Shaw 1986, 108ff. Cf. similar use on the Chania sealing: Hallager 1985, 18–19, fig. 10.

40. Column bases found only in Rooms B 2 and Δ 16; pier-and-door divisions only in Δ 1 and in Room 3 of Xeste 3, to which the lustral basin is attached (see plan of site, *Thera* VII, facing p. 16). Discussed by J. W. Shaw 1978a, 429–36.

41. *Thera* VI, 38–57, pls. 91–112, color pls. 7–9 (published by the Archaeological Society in 1974). I first saw the frescoes in the spring of 1974 through the kindness of I. Sakellarakis shortly before they went on public display.

42. First suggested by Evans, *PM* III, 81–106, and developed further by Smith, *Interconnections*, 65–73. The bibliography on the rhyton is enormous: among others, see Karo, *SG*, 106–8, 174–76, figs. 35–36, 38, 83–85, pl. CXXII; Vermeule, *GBA*, 100–105, pl. XIV; Sakellariou 1975, 195–208.

43. *Thera* VI, 44–57; Stucchi 1976, 19–73, with especially good detailed photographs and drawings of the frieze.

44. Gesell 1980, 197–204.

45. E. N. Davis 1983, 3–14, argues for reading

the narrative from south through west (now missing) to north, the east wall being an exotic decorative interpolation.

46. Casson 1975, 3–10, and especially Morgan-Brown 1978, 629–44, and Morgan 1983, 98ff.

47. Cf. Vermeule, *GBA*, 102–4, on the formulaic quality of the Mycenaean rhyton; also Sakellariou 1975, 205–8, on comparison with Thera fresco and other works with similar imagery.

48. *Thera* VI, 54.

49. N. Marinatos 1983, 1–19, and 1984b, 34–51.

50. Morgan-Brown 1978, 640–41.

51. Marinatos, *Thera* VI, 54, refers to eight *ikria*, but the plan of Room 4 shows at the most seven and a half. See also Morgan 1983, 103f.

52. Immerwahr 1977, 173–91. Others have seen Mycenaean connections: Negbi 1978, 645–55; Iakovidis 1979, 101–2; Laffineur 1984, 133–39. For different appraisal of ethnics represented: J. Davis 1981, 101–2, and E. N. Davis 1983, 7f.

53. Cameron 1978, 579–91.

Chapter 5: Later Minoan Painting

1. For a conservative lowering of the dates of destruction of the palace, see Popham, *DPK*. For radical downdating, see Palmer 1962, *OKT*, *New Guide*, and Palmer 1984, 26–115. For an intermediate position that separates the Linear B tablets from the LM II/IIIA destruction, see Hallager 1977, Niemeyer 1982, among others. The problem has not yet been resolved.

2. For discussion of Page's theory connecting the LM IB destructions in Crete with the eruption of Thera, see chapter 1 above and note 21. The rival theory espoused by Hood that Mycenaean were responsible is lately being questioned by those who would have the Mycenaean first arrive in LM IIIA (Hallager 1977, Niemeyer 1982, 1983, 1984, and Hiller 1984).

3. Palmer puts most of the frescoes in LM IIIB: *Penultimate Palace*, 126–27, and *New Guide*, but this extreme view can hardly be upheld in view of the Thera material with its secure date. For a more judicious lowering of the dates of some of the Knossos material, combining stylistic comparisons with stratigraphic evidence where available, see Hawke-Smith 1976, 65–76.

I Crete and Keos Before the Disasters of 1450 B.C.

1. Cameron 1978, 578–92, especially 588. Also Hood, *Arts*, 58.

2. Evans, *PM* II, 1, 108–16, dated the Caravanserai to LM IA, but see Hood, *Arts*, 58.

3. The little quirks bordering the blue bands seem derived from the river motif, while the dot rosettes anticipate the “sea anemone” of Mycenaean vase painting (Furumark, *MP*, Mot. 27, 316ff.).

4. Evans noted a resemblance to the Egyptian convention of surrounding a single animal with a dotted wavy band in desert representations (*PM* II, 2, 448–50), but see Kantor 1947, 62ff.

5. *Keos* III, 140–44, for chronology.

6. Coleman 1973, 286–93, and Abramovitz 1980, 85, fig. 1. The minimum length was almost 4 m, the estimated height c. 0.30 m. It seems to have run above the lintel of the door, or directly under the ceiling, of a fairly grand room above basement 31 (*Keos* III, 36ff.). All the painted plaster from Ayia Irini is now being restudied by E. N. Davis and L. Morgan

for the final publication, and I have had fruitful discussions with them.

7. Cameron 1978, 589–91.
8. Coleman 1973, 293–96.
9. Stylistically, the Dolphin fresco (Kn No. 6) should be early, but the circumstances of its finding and the amount of restoration make its assessment difficult.
10. Abramovitz 1980, 71–76, pls. 8–9.
11. Caskey 1971, 373–76, on the fortifications.
12. Abramovitz 1980, 57–71, pls. 3–7, and Coleman 1970 (dissertation with drawings, which are more informative than the photographs). The fragments were viewed in May 1983 through the kindness of Miriam Caskey.
13. M. C. Shaw 1972, 171–88, fig. 13.
14. But see now the master seal impression from Chania, where they are interpreted as horns of consecration (Hallager 1985, 19–20).
15. See discussion in Crowel, *Chariots*.
16. Cf. the costume worn by some of the officiants on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus (Pls. 50–51 and discussion).
17. N. Marinatos 1984b, 54 and 60, figs. 33 and 38.
18. Cf. the drawers worn by the spearman on the lion hunt dagger from Shaft Grave IV (M–H, *CM*, pl. XXXVI, bottom).

II The Later Palace at Knossos and Its Paintings

1. *PM* III, 190.
2. See page 94. The fact that the “Palanquin” fresco was found beneath the uppermost (clay) floor in the Room of the Forged Seal (Fig. 25, No. 2) need not imply so early a date as proposed by Hood (*Arts*, 58–60), since there was late activity in this part of the palace (Palmer, *OKT*, 151–56).
3. Evans (*PM* IV, 1, 396) associates fresco fragments with LM II Palace-style vases. Hallager also associates this fresco with the LM II/IIIA destruction but dissociates it from the Linear B tablets, which he connects with the later reconstruction of the west wing as an administrative center (Hallager 1977, 73).
4. See Hawke-Smith 1976, 65–76, who believes in both an LM II and an LM IIIA destruction, with most of the later frescoes falling just before, or during, this interval.
5. *PM* III, 167–76, figs. 113–20; IV, 1, 17, fig. 8 (reconstruction at site). More recent study by Kaiser 1976, 271–74, figs. 418–27, pl. 35.
6. E. N. Davis 1974, 472–87, and 1977, 256ff.
7. Kaiser 1976, 287–95, with an explanation for the late stratigraphy of the fragments (273), believes they were already fragmentary at the time of the late reoccupation and therefore earlier than Palmer’s latest phase.
8. For example, the embossed olive tree with variegated foliage can be paralleled in the painted fragments of a flowering olive spray from a basement by the Stepped Portico (*PM* I, 536, fig. 389 = *KFA*, pl. D, fig. 2), which ought to be LM IA (location on Fig. 25, No. 1).
9. *PM* II, 2, 682ff., fig. 428, for condition of frescoes in corridor; 720ff., fig. 450, and suppl. pls. XXV–XXVII for proposed reconstruction.
10. *PM* II, 2, 705, but in the light of the shaved heads at Thera, this could perhaps be interpreted as a shaved sideburn.
11. A number of careful observations from the fragments in the Herakleion Museum were made by Suzanne Peterson (Murray) in her dissertation (Peterson 1981b), which she has kindly shared with me. She noted that the Minoan artist, unlike the Egyptian, carefully distinguished between the inner and outer views of the feet; she doubts the correctness of Evans’s restoration of the figures with musical instruments and his “goddess” with double axes.
12. *PM* II, 2, 720: 88 figures in the Propylaeum and 448 in the corridor, all arranged in a double register.
13. See Peterson 1981b, 138–47, and Vercoutter 1956. Also Kantor 1947, 41–49.
14. Vercoutter was the first to note this detail (pls. XVII–XIX).
15. Evans dated the Knossos procession to LM IB, but most scholars today would lower the date to LM II or even IIIA. However, as the probable inspiration for other LM IIIA works in Crete (see Ayia Triadha, pages 100–103) and the earlier mainland processions (Thebes and Ramp House, Mycenae), they ought not to be later than LM II (see chapter 6, II).
16. Both terms are used in the Egyptian texts, but Vercoutter 1956, 86, suggests that those from the “isles in the Great Green” were Mycenaean.
17. Brown 1983, 74–76.
18. Vercoutter 1956, pls. XXXII–XXXIV.
19. For the find circumstances of the fresco and the stratigraphy in the Queen’s Megaron, see *PM* III, 366–81, but compare Palmer, *OKT*, 134 and 142–44, and Boardman, *OKT*, 56–57 for evidence of late occupation.
20. Her coiffure is more formal than the female acrobat’s (*PM* III, 232, fig. 164B). See chapter 6, II, for the Mycenaean examples.
21. For this type, see Crowel, *Chariots*, 63–70.

The Knossos example (W70–74) is illustrated in pls. 104–7.

22. The lower part of the charioteer and part of the pole support came from Evans's "threshing floor" (Fig. 25, No. 7), whereas the fragment with bull and hindpart of chariot apparently came from the east Lapidary's Workshop (Fig. 25, No. 12). Was this perhaps a confusion with the south Lapidary's Workshop, near No. 2, that yielded the new charioteer fragment?

23. For chariot tablets from Knossos, see V-C, *Documents*, 361–72, and Crowel, *Chariots*, 67–70, who updates bibliography and discusses the location of the five deposits and the types of chariot parts recorded at Knossos.

24. V–K, *MPVP*, III.2 and 16.

25. Evans (*PM* IV, 1, 381–96, pl. XXXI) restored two broad bands, each consisting of two registers. That there were at least two is certain (from pl. XXXI A, with the loving cup and hands below against a blue ground and a foot above against a yellow ground). There is, however, no evidence for reconstructing more than two registers (Platon, *KrChron* 13 [1959], 319–45).

26. Furumark, *MP* FS 256 or 257 (perhaps a metal version). For chalice shape, see LM I examples in alabaster or stone (B–K, *PGK*, nos. 1152–55).

27. The so-called sacral knot worn by this figure, as well as the winglike appendages on some of the male figures, suggests some sort of ritual garb (see Long 1974, 38–39).

28. Cameron 1964, 38–53, pl. A, figs. 1–2.

29. Cf. the women on the Window Krater from Kourion (V–K, *MPVP*, III.12) and a new fragment from Kition (III.10); the seated figures on the krater from Aradippou (III.29) and the seated figure on the gold ring from Tiryns (M–H, *CM*, pl. 207 above), who sits on a campstool (with back), holds a chalice, and wears a long bordered robe with winglike appendages.

30. Reusch 1958, 334–58, especially 356.

31. Blegen 1958, 61–66.

32. First espoused by Palmer 1962.

33. Doubts expressed by Hopkins 1962, 416–19. For defense of Evans's antithetic griffins facing throne, see Cameron 1970, 163.

34. Evans, *PM* IV, 2, 901ff., for theory of complete alteration of this block; Palmer, *OKT*, 109–14, 245ff., pls. XI–XII, for late evidence under threshold block. Reusch 1958 pointed out the differences from a Mycenaean megaron, and now the early form of the Throne Room system and its Minoan character have been fully developed in a dissertation by Sieglindé Mirié 1979. See also Gesell 1985, 21–22 and 88–89, Cat. 34.

35. The seven stone alabaster from the Throne Room are elegant enlarged versions of the LH IIB/III A1 type (FS 82–84; for mainland origin of this type, Furumark, *MP*, 40–41). Warren 1969, 5–6, Type 1B, P 11–2.

36. *Thera* VI, col. pl. IV. Cf. also the earlier fresco from the Loomweight Basement at Knossos (*PM* I, 251, fig. 188a; here Fig. 6f).

37. Frankfort 1937, 106–22.

38. For example, the chained griffins from the East Hall (*PM* III, 510ff., figs. 355–59, and Kaiser 1976, 281, fig. 456).

39. Betancourt 1985, pl. 24B and C (from Knossos).

40. Fragments from this area, examined briefly in the fresco apotheké of the H.M. showed a striking contrast in color and quality from the earlier material from the House of the Frescoes. Palmer (*OKT*, 130–50) and Boardman (*OKT*, 56–58) agree on a reoccupation of the Queen's Megaron, as does Hawke-Smith 1976.

III Late Minoan III Paintings from Ayia Triadha

1. See papers and discussion at the Kommos symposium: J. W. and M. C. Shaw, ed., 1985.

2. Long 1974, 11–14.

3. Levi 1956, 192–99, and Long 1974, who has done the detailed iconographic study.

4. The dentil pattern is found on the Grandstand fresco (*Kn* No. 15), framing the rock pattern on the Taureador panels (*Kn* No. 23), and on many of the Tiryns frescoes (see chapter 6).

5. Long 1974, 46. The models might be compared to the offerings carried in some of the Keftiu paintings showing large statuettes of bulls: Kantor 1947, pl. IX, H and I.

6. Long 1974 suggests a number of parallels. For sphinx-type cf. ivories from Spata (M–H, *CM*, pl. 216 above: here Fig. 37).

7. Preferable to Parabeni's explanation of the vase being a situla like that in the pouring scene. See Long 1974, 62–63.

8. Long 1974, 66–67, identifies it as a shrine building despite its small size in relation to the figures.

9. Crowel, *Chariots*, 40–41, and passim, W5, pls. 38 A and B.

10. Robertson 1959, 28ff., gives an unusually good analysis of the treatment of space.

11. The rites in front of the tomb seem more Mycenaean than Minoan.

12. See chapter 6, III, for Tiryns Stag fresco (Ti No. 7) and V-K, *MPVP*, V.53 and 106. The earlier deer in the Thera miniature paintings were monochrome red, and in the fragments from Ayia Irini (A.I. No. 4) brown with white spots and underbelly.

13. Furumark, *MP*, Mot. 14:8.

14. Hirsch 1977, 10–11, pl. I, and 1980, 459ff.,

where the floor is dated LM III. Hood, *Arts*, 71 and 249, note 134, clings to the LM I date, earlier proposed by the Italians.

15. Hood, *Arts*, 71, and Koehl 1986, 407–17, especially 411f., ill. 3.

16. Kommos symposium (note 1 above). Also Gesell 1985, 41–42, 74–75, Cat. 15.

Chapter 6: Mycenaean Wall Painting

I General Characteristics and the Early Style

1. *Pylos* II. See attempted reconstructions of the right wall of the vestibule (Room 5), 192–93, pl. 119, and the wall to the right of the throne in the megaron (Room 6), 194–96, pl. 125. Also now the new study of the frescoes from the Throne Room by L. McCallum (*AJA* 91 [1987], 296 [summary of paper excerpted from dissertation at University of Pennsylvania]).

2. Cf. Lang, *Pylos* II, 27, 191, 199, and 221ff., on the formulaic quality of Mycenaean painting.

3. K. Kilian, *AA* 1978, 449–70; 1979, 379–411; 1981, 149–93; 1982, 393–466; 1983, 277–328.

4. Symeonoglou 1973, 9–11, and 1985, 40–50, for discussion of the two palaces.

5. Reusch, *Frauenfriese*, 41–47, with a comparison of the Theban and Knossian processions.

6. House of the Oil Merchant: *BSA* 48 (1953), 14–15, pl. 9A, and *MT* II, 33, figs. 42–43 and fragments on display in the Nauplion Museum. House of the Sphinxes and House of the Shields: *BSA* 49 (1954), 235–42, and unpublished fragments in Nauplion Museum apotheke. West House: *MT* III, 28, figs. 53–54. Crouwel, *Chariots*, 171, W26–30, lists fragments from these houses and Cyclopean Terrace Building.

7. *Tiryns* II, 66–68, and U. Jantzen 1975, 117 and 148–50, for deposit referred to as *epichosis*. For Greek excavations of Verdelis, see *ArchEph* 1956, Chron. 5–8, fig. 16, and F. Schachermeyr, *AA* 1962, 251f., for two destructions by fire.

8. *Pylos* II, 217–19

9. Lamb 1921–23, 162–72.

10. Rodenwaldt (*Tiryns* II, 68) noted pick marks and the fact that fragments of the same composition (Ti Nos. 3, 6, and 7) were strewn over a wide distance as indications that they had been intentionally removed and dumped. Although burning is not

obvious on the Tiryns fragments (in contrast to those from the megaron at Mycenae or from the palace at Pylos), burnt material was found in the *epichosis*. The interpretation of this deposit and the question of more than one fire at Tiryns is debated: Mylonas, *MMA*, 49–50 and Ålin 1962, 26f.

11. Cameron 1978, 591.

12. Lang in *Pylos* II, 21–24 gives the most complete discussion of types of background changes and argues in favor of a technical explanation.

13. Crouwel, *Chariots*, 135–36, stresses the ceremonial use of the few chariots represented in Minoan painting, but believes that even on the mainland its function was mainly to transport warriors to the battlefield, where they dismounted for hand-to-hand duels (see pages 124–25).

14. Schliemann 1886, pl. XIII, and Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns* II, 162–65, pl. XVIII. See Ti No. 1.

15. Cf. pages 136–37 and note IV, 7.

16. A. J. B. Wace, *BSA* 25 (1921–23), 74–84; Mylonas, *MMA*, 25ff., with the assignment of the Great Ramp and the remodeled Grave Circle to his “second enceinte” of the thirteenth century.

17. Rodenwaldt 1911, 221–31, associates this fragment (his pl. IX, 1) in scale, technique, and coloring with Schliemann’s fragment of “women in a loggia” (pl. IX, 2: my Pl. 54). New fragments, joining or relating to both, from British excavations of Ramp House (Lamb 1919–21, 191–94, pl. VII, 1–3).

18. Lamb 1919–21, pls. VII, 23–25, VIII, 8–10; Rodenwaldt 1919, pl. 9 (from Schliemann’s excavations), and Reusch 1953, 34–38, figs. 4–6.

19. Rodenwaldt 1923–24, 275–76, fig. 3, and Kaiser 1976, 306, fig. 473, pl. 26 (attempted reconstruction of Rodenwaldt’s fragment, now lost, with Kaiser’s piece in apotheke in Nauplion Museum, also not found in 1983). See also Jantzen 1975, 125–26, figs. 35–36, where relief is assigned to Tiryns without evidence.

20. *Pylos* II, 5–6 and *passim*.

21. *Pylos* II, 49.
22. Lang (*Pylos* II, 79) considered it part of a human female. First recognized correctly by Gill 1970, 404–6, who identifies object at left as a sacral knot.
23. *Pylos* II, 186, 19 M ne: Lang uncertain as to identification, but after discovery of Thera ships, no problem: see M. Shaw 1980, 178, ill. 12. Dimensions of best-preserved Thera ship (c. one-third height of frieze of 0.40 m high) would accord fairly closely with *Pylos* ship.
24. *Tiryns* II, 1–5. For criticism, see *Pylos* II, 223–24.
25. *BCH* 102 (1978), 664, for mention of large (lifesize?) human and animal figures in connection with a megaron-like building on the east slope of the Aspis with an LH IIIA2 (or earlier) context.
26. Iakovidis 1983, 91–107. The entire lifetime of the citadel is ascribed to the thirteenth century, “approximately two generations.”
27. Kilian reports the existence of nonfigural frescoes in an Early Mycenaean (LH IIIA1) palace at Tiryns in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, 134.

II Processional Frescoes and Other Religious Themes

1. Three female heads, one facing right (M-H, *CM*, pl. XL) utilized in the Gilliéron painting (*Tiryns* II, pl. VIII) and two facing left (M-H, *CM*, pl. 226) on display in the Mycenaean Room, while dress fragments, hands, feet, objects carried, fragments of the upper border, and simulated wooden dado are in storage in the National Museum.
2. Cf. the pyxis from Menidi (H. Lolling, *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi* [1880], 27–28, pl. VII, and Poursat 1977, 145–46, pl. XLIV), where the animals are described as “mouflons,” as also on the Tiryns pyxis (*Tiryns* II, 88).
3. Boulotis 1979, 59–67.
4. *Tiryns* II, 91. Further fragments found in recent Greek excavations of the *epichosis* to be published by Boulotis.
5. The Gilliéron painting is surely wrong in showing the rear foot correctly from the outside, for all the fragments in storage show an exaggerated great toe on the outside.
6. Dissertation by Suzanne Peterson (Murray), University of Minnesota (1982) (see chapter 5, II, note 11) and dissertation by Chr. Boulotis at the University of Würzburg.
7. Lang (*Pylos* II, 57ff.) is ambivalent on this point, but new evidence from the Cult Center at Mycenae (see pages 118–19) seems decisive that the goddess was represented seated.
8. Pertinent also are the Linear B tablets with records of religious offerings to various divinities (see V-C, *Documents*, 125–29 and 275–312).
9. Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 50–51, pl. 21. Fragments on display in Case 23 and others in storage were studied in 1980. References in text are to catalogue numbers in Reusch, *Frauenfries*.
10. *Frauenfries*, 41–47, where it is dated 1500–1425 B.C.
11. For the lifesize processional male figures, see *Pylos* II, 60–62.
12. *Pylos* II, 84–85.
13. Citadel House area: preliminary publication, Taylour 1969, 91–97, fig. 2 and pl. Xa; 1970, 270–80; to be published fully in new Mycenae publication of the British School. For Greek area: Mylonas 1972 and Kritseli-Providi 1982 (both in Greek). For a general account of whole area, see French 1981, 41–48.
14. Kritseli-Providi 1982, 78. At least two distinct scales recognizable in fragments in storage apothekes of N.M., a large group approaching lifesize and another about one-third to one-half.
15. Such as those from the temple at Mycenae (Taylour 1969, pl. XIIc) or the shrines at Tiryns (*AA* 93 [1978], 464, figs. 20–21) and Phylakopi (*Sanctuaries and Cults*, 67–79, fig. 12a–b). The statuette proposed for the Tiryns fresco fragment (Fig. 33b) would have been of this latter type.
16. Peterson 1981b, 67, ill. 65, and Morgan (*AJA* 88 [1984], 77) each question whether both hands belong to the seated figure.
17. See discussion of stylistic differences from earlier figures, Kritseli-Providi 1982, 80–89.
18. Cf. the sphinx reliefs from Spata (M-H, *CM*, pl. 216; here Fig. 37); for the pose of the goddess, cf. the seated female on the pyxis lid from Minet-el-Beida (Hood, *Arts*, 130, fig. 122B and 122C [another ivory from Mycenae]). Seated pose doubted by N. Marinatos.
19. See Kritseli-Providi 1982, 110; Rehak 1984, 535–45.
20. This association found also on new ivories from Thebes (Symeonoglou 1973, 48–52, figs. 226–31). Explained by Gill as part of the original association of the Minoan genius with water and fertility (Gill 1964, 1–21, and 1970, 404–6).
21. For stylistic parallels, see the griffins on the ivory plaques from the Artemision at Delos (Poursat 1977b, pls. XII and XIII) and many Mycenaean ivory heads in boar’s-tusk helmets, including those from the House of the Shields (Poursat 1977a, pls. VII and XXVII, Tomb 27).

III Mycenaean Narrative Compositions

1. Cf. also the women in the “third town” on the West House frieze (Fig. 34d) and the full length women on the Window Krater from Kourion (V-K, *MPVP*, III.12, 18–19; here Pl. 45).
2. The illegibility of this fresco is unfortunate, for if the warrior has been thrown from a chariot with galloping horses, as Rodenwaldt thought, it would constitute an important link with battle scenes on Egyptian New Kingdom reliefs (see Smith, *Interconnections*, 81–85, figs. 118 and 120).
3. Rodenwaldt 1921. Reconstructed drawings of preparations section in Beilage I.
4. V-K, *MPVP*, III.6, 13, 16; 16ff.; also Immerwahr 1945, 534ff.
5. Cf. Lamb 1921–23, pl. XXVIb, with Rodenwaldt 1921, Beilage I, 1 (unyoked chariots); Lamb 1921–23, pl. XXVII, v-vii, with Beilage I, 4–5 (single horses and grooms); Lamb 1921–23, pl. XXVII, i-iv, with Beilage I, 7 and perhaps 2–3 (fully armed soldiers).
6. Rodenwaldt’s reconstructions show only the driver in the forepart of the chariot holding the reins (Beilage iv, 15–16), but the chariot was clearly of the dual type for two figures, as shown in another fragment from the Mycenae frieze (Rodenwaldt 1911, pl. XII, 1).
7. Crouwel, *Chariots*, especially chap. 6, 119–44.
8. The archer whom Rodenwaldt has restored in Beilage iv, 16, need not have been an archer, although he has jumped down from the slowly moving chariot to join the fray.
9. Karo, *SG*, 119ff., pls. 128–31; Sakellariou 1974, 3–20, pls. 1–2.
10. See discussion of greaves or “leggings” in *Pyllos* II, 45–46, with suggestion of their use as protection from thick undergrowth in hunting scenes.
11. Smith, *Interconnections*, 82.
12. *Orchomenos* I, 74, pl. XXVIII, 2–6, and Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 96, for a different arrangement. Here Fig. 35b.
13. *Orchomenos* I, 80, 128, fig. 38 (female taureador from the Queen’s Megaron). Comparison with other swimmers are also not exact: the Vaphio dagger (Marinatos in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology*, [Casson, ed., 1927], 63–71, pl. XI) has figures in more varied poses; the Mycenae silver Siege rhyton (Smith, *Interconnections*, fig. 84) displays them in the frog kick, while the Orchomenos “swimmers” are closer to the prostrate figure in an upper disconnected fragment. The hair arrangement and short kilts suggest Cretans. Another rather similar figure recently found at Orchomenos (*AAA* 7 [1974], pl. IIa) is interpreted as an offering-bearer.
14. *Pyllos* II, 26 H 64, pls. 18 and 123; Crouwel, *Chariots*, 132, W35.
15. Lang, *Pyllos* II, 44–47.
16. *Tiryms* II, pls. I, 1, XI, 9, and XVI, 5.
17. M-H, *CM*, pl. XXXVI, and *CMS* I, no. 9.
18. I rather doubt that there was any need for the prepared *battue* in Oriental style where the animal was “let out” as Crouwel suggests for Tiryms (*Chariots*, 137), but the use of nets and the presence of spectators are attested.
19. *Tiryms* II, 121, pl. XIV, 1. This theory is discounted by Lang, but she does not explain the small fragment of a female hand with lance.
20. E.g., Norman de Garis Davies, *Tomb of Nakht* (1917), pl. XXI.
21. Discussion of parts of Aegean chariot and harnessing in Crouwel, *Chariots*, 59–118, figs. 7–8. He discounts Rodenwaldt’s small fragments (*Tiryms* II, 104–5, no. 130, figs. 41–42) restored as parts of a team at full gallop because of the spatial impossibility of a tree occurring between the horses’ tails, and certainly the evidence for a galloping pair is very slight.
22. *Tiryms* II, 134–37. Although the Lasithi dagger with an incised representation of a boar hunt has often been cited as an earlier Minoan parallel, its relatively late date and probable derivative character are pointed out by Long 1978, 35–46.
23. Admitted as a possibility by Rodenwaldt, *Tiryms* II, 150.
24. *Tiryms* II, 150–52; M-H, *CM*, pl. XXXVIa.
25. V-K, *MPVP*, 49, V.53–55 (Enkomi); 54, V.104–6 (Levant); 98–99, IX.48–64 (*Tiryms* and Mycenae). See also Åkerström 1953, 18–28; *Tiryms* VII, 28, no. 43, pl. 35, 1a.
26. As in general Lang, *Pyllos* II, and especially 221–25.
27. The so-called skin-draped “Tarzans”: *Pyllos* II, 31 H nws, pls. B and N.
28. The restoration in *Pyllos* II, pl. 122, is preferable to that on pl. M (see Lang, 206, note 6).
29. Lang (*Pyllos* II, 134–35) suggests that they do not represent real architecture, perhaps these emblematic animals having been substituted for the earlier Minoan horns of consecration. But see now Hallager 1985, 18ff., and M. C. Shaw 1986, 108ff., for representations of entrance gates.
30. The lyre is rather similar to that on the Aya Triadha sarcophagus (Pl. 50), but quite different from the more nearly contemporary ivory lyre with rectangular sounding box from Menidi in Attica (Athens, N.M. 1972: Poursat 1977a, 147ff., nos. 425–27 and 431, from two or more lyres, not necessarily with

sounding box as restored in pl. XLV).

31. The bird seems to combine elements of the griffin and hoopoe: the spiral on the chest inspired by the griffin, but the crest more like that of the hoopoe, giving it a kind of magical quality. Cf. the fragmentary fresco of a bird with unusual crest from Tiryns (*Tiryns* II, 139–40, no. 198, pl. XVI, 1).

32. Cf. representations on pictorial pottery: krater from Nauplion (Dragona, *ArchEph*, 1977, 86–98, pl. 20 = V-K, *MPVP*, IX.14.1); fragment from Tiryns (*MPVP*, IX.11); pyxis from Kalamion, Crete (*AAA* 3 [1970], 111–12, figs. 1–2).

IV Emblematic and Decorative Painting

1. *Pylos* II, 190–216, “Palace Survey” room by room. See now the dissertation of Lucinda McCallum dealing with the iconographic program of the megaron complex (I, note 1 above).

2. *Pylos* II, 214–15.

3. *Pylos* II, 109–10. At Knossos the lifesize bulls in stucco relief or flat painting were usually shown in action as part of the taureador games. Whatever their ultimate fate, the representation of sacrifice seems to come late: the sacrificed bull on the the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus or the bull behind the chariot on the “Palanquin” fresco (*Kn* No. 25). But see now N. Marinatos 1986, who argues in favor of early blood sacrifice among the Minoans.

4. Described by Evans (*PM* IV, 2, 834, fig. 815) with reference to Tsountas (*ArchEph* 1887, pl. XI), but the fragment itself (in storage, N.M., Athens) neither suggests an agrimi horn nor one from a lifesize animal. Possible lifesize horns from Pylos (*Pylos* II, 37 C 43, 119, pl. 60).

5. See especially Laffineur 1985, 245–65.

6. Cf. the lions on the inlaid dagger (M-H, *CM*, pls. XXXV and XXXVII, below) and the horses of the sword no. 748 (Karo, *SG*, pl. LXXX and 136, fig. 52). See also Vermeule 1975, 40ff.

7. The decadent Palace-style vases of the Palace of Nestor (*Pylos* I, 390–91, Shape 54a, figs. 379–80), the misunderstood hatching of the griffins’ bodies reinterpreted as “ingrowing hairs” (see below), as well as some of the sealings (Tamvaki 1984, 267–92, especially 271–79), suggest real, if temporally distant, connections.

8. *Pylos* III, 3 and passim.

9. Reusch 1958, 339; McCallum 1987, 296.

10. Palace Survey for Room 46, *Pylos* II, 208–11.

11. Reusch 1958, 334–58, pls. 3–6.

12. For the use of lions in Shaft Grave art, see Vermeule 1975, 35–44. A dissertation by Nancy Rhyne (Thomas) explored this topic in some depth (Rhyne 1970). Except for seals, lions are infrequent in Minoan art: there is only one instance of a probable large-scale lion, the stucco relief of a mane (*PM* II, 1, 332–33, fig. 188, and Kaiser 1976, 284, fig. 461a–b, who believes it could be from a bull. See *Kn* No. 34).

13. *Pylos* II, 99, note 55.

14. *Pylos* II, 103–4.

15. Poursat 1977a, 153f., nos. 448 and 455–62, pls. XLVII–XLVIII (ivories from Spata). See now the large fragments of griffin wings from House A at Keos, recently recognized by E. N. Davis (oral communication).

16. The representation of such shields in battle or hunt is more typical of the mainland, especially in the Shaft Grave period (see Sakellariou 1974, 14).

17. Kritseli-Providi 1982, 56–57.

18. V-C, *Documents*, 361–69, where both terms “mi-to-we-sa” and “po-ni-ki-ja” are used.

19. M. C. Shaw 1980, 167–79.

20. From Middle Minoan times the nautilus occurred in ceramic relief and faience (Foster 1982, 102 and 1979, 86, pl. 16) and was a major element in Marine-style pottery (B-K, *PGC*, nos. 900, 912, 917, and many others).

21. *Pylos* II, 143, with examples cited in note 92.

22. *Pylos* II, 147–49, 1 F 2, pls. 79–81, J, R, for occurrence below the horses, and 141 for likelihood that argonaut frieze occurred also above the scenic register.

23. Furumark, *MP*, Mot. 46, 352ff.

24. This bud was not characteristic of earlier fresco representations of papyrus, but developed in the Palace-style pottery of LM II (M-H, *CM*, pls. 92–93), possibly under the influence of the palm motif (Furumark, *MP*, Mot. 11, 263ff.). This type of papyrus occurs in stucco relief in a late context from the Queen’s Megaron (*PM* III, 372, fig. 247; *Kn* No. 39) and in a fresco fragment from the northwest fresco heap (*PM* IV, 2, 875, fig. 865). Evans connected these examples with the Tiryns friezes (Ti Nos. 11 and 12), although the Knossos fragments preserve no trace of the characteristic up-and-down spiral band frieze developed on the mainland, and possibly influencing Knossos in its latest phase.

25. *PM* II, 2, 591, fig. 368, and *PM* IV, 1, 223, fig. 172.

26. Schliemann 1886, 284–92, pl. IV; *Tiryns* III, 139ff., figs. 68–69. For a study of examples in stone, see L. B. Holland, *AJA* 21 (1917), 117–58, especially 126.

27. Note the early examples in the Town Mosaic

(Foster 1979, 109ff., figs. 61ff.), the terracotta shrine models from the Loomweight Basement (*PM* I, fig. 166), as well as its occurrence in miniature frescoes and the later Room of the Frescoes at Mycenae (*My* No. 6).

28. Warren 1969, where shape is not exactly dupli-

cated; closest to “miniature amphoras,” 71–72, P 358–68.

29. *Pylos* II, 167ff., 15 D 12, etc.

30. Hirsch 1977 and 1980, 453–62.

31. *Pylos* I, 85–87, fig. 66; *BSA* 25 (1921–23), 241–42, pls. XXXIX–XLI; *Tiryns* III, 144–45.

Chapter 7: Epilogue: Nonpalatial Painting

1. For summary of conditions in the late Mycenaean Empire, see Vermeule, *GBA*, 269–79; also Desborough 1964.

2. Sandars 1978 gives the most complete and recent account.

3. *Pylos* I, 419–24.

4. For example, the imported foreign trinkets from the chamber tombs at Perati (Iakovidis 1970) and the spread of the octopus stirrup vases in the eastern Mediterranean (Mee 1982, 89–92).

5. An LH IIIC date for the Lady with a Lily (*My* No. 5) from the Cult Center at Mycenae is questionable (see chapter 6, page 120) because of the complete absence of frescoes from other sites at this time. In the recent *Unterburg* excavations at Tiryns all fresco fragments belonged to the stratum preceding the palace’s destruction, despite the richness of other finds (e.g., the large terracotta statuettes) from the LH IIIC level: see reports in *AA* 1978, 449ff.; 1979, 379ff.; 1981, 149ff.; 1982, 393–466; 1983, 277–328.

I Pictorial Vase Painting

1. For the amphoroid krater form, see V-K, *MPVP*, 12–13, and early examples III.A, B and I, all of which owe something to the Minoan Palace style. This shape is now being studied by Christine Morris of the British School at Athens for a dissertation at the University of London.

2. For a guarded position as to origin, see V-K, *MPVP*, 5–9. Arguments in favor of mainland production were expressed in the 1940s by J. F. Daniel and this author (Immerwahr 1945) which more recent finds and clay analyses have tended to confirm. The long-awaited publication of the potter’s kiln at Berbati has just appeared (Å. Åkerström, *Berbati*, Vol. 2: *The Pictorial Pottery*, Stockholm, 1987) and presents decisive evidence for mainland manufacture for the majority of pictorial vases.

3. E. Slenczka in *Tiryns* VII publishes the old and new material through the early 1970s. Among the LH IIIB fragments were a number of pieces by the same artists previously known only through whole vases found in Cyprus (e.g., fragments of a krater, *Tiryns* VII, no. 6, pl. 10, 1, a–c, and the krater from Klavdia BM C399; fragments of a jug, *Tiryns* VII, no. 41, pl. 22, 1–2, and the krater from Enkomi BM C416).

4. Furumark, *MP*, 446–54, on the “Hellado-Mycenaean” style; V-K, *MPVP*, 120–49, “The Greek Mainland: Late Pictorial.”

5. The birds under the handles are similar to those of LH IIIC Close-style pottery. For the overlapping arc pattern and the hedgehog on the stele, see note 11. Furthermore, similar pictorial fragments from Lefkandi come from the second phase of LH IIIC.

6. Lorimer 1950, 146ff.; Snodgrass 1964, 57ff. and passim; Borchhardt 1972, 37ff.; Sandars 1978, figs. 91, 119, 124–25; and full bibliography including older literature in V-K, *MPVP*, 222.

7. Bronze example from Dendra (Verdelis 1967, 1–53) and cuirasses recorded in Knossos tablets (V-C, *Documents*, 375ff.).

8. “Three generations before the Return of the Herakleidae,” i.e., ninety years before 1104 B.C., the traditional date for the Dorian Invasion (according to Eratosthenes). More recent scholarship following Blegen’s excavations at Troy and Pylos tends to place the war in the mid-thirteenth century, a date that fits better the Empire conditions portrayed in the *Iliad*, with the Mycenaean mainland under the firm control of Agamemnon (cf. Vermeule, *GBA*, 277ff.; Mylonas, *MMA*, 215ff. See now Mellink, ed., 1986).

9. Tsountas, *ArchEph* 1896, 1–22, pls. 1–2; for further references, see V-K *MPVP*, 22, XI.43.

10. *Tiryns* II, 186ff.; Lorimer 1950, 148.

11. For concentric arc pattern, see Furumark, *MP*, Mot. 40:10 (LH IIIC:1), hedgehogs on LH IIIC pots from mainland and East Aegean, V-K, *MPVP*, XI.87–89, XII.23, XIII.8.

12. Popham and Sackett 1968, 34–35.

13. See my article in memory of D. Theocharis, "Some Pictorial Fragments from Iolkos in the Volos Museum," *ArchEph* 1985 (1987), 85–94, and V-K, *MPVP*, XI.57 and 58.

14. R. Felsch in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, 85–86, fig. 7 (a warrior equipped with two sacks of provisions suggests a departure scene as on a Side A of the Warrior Vase).

15. *Tiryas* VII and the new excavations of Verdelis (note 7 above) and Kilian (note 5 above, at beginning of chapter).

16. *Tiryas* VII, No. 115, 52f., pl. 2, and Beilage (reconstruction based on a diameter of 49–50 cm).

17. For new fragments from 1980 excavations, see *AA* 1982, 414, fig. 27.

18. V-K, *MPVP*, 138.

19. V-K, *MPVP*, 22; Vermeule 1965, 138.

20. Kilian 1950, 21f.; V-K, *MPVP*, XI.19.1, addendum, 230.

II The Tanagra Larnakes

1. See the well-illustrated reports of Spyropoulos in *Prakt* and *Ergon* from 1969–76; also his articles on the cemetery in *AAA* 2 (1969), 20–25 and 3 (1970), 184–97, and Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 82–85, pls. 42–44.

2. Vermeule 1965, 123–48.

3. The second *prothesis* scene is on a larnax from Tomb 3 on display in the museum (Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 83, no. 4 = *Prakt* 1970, pl. 48a). The libation scene occurs on a larnax from Tomb 36 (*Prakt* 1973 [1976], pl. 10b). For Mycenaean funeral rite of pouring a libation, see Mylonas, *MMA*, 134–35; Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae* (*Archaeologia* 32 [1932]), 131, and Blegen 1937, 237–38.

4. *BCH* 99 (1975), 644, fig. 118. For the presentation scene from the Cult Center (Fig. 33a), see pages 119 and 166.

5. The same hand can be seen on some of the larnakes discussed by Vermeule (Vermeule 1965, pls. XXVIb and XXVII, larnakes, Nos. 3 and 4), on two from Tomb 6 (*Prakt* 1969, pl. 5a and b = Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 83f., Nos. 5 and 15) and a fragment in a Greek private collection (*AAA* 6 [1973], 169–76, figs. 1–2).

6. Larnax in Kassel (Vermeule 1965, pls. XXV and XXVIa), larnax with deposition from Tomb 3 (*Prakt* 1970, pl. 48a = Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 84,

No. 4); larnax with libation from Tomb 36 (*Prakt* 1973 [1976], pl. 10b).

7. Larnax from Tomb 51 (*Prakt* 1971, pls. 18b and 19a = Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 84, No. 14, pl. 43b); larnax from Tomb 60 (*Prakt* 1971, pls. 17 and 18a).

8. Sphinxes on larnakes from Tombs 15 and 115 (*Prakt* 1974 [1976], pls. 10b and 11). For Classical use of sphinx as a funerary symbol, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 238–40, and G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (1961).

9. One of the smallest larnakes (0.60 m long) that could have served only for the burial of a small child (*Prakt* 1969, pl. 13b = Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 85, No. 16). The largest are only slightly over a meter in length, and adults were buried in a contracted position.

10. Fresco representations of women in windows: *Ak* No. 12 (*Thera* VI, pl. 105, Third Town); *Kn* No. 17b (*PM* II, 2, 602, fig. 375); *My* Nos. 1a (M-H, *CM*, pl. XLIII, above) and 11 (Rodenwaldt 1921, Beilage II).

11. Larnax from Tomb 16 (*BCH* 98 [1974], 655, fig. 185) also has a two-tiered scheme, dark mourners above, antithetic bulls with male figure below.

12. In addition to the two early fresco examples (*My* No. 1 and *Py* No. 1), I know only the late Schliemann panel (*Ti* No. 1), the possible acrobats from Orchomenos (*Or* No. 2) and a single pictorial fragment from Mycenae (V-K, *MPVP*, 93–94, IX.18.1).

13. For example, the *prothesis* scene on the Dipylon amphora (Athens, N.M. 804, Arias-Hirmer, pl. 4).

14. *Prakt* 1973 (1975), pl. 10a.

15. Demakopoulou, *Guide*, 84, No. 13, pl. 44; Spyropoulos, *AAA* 3 (1970), 184ff. See also Laffineur 1985, 250ff., for funerary symbolism connected with the *psyche* and afterlife in the Shaft Grave period. Also Vermeule 1979, 65.

16. *AAA* 4 (1971), 216–22, figs. 4–9, pl. III (Armenoi); *Prakt* 1974 (1976), pls 185–88 (Rethymnon); Mavriyannaki 1972; Alexiou, *3rd Cretological Congress, Herakleion 1971* (1973), 3–12, pls. 1–2 (larnax with ship scene from Gazi); Vermeule 1979, 67, fig. 25 (larnax from Episkopi).

17. For the great funerary amphoras and kraters from the Dipylon cemetery with scenes of mourners, *prothesis*, and *ekphora* (or funeral cortege), see illustrations in Robertson 1959, 34–41; Arias-Hirmer, pls. 4–5; Ahlberg 1971. Without prejudging the idea of continuity in art forms between late Mycenaean and Geometric (as in Benson 1970), there seems to be a clear continuity in funerary rites.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

1. Although no satisfactory reading of Linear A has as yet been achieved, a consensus is developing that it is an Anatolian language, very likely Luvian (see L. R. Palmer 1961, 229ff. and his more recent bibliography). For Linear A documents, see V-C, *Documents*, 31–40.

2. For various views concerning Minoans, see papers in *Minoan Thalassocracy*.

3. For trade routes between Crete and Egypt, see Kemp and Merrillees 1980, 268–86.

4. N. Marinatos 1984a, 167–78.

5. See the dissertations of B. Kaiser and M. A. S. Cameron, which dealt with published and unpublished material from Knossos, the former with the stucco reliefs (Kaiser 1976), the latter with the frescoes (Cameron 1975, unpublished). Both scholars died prematurely.

6. The seated women from Pseira (Ps No. 1) are the main examples outside Knossos, but small fragments of a similar figure were found at Palaikastro (Kaiser 1976, 303, fig. 470b), two fragments from

Mycenae (or Tiryns?), now missing (see chapter 6, I note 19), as well as decorative relief fragments from Thera (*Thera* VII, 27, pl. 41a–b), Zakros (*Za* No. 1), and perhaps elsewhere.

7. See chapter 4, III, note 51, and Laffineur 1984, 133–39.

8. For the importance of Knossos in the development of the dual chariot, see Crouwel, *Chariots*, 63ff. and 149–51. Whatever the date of the Linear B archives, there are independently dated LM II/IIIA fresco representations on Crete (*Kn* No. 25; A.T. No. 2).

9. *Pyllos* II, 221–24.

10. The fresco material from the Citadel House and the houses outside the walls was studied by Cameron and will be published in one of the new fascicules of the British School (see chapter 6, I, note 6 and II, note 13).

11. French 1981, 41–48. Against the existence of cult images in Minoan Crete, see Hägg and Marinatos 1983, 185–201.



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INDEX

- Abramovitz, K., 82, A.I. Nos. 1–4, 213 n. 12
 acrobats, female in bull games, 85, 90–92, **Kn No.** 23, 179(5), 179(9): *see also* taureador
 Aegean art, 159; Bronze Age, 1, 5, 74; *koine*, 75, 162, 163
 Aegean Sea, 1
 afterlife, 160
 agrimi (wild goat), 28, 34, 46, 70, 135, 157, **Kn No. 3**, A.T. No. 1
 Agrimi Master, Phaistos, 34
 Åkerström, Å., 219 n. 2
 Akhenaten, 9, 163
 Akrotiri (Thera)
 excavations, 4, 11–14
 House of the Ladies, 46, 49, 54–58, **Ak No. 5**
 Minoan influence, 18, 160
 Mycenaean presence, 75, 108, 212 n. 52
 volcanic eruption: *see* Santorini
 wall paintings, catalogue, 185–88
 West House, 13, 17, 63, 70–75, 82–83, 135, 140, 145, 163, 167, **Ak Nos. 8–13**
 Xeste 3, 18, 34, 59–62, 117, 161, 166, **Ak Nos. 6 and 7**
 alabastron, Mycenaean form, 97
 Alalakh (Syria), 15, 35, 207 n. 13, 208 n. 31
 Alexiou, S., 92, **Kn No. 25**
 altar, Minoan, 68, 101, 102, A.T. Nos. 2–4; at Mycenae, 120–21, **My No. 6**; 211 n. 39
 Amnisos (Crete), 3, 9, 78, 161, **Am Nos. 1–3**
 Anatolia, 29, 30, 160
 Anatolian language, 221 n. 1
 animal skin, 128: *see also* oxhide
 antelopes, 28, 49, 209 n. 15
 Antelopes and Boxers fresco, 13, 49, 98, 99, 161, **Ak No. 4**, 209 n. 12
 archers, 124
 architectural
 character of Aegean Painting, 11, 19, 78–79, 134–35, 145, 166
 representations, Minoan, 64, 65, 66, 67–68, 73, 82, 83, 144; Mycenaean, 110, 120, 122, 123, 125–26, 128, 133, 144; on Tanagra larnakes, 155, 157
 setting preserved, 11, 79, 97, **Ak No. 2**
 significance of triglyph and half-rossette frieze, 144
 simulations, 22, 78, 145, **Kn Nos. 20 and 43**
 skills from Egypt(?), 35, 159
 architecture, of Akrotiri, 73; of Throne Room, Knossos, 96–97
 Argolid, 4, 149
 argonaut (nautilus), 99, 134, **Kn No. 32**, 188(17): *see also* Nautilus frieze
 Argos, 5, 113, 114, 142, 149, **Ar Nos. 1 and 2**, 216 n. 25
 Arkhanes (Crete), 28, 34, 70
 Armenoi (Crete), 158
 armor, 150, 153: *see also* greaves, helmet, shields
 art, popular, 158; representational, 22, 24, 26, 38ff.
 artist(s), 17; of Warrior Vase, 150, 151; traveling, 113, 132, 143, 146
 ashlar masonry, 11, 35, 59, 67
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 90, 91, 111, **Kn No. 23**
 Athena (Pallas), 121
 Athens, Acropolis, 152; Dipylon cemetery, 154, 220 n. 17; National Museum, 48, 54, 73, 119, 207 n. 18, 216 n. 1
 athletes from East Hall: *see* Knossos, East Hall
 Attic, funerary art, 157; Geometric vase painting, 158
 Ayia Irini (Keos), 4, 75, 161
 Dolphin fresco, 79–80, A.I. No. 2

- earthquake, 161
 excavations, 159
 House A, Bluebird frieze, 79, A.I. No. 1; griffins, 177, 189, 203, 218 n. 15
 miniature frieze, 82–83, 122, 133, 163, A.I. No. 4
 Mycenaean presence, 82, 108, 161, 163
 Ayia Triadha, 3
 Boxer Vase, 52
 Chieftain Vase, 66
 Harvester Vase, 53
 Little Palace (villa), 3; destruction of in LM IB, 49, 78, 100; frescoes, 49–50, 54, 161, 165, A.T. No. 1
 LM III frescoes, 100, 101–2, 109, A.T. Nos. 3–5
 sarcophagus, 16, 18, 19, 78, 89, 100–102, 109, 114, 122, 144, 158, 164, A.T. No. 2, 207 n. 16
- background, treatment in LM II/III A, 89, 90, 92, 95, 97–98, 101; in Mycenaean, 110, 114, 115, 122, 166; at Pylos, 132; in vase painting, 151
 Barber, E., 210 n. 30
 battle scenes, 122, 123–28, 166
 at Mycenae, 123–25, My No. 11
 at Pylos, 128, 132, 134, Py Nos. 4 and 10
 beam-end frieze, 64, 68, 73, 101, 102, 109, 120, 133, 144, 145, Py No. 26, 218 n. 27
 beard(s), 151, 152
 Beni Hasan: *see* Egyptian painting
 Berbati, 149, 219 n. 2
 Betancourt, P., 208 n. 27
 bird, 30, 133, 158, 188(12), 204(6): *see also* blue-bird, duck, hoopoe, partridge, swallow
 blacks in Aegean art, 70, 96, 118
 Blegen, C. W., 96, 97, 134, 136
 blue, pigment, 16; shaved heads at Thera, 52, 61
 bluebird (rock dove)
 frieze at Ayia Irini, 79, 141, A.I. No. 1
 at Knossos, 13, 42, 79, 141, Kn No. 2
 frieze at Pylos, 79, 141, 166, 167, Py No. 21
 boar, 28, 123, 129, 179 (7–8)
 Boar Hunt, 113, 129, 217 n. 22
 Orchomenos, 132, Or No. 3
 Tiryns, 129–30, 148, 153, 166, Ti No. 6
 boar's-tusk helmet: *see* helmet
 boots, 66, 67, 122: *see also* shoes
 Boulotis, C., Th No. 1, Ti No. 4, 216 n. 6
 boxers, 52, 53, 171; boxing as ritual sport, 51
 Boxing Boys fresco, Akrotiri, 51–53, 135, 161: *see also* Antelopes and Boxers
 British School at Athens, 123, 125, 164
 Bronze Age, 1, 5, 6
 brushes used in painting, 16
 bull
 on MM IIIA pithos from Arkhanes, 34, 70
 in Minoan painting, 64, 90–92, 94, 98–99, 135
 at Pylos, 118, 133, 135, Py Nos. 15 and 16
 rarity in Mycenaean painting, 110, 135
 sacrifice of, 101, A.T. No. 2, 218 n. 3
 at Tiryns, 135, Ti No. 8
 bull games, 64, 65, 90–92, 99, 103, 135, 161: *see* Kn Nos. 18, 23, 29, and 31
 bull-leaper(s), 52, 110, 127; at Mycenae, 110; at Pylos, 111; on Tanagra larnax, 157; at Tiryns, 113: *see also* taureador
 Bull reliefs from North Entrance, 85–88, 162, 164, Kn No. 21, 213 n. 7
 bull's head (plastic), 150, 152
 Bulle, H., 125, Or Nos. 1, 2, and 4–6
 burning, of Knossos palace, 4, 84, 99, 139, 163; LM IB sites, 8, 49, 77, 78; Mycenaean palaces, 10, 96, 105, 123, 148, 161: *see also* destruction
 buttons, on Minoan costume, 58
 Byblos (Lebanon), 2, 34
- Calydonian Boar Hunt, 129
 Cameron, M. A. S., 14, 15, 45, 67, 92–95, 108, 163, 206 n. 18, 207 n. 22, 210 n. 5, 221 n. 5
 “Campstool” fresco, 84, 89, 95, 100, 103, 122, 149, 162, 164, Kn No. 26
 “Captain of the Blacks,” 96, Kn No. 27
 Caravanserai, Knossos, 78, 134; Partridge fresco, 34, 78–79, 103, Kn No. 20
 Cat from Ayia Triadha, 49, A.T. No. 1; from Knossos, 179(12); from Mallia, 35
 Çatal Hüyük (Turkey), paintings, 22
 cattle-herder, Tiryns, 204(5)
 cave paintings, 22
 chalice, Minoan, 95
 chamber tomb(s), 5, 154, Ar No. 2; Th Nos. 6 and 7; 205 n. 9: *see also* Tanagra
 Chania (Kydonia), 3, 100, Ch No. 1, 205 n. 6; seal impression, 210 n. 16, 211 nn. 38–39, 213 n. 14
 chariot
 at Ayia Irini, 83
 on Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, 101, 124, A.T. No. 2
 dual-bodied type, 92–95, 124, 129, 146, 152–53, 164
 Egyptian representations, 124, 217 n. 2
 at Knossos, 84, 92–95, 124, 141, Kn No. 25, 214 n. 23, 221 n. 8
 kraters, 95, 124, 149, 153, 164
 light-railed type of LH IIIC, 153
 Minoan use, 92, 215 n. 13
 at Mycenae, Cult Center, 194(4)
 Mycenaean, 109, 123–24, 128; usage, 124, 150
 Near Eastern prototype, 124
 race, on Tiryns vase, 154
 on Tanagra larnax, 157
 in Tiryns frescoes, 129
 charioteer, 92, 94, 122, 129
 checkerboard, 125; border, 112, 128, 144; on Tanagra larnakes, 155, 157
 Chora Museum, Keos: *see* Ayia Irini
 Chora Museum, Messenia: *see* Pylos
 chronology
 of Aegean Bronze Age, 5–10, 205 n. 13
 Evans's for Knossos, 5, 77–78, 162
 of Mycenaean painting, 164–65
 clay, slab as ground for painting, 13–14
 codpiece, 52, 66, 89, 91: *see also* loincloth
 Coleman, K. A.: *see* Abramovitz
 colors, 15–16, 17–18; used by vase painter, 18–19

- column, 65, 67, 73, 120–21, 125, 133, 157
 composition, antithetic, 96–98, 136–37; repeated file, 26, 29, 136
 copybook tradition, 132, 147
 Coulomb, J., 52
 Crete, catalogue of frescoes, 170–85; geography, 1–3, 160; relations with mainland, 162–64, 167–68
 Creto-Mycenaean style, 161
 crocuses, 42, 46, 67
 cross-hatching (shading), 98, 138, 161
 Crouwel, J., 124, 129, 164, 217 n. 21
 crystal plaque with bull, Knossos, 68, 179 (14)
 cuirass, 150, 152, 153, 219 n. 7
 cult of the dead, 100; images, 166, 221 n. 11
 Cupbearer, Knossos, 53, 88–89, 96, 101, Kn No. 22
 Cyclades, catalogue of frescoes, 185–90; geography, 3–4; rock engravings, 22
 Cycladic: *see also* pottery
 anticipation of Mycenaean style, 79, 82–83, 108, 163
 artists at Akrotiri, 47, 160
 “frying pans,” 24
 mainland connection, 79, 82, 136, 163
 marble figurines, 22
 ships, 24, 83
 tombs, 16
 cypress trees, 67, Pr No. 1
 Cypriote tombs, 132, 149, 153
 Cyprus, Mycenaean expansion to, 5
- dado, 22, 63, 96, 97, 111, 114, 134, 144, 145, 166
 arc, 145, My No. 20, Py No. 27, Th No. 8
 imitation stone (marbled), 22, 63, 97, 99, 134, 135, 145, 160, Kn No. 41, Am No. 2, Ak No. 13, My No. 1, Ti No. 17
 “rock-and-hide,” 145, Py No. 29
 “variegated,” 145, Py No. 28
 see also socle
 dagger, 123, 128; inlaid, 71, 122, 129, 131, 138, 163, 167
 dancing, ritual, 33, 34, 65, 83, 102, 166
 “Dancing Lady,” 92, 117, Kn No. 24
 Dark Age, 134, 151
 Davis, E. N., 189, 211 n. 30, 212 nn. 45, 6
 decorative frescoes, 22, 99, 134, 139, 141–46, 166
 from Knossos, Kn Nos. 36–44
 from Mallia, Ma No. 1
 from Orchomenos, Or Nos. 4 and 5
 from Phaistos, Phs Nos. 1–5
 from Tiryns, Ti Nos. 10–17
 deer, 28, 71, 72, 82–83, 102, 130–32, 135, 151, 152–53, A.T. Nos. 1 and 4, Py No. 17, 215 n. 12
 Deer frieze, Tiryns, 130–32, 148, 149, 153, 165, Ti No. 7
 Demakopoulou, K., 157, 220 nn. 1, 3, 7, 9, 15
 dentil pattern, 91, 100, 110, 139, 144
 destruction
 of LM IB sites in Crete, 8, 9, 77, 103, 109, 161
 of later palace at Knossos, 9, 77, 113, 139, 149, 162, 163, 212 n. 1
 of Mycenae, 119, 123
 of Mycenaean palaces at end of LH IIIB, 10, 96, 105, 124, 148, 149, 152, 161, 164, 167
 of Old Palaces in Crete, 6, 161
 Dipylon cemetery: *see* Athens
 dog, 28; at Ayia Irini, 83; on LH IIIC pictorial vase, 153; at Pylos, 132, 134; at Tiryns, 129, 130, 137
 Dog frieze, Pylos, 134, 137, 141, 167, Py No. 20
 dolphin, 17, 18, 28, 71, 102, 113
 Dolphin fresco, Knossos, 48, 92, 102, 146, 162, Kn No. 6, 215 n. 15: *see also* Ayia Irini
 donkey, 28, 68, 70, 211 n. 24
 Dorians, 10, 219 n. 8
 double axe, on pillar shrine, Kn No. 18c; cult scene, Tiryns, 204(8); stands 100–101
 Doumas, C., 59, 210 n. 31
 dress
 chiton (tunic), 75, 83, 122, 125, 129, 150, 153
 fleece skirt, 83, 101
 flounced skirt, 55, 62, 89, 92, 114, 115, 119, 121, 160, 166
 kilt, 88, 89, 96, 114, 118
 long bordered robe, 88, 92, 95, 101, 102, 117, 156, 160
 male costume at Ayia Irini, 83
 Minoan female costume: at Ayia Irini, 83; court, 40, 54; festal costume, 50, 54–58, 92, 210 n. 24
 Minoan male costume, 52, 83, 90, 118
 Mycenaean female, 92, 114, 115, 121, 166
 of Tanagra mourners, 155, 156, 157
 ducks, 71
 “duomachies” (duels), 128, 150
 dump, fresco, 106, 162
- Early Helladic: *see* pottery
 Early Minoan, 5, 11, 21, 26–28
 earthquake destruction, 6, 14, 39, 44, 161
 East Hall, stucco reliefs: *see* Knossos
 “Easter eggs” (striped pebbles), 42, 73, 79, 111, 133, 145
 Egypt, 1, 5, 6, 8, 22, 34–37, 53, 68, 89, 148, 159–60
 Middle Kingdom, 5, 6, 16, 27–29, 68, 159, 161
 New Kingdom, 5, 8, 10, 53, 89–90, 148
 Old Kingdom, 5, 16, 89
 Egyptian
 blue, 16, 21, 179(1)
 color convention, 41, 53, 54, 161
 colors, 15–16
 conventions, 22, 28, 41, 51, 67, 68, 129, 211 n. 23
 dress, 54
 goddess Taurt, 30, 160
 influence on Minoan art, 35–37, 50, 53, 68, 71, 159, 161, 210 n. 38
 paintings: comparison with Minoan, 51, 62, 72, 209 n. 7; register system, 72, 89; techniques, 14–15; in tombs at Beni Hasan, 35, 79; in

- tombs at el Bersheh, 211 nn. 23–24; in tombs at Meir, 209 n. 3; in tombs of Old Kingdom, 211 n. 36; in Theban tombs, 53, 89–90, 174–75
- parallels for Aegean chronology, 5–10
- ritual, 74
- eidola* (souls), 121, 155
- emblematic, 134–41, 167; animals, 135–38
- Evans, Sir Arthur, 1, 2
- chronology for Knossos, 5, 6, 8, 68, 99, 162–63
- excavations at Knossos, 9, 13, 39; questions regarding accuracy of, 77–78
- interpretation of Minoans, 159; of Taureador frescoes, 91; of Throne Room, 96
- on miniature frescoes, 63
- reconstructions of paintings, 41, 52, 85, 88, 100
- restoration of palace, 65, 85, 138, 162
- theories of Egyptian connections, 79; about House of the Frescoes, 13–14, 46; concerning naturalism, 40–41; on squatter reoccupation, 85
- facade, palace, 123, 125; “shrine” (gate), 133
- faience, 35–36, 68–70; plaques from Temple Repositories, Knossos, 70, 85; robes, 55, 59
- Fayum, Egypt, 35, 160
- festival, nautical, 74, 135
- figurine, terracotta, 114, 119, 158
- fish, 18, 24, 28, 33, 47–48, 51
- Fishermen frescoes from West House, 13, 18, 50–51, 63, 74, 88, 90, 135, **Kn No. 11**
- Fishermen Vase: *see* Phylakopi
- floor(s)
- Ayia Triadha shrine, 102–3, 146, **A.T. No. 5**
- Knossos, Dolphin fresco(?), 102, **Kn No. 6**
- Mycenaean megaron, 102, 113, 146, 147
- Phaistos, 22, **Phs No. 2**
- flora, Minoan, 42: *see also* lilies, crocuses, etc.
- flute-player, 101
- Flying Fish fresco: *see* Phylakopi
- flying gallop, 30, 71
- foot-soldiers, 150
- footstool, 118, 119, **My No. 4**, **Py No. 9**
- Foster, K., 208 n. 34, 211 n. 25
- Frankfort, H., 208 n. 18
- French, E., **My No. 6**, 205 n. 12
- fresco technique, 14–15, 17–18, 21, 148, 151, 206 n. 11
- frescoes: *see* wall painting and specific examples; absence of pictorial in Old Palaces, 22, 39, 160
- frieze, 13, 63, 78, 79, 81: *see also* decorative and miniature
- funeral games, 154
- funerary rites on Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, 100–101; at Mycenaean chamber tombs, 220 n. 3; at Tanagra, 154–56, 157–58
- Furumark, A., 149, 205 nn. 11–12, 219 n. 4
- genre representations on Minoan seals, 28; on miniature frescoes, 40, 66, 83, **Kn No. 19**
- Geometric period, 159; vases, 154, 155, 158
- Gesell, G. C., 208 n. 28
- Gill, M., 208 n. 19, 216 n. 22, 216 n. 20
- Gilliéron, E. Fils, 42, 48, 52, 54, 63, 64, 65, 66, 96, 97
- Gla, 113, 216 n. 26
- goddess
- on Ayia Triadha frescoes, **A.T. Nos. 1 and 5**
- on Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, 101, **A.T. No. 2**
- on Kamares pottery, 33, 34
- on LH IIIc vase from Tiryns, 154
- Mother Goddess, 160
- at Mycenae, 119, 121, **My No. 4**
- on Mycenaean processional frescoes, 114–15, 118, 151, 166, 216 n. 7
- on Painted Stele, Mycenae, 151, **My No. 21**
- at Pylos, **Py No. 9**
- Warrior Goddess, 121, 140, 167, **My No. 7**
- at Xeste 3, 59, 62, 167
- see also* Minoan goddess
- Gournia, 9, 78
- Graham, J. W., 65, 210 n. 32
- Grandstand fresco, Knossos, 14, 63, 64–65, 71, 73, 84, 110, 163, **Kn No. 15**
- grave, 122, 125, 128, 129, 150, 152, 153
- Greek Archaeological Society, 59
- Greek
- art, 159
- character of Mycenaean art, 158, 159
- language in Linear B, 78, 159
- mainland, 4, 159, 163; catalogue of frescoes, 190–204
- myth, 134, 157; of Labyrinth, 1, 168; of Underworld, 158
- painting, 102
- griffin
- on Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, 101, **A.T. No. 2**
- from East Hall, Knossos, **Kn No. 8e**
- on fresco from Mycenae, 121, **My No. 9**
- with goddess at Xeste 3, 61–62, 167, **Kn No. 6**
- from House A, Ayia Irini, 218 n. 15
- on miniature frieze, West House, Akrotiri, 71, **Kn No. 12**
- on Minoan seals, 97, 137, 167
- at Pylos, 96–98, 109, 136–37, 163, 167, **Py Nos. 18 and 19**
- on pyxis from Lefkandi, 152
- as textile pattern, **Kn No. 14c**
- from Throne Room, Knossos, 30, 96–98, 136–37, 161, 167, **Kn No. 28**
- wings, Knossos, **Kn No. 35**
- groom, 124
- Groom fresco, Mycenae, 123, 165, **My No. 10**, 217 n. 5
- groundline, 101, 150
- hairstyles, at Knossos, 92; Mycenaean, 114, 117; at Thera, 61, 117
- Hallager, E., 205 n. 6, 210 n. 5, 213 n. 3
- Hammurabi, 28, 35
- “hands” of individual artists, 17, 207 n. 21
- “hangings” (*ikria*), Mycenae, 141, **My No. 16**
- hatching (shading), 98, 138, 161
- Hatshepsut, 8, 89

- hearth, Mycenaean, 13, 97, 113, 123, 136, 146, 206 n. 5
 Heaton, Noel, 14, 206 n. 7
 hedgehog, 22, 151: *see also* helmet
 Helladic terminology, 1, 5, 8, 9–10
 helmet(s), 123, 150, 153; boar's tusk, 75, 113, 122, 125, 128, 129, 132; "hedgehog," 150, 153; horned, 150
 helmeted female, Mycenae, 121, My No. 9
 Herakleion Museum, 42, 49, 90, 91, 206 n. 6, 211 n. 6, 214 n. 40
 Hieroglyphic Deposit: *see* Knossos
 Hittite empire, 147–48
 Hollinshead, M. B., 207 n. 21
 Homer, 147, 151, 152, 154
 Homeric poems, 124, 134, 153
 Hood, S., 212 n. 2
 hoopoe, 67, 79
 hoplite phalanx, 150
 horns of consecration, 65, 73, 101, 102, 109, 120, 144, 157, 158, A.T. No. 5
 horse, 83, 92, 101, 123–25, 152, 153, 154
 House of the Frescoes, Knossos, 13–14, 41, 42–46, 67, 78, 82, 145, Kn Nos. 2, 3, and 43, 206 n. 6
 House of the Tiles: *see* Lerna
 human figures
 on EM pot from Palaikastro, 32, 33
 on EM seals, 26, 28
 female figures in frescoes, 50, 53–62, 209 n. 1; on Kamares pottery, 33–34, 37; in Mycenaean frescoes, 114–21
 male figures in frescoes, 50–53, 209 n. 1; in Mycenaean narrative painting, 122–23
 on Phaistos sealings, 30
 on sealings from Hieroglyphic Deposit, 37
 hunting, 82, 83, 103, 109, 122, 129–33, 217 n. 18
 on LH IIIC pictorial vases, 153
 at Pylos, 132, Py No. 11
 at Tiryns, 129–132, Ti Nos. 2 and 7
 on Tanagra larnax, 157
 Hyksos, expulsion of, 8

 iconography, 17, 33; funerary, 153, 155–58; Mycenaean, 82, 83, 109, 122, 163; religious, 59, 100–101, 120, 161
 idol, terracotta, 114, 115, 119: *see also* statuette
ikrion (ship's cabin), 13, 63, 74, 135, 140–41, 167, Ak No. 9, My No. 16
 Iliakis, K., Ak Nos. 4, 5, and 8
 incavo technique, Am No. 1, Phs No. 2, 206 n. 12
 Iolkos, 152, 153, 220 n. 13
 iris, 45, Am No. 2
 Isopata, gold ring, 33, 65
 ivory figurine, 121; lyre, 217 n. 30; pyxis, 216 n. 2; seals, 26, 28, 30
 ivories, Mycenaean, 138, 142, 219 nn. 15, 21
 ivy, 45, 68; frieze, 99; sacral, 143

 "Jewel" fresco, Knossos, 50, 53, 161, 162, Kn No. 9
 jewelry, 58, 61
 bracelets, 58, 61, 115
 earrings, 58, 61
 hairpins, 61, 210 n. 34
 necklaces, 54, 58, 62, 115, 119
 worn by males in Procession fresco, Knossos, 88

 Kadmeia, Thebes, 106, 114–15, 139, 165: *see*
 Women's frieze
 Kahun (Egypt), 6, 35, 208 n. 32
 Kaiser, B., 211 n. 29, 213 n. 7, 215 n. 19, 221 n. 5
 Kalapodi (Greece), 152, 153
 Kamares ware: *see* pottery
 Kaptara (Crete), 35
 Karageorghis, V., 149
 Karahüyük (Turkey), 29, 208 n. 17
 Katsamba (Crete), 67, Ka No. 1
 Keftiu, 8, 35, 89–90, 91, 210 n. 27, 213 nn. 14, 16
 Keos, 4, 79–83: *see also* Ayia Irini
 Keramopoulos, A., 106, 115, Th Nos. 1, 3, and 5
 Kilian, K., 154
 kilts: *see* dress
 kingship, 160
 Knossian influence, 161; school, 162; themes, 161
 Knossos, 1, 160, 162–64
 catalogue of frescoes, 170–79
 center for development of figural wall painting, 2, 4, 161
 chronology, 5–9, 77–78, 84–85, 162–64
 Corridor of the Procession, 53, 54, 59, 84, 88–90, 109, 114, 118, 135, 162, 164, 166, Kn No. 22, 213 n. 15; earlier decoration, 88, Kn No. 13
 Court of the Stone Spout, 84, 90
 destruction of later palace, 9, 19, 77, 84–85, 149, 160, 162
 Domestic Quarter, 99, 139
 East Hall, 50, 142; stucco reliefs, 52, 53, 85, 161, 162, Kn No. 8
 East-West Corridor, 99, Kn Nos. 40 and 41
 findspots of frescoes from Palace, 84–85, 162–63
 Grand Staircase, 53, 99
 Hall of the Colonnades, 99, 138, 162, Kn No. 33
 Hall of the Double Axes, 99, 138, Kn No. 40
 Hieroglyphic Deposit, 30, 36–37, 40
 Lapidary's Workshop, 94, 175, 214 n. 22
 Linear B tablets, 9, 77, 78, 84, 95, 96, 124, 140–41, 162, 164, 212 n. 1, 214 n. 23, 218 n. 18
 Loomweight Basement, 22, 33, 36, 68, 179(3)
 Middle Minoan IIIB palace, 8, 39
 Museum excavations, 162, Kn No. 44
 Mycenaean occupation, 78, 88, 98, 103, 139, 163, 164, 167, 212 n. 2
 New Palace, 8, 21, 37, 39, 162; restoration of, 65
 North Entrance, 63, 85–88, 99, 164, Kn No. 21
 Old Palace, 6, 21, 32, 160
 "penultimate" palace (LM II), 77, 162, 163
 "precipitated" paintings, 163
 Queen's Megaron, 48, 80, 92, 99, 102, 162, Kn Nos. 6, 24, and 39
 Room of the Spiral Cornice, 63, Kn Nos. 15, 16, and 38
 Royal Road excavations, 162, 179
 South House, 45, Kn No. 4

- South Propylaeum, 88, **Kn No. 22**
 Southeast House, 45, 67, **Kn No. 5**
 stratigraphy, 77, 84, 162–63
 Temple Repositories, 48, 59, 70, 209 n. 23
 Thirteenth Magazine, 64, 162, **Kn No. 18**
 Throne Room, 78, 84, 96–98, 100, 135, 136, 161, 162, 164, **Kn No. 28**
 West Court, 65
 West Porch, 84, 88, 98, **Kn No. 29**
 Kommos, 1, 78, 182
 krater, amphoroid, 19, 149, 157, 219 n. 1; open, 148, 149–50, 152, 167
 Kritsili-Providi, I., 119, **My Nos. 3–5, 14–15, and 20**
kyanos (blue glass), 144
 kylix, Mycenaean form, 95, 154; on larnax, 155
 kymbe, 18, 102
- “La Parisienne,” 95, **Kn No. 26**
 labyrinth, 1, 168; frescoes, **Kn No. 42, Phs No. 2**
 “Ladies in Blue,” Knossos, 54, 58–59, 162, **Kn No. 11**
 “Lady in Red,” Knossos, 54, 59, 162, **Kn No. 12**
 Lamb, W., **My Nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 18 and 19**
 landscape
 all-embracing in Minoan painting, 41
 at Ayia Irini, 82
 on miniature frieze from West House, 70–73
 Mycenaean, 122, 123, 125, 130
 Nilotic, 42, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 79
 setting on Minoan seals and sealings, 28–30, 68
 on Town Mosaic, 68
 Lang, M., 17, 105, 106, 118, 133, 134, 164
 lapis lazuli as pigment, 16
 larnakes, from Crete, 19, 158, 220 n. 16; from Tanagra, 19, 148, 154–58
 Late Helladic, 5, 8; **III C period**, 147–48, 153: *see also* pottery
 Late Minoan, 8–9: *see also* pottery
 Lefkandi, Euboea, 152, 153, 219 n. 5
 leopard, 71
 Lerna, House of the Tiles, 24; sealings, 24, 29
 Levi, D., 22, 205 n. 15, 208 nn. 16, 25
 Libya, 74; Libyans, 70; “African,” 188(9)
 lily
 on Kamares pot from Phaistos, 33
 Madonna, 45, 47, 188(15), **Am No. 1; Ph No. 4**
 pancratium, 45, 209 n. 25
 red (Chalcedonicum?), 47, 62, 63, 187(1), **Am No. 10; Tr Nos. 1 and 3**
 Woman holding lily, Mycenae, 120, **My No. 5**, 219 n. 5
 lime plaster, 14–15, 21
 Linear A inscriptions, 159, 221 n. 1
 Linear B tablets, 9, 77, 84, 95, 147, 148
 lion
 with griffin at Pylos, 97, 136–37, 167, **Py Nos. 18 and 19**
 heraldic device at Mycenae, 137
 on miniature frieze, Akrotiri, 71, 72
 on Minoan seals, 26, 137
 on Phaistos sealings, 30
 in Shaft Grave art, 129, 136–37, 218 n. 12
 lionskin, at Pylos, 118
 loincloth, Minoan, 52, 89, 91, 111: *see also* codpiece
 Long, C. R., 100
 lotus(?) 33, 190 (**Tr No. 2**)
 lustral basin, 48, 54, 59, 61, 73, 97, 210 n. 36
 lyre, 217 n. 30
 lyre-player, 89, 101, 114, 122, 133–34, 136, **Py No. 14**, 218 n. 32
- McCallum, L. R., 215 n. 1
 malachite as pigment, 16, 139
 Mallia, 2, 28, 35, 79, 161; frescoes, 182
 Mari, palace of Zimri-Lim, 35
 Marinatos, N., **Ak Nos. 1 and 6, My No. 6**, 210 nn. 20, 31, 36
 Marinatos, Sp., 13, 54, 59, 70, 73, 74
 marine floors, 102; frescoes, 17, 47–48; Marine style: *see* pottery
 Matz, F., 26, 208 n. 24
 Mediterranean, 159
 “Meeting on the Hill,” 71, 72: *see also* miniature frescoes
 megaron, Mycenaean, 10, 96, 97, 113, 146, 147; frieze, Mycenae, 123–25, 148, 150, 152, 168, **My No. 11**
 Melos, 4, 24: *see also* Phylakopi
 Merneptah, 10, 148
 Mesara tombs, 24, 26–28
 Mesopotamia, 15, 22, 46, 70, 159–60
 Middle Helladic, 24–26: *see* pottery
 Middle Minoan: *see* chronology; Old Palace; pottery, Kamares
 Miletos, 4
 miniature frescoes, 28, 40, 63–75, 82, 165–66: *see also* Akrotiri, West House; Ayia Irini; Knossos, Room of the Spiral Cornice, Thirteenth Magazine; Tyliisos
 Minoan
 art, 26–37, 160–61
 colonization, 1, 18, 75, 161
 genius (daimon), 30, 111, 121, 160, **My No. 8, Py No. 2**
 goddess, 28, 46, 50, 59, 62, 161; epiphany of, 33, 34, 62, 65, 96; on Kamares pottery, 33, 34
 people, 159–60, 168
 painting compared with Mycenaean, 165–68
 Minoan-Mycenaean relations, 96–98, 161–62, 163–64
 Minotaur, 1, 84, 168
 minstrel, 134
 Mirié, S., 214 n. 34
 mobility in Minoan art, 30, 47
 monkey, blue
 absence in Mycenaean painting, 108, 162, 165
 at Akrotiri, 13, 42, 61, 99, 135, 167, **Ak Nos. 1 and 6**, 188(9), 188(13)
 from Egypt, 208 n. 3
 at Knossos, 13, 21, 41–46, **Kn Nos. 1 and 2**
 Morgan, L., **Ak Nos. 8 and 12**, 206 n. 18, 209 n. 15, 212 n. 6
 mountaintop sanctuary: *see* sanctuaries

- mourners, on Tanagra larnakes, 155–56, 157–58
 mural painting: *see* wall painting
 Mycenae, 1, 147–48, 166
 Citadel House, 117
 Court, 144, My No. 19
 Cult Center, 111, 115, 117, 118–21, 140, 166, 167, 216 n. 13
 Lion Gate, 30, 133, 137, 150
 Megaron, 122–25, 146, 148, 165; paintings, 122–25, My No. 11, 217 nn. 2, 5–6
 Painted Stele, 18, 106, 148, 149, 151, 153, My No. 21
 Perseia, 152
 Pithos Area, 106, 165
 private houses, 165, 215 n. 6; House of the Oil Merchant, 5, 106, 125, 165, My Nos. 12 and 13; House of the Warrior Vase, 150
 Ramp House deposit, 106, 110–11, 113, 114, 117, 122, 145, 164, 166, My No. 1, 215 n. 16
 Room of the Frescoes, 109, 115, 119, 120–21, 165, My No. 6
 Shaft Graves, 4, 8, 17, 26, 58, 61, 63, 66, 71, 113, 122, 123, 124, 125, 136, 137, 138
 Southwest Building, 119–20, My Nos. 3, 4, 14, 15 and 20
 temple, 119, 166
 Tsountas' House, 118, 140, My Nos. 7 and 8
 Warrior Vase, 19, 106, 148, 149–51, 152, 153, 156, 167
 Mycenaean
 chamber tombs, 5, 148, 154, 195, 201
 citadels, 147–48; representation of, 123, 125
 element among Kefiu, 89
 Empire, 147, 148
 fortifications, 147
 occupation of Knossos, 98–99, 163–64, 167
 painting, character of, 165–68
 palaces, 4, 10, 147
 people, 159, 167–68
 presence in Cyclades, 75, 82, 83, 108, 163
 raids on Crete, 9, 77–78, 163
 trade, 5, 9, 147, 149
 "Mykeniaia," 119–20, 165, 166, My No. 3
 Mylonas, G., 119, 121, 140
 myrtle, 42, 49, 79, 82, 188(6), A.I. No. 3
 Myrtos (Crete), 11, 24
 mythology, Classical: *see* Greek myth

 narrative, 63, 70, 73–75, 122–34, 151, 153, 166, 167; Greek, 130, 211 n. 30
 naturalism, 26–30, 33, 34, 40–42, 48, 50, 62, 135, 165
 nature frescoes, 39, 40–50, 161, 165; Minoan appreciation of, 160; representation of, 22–34
 nautilus: *see* argonaut
 nautilus frieze, 142, 166, 167, Kn No. 32, 188(17), Py No. 22
 Near East, Minoan contacts, 15, 26, 28, 34–35, 159–60; relation of mural decoration, 15, 35, 206 n. 2
 Neopalatial, 6
 Nilotic scene: *see* landscape

 Nirou Chani, N.C. No. 1
 nudity in Theran paintings, 51

 octopus, 102, 113, 146
 offering-bearers, 53, 88–90, 117: *see also* processional frescoes
 offering tables, 17, 19, 80; dado with, Am No. 3
 Old Palaces, 6, 29, 32, 33, 34, 39; period of, 6, 11, 21–37, 38, 68, 137, 142, 159–60
 olive trees, 46, 66, 82, 85, 99, 130, 179(10), 204(3), 213 n. 8
 oral tradition, 134, 151
 Orchomenos (Bocotia), 4, 24, 113
 frescoes, 125–27, 132, 157, 165, Or Nos. 1–6
 Treasury of Minyas, 125, 142
 Orpheus, 133
 oxen, 70
 oxhide, 99, 138–40, 145

 Page, D. L., 8
 palace(s), development of, 159
 of Minos: *see* Knossos
 of Nestor: *see* Pylos
 Palaeolithic paintings, 22
 Palaikastro, 9, 32, 33, 62, 78, Pa No. 1
 "Palanquin"-charioteer fresco, 84, 92–95, 122, 149, 162, 163, 164, Kn No. 25
 palette, artist's, 16; from EC tombs, 16
 palm trees, 22, 33, 73, 97, 102, 121, 130, Ty No. 2, 188(9), 208 n. 27
 Palmer, L. R., 9, 84, 95, 103, 136, 162, 163, 212 n. 3
 panel painting, 13, 48, 206 n. 4
 papyrus, 28, 45, 49, 54, 73, 96, 140, 142, Kn No. 39, Ak No. 5, Py No. 17, Ti No. 13, 209 n. 25
 Paribeni, R., 100
 partridge, 78–79
 pastoral scene, West House, Akrotiri, 71
 Perati, chamber tombs, 219 n. 4
 Pernier, L., 22
 perspective, absence of linear, 41, 71; intuitive realization of, 73; on Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, 101–2
 Peterson, S., 213 n. 11, 216 n. 6
 Phaistos, 2, 161
 frescoes, 22; catalogue of, 183
 Kamares ware, 32–34, 70, 79
 New Palace, 3, 183; destruction of, 9, 78
 Old Palace, 21, 22, 205 nn. 15–16; sanctuary, 33; sealings from, 29–30
 stuccoed niches, Phs No. 5
 Phylakopi (Melos), 4, 13, 18, 206 n. 4
 Fishermen vase, 18, 51
 Flying Fish fresco, 13, 33, 47–48, 80, 102, Ph No. 1
 frescoes of women, 54, 62, Ph Nos. 2 and 3
 new excavations, 159
 pictorial art, 22; Minoan, 26–37; pictorial style: *see* pottery
 pictorialization, 33, 208 n. 26
 pigments used in painting, 15–16

- Pini, I., 208 n. 13
 plaster, 11, 16, 19; gypsum, 14–15; lime, 13–15, 21; reuse of older, at Akrotiri, 13
 Platanos, Tholos B, 28, 71
 Platon, N., 6, Za Nos. 1 and 2
 polychromy on pottery, 18–19, 148, 151–52; on Tanagra larnakes, 19, 157
 polythyron in Xeste 3, 62, Ak No. 7
 portraiture, 37; absence of in Aegean painting, 53
 Postpalatial, Minoan, 6, 77, 98–99, 158; Mycenaean, 148
 pottery
 Close style, 151, 219 nn. 5, 11
 Cretan Light-on-Dark ware, 32
 Cycladic matt-painted pictorial, 18, 19
 Early Helladic, 24, 207 n. 9
 Kamarea ware, 6, 16, 22, 26, 32–34, 40
 LH IIIA, 9, 97, 124, 149, 163–64
 LH III B, 10, 105, 131–32, 149
 LH III C, 10, 105, 120, 148, 149–54
 Marine style (LM IB), 8, 48, 78, 99, 102
 Middle Helladic matt-painted, 24, 207 n. 12
 Minyan, 24
 Mycenaean, 141: *see also* LH III; pictorial style, 18–19, 95, 102, 122, 131–32, 148, 149–54, 156–57, 163–64, 207 n. 24, 214 n. 29
 Palace style, 78, 98
 Prasa (Crete), 67, Pr No. 1
 Prepalatial, 6, 26–28
 priest on Tanagra Larnakes, 155, 156–57
 “Priest-King” relief, 52–53, 160, 162, Kn No. 7, 210 n. 16
 priestess, 95, 96, 101, 114, 118, 121, 136, 166; from West House, 13, 54, 63, 74, 135, Ak No. 8
 processional frescoes, 18, 53, 62, 90, 102, 103, 109, 111, 114–18, 155, 163, 166
 at Akrotiri, 188(10)
 at Ayia Triadha, 100–102, 158, 166, A.T. No. 3
 at Knossos, 88–90, 100, 114, 117, 158, Kn No. 22, 179(4)
 at Mycenae, 111, 117, 119–20, 166, My Nos. 2–5
 at Pylos, 114, 117–18, 165, Py Nos. 6–8
 at Thebes on stomion of tomb, Th No. 7: *see also* Women’s frieze
 at Tiryns: *see* Women’s frieze
prothesis, 155, 157, 220 nn. 3, 13, 17
 Protogeometric period, 154
 Protopalatial, 6
 Pseira (Crete), 3, 54, 62, 78, 161, 162
 pseudo-architecture: *see* architectural simulation
psyche (soul), 155, 158, 220 n. 15: *see also* *eidola*
 Pylos (Messenia), 4, 14, 17, 73, 105, 110, 111–13, 134–35, 144–46, 165
 catalogue of frescoes, 196–200
 connections with Knossos, 98, 136, 218 n. 7
 floor, 102, 146
 fresco dump(s), 106, 111, 141, 165
 Hall 46, 132, 136–37, 167, Py Nos. 11 and 29
 Hall 64, 128, 132, 134, 137, 167, Py Nos. 10, 20 and 27
 Inner Propylon, 133, 142, Py No. 12
 predecessor of Palace of Nestor, 136
 Throne Room (megaron), 96–98, 122, 133–34, 136–37, Py Nos. 14, 16, and 18, 215 n. 1
 pyxis, from Tiryns Women’s frieze, 114, 115; from Lefkandi, 152
 Rameses II, 10; III, 10, 148
 Ramp House: *see* Mycenae
 register system, 72, 89–90, 95, 101, 102, 133, 151, 214 n. 25
 Rekhmire, tomb of, 89, 91
 relief decoration on pottery, 34, 35, 70
 religion, Minoan, 33–34, 46–50, 59–62, 100–102, 115, 160, 161; Mycenaean, 115, 118–21, 166; religious scenes on seals, 58; significance of wall paintings, 40, 46–48, 59, 161
 Renaissance painting, 14, 15, 17, 22
 reoccupation at Ayia Triadha, 100; at Knossos, 85, 98–99
 Reusch, H., 97, 115, 117, Kn No. 28, Th No. 1
 Rhodes, 4, 47, 209 n. 21
 rhyton, animal drinking from, Tiryns, 204(7); on Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, 101; carried by Cup-bearer, 88
 riebeckite (glaukophane), 16
 ritual, connected with puberty, 61–62, 210 n. 36; jug, 24, 101, 209 n. 19; sports, 53, 90
 Robertson, M., 101
 rock dove: *see* bluebird
 rock pattern, 89, 91: rockwork bands, 34, 124
 Rodenwaldt, G., 113, 121, 123, 124, 128, 129–32, 134, 138, 151
 roses (cistus?), 62, 115, 118
 rosette(s), 99, 100, 102, 138, 144, 153, 188(16), Ph No. 6, My No. 18, Py No. 24, Ti Nos. 14 and 15
 sacral knot, 95, 111, N.C. No. 1, Py No. 2
 “Sacred Grove” fresco, 33, 63, 65–66, 67, 71, 163, Kn No. 16
 sacrifice, blood, 101, 218 n. 3
 saffron, 34, 61, 210 n. 33
 saffron-gatherer at Knossos, 21, 41–42, 162, Kn No. 1; from Xeste 3, 34, 50, 54, 61, 166
 Sakellarakis, I., 208 n. 30, 209 n. 10, 212 n. 41
 sanctuaries
 mountaintop (peak), 46, 49, 59, 61, 71, 160, A.T. No. 1, Ak No. 3
 Old Palace, Phaistos, 33
 outdoor, 101
 Santorini: international congresses, 9; volcanic eruption, 4, 8–9, 14, 46, 70, 161, 206 n. 21: *see also* Akrotiri, Thera
 sarcophagus: *see* Ayia Triadha
 scepter, 121
 Schliemann, H., 1, 110, 113, 137, 148, 150, My No. 1, Ti Nos. 1 and 9
 seafaring, 2, 70, 74–75, 83, 135
 Sea Peoples, 10, 148, 150, 168, 206 n. 24
 sealings, from Lerna, 24; from Phaistos, 29–30

- seals
 Early Minoan, 26–28, 160, 208 n. 13
 Early Mycenaean, 128
 Old Babylonian cylinder seal, 28
 worn by Cupbearer, 88
- Senmut, 89
- Senusert II, 6, 35
- Shaft Grave art, 163; era, 150, 158: *see also* Mycenaean
- Shaw, J. W., 206 n. 1
- Shaw, M. C., 141, Ka No. 1, Ty No. 1, Ak No. 9, My No. 16, Py No. 3, 210 n. 38, 211 n. 39
- shell reliefs on pottery, 22, 35, 48, 207 n. 3, 209 n. 23
- Shield fresco(es)
 Knossos, 99, 138–39, 140, 142, 162, 164, 167, Kn No. 33
 Mycenaean, 99, 121, 140, My Nos. 14 and 15
 Thebes, 139, Th No. 5
 Tiryns, 16, 99, 139, 165, Ti No. 10
- shield
 body, 123, 125, 138, 150
 figure-eight, 99, 109, 121, 125, 138–40, 145, 163
 hand-grip, 150, 153
- ship, on Cycladic “frying pans,” 24; on EM seal, 28; on MH pottery, 24, 207 n. 12; on miniature frieze, Ayia Irini, 83; at Pylos, 112, 216 n. 23; on Ship fresco, Akrotiri, 70, 72, 74–75, 112, 136, 140, 167, 211 n. 32; on Tanagra larnax, 158; on Town Mosaic, 70
- Ship fresco, Akrotiri, 13, 28, 70–75, 82, 122, 135, Ak No. 12
- shipwreck, 70, 72, 74
- shoes, 91, 129, 150
- shorthand convention, in miniature painting, 14, 64, 65–66
- shrine (buildings)
 at Akrotiri, 47
 at Ayia Triadha, 102, 146
 at Mycenaean, 119
 at Pseira, 184
 representations of: at Akrotiri, 60; at Ayia Triadha, A.T. Nos. 2 and 5; at Pylos, 113, 118, 133, 217 n. 29; tripartite, 65, 144, 167, Kn No. 15
- Siege Rhyton, Mycenaean, 66, 68, 70, 74, 123, 125, 212 nn. 42, 47
- signet rings, 122
- silver krater, Mycenaean, 124–25
- Smith, W. S., 35, A.T. No. 1, My No. 11, Or No. 1, 208 n. 31
- Snijder, G. A. S., 14, 160, 207 n. 3, 209 n. 5
- soche, alabaster at Tiryns, 144; stone, 11, 145: *see also* dado
- soldiers: *see* warriors, foot-soldiers
- soul: *see psyche* and *eidola*
- spear, 123, 129, 150, 153
- sphinx
 crown worn by, 52, 101, 121, 155, 157
 at Knossos(?), 138
 on Mallia relief, 35, 37
 on Pylos shrine, 133
 on Tanagra larnakes, 157, 220 n. 8
 as textile pattern, 54, 59, Kn No. 14
 at Tiryns, 137–38, Ti No. 9
- spiral friezes
 all-over connected, 63, 142, Kn No. 38
 band, 22, 99, 100, 138–39, 142, 146, 160, 166, Py No. 23
 interlaced double, 142, Kn Nos. 36 and 37
 S- with papyrus, 142–43, My No. 17, Or No. 5, Th No. 6, Ti Nos. 11 and 12
- sponge prints on fresco, 22, 48, 179(2)
- Spring fresco, Akrotiri, 13, 46–48, 60, 78, 135, 165, Ak No. 2
- Spyropoulos, T., 155, Or No. 3, 196, 220 n. 1
- stag, 123, 130–32
- statuette, Mycenaean, 115, 119, 155, 166, My No. 4, Ti No. 4, 216 n. 15
- steatite seals, 28
- stelae, from Shaft Graves, Mycenaean, 110, 122, 151
- stela, painted from Mycenaean, 18, 106, 149, 151, My No. 21
- Stone Age, 22, 160
- stone, masonry, simulation of, 145; vase, 41; 97, imitations of, 63, 88, 115, 145, Kn No. 22, Ak No. 10, Th No. 1
- string guidelines, 14, 59, 68
- stucco, plaque, Mycenaean, 121, 140, My No. 7; reliefs, 40, 50, 52, 62, 85–88, 90, 98, 99, 111, 142, 161, 179(7, 8), 221 n. 6: *see also* Knossos, East Hall
- swallow, absence in Mycenaean painting, 108; at Akrotiri, 46–47, Ak No. 2, 187(2, 3), 188(14); on Cycladic pottery, 18, 47; at Phylakopi, Ph No. 5
- swimmer, 70, 72, 127, Or No. 2, 217 n. 13
- Swindler, M. H., 14, 46
- Syria, Minoan contact, 26, 29–30, 137; Hittite dispersal to, 148
- sword, 120, 128, 152, 156
- table of offerings, 17, 18, 19, 48, 80
- Tanagra, Mycenaean cemetery, 19, 154–58: *see also* larnakes
- Taureador scene(s)
 from Knossos, 64, 84, 90–92, 103, 109, 110, 111, 117, 162, 164, 166, Kn Nos. 8b–c, 18, 21, 23, 29, and 31
 from Mycenaean, 110, 122, 163, 165, My No. 1
 from Pylos, 110–11, 122, 163, 165, Py No. 1
 on Tanagra larnax, 157
 from Tiryns, 110, 113, Ti No. 1
- Taurt (hippopotamus goddess), 30, 160
- Taylor, W., 119, My No. 6
- techniques, of vase painting, 18–19; of wall painting, 6, 11–17: *see also* fresco
- Tell el-Amarna, 163, 206 n. 23
- temple, 119, 166: *see also* shrine
- Temple Repositories: *see* Knossos
- terracotta finials on Tanagra larnakes, 158: *see also* figurine, idol, larnakes, statuette
- textile patterns, 54, 59, 67, 111, 141, 145, 146, 162, Kn No. 10, Kn No. 14, 209 n. 24, 210 n. 30
- thalassocracy, 2, 4, 159

- Thebes (Bocotia), 4, 106, 113, 115–17, 128, 138, 139–40, 142, 145, 155, 205, n. 9, 215 n. 4, Th Nos. 1–8; Museum, 115, 154, 155, 220 nn. 1–15
- Thebes (Egypt), 8, 89
- themes
- hunting lion, 17, 129
 - sack of a walled city, 70, 123, 125–27
 - shipwreck, 17, 70, 72, 74
 - warfare, 122, 123, 149–51, 166
 - see also* battle, chariots, hunting, mourners, processional
- Thera, 4; new museum, 59, Ak No. 6: *see also* Akrotiri, Santorini
- throne, at Knossos, 96–98, 136, 167; at Pylos, 96, 98, 137, 163
- Tiryns, 4, 99, 106, 109, 128, 132, 134, 137–38
- decorative friezes, 134, 139, 142–43, Ti Nos. 10–15
 - floor, 102, 113, 146
 - fresco dump (*epichosis*), 106, 129, 137, 165, Ti Nos. 4, 6, 7, and 9, 215 nn. 7, 10
 - Lower Citadel (“Unterbürg”), 106, 152, 153, 219 n. 5
 - Older Palace, 113, 128, 129, 142, 145, 165, Ti Nos. 10, 11, 13, and 14
 - pictorial vases, 131–32, 149, 152–54
 - “syringes” (water channels), 152
 - see also* Boar Hunt, Deer frieze, Women’s frieze
- tomb(s), 16, 26, 148; representation of, 100 (A.T. No. 2): *see also* chamber tombs, Mesara tholoi, Tanagra cemetery
- torsional composition, 32
- Town Mosaic, Knossos, 36, 68–70, 73, 96
- town(s), on miniature frieze from West House, Akrotiri, 70–73; at Ayia Irini, 82–83
- Trianda (Rhodes), 4, 47, Tr Nos. 1–3
- triglyph and half-rosette frieze, 73, 144, 167, My No. 19, Py No. 25
- tripods, 83, 133
- Trojan War, 147, 151, 153; date of, 219 n. 8
- Tsountas, C., 118, 121, 123, My Nos. 7, 10, 11, 16, and 21
- Tylissos (Crete), 3, 78, 161; frescoes, 66–67, 71, 82, Ty Nos. 1 and 2
- Ugarit (Syria), 2, 34
- “Urfirnis,” 24
- Vaphio cups, 85, 88
- variegated stone pattern, 100: *see also* dado
- vase-painter, 19, 33–34, 148, 149–51: *see also* pottery, pictorial
- Vasiliki (Crete), 11, 24
- Vathypetra (Crete), 3, 184
- Vercoutter, J., 213 nn. 14, 16
- Vermeule, E. T., 149, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158
- volcanic eruption of Santorini: *see* Santorini
- Volos: *see* Iolkos
- votaries, 33, 59, 60–62, 115, 166
- Wace, A. J. B., 110
- Walberg, G., 208 nn. 26, 27, 208 n. 1
- wall
- construction of, 11–13, 78–79, 134–35, 145
 - painting: chronology, 5–10, 105–9, 160–65; development of Minoan, 39–75, 160–61; of Mycenaean, 105, 109, 113, 161–65; techniques of, 11–17
- walled city: *see* themes
- “wallpaper frieze,” 105, 113, 133, 135, 142, 167, Py Nos. 12 and 13
- wanax (king), 136, 167
- warfare: *see* themes
- Warren, P., Kn No. 44, 211 n. 37
- warrior, 66, 72, 74, 113, 122–28, 149–53
- tombs, at Knossos, 78
- Warrior Vase, Mycenae, 19, 106, 148, 149–51, 152, 168
- water, rendering of, 68, 211 n. 23; waterfalls, 46
- West House: *see* Akrotiri
- women (miniature)
- in architecture, 66, 71, 83, Kn Nos. 15 and 17, Ak No. 12, A.I. No. 4
 - before palace, 125, My No. 11
 - seated, 63, 64–66, 133, Kn No. 15, Py No. 12
 - in windows, 66, 83, 110, 111, 122, 157, Kn No. 17, My No. 1
- Women’s frieze
- from Kadmeia, 106, 111, 115–17, 155, 164, 165, Th No. 1
 - from Tiryns, 114, 115–17, 129, 148, 165, Ti No. 4
- Woolley, L. 35
- wood
- framing of doors and windows, 11
 - tie-beam reinforcement, 11; representation of, 66, 73, 125
- wooden beam, simulation in painting, 114, 144–45, 166
- Xeste 3: *see* Akrotiri
- Zakros, 2, 9, 78, 161; frescoes, 184–85, Za Nos. 1 and 2; sanctuary rhyton, 49, 60



PLATES



Plate 1. Mortar, pestle, and lump of red ochre from Early Cycladic grave, Paros

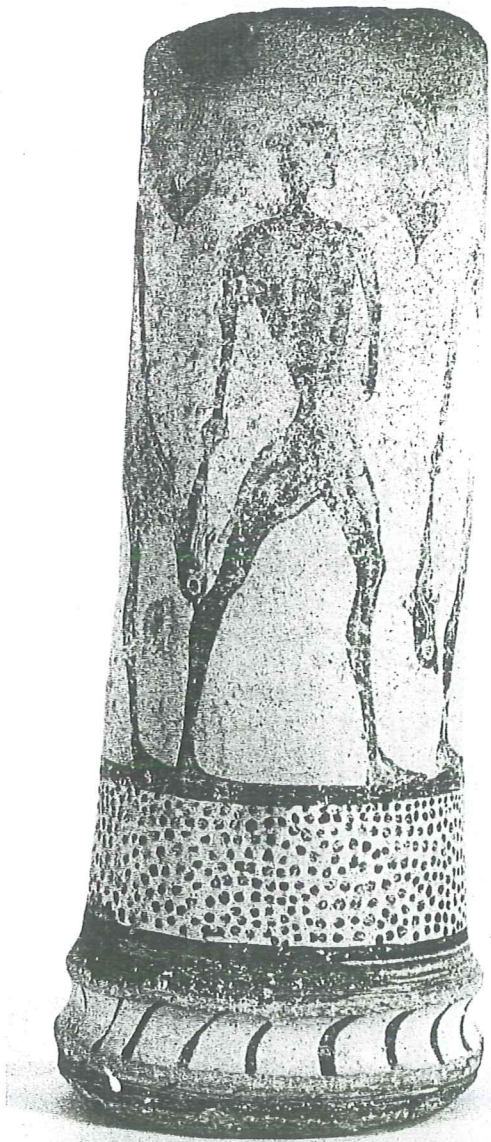
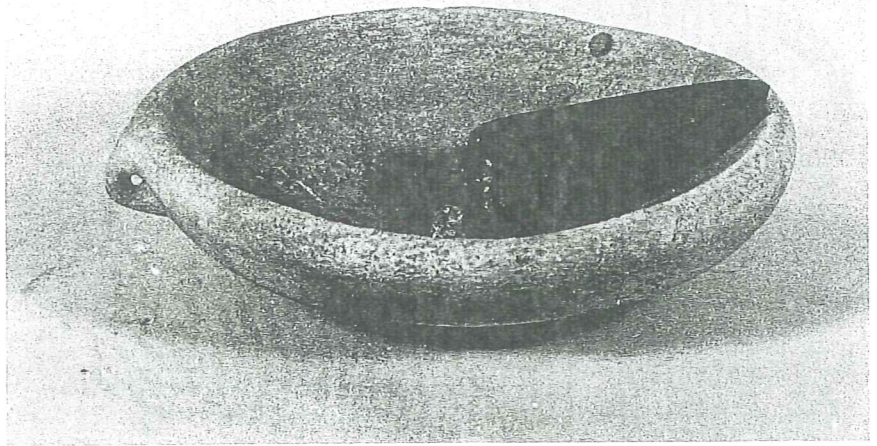


Plate 2. Fishermen Vase from Phylakopi



Plate 3. Early Cycladic "frying pan" with representation of ship, Syros

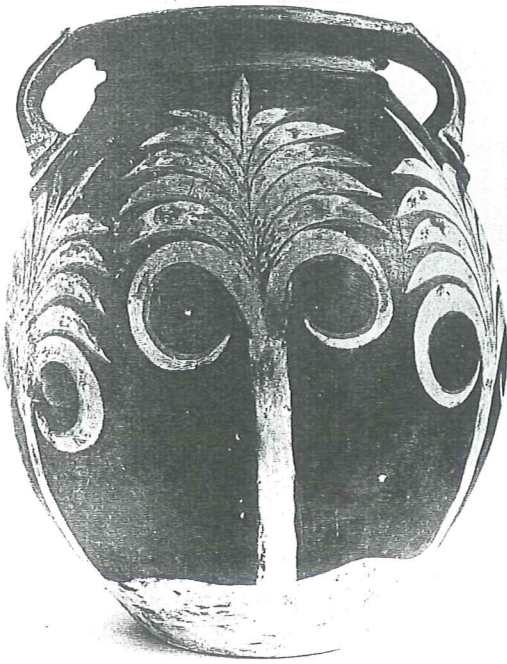


Plate 4. Amphora with palms from Loomweight Basement, Knossos. MM II/IIIA

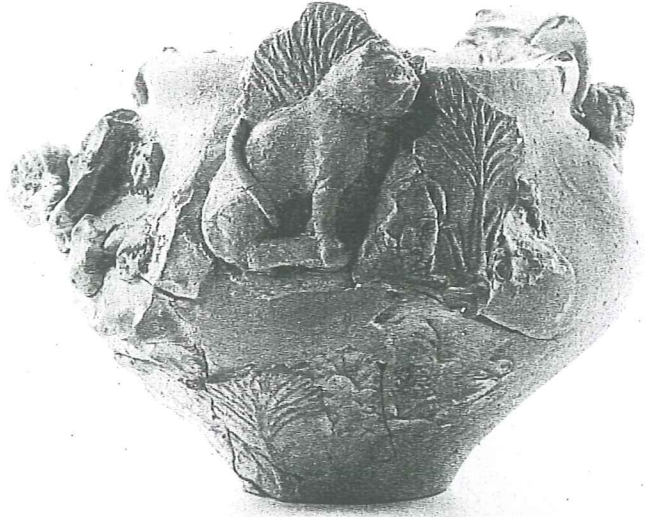


Plate 5. MM II cup with appliqué reliefs of cat, tree, and shells from Quartier Mu, Mallia

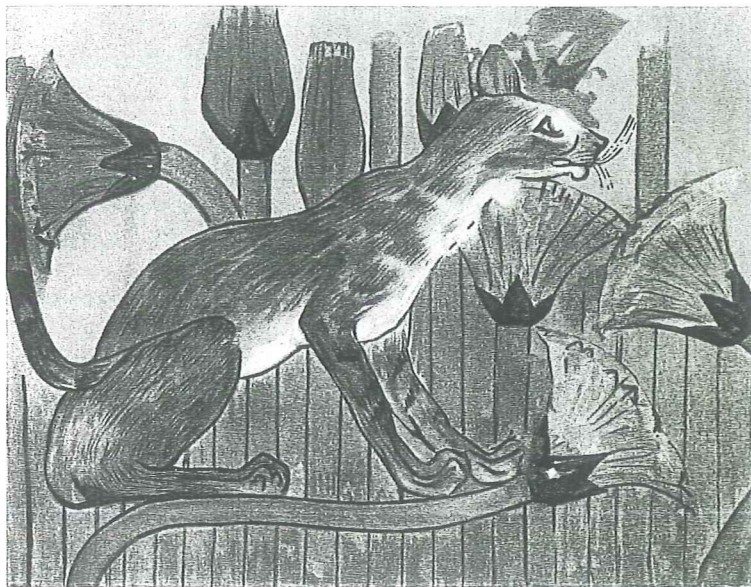


Plate 6. Egyptian painting of cat in papyrus thicket from Middle Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan



Plate 7. Egyptian painting of birds in acacia tree from Middle Kingdom tomb at Beni Hasan

Plate 8. Pithos with relief of bull from Arkhanes,
Anemospilio sanctuary



Plate 9. Drawing of Pithos from Arkhanes





Plate 10. Fragments of Saffron-Gatherer fresco as found by Evans in 1900



Plate 11. Reconstruction of the Saffron-Gatherer as a blue monkey in painting by P. de Jong

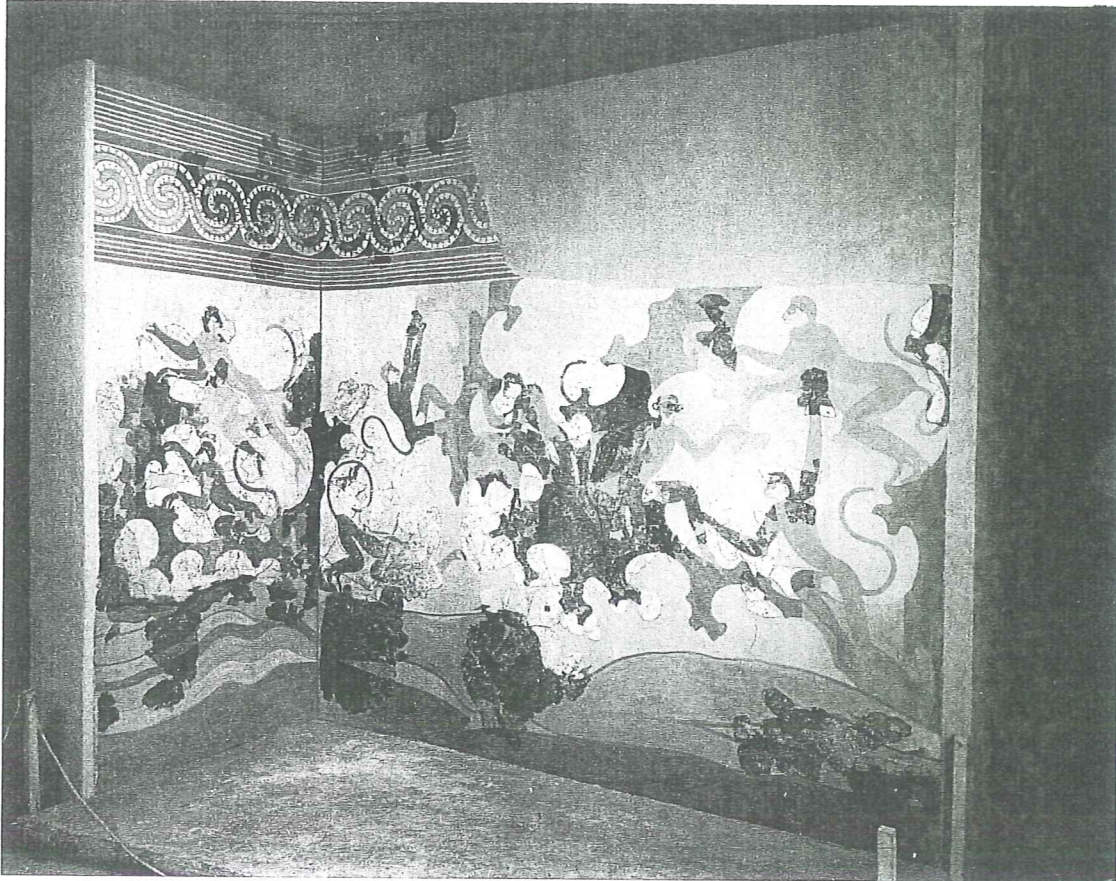


Plate 12. Monkey fresco from Room B 6, Akrotiri, as restored in National Museum, Athens



Plate 13. Detail of Monkey fresco from Room B 6, Akrotiri



Plate 14. Detail of rocks and lilies from Spring fresco, Akrotiri

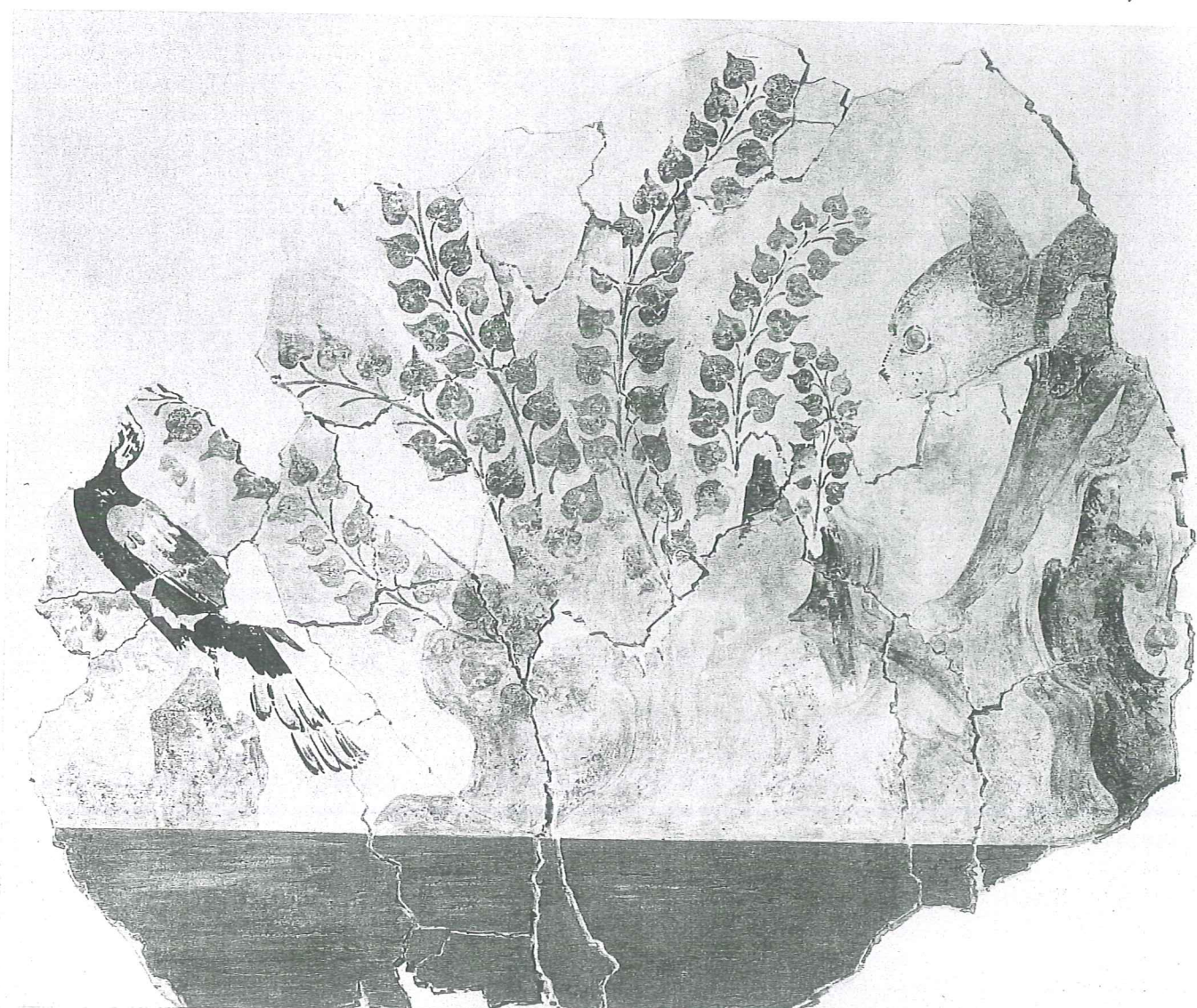
Plate 15. Detail of swallows from Spring fresco, Akrotiri





Plate 16. Flying Fish fresco from Phylakopi

Plate 17. Cat in the Ivy, from Room 14, Villa at Ayia Triadha



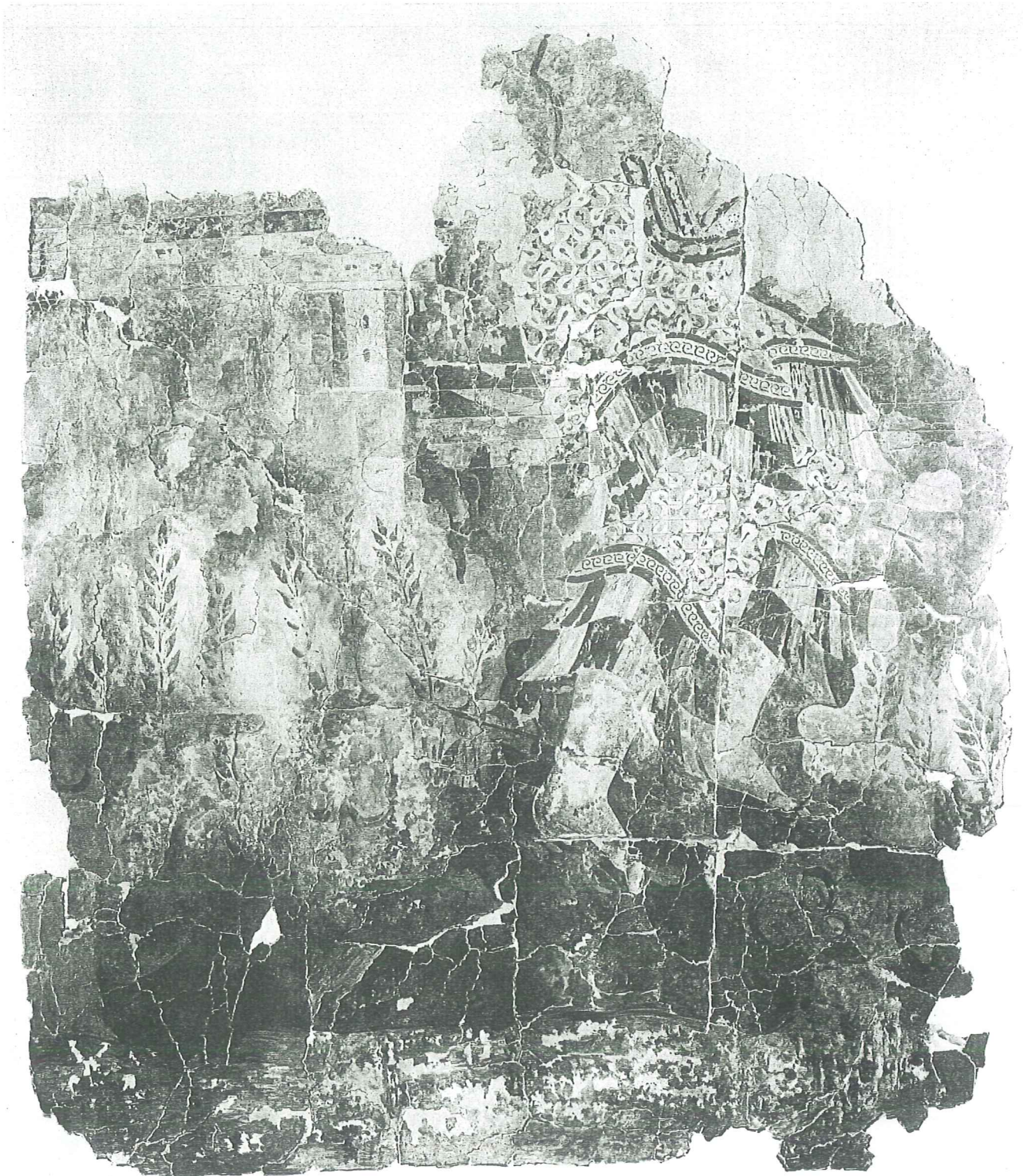


Plate 18. Goddess at Altar, from Room 14, Villa at Ayia Triadha

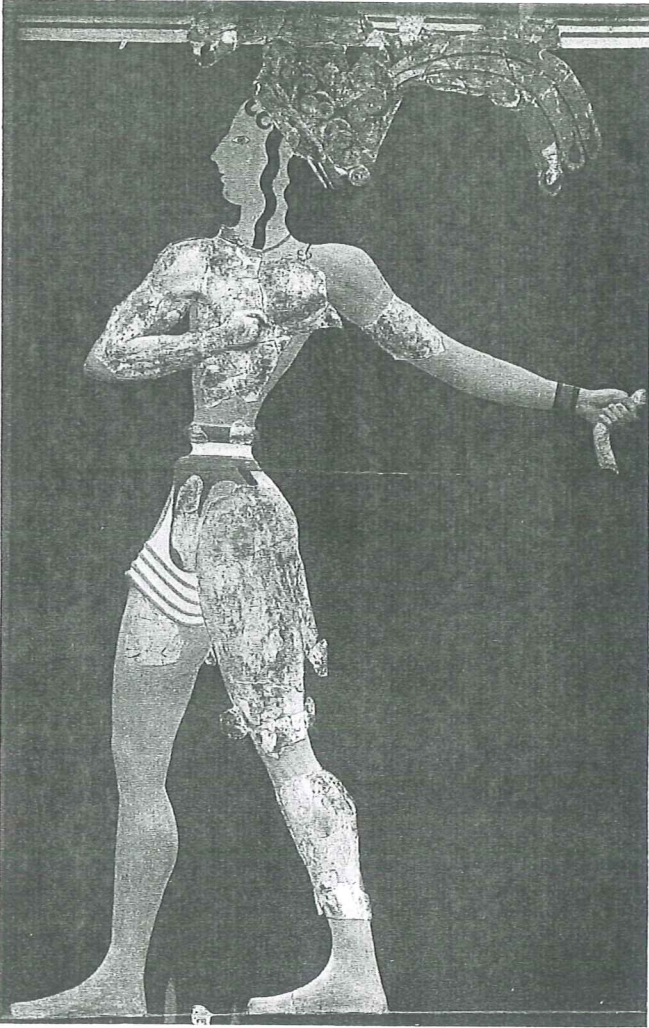


Plate 19. "Priest-King" relief as restored from fragments



Plate 20. Boxer, from Boxer Vase, Ayia Triadha



Plate 21. Priestess with Incense Burner, Room 4, West House, Akrotiri

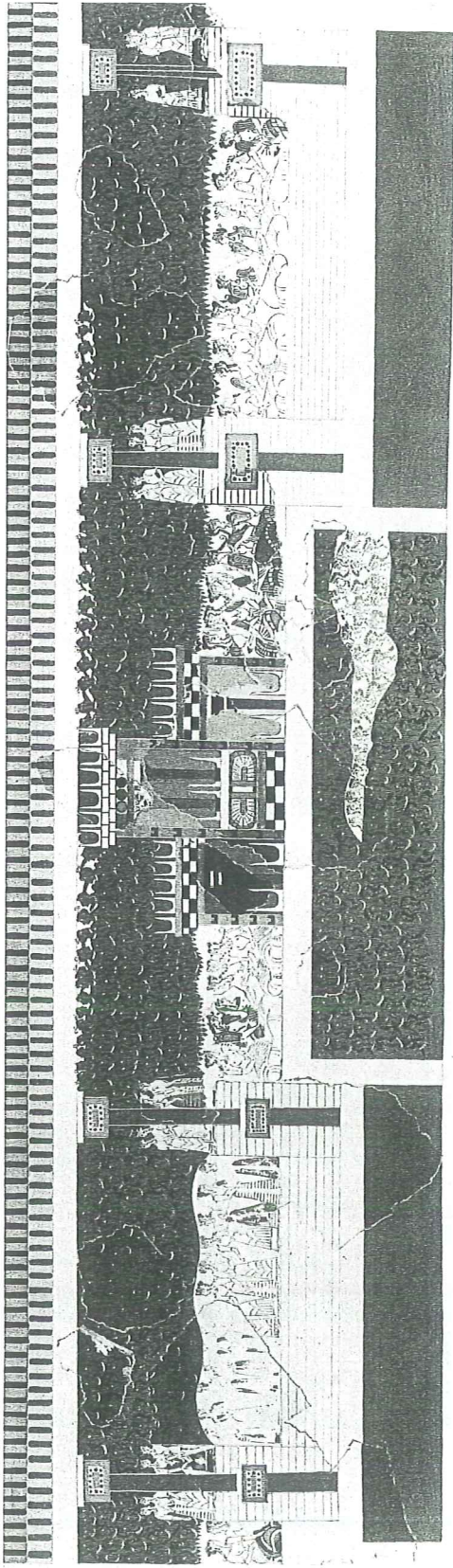


Plate 22. Grandstand fresco, Knossos

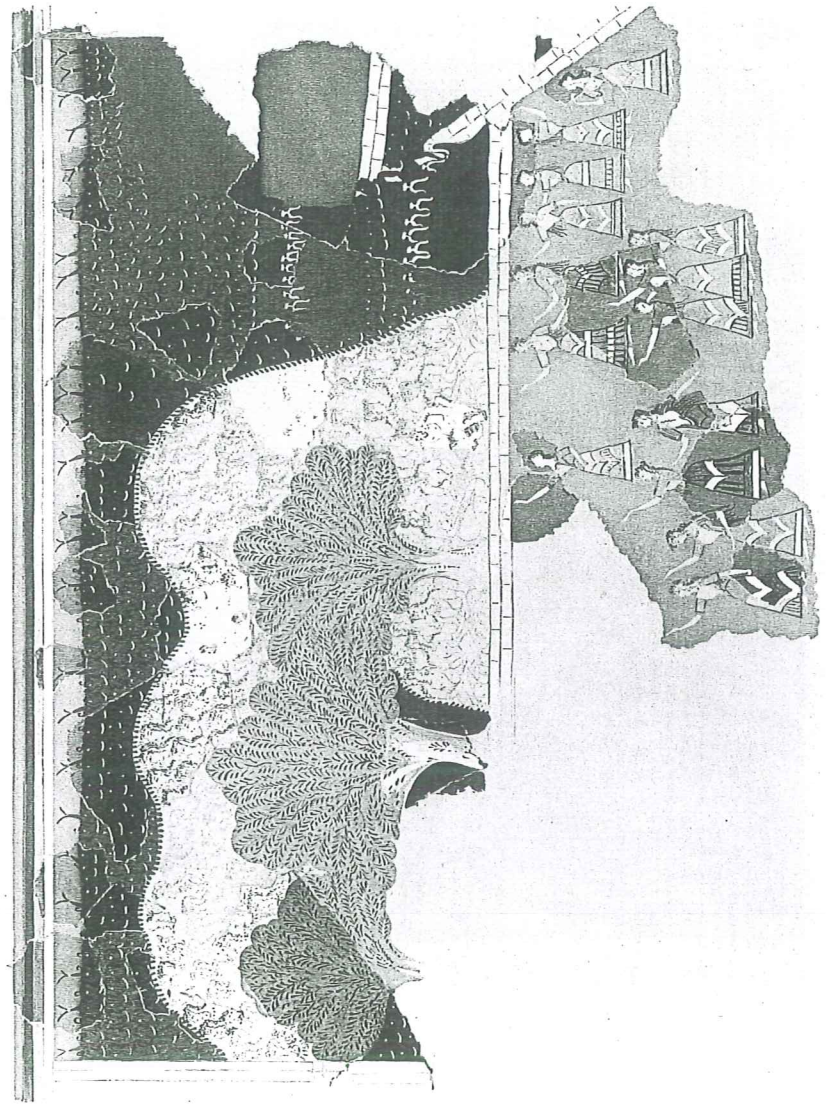


Plate 23. Sacred Grove and Dance fresco, Knossos

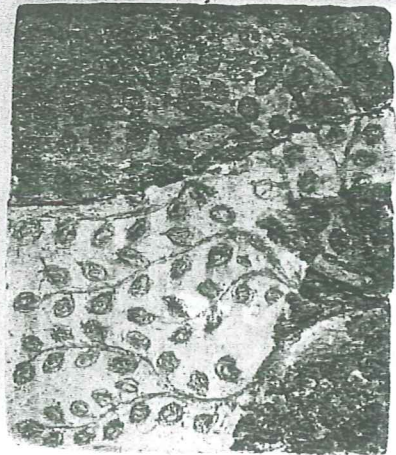
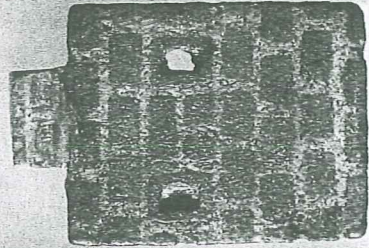
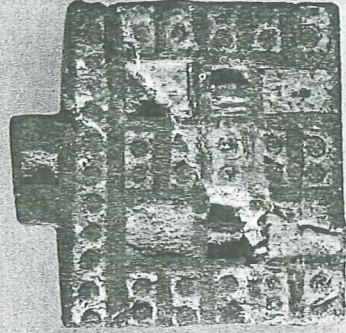
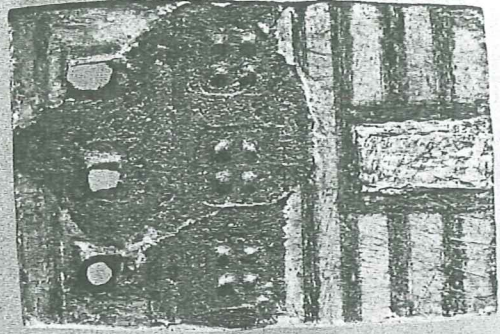
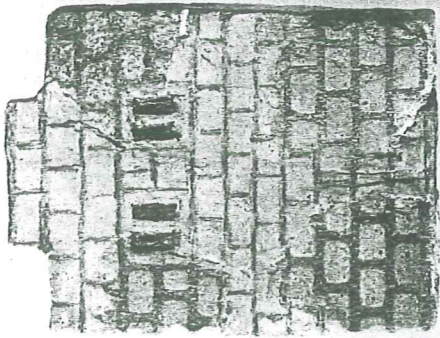
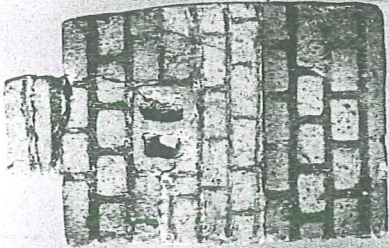
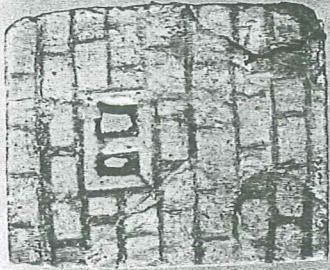


Plate 24. Faience house plaques from Town Mosaic, Knossos

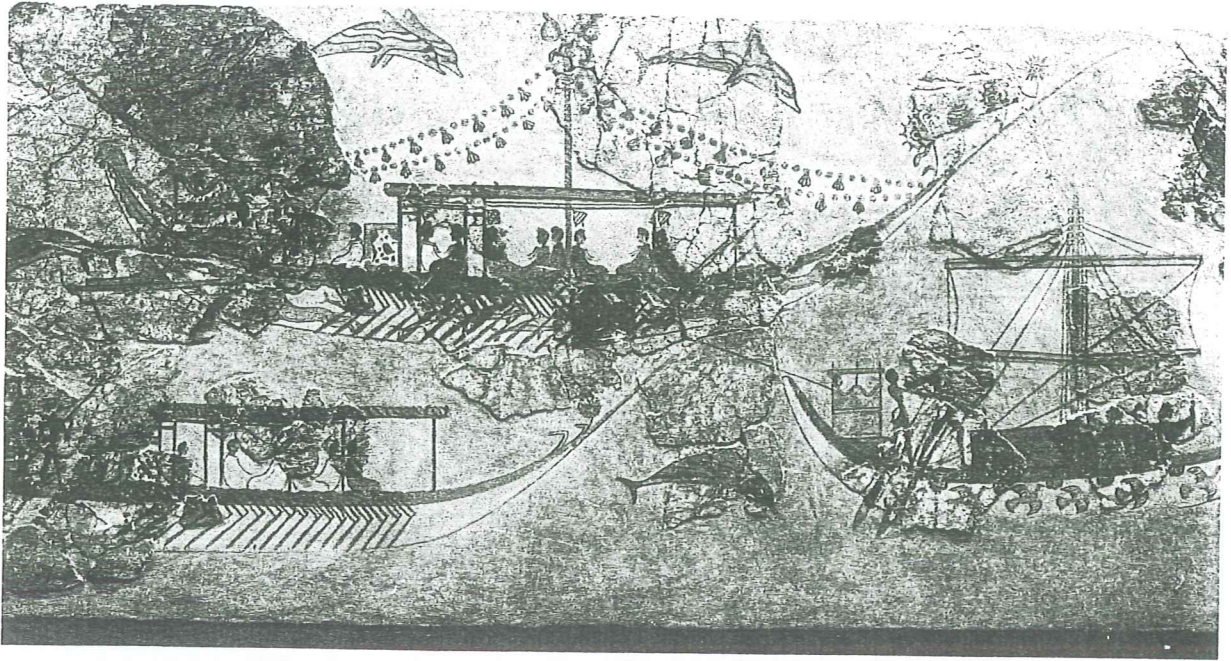


Plate 25. Detail of south wall showing Admiral's Ship from Room 5 of West House, Akrotiri

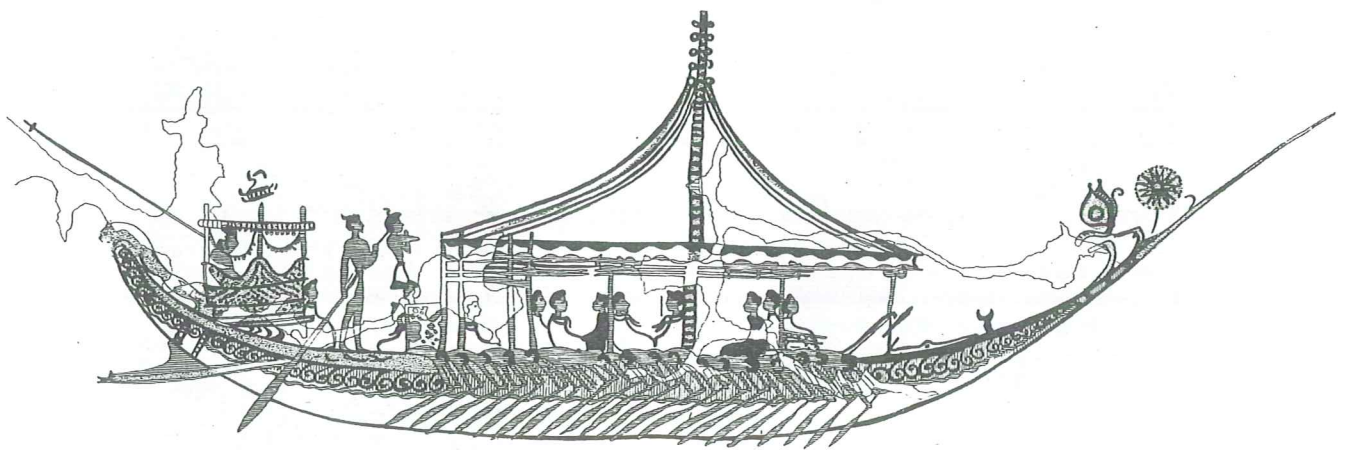


Plate 26. Drawing of best-preserved ship from south wall

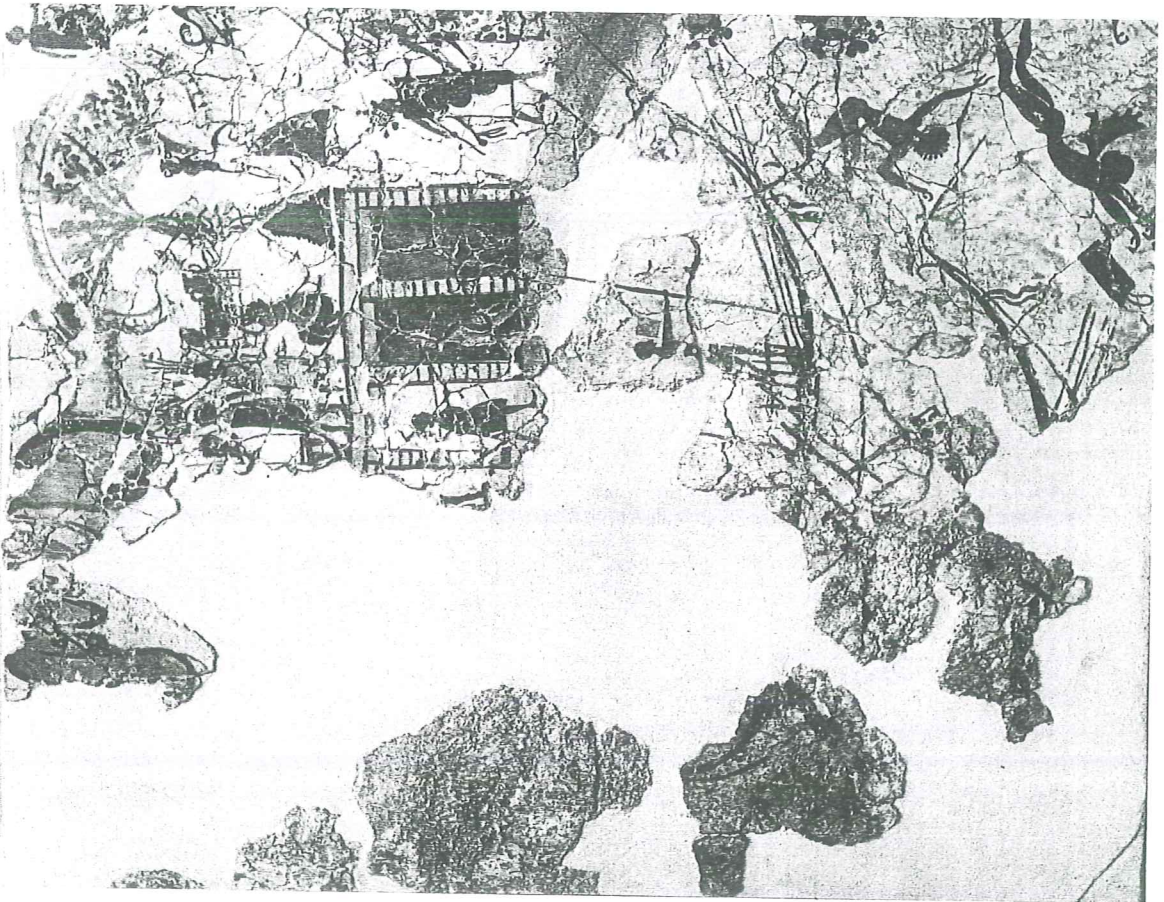


Plate 27. "Shipwreck and Landing Party," fragment of north wall of Room 5 of West House, Akrotiri

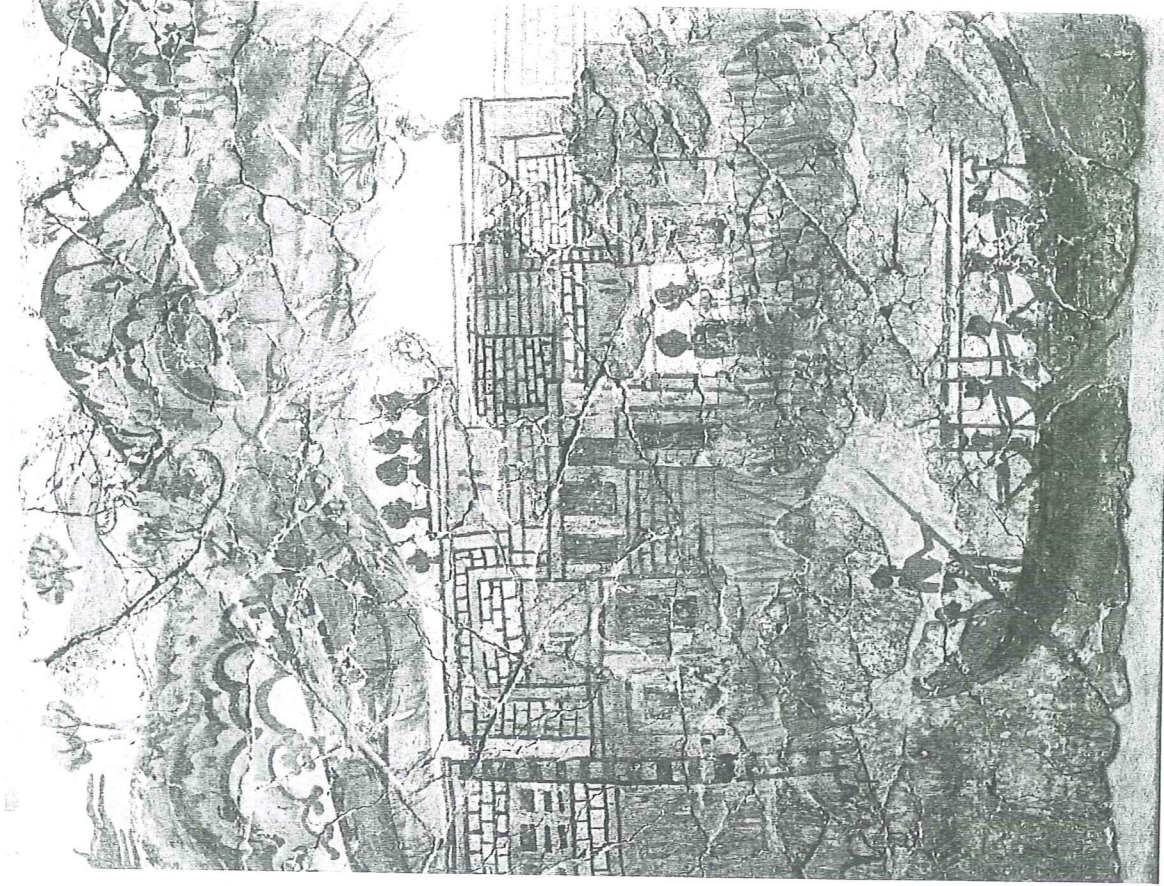


Plate 28. Landscape and "Second Town," south wall of West House, Akrotiri

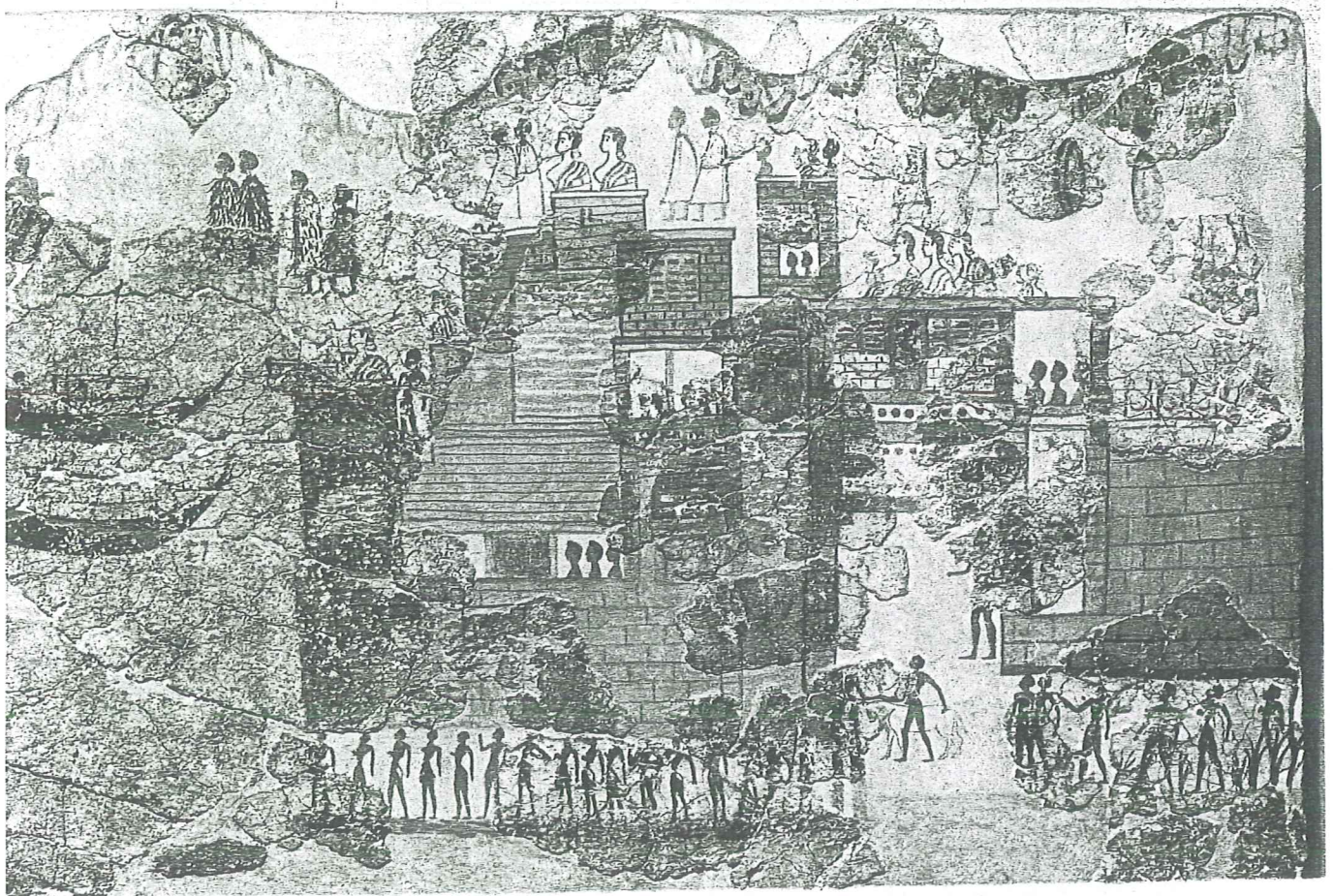


Plate 29. "Third Town" awaiting arrival of fleet, south wall of West House, Akrotiri

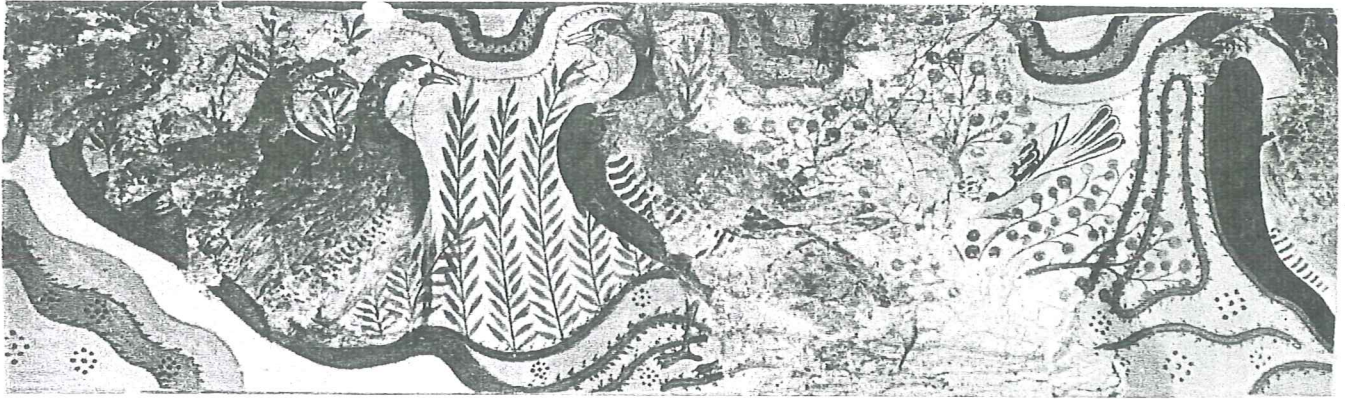


Plate 30. Frieze of partridges and hoopoes from Caravanserai, Knossos

Plate 31. Dolphin fresco as restored in the Queen's Megaron, Knossos



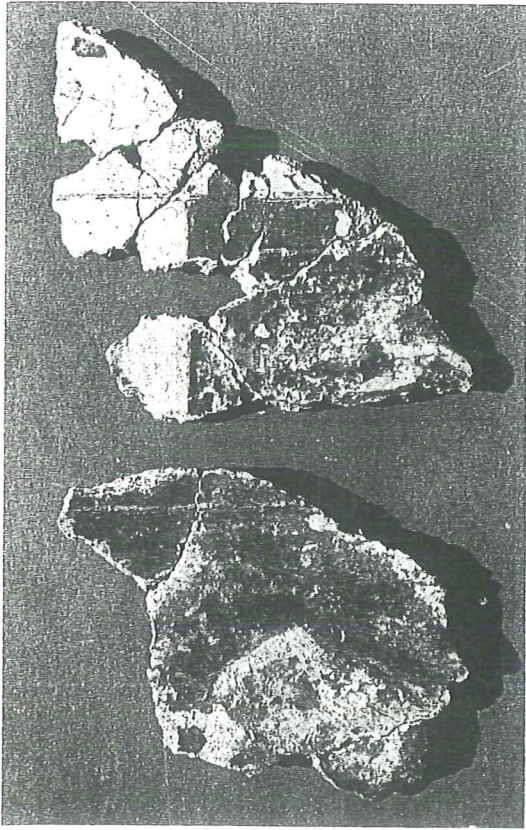


Plate 32. Fragments of miniature frescoes from Ayia Irini, Keos

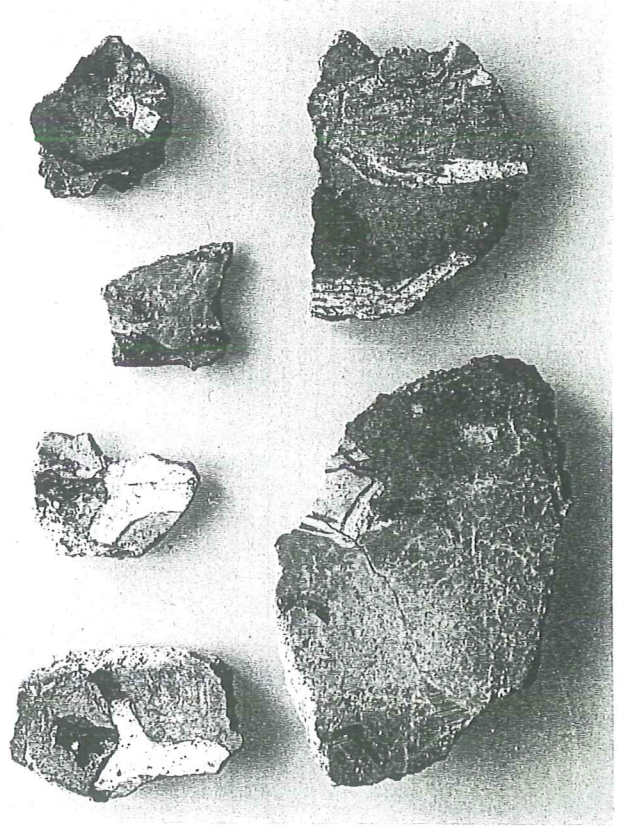


Plate 33. Fragments of miniature frescoes from Ayia Irini, Keos

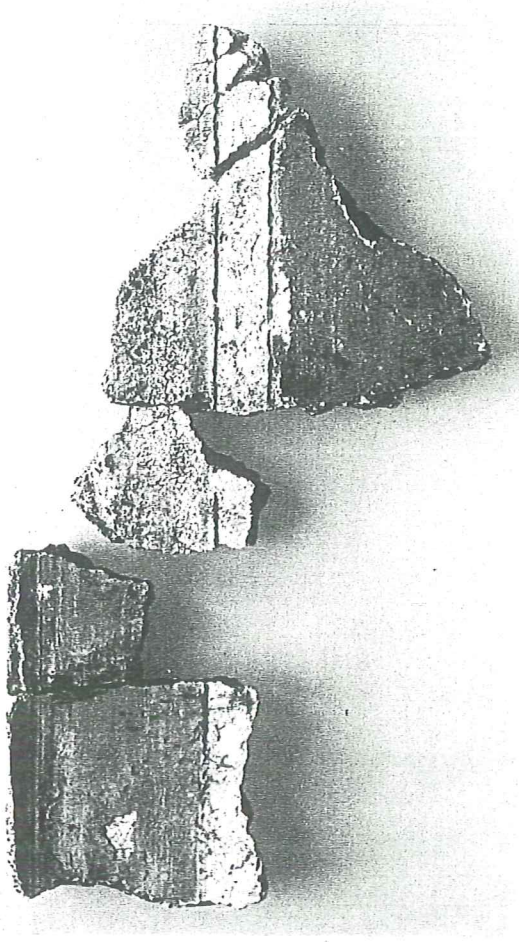


Plate 34. Fragments of painted plaster from Ayia Irini, Keos, showing use of string as guidelines



Plate 35. Fragments of miniature frescoes showing deer hunt from Ayia Irini, Keos

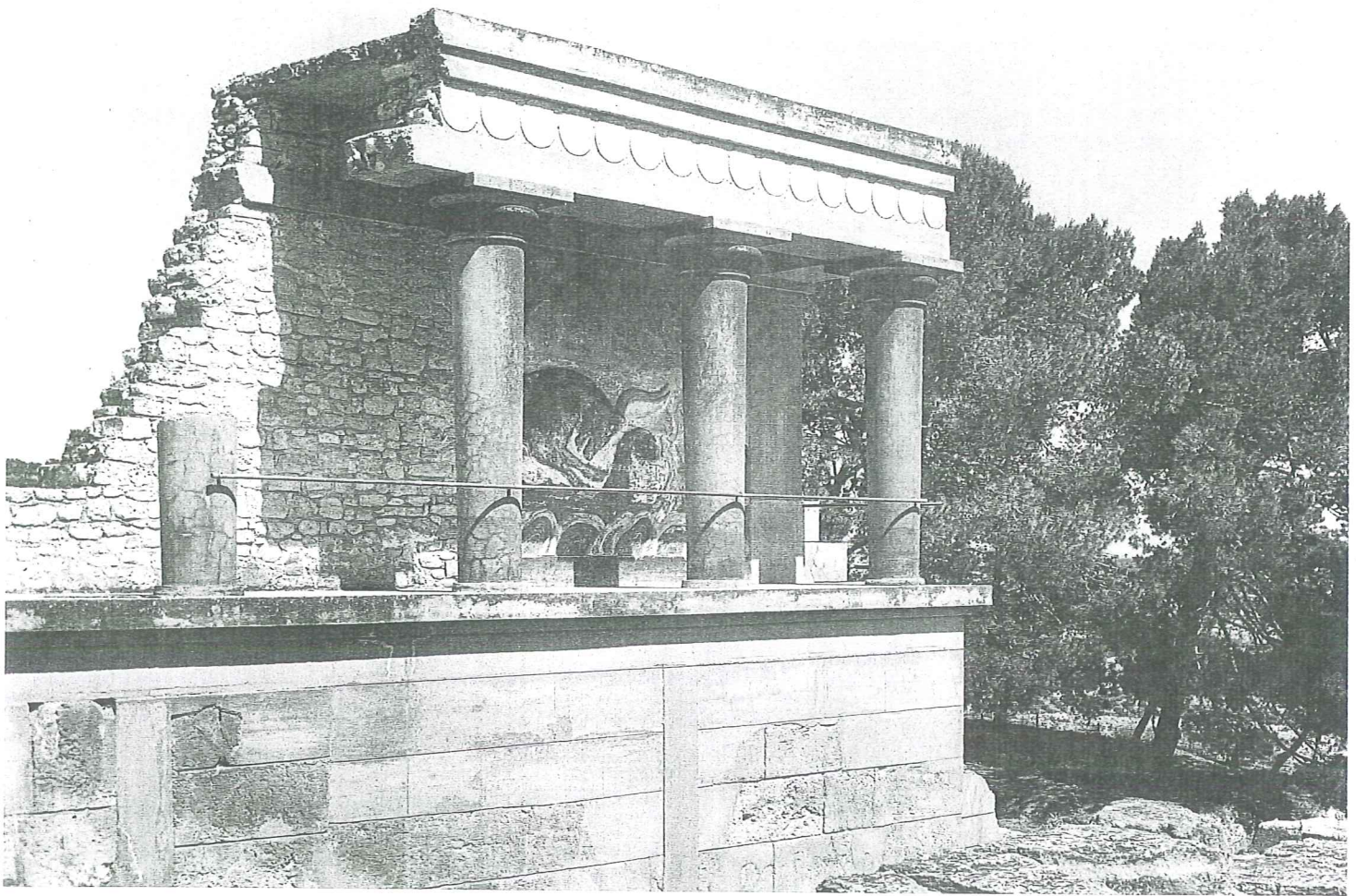


Plate 36. Stucco relief of charging bull as restored in loggia of North Entrance, Knossos

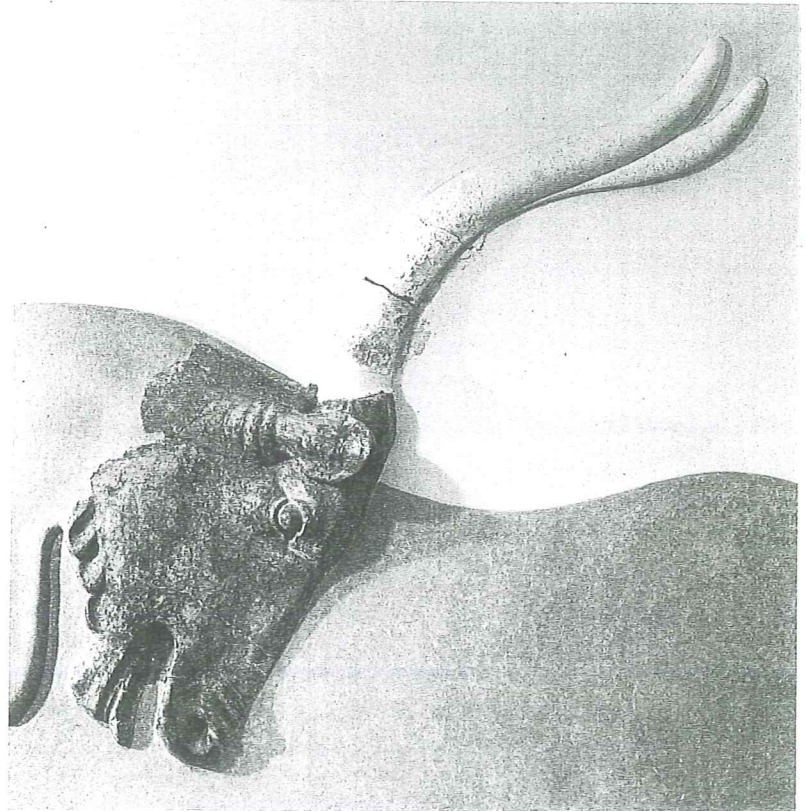
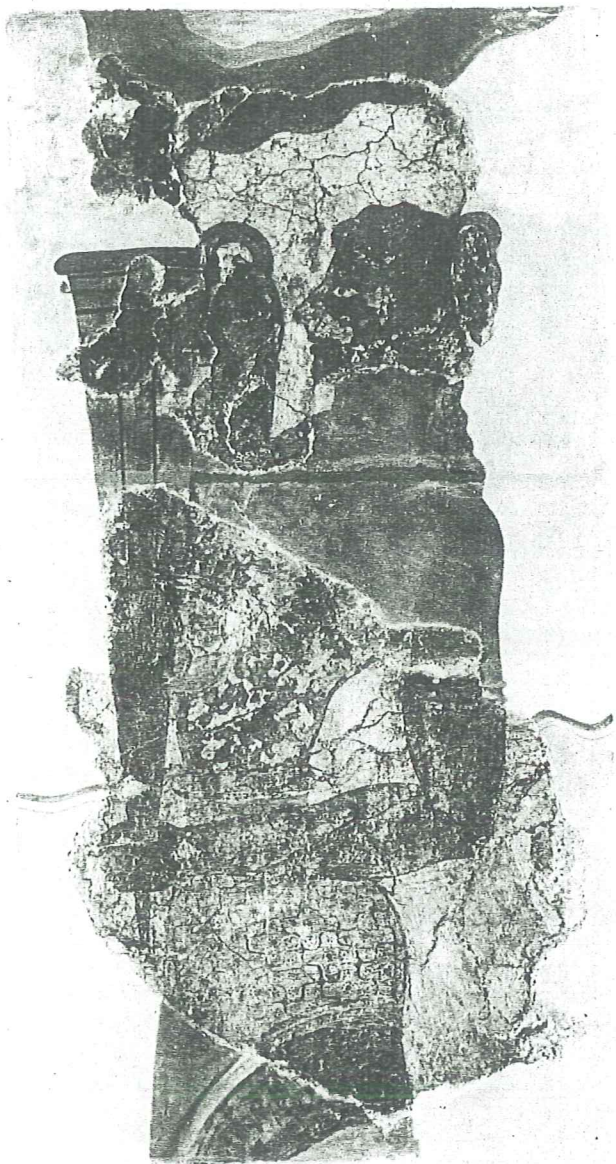
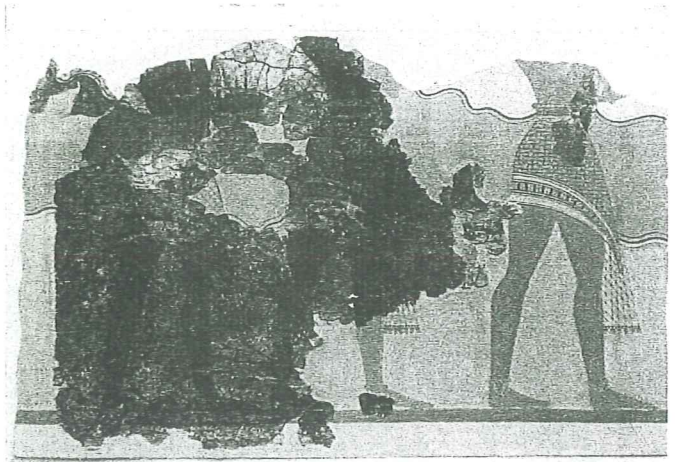


Plate 37. Detail of bull's head in Plate 36



38.



39.

Plate 38. Cupbearer from Procession fresco, Knossos

Plate 39. Three male figures from Corridor of the Procession, Knossos

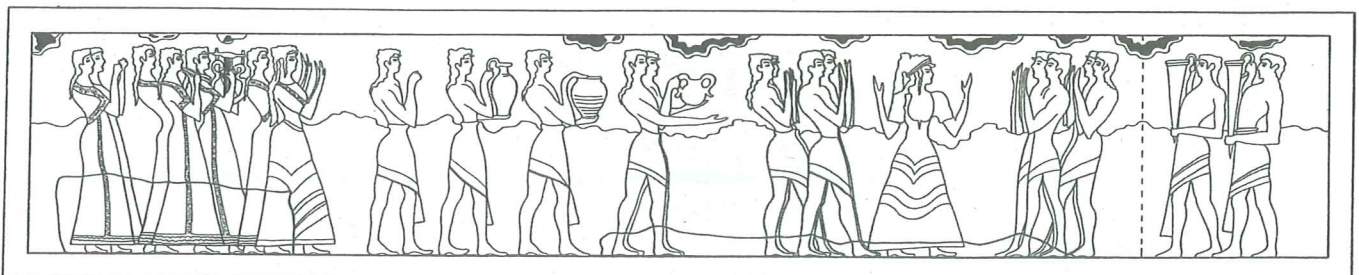
Plate 40. Gilliéron's reconstruction of beginning of the Procession fresco, Knossos, with Cupbearer figures at right

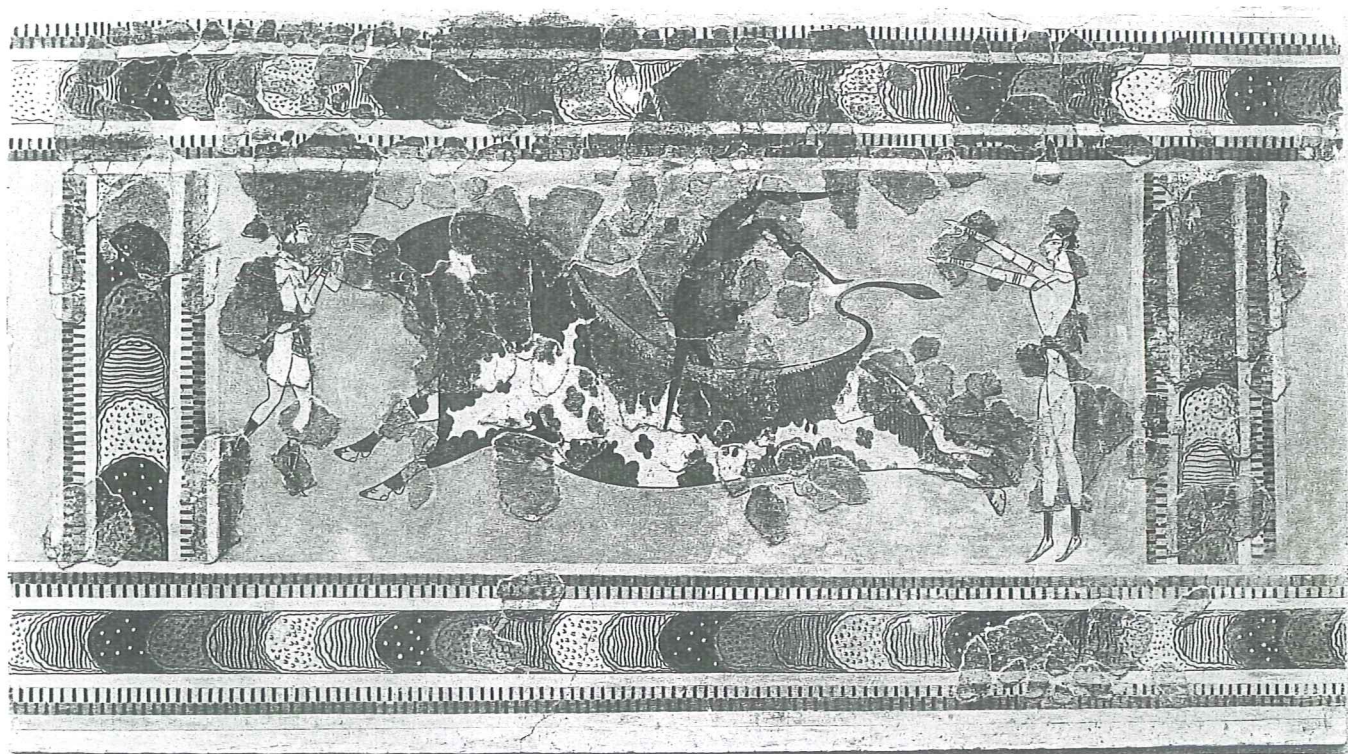
Plate 41. Taureador panel from Court of the Stone Spout, Knossos

Plate 42. Female taureador from panel with yellow background, Knossos

Plate 43. "Dancing Lady" from Queen's Megaron, Knossos

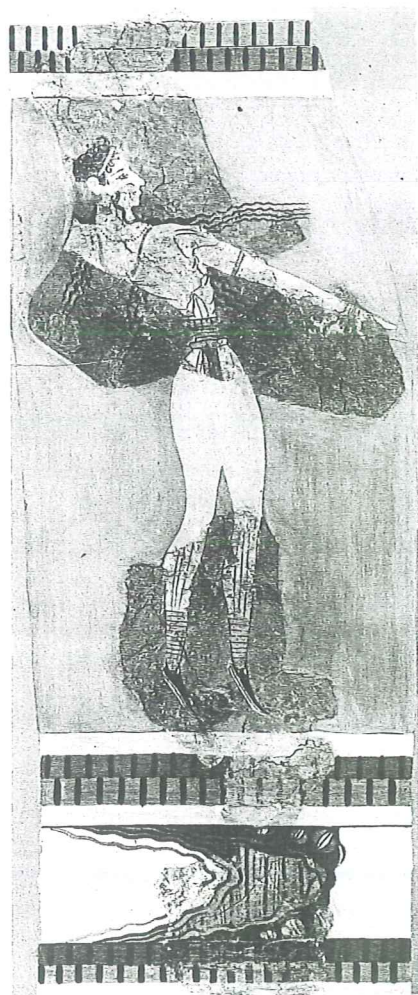
40.



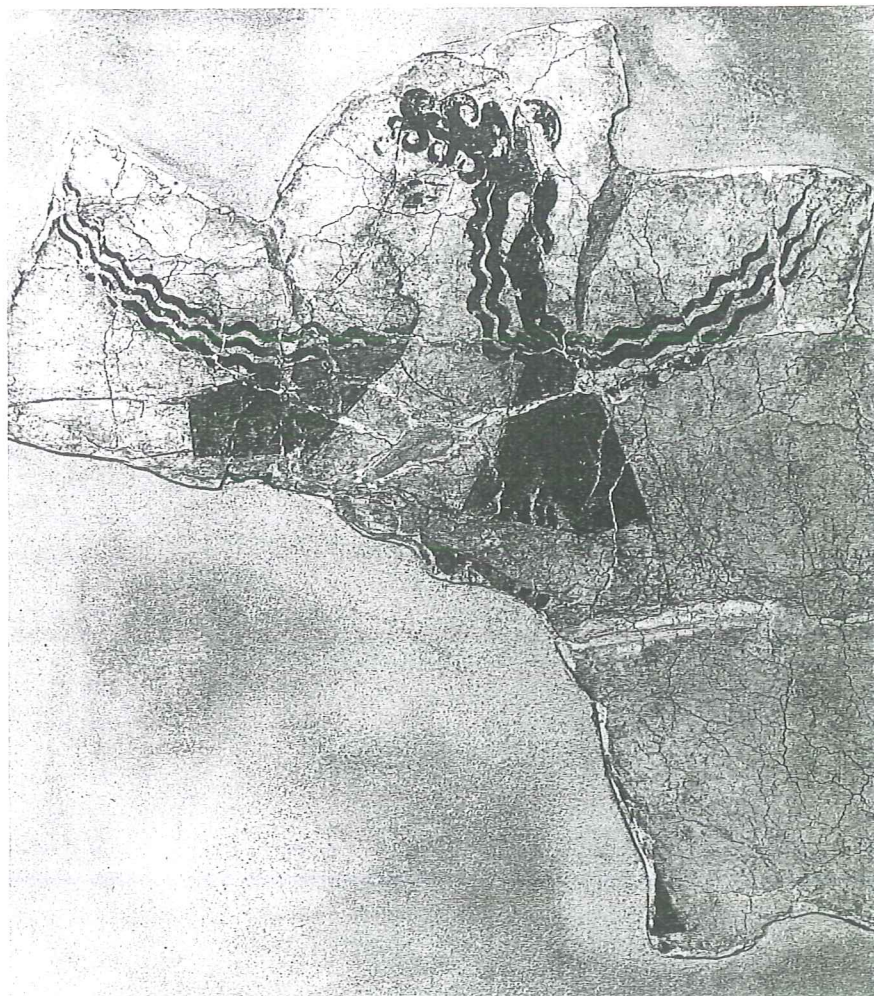


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Plate 44. "La Parisienne" from Campstool fresco, Knossos

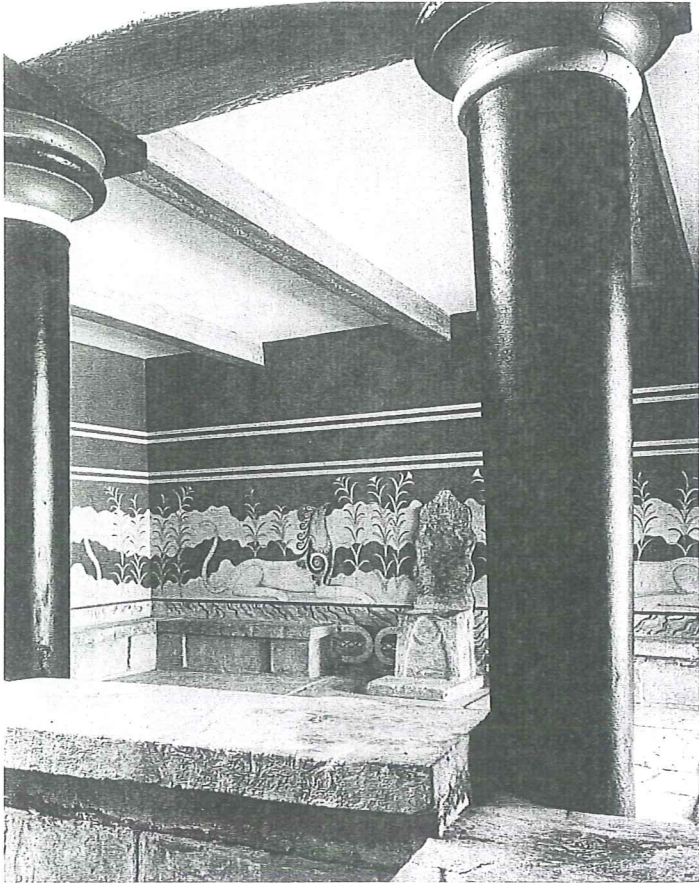
Plate 45. Woman from "Window Krater," Kourion, Cyprus

Plate 46. Chariot krater from Maroni, Cyprus

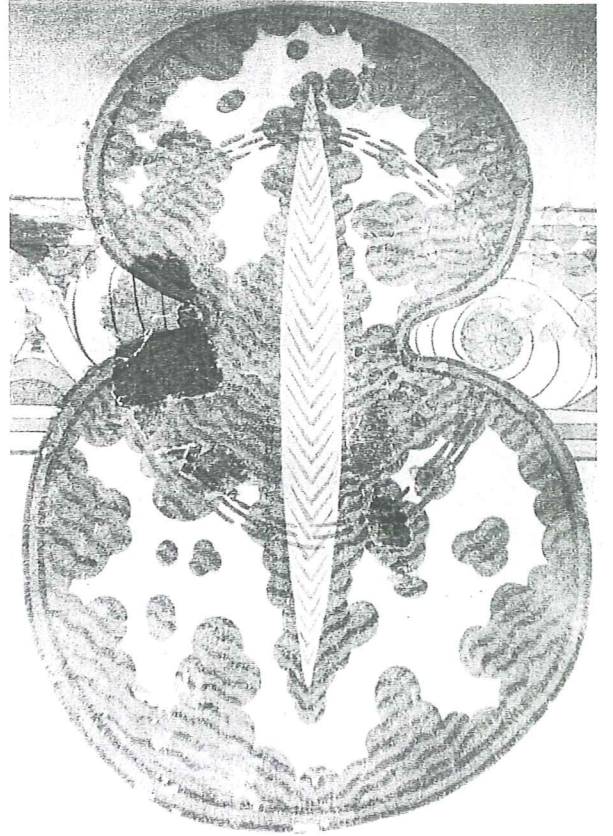
Plate 47. Throne Room frescoes as restored in palace at Knossos

Plate 48. Frescoes as found to right of throne at Knossos in 1900

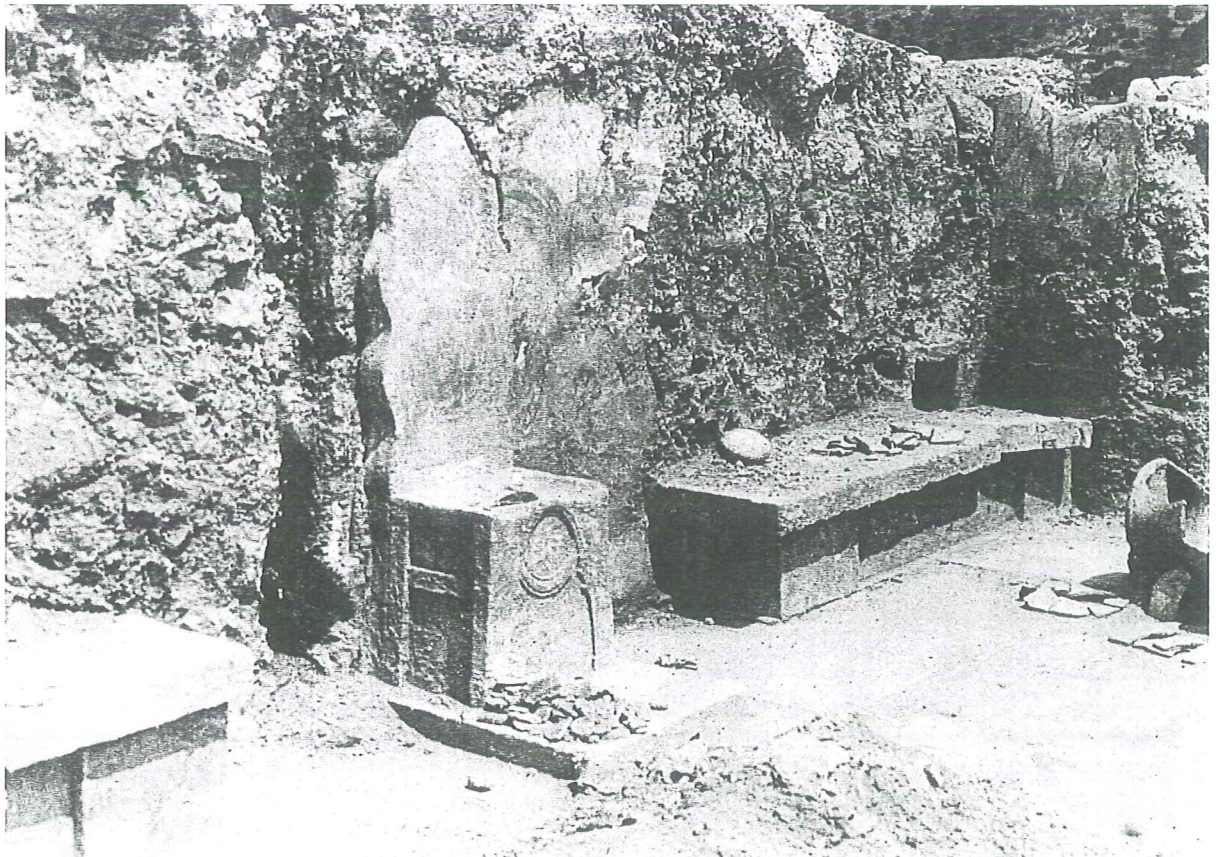
Plate 49. Shield fresco from Hall of the Colonnades, Knossos



47.



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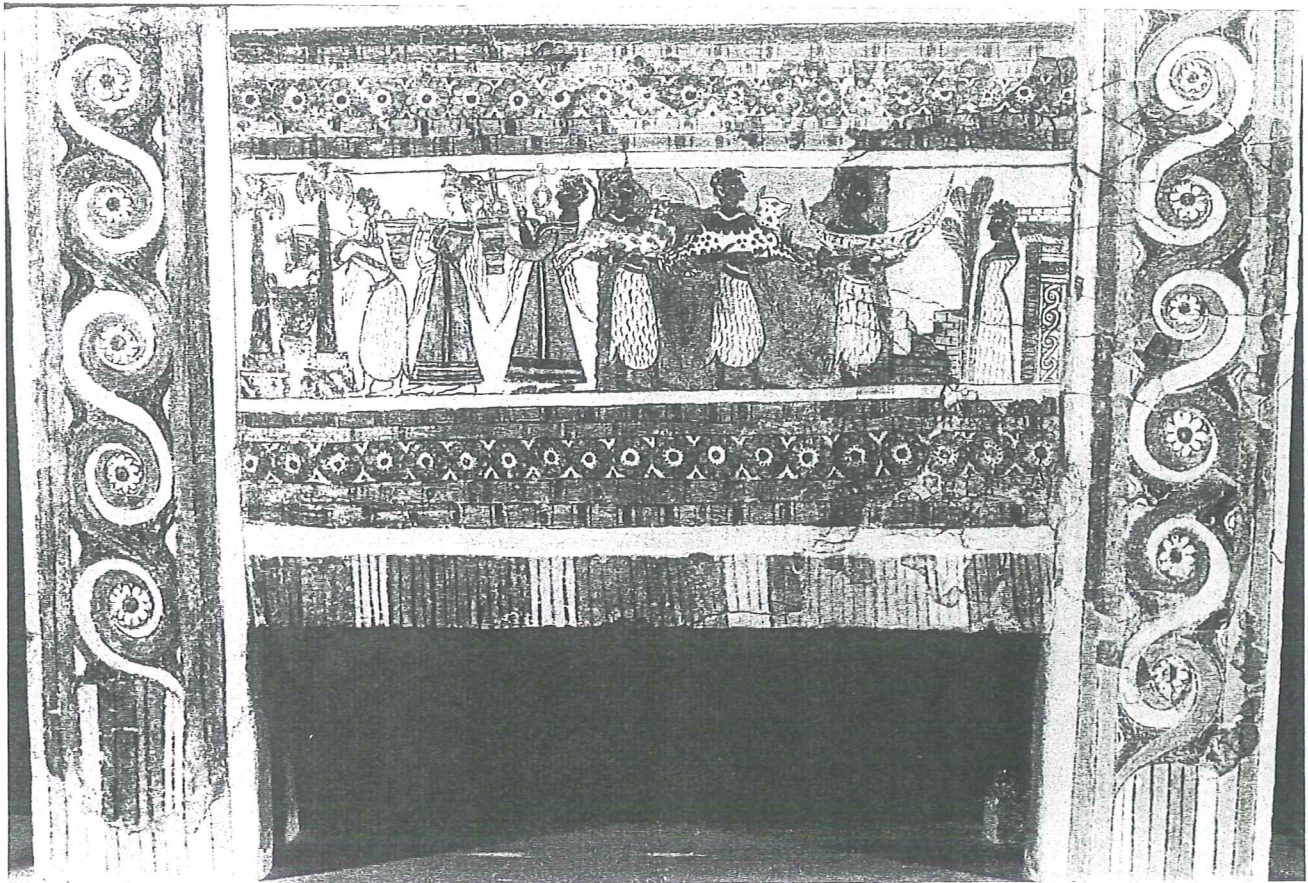


Plate 50. Ayia Triadha sarcophagus: Side A with presentation scene in front of tomb

Plate 51. Ayia Triadha sarcophagus: Side B with sacrifice of bull in outdoor sanctuary



Plate 52. End with procession and goddesses in chariot drawn by goats



Plate 53. Detail of goddesses in chariot drawn by griffins



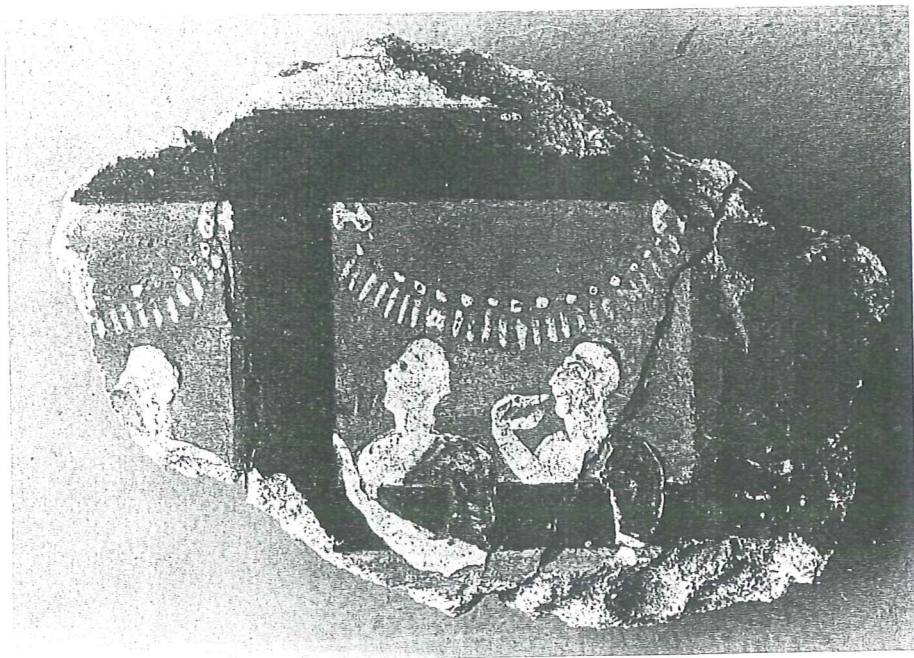


Plate 54. Fresco fragment with "Women in a Loggia" from Ramp House deposit, Mycenae

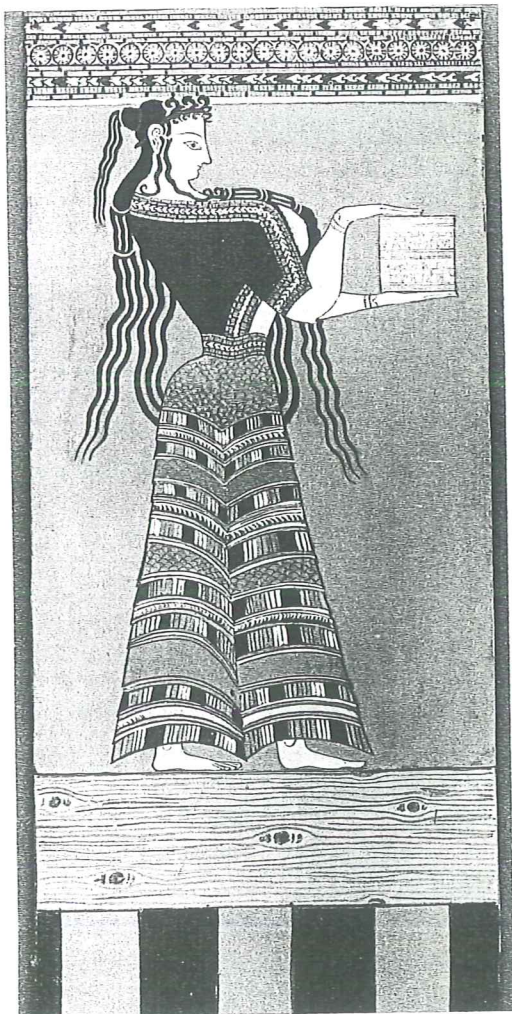


Plate 55. Woman with a pyxis. Reconstruction of figure from Women's frieze, Tiryns



Plate 56. Detail of head from Women's frieze, Tiryns

Plate 57. Two women from Pylos based on fragments from northwest slope (51 H nws)



Plate 58. The "White Goddess" from northwest slope, Pylos (49 H nws)



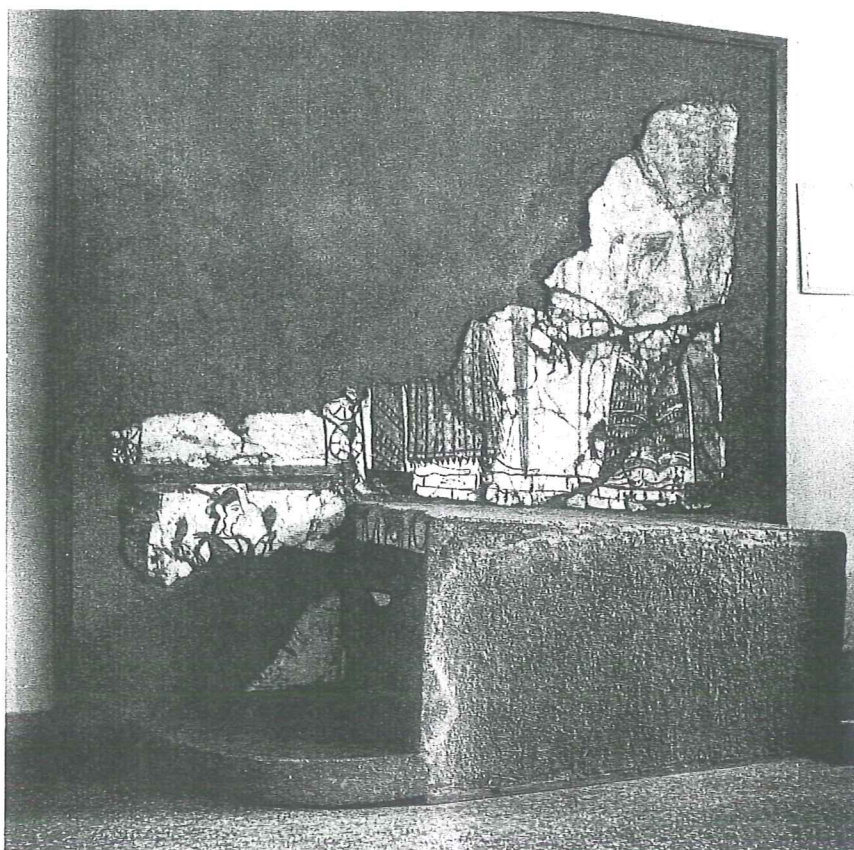


Plate 59. The Room of the Frescoes, Citadel House Area, Mycenae

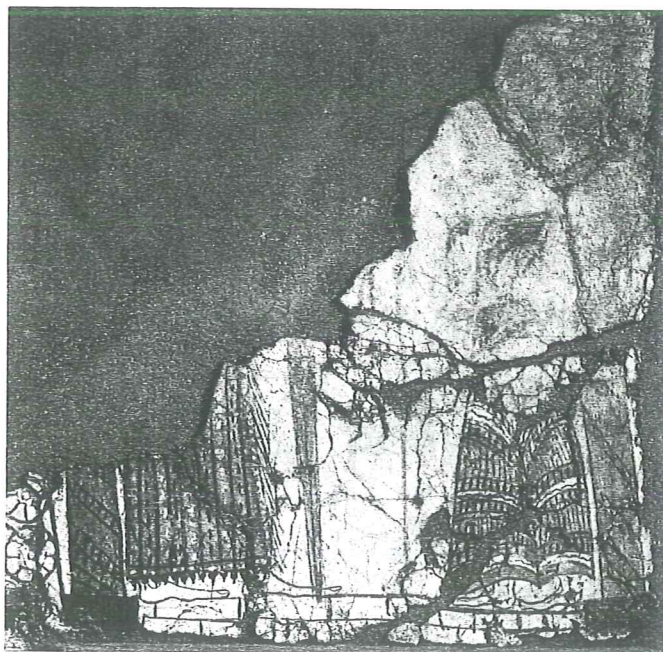


Plate 60. Detail of two goddesses and sword from Room of the Frescoes, Mycenae

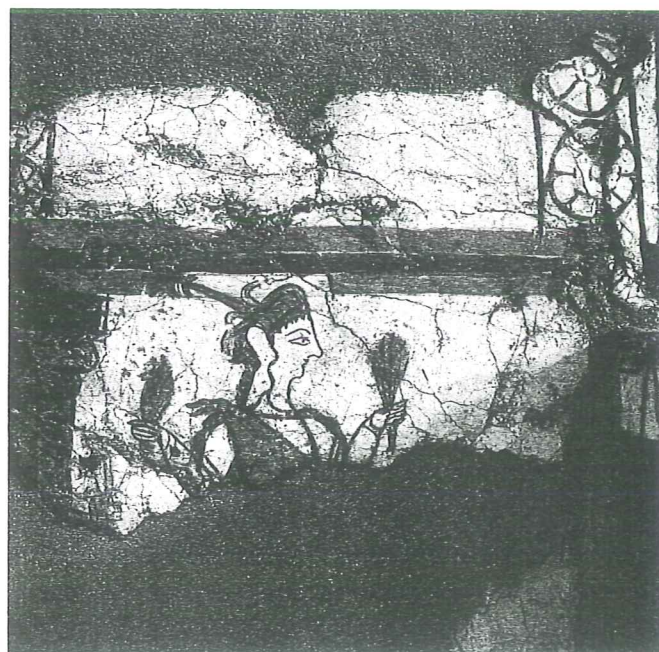


Plate 61. The "Goddess with Sheaves" from Room of the Frescoes, Mycenae

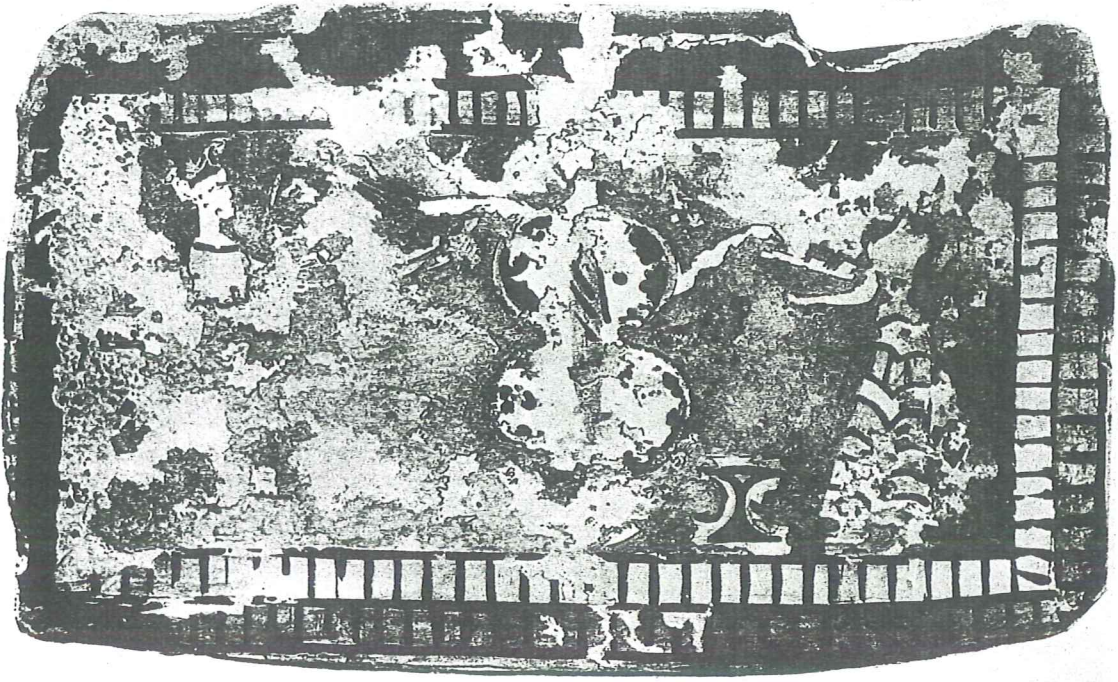


Plate 62. Stucco tablet with Warrior Goddess, Tsountas' House, Mycenae

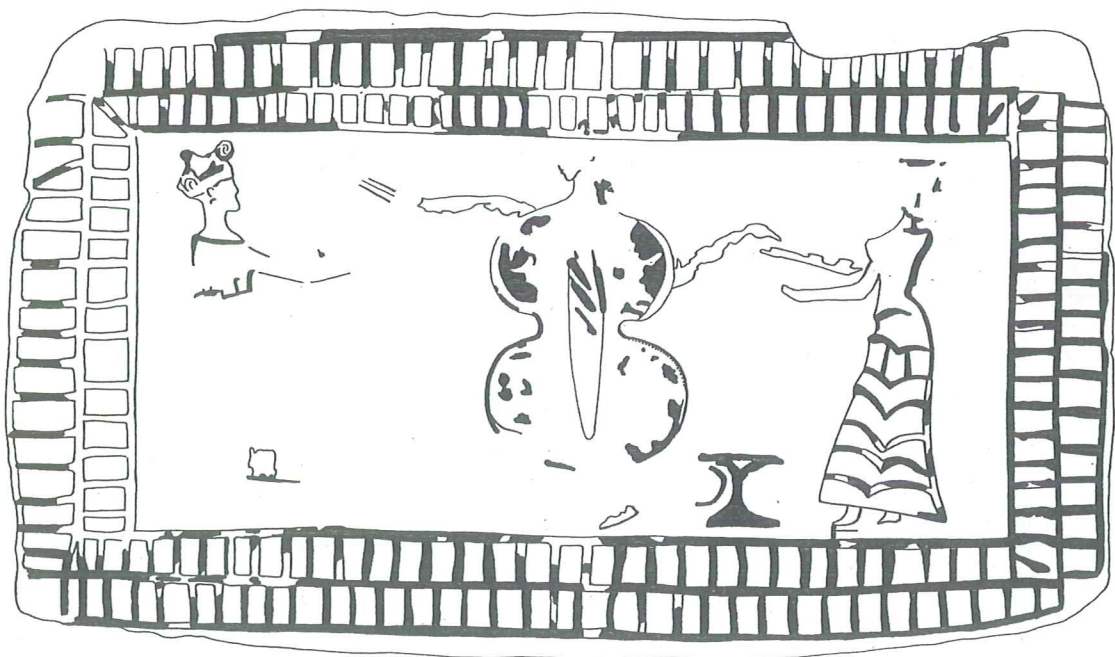


Plate 63. Drawing of tablet 2666 by M. Reid

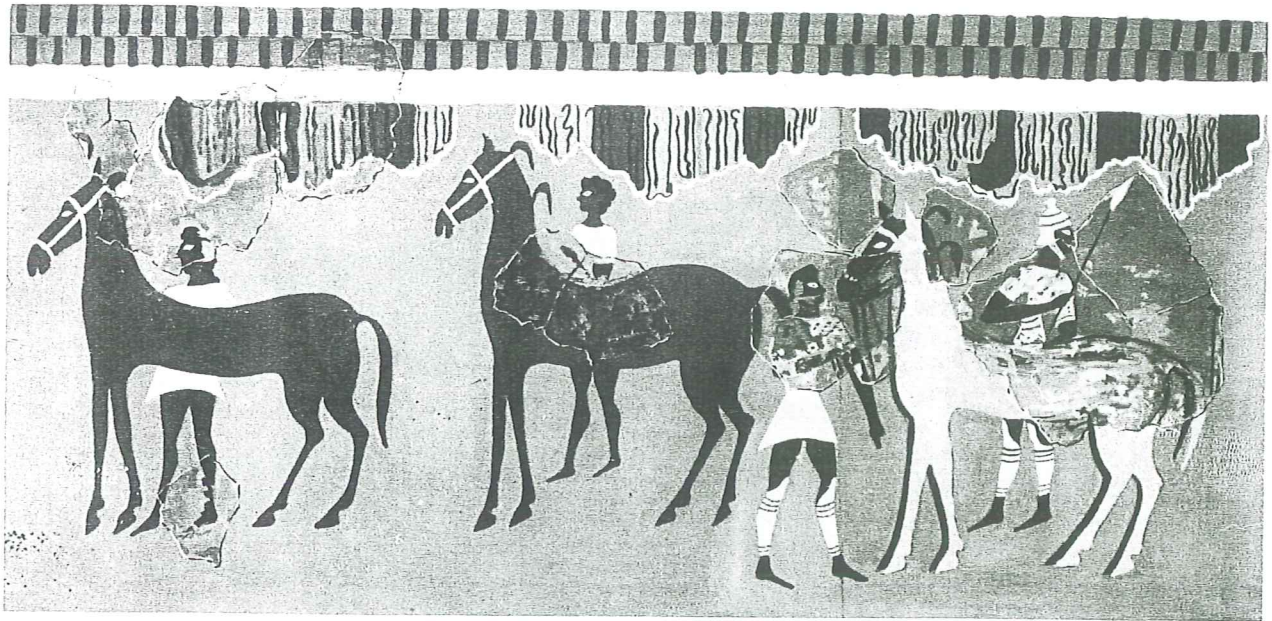


Plate 64. Groom fresco from Pithos Area, Mycenae

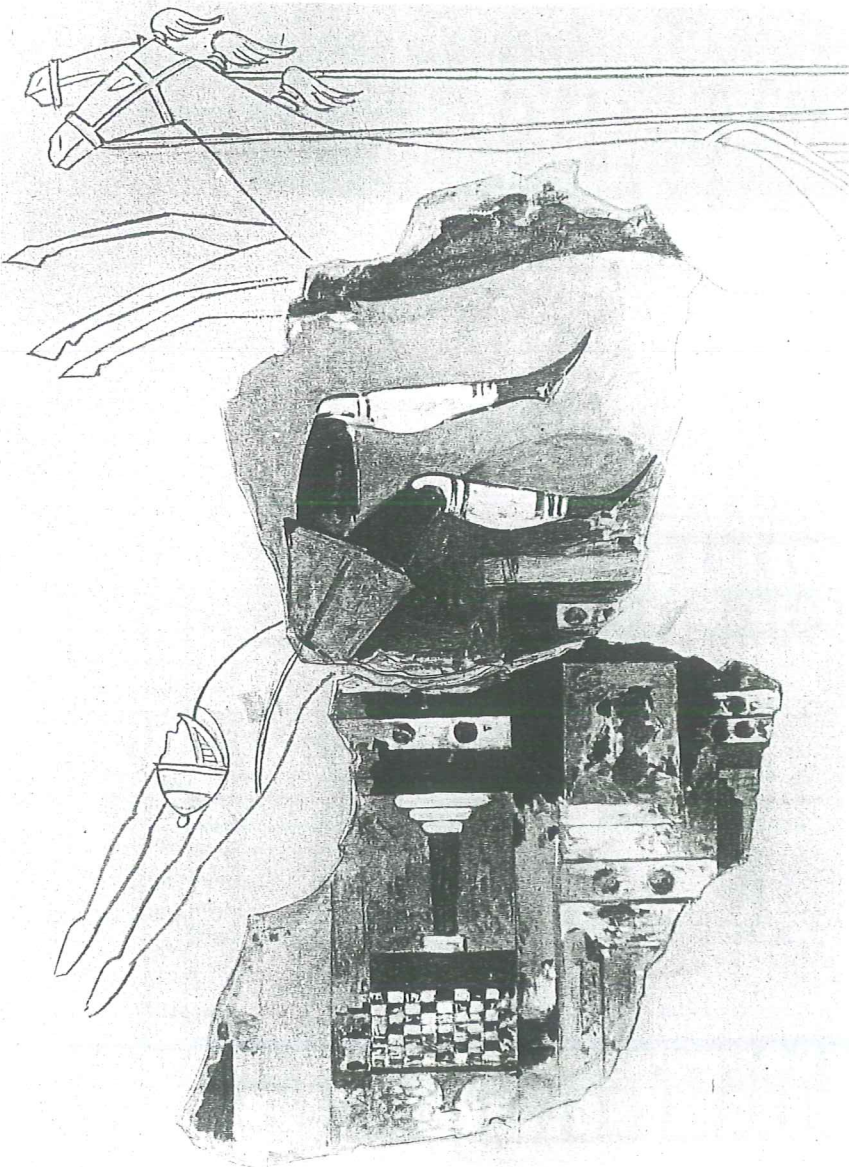
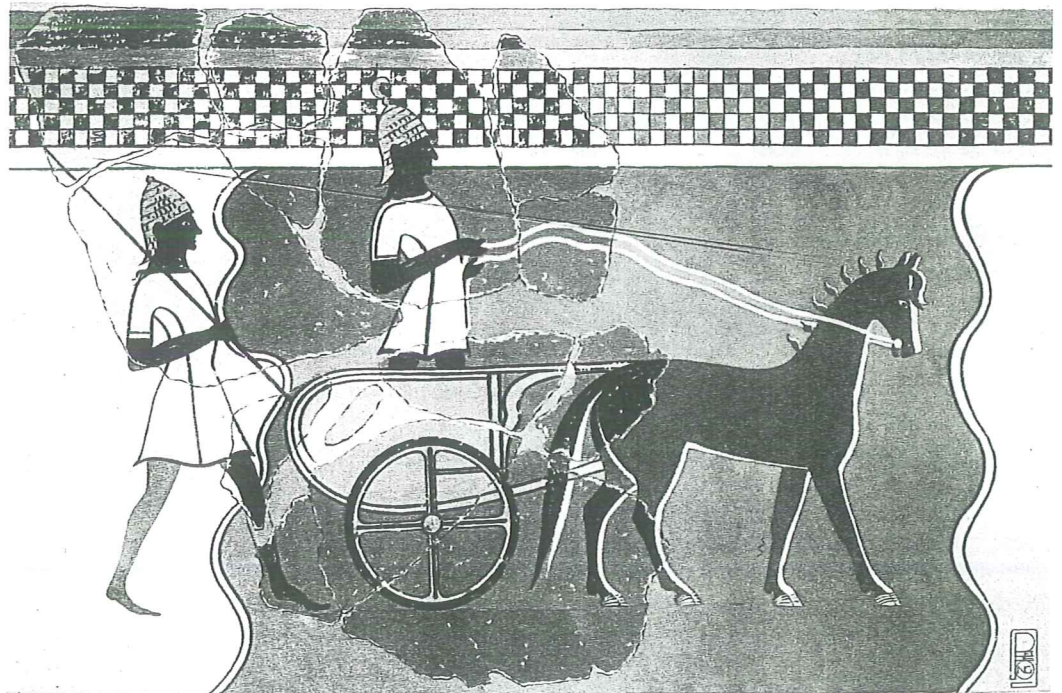


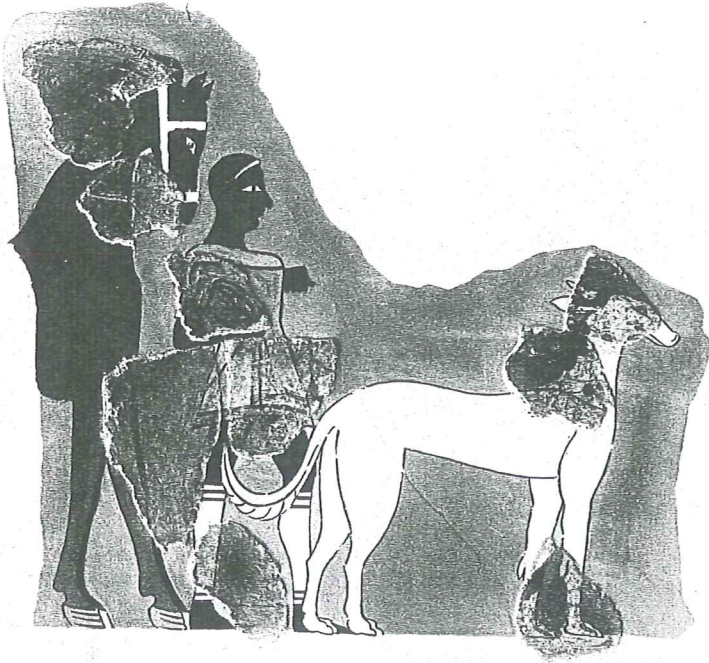
Plate 65. Falling warrior from battle scene, Megaron frieze, Mycenae

Plate 66. Battle scene from Hall 64, Pylos



Plate 67. Chariot scene from Hall 64, Pylos





68.

Plate 68. Hunter and dog from Boar Hunt fresco, Tiryns

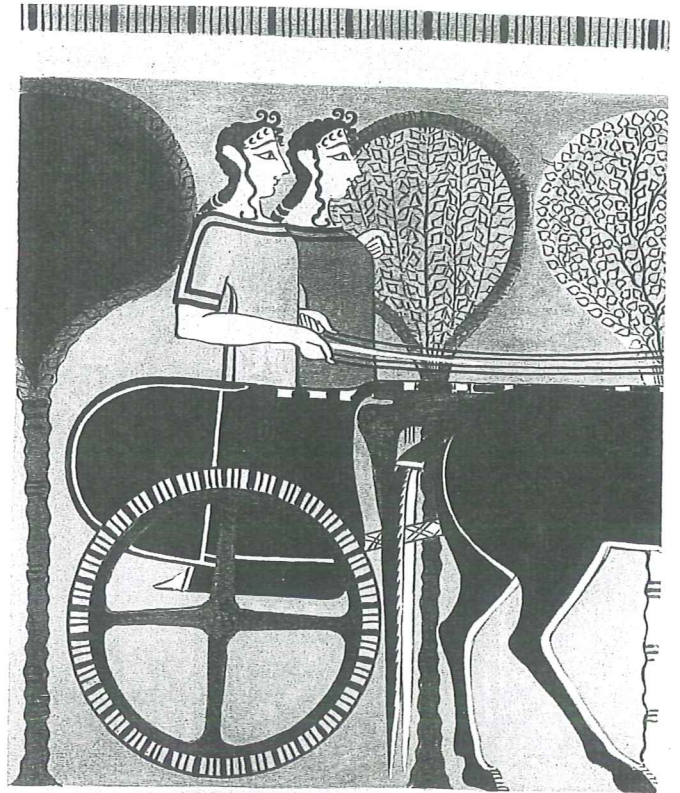


Plate 69. Women in chariot from Boar Hunt fresco, Tiryns

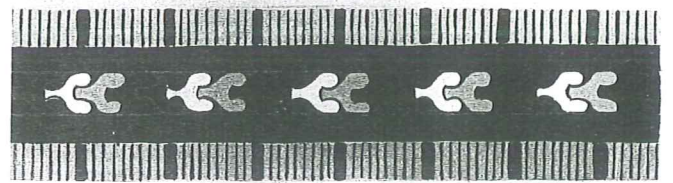
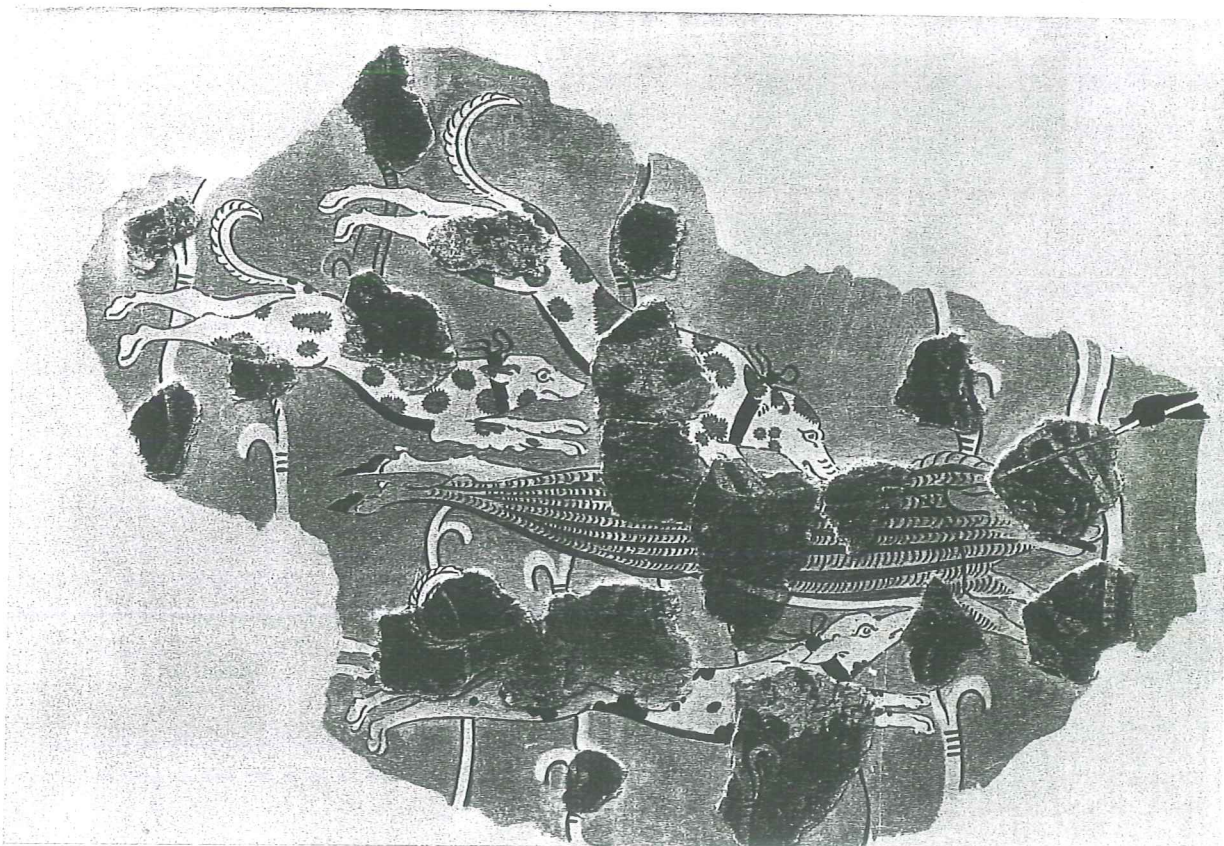


Plate 70. Boar attacked by dogs from Boar Hunt fresco, Tiryns

69.



70.



Plate 71a. Krater with stags from Enkomi, Cyprus.

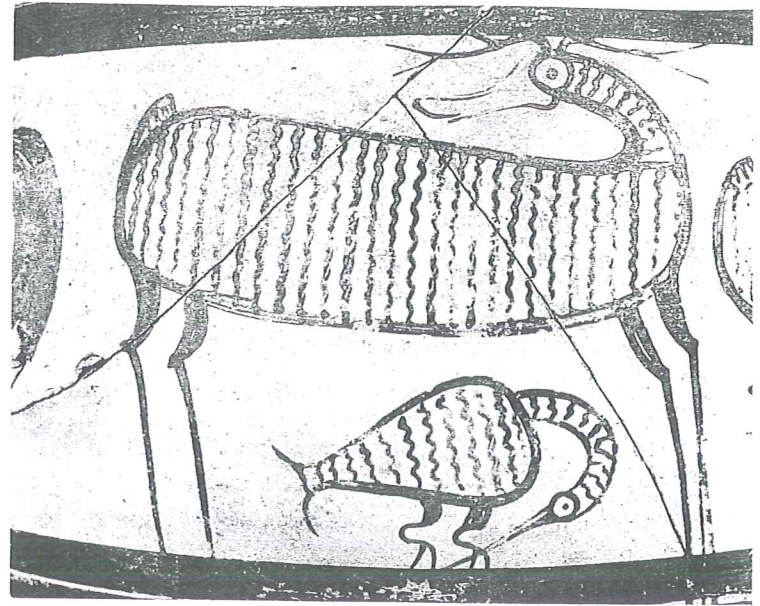


Plate 71b. Detail



Plate 72a. Krater with grazing stags from Enkomi, Cyprus.



Plate 72b. Detail

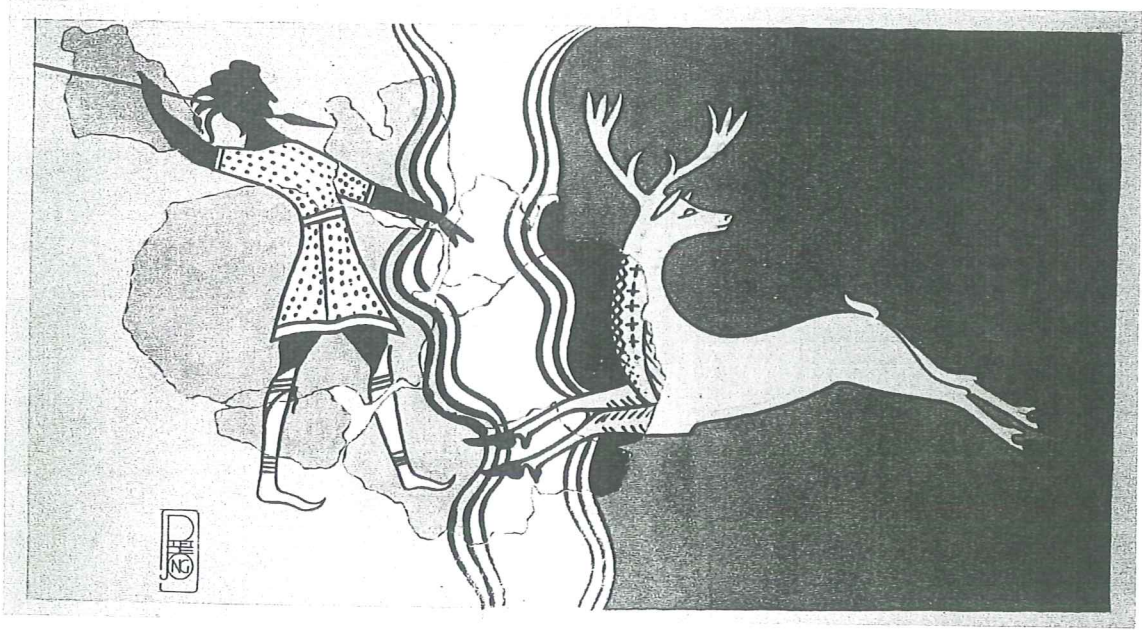


Plate 73. Hunter and stag from Pylos Hunting frieze

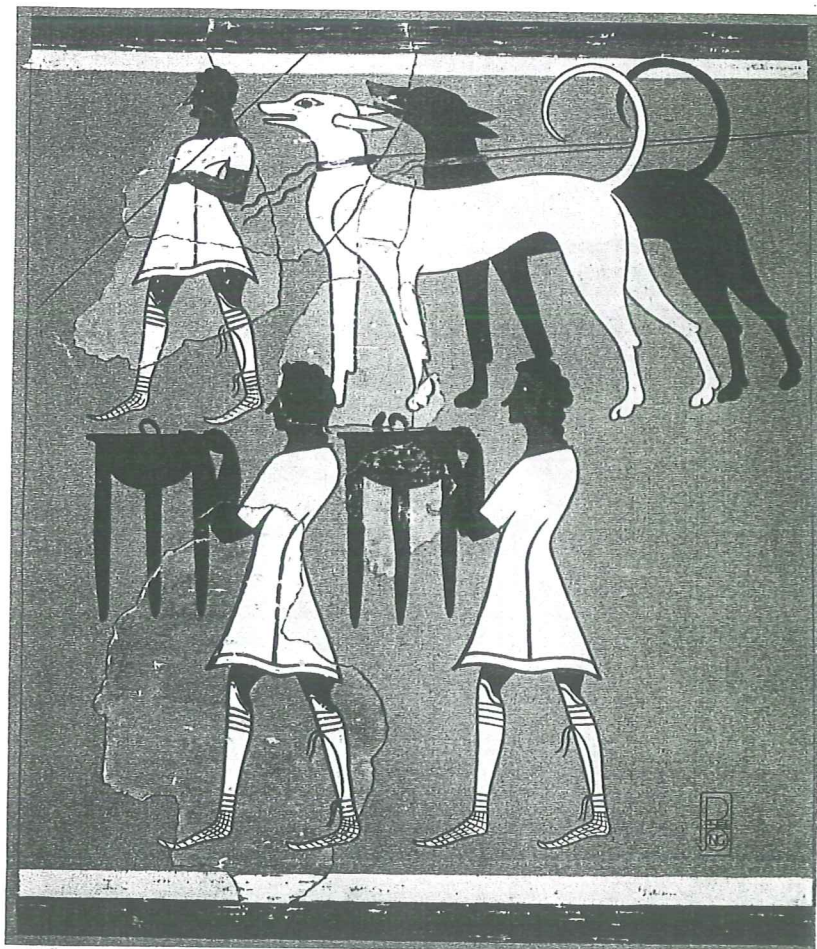


Plate 74. Hunters with dogs and tripods from Hunting frieze

Plate 75. Seated women (1-2 H 2)
from "Wallpaper frieze,"
Inner Propylon, Pylos

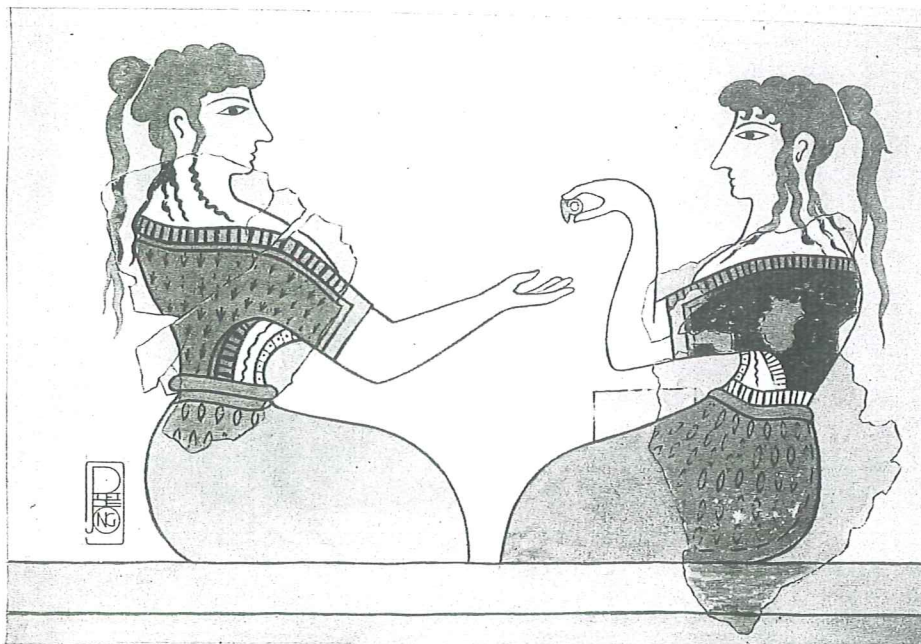


Plate 76. Deer (1 C 2) from "Wallpaper frieze," Inner Propylon, Pylos.

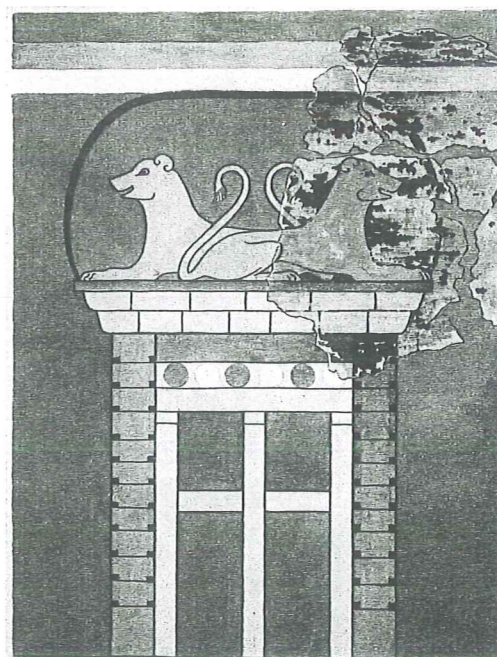
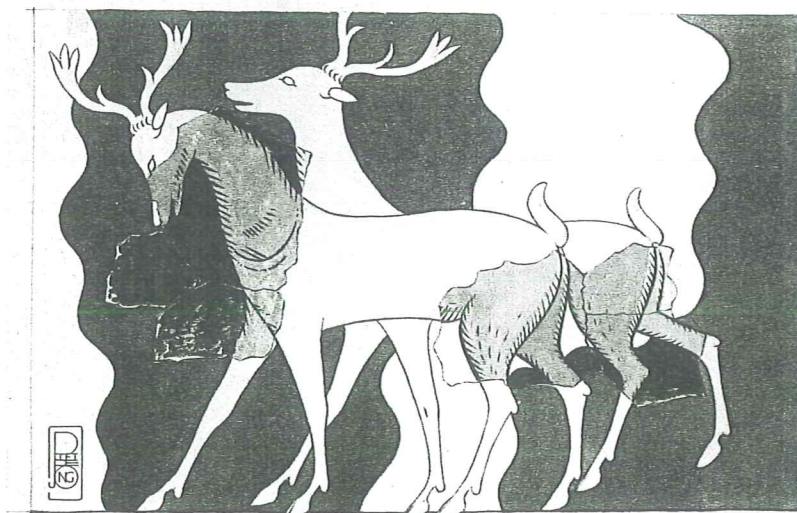


Plate 77. Shrine (2 A 2) from "Wallpaper frieze,"
Inner Propylon, Pylos



Plate 78. Men at Table (44 H 6) from Throne Room, Pylos



Plate 79. Lion and griffin from Hall 46, Pylos

Plate 80. Frieze of hunting dogs from Hall 64, Pylos

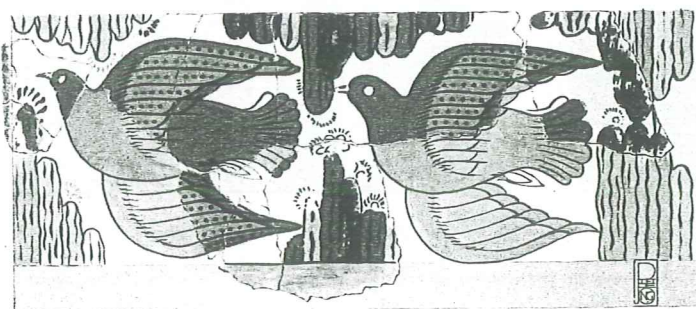
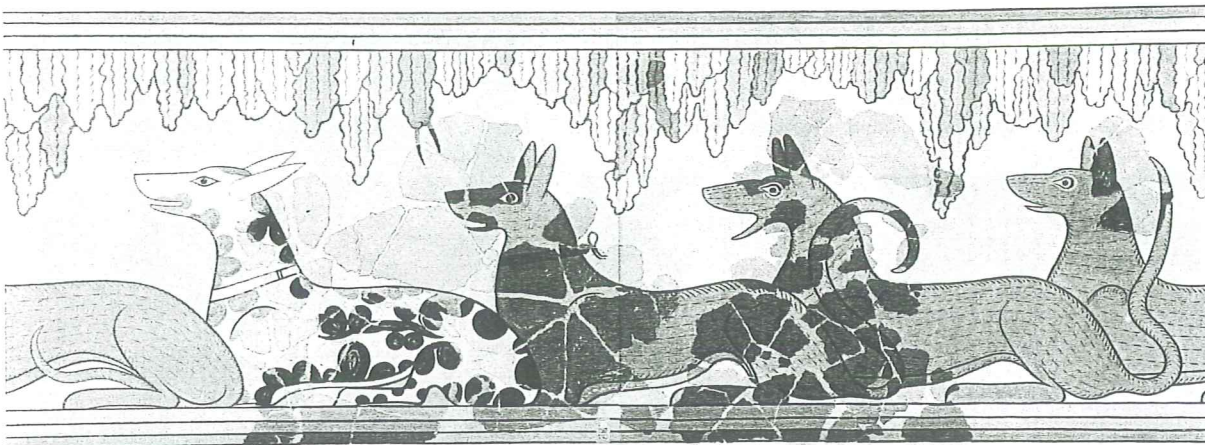


Plate 81. Bluebird frieze from northwest slope, Pylos

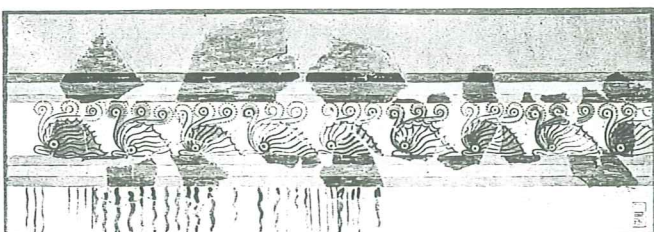


Plate 82. Nautilus frieze from northwest slope, Pylos

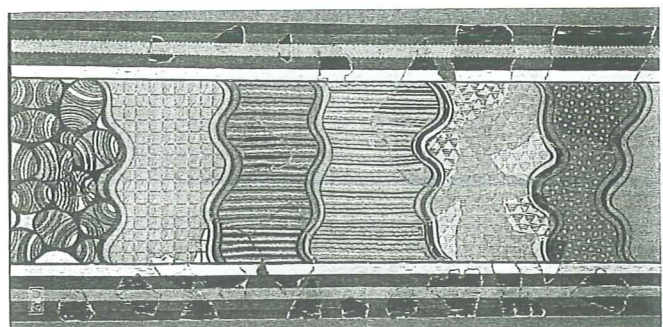


Plate 83. Variegated dado from northwest slope, Pylos



Plate 84. Painted limestone stele from Mycenae



Plate 85. Warrior Vase (Side B), Mycenae



Plate 86. Warrior Vase, Mycenae. Handle area with female figure



Plate 87. Warrior Vase, Mycenae. Detail of warriors, Side A



Plate 88a and b. Pyxis from Lefkandi, Euboea. Griffins feeding babies in nest; sphinx and stag

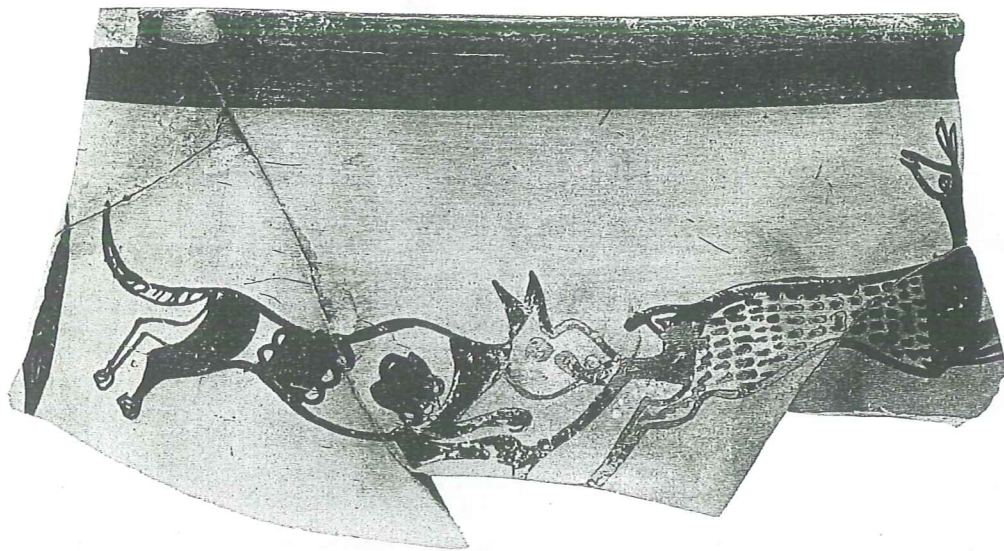


Plate 89. Fragment of LH IIIC krater from Tiryns with hound hunting deer